

THE PRE-INQUISITORIAL CAREER OF BERNARD GUI

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I, Ryan Kingman Low, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

I have tried to provide an account of Bernard Gui's early career, from his birth in 1261 to his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse in 1307. Biographical accounts of Bernard are few and far between: a short obituary by his nephew in the early 1330s, entries in early-twentieth-century catalogues such as the *Histoire littéraire de la France* and *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, and the sixteenth volume of the *Cahiers de Fajeaux* in 1981. This dearth belies the essential space Bernard's texts occupy in the modern study of medieval religious orders, the inquisition, and southern France. Bernard himself deserves a study.

The worlds around him were changing quickly. Friars who had known Dominic personally were growing old and dying. Burgeoning royal power came into increasingly dramatic conflict with both religious and secular establishments. Southern France was still recovering (financially, politically, and psychologically) from the Albigensian Crusade and its inquisitions. The texts Bernard chose to produce responded to administrative, political, and social realities in dynamic ways. His written record tells modern historians much about contemporary anxieties and the man who faced them.

This thesis utilizes Bernard's history of the Dominican Order to learn more about Bernard himself. The boy who will become inquisitor of Toulouse came of age infatuated with the Dominican Order and its attendant personalities, values, and network. The preservation of the order's institutional values and administrative organization animated his first noteworthy historical work. When the friars and their inquisition came under attack in the years immediately preceding his tenure as inquisitor, Bernard suppressed his sense of betrayal to preserve the order's most important relationships. I hope that through this thesis, readers may encounter Bernard and feel more confident in describing his values, anxieties, and personality.

Impact Statement

The research undertaken in this thesis provides new perspectives on an essential character in the history of European thought and social practice, the inquisitor of Toulouse, Bernard Gui. Generations of historians from John Locke to the present have used Gui's numerous inquisitorial records to explore themes of religious toleration, the structure of power, and the inner psyche of those tasked with a process as cruel as the inquisition. Almost all of this research, however, has passed over the question of Bernard's life before he was appointed inquisitor of Toulouse.

This thesis attempts to correct that by analyzing the histories of the Dominican Order that Bernard wrote in the years immediately before his appointment. Such a shift in chronological perspective has opened new vistas for potential research, especially in the field of the administration of medieval religious orders, while complicating the portrait of Bernard in the imagination of current historians of the high middle ages.

Methodologically, this project relies on many of the same sources that previous historians have had at their disposal: the administrative histories of the Dominican Order. I have tried to diverge from earlier historians by using these documents to reconstruct Bernard's world and to extract his argument for how the order around him ought to be. As a prominent friar tasked with diplomatic, administrative, and intellectual responsibilities, Bernard took an active role in his institution's formation, and his administrative histories furnish historians with many clues as to what exactly he thought that institution ought to do.

Beyond the field of medieval history, this thesis primarily offers an explanation for how an individual can shape and be shaped by the institution within which he or she operates. Readers with experience working for any institution -- a university, a museum, a corporation, a news outlet, or any other organization -- will hopefully be able to extrapolate something useful about the ways in which individual leaders, like Bernard Gui in the Dominican Order, faced the challenge of balancing immediate operational needs and timeless questions of principle.

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Introduction

Bernard Gui's inquisitorial career and writings have rightly attracted much scholarly attention, but they have overshadowed his pre-inquisitorial career which is worth studying in its own right, for the light it casts on the religious, institutional and social life of his time, especially in Southern France. Bernard's Dominican career took him across southern France travelling between convents, meeting friars with various backgrounds and interests, and advancing through the order's ranks, like Joseph Knecht in Hermann Hesse's *The Glass Bead Game*. This thesis recounts Bernard's professional journey. In his times as a novice, he learned Dominican ideals at the feet of friars renowned for their administrative and diplomatic abilities. These lessons inspired Bernard to collect documents related to the order's administration from across southern France. Even in the most prosaic administrative manual lies an argument. He claimed that the order's survival and expansion demanded the maintenance of support networks that included members of the nobility, secular clergy, and local bourgeoisie. In the years before his tenure as inquisitor, Bernard bore witness to the collapse of these very networks when popular rebellions ostensibly targeting the inquisition in Carcassonne and Albi decimated Dominican institutions. I rely on the administrative documents that Bernard himself collated from across the convents of Provence and Toulouse -- acts of

the provincial chapters, catalogues of the provincial chapters, and histories of the various convents -- to reconstruct the Dominican institution that Bernard hoped to preserve. Methodologically, the thesis takes the reader back to the generations of friars before Bernard's time to events, principles, and administrative techniques that he himself described and shaped him. Working from administrative documents, as opposed to prescriptive and normative texts, I hope to portray the order from a perspective distinct from those of M. Michèle Mulchahey, Leonard Boyle, and William Hinnebusch and the schools and approaches they represent.¹ The order did not organize itself.

The First Biography

The first biography of Bernard Gui appeared soon after the Dominican's death as a preface to his collection of saints' lives entitled *Speculum sanctorale*.² Born in the diocese of Limoges at Royère, Bernard was named after the sweet aromatic oil, *nardus*, on account of his pleasing life and works. Nevertheless,

¹ M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow Is Bent in Study": Dominican Education before 1350, Studies and Texts 132* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998); William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500, vol. 1, 2 vols.* (New York: Alba House, 1966); William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500, vol. 2, 2 vols.* (New York: Alba House, 1973); William A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers," *The Catholic Historical Review* 41 (1960-1959): 436-53.

² BnF MS Latin 4985, ff. 1-2; partially edited in Jacques Quétif and Jacques Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati* (Paris: Ballard et Simart, 1719), 576-77; fully edited in Léopold Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 427-31. Although the author is anonymous, Quétif suspected that Bernard's nephew, Pierre Gui, penned the biography, since many of his own works appear in the same manuscript.

Bernard was humble, modest, intelligent, and could recreate on parchment the acts of saints and other holy men. He served as both a model for his followers and a curator-author for the memories of the generations of Dominicans before him. His peers probably enjoyed his company, since Bernard appears kind, hard-working, and warm. One anecdote recalls Bernard sitting with his friends and mentees, comforting them by advising that no good man goes to sleep without having laughed at least once throughout the day. This kindness and patience made him an empathetic priest and promising inquisitor and indeed, formed a key component of his attitude towards heretics later in life.

All of this must, of course, be taken with a grain of salt. This short biography accompanies a sort of 'best-of' collection of Bernard's works, and probably served as an opening salvo in the campaign to have Bernard canonized.³ The miracles attributed to Bernard, however, do not amaze. Arnaldus Borgueti, inquisitor of Barcelona and provincial prior of Aragon, arrived at John XXII's court in 1318 for the canonization of Raymond de Peñafort, where he met Bernard. During the summer, Arnaldus could not sleep for three nights on account of the oppressive Provençal heat and other ailments. He and Bernard prayed that sleep return to Arnaldus, and sure enough, after

³ On the significance of the difference between hagiography and biography as genres, see Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 3–4.

three days without sleep, Arnaldus dropped off: not exactly a miracle. Word spread of Bernard's 'miraculous power' and later that week, Guillaume de Gardaga (near Bayonne), sought the friar's aid in a case of fever and dysentery. Bernard recognized that Arnaldus might have over-played his power to heal, and tried to decline, but Guillaume insisted. Bernard then said that on the day after next (that is, on the feast of Saint Dominic), the disease would pass, and for better or for worse, it did. Pierre Bernard, also from Bayonne and later bishop of the city, joked that the order pursued the canonization of dead brothers in vain, since they could canonize a living saint.

When not performing 'miracles', though, Bernard was a busy administrator. Upon his completion of the novitiate and officially entered the Dominican Order in 1280 at Limoges, Bernard studied throughout southern France. Afterwards, he served in a number of administrative roles as lector and prior at the Dominican convent in Albi, and as prior in Carcassonne, Castres and Limoges, where he even had the honour of hosting pope Clement V. Over the next eighteen years, Bernard pursued heretics and fine-tuned the institution's administrative practice as inquisitor of Toulouse. At the same time, however, he served as procurator general of the Dominican Order, that is, as the order's representative to the papacy. Apparently, John XXII saw potential in Bernard as a sort of negotiator, and in the first year of his papacy, he dispatched

Bernard to various parts of Italy to enforce a papal ceasefire, and after that to France with the goal of negotiating a peace between the French and the Flemish. Finally, after three and a half decades of service to the church, Bernard was appointed bishop of Tuy in Castille, and then within a year transferred to the bishopric of Lodève near Narbonne.

Alongside his administrative work, Bernard also undertook exhaustive research across southern France, compiled documents assiduously, and wrote prolifically. The author of his earliest biography only enumerates Bernard's more famous works. Listing the texts in chronological order, Bernard's biographer names four of his most important textual projects: the compilation of the acts of the general chapters and *De quattuor in quibus Deus praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, his guide to inquisitorial practice for his successors' instruction, a chronicle of the popes, and a collection of saints' lives.⁴ Bernard wrote far more than just these four texts; one wonders at how he had time to manage both his administrative and academic endeavours. Thomas Kaepelli lists thirty-four different works by Bernard.⁵ Most of them are compilations, chronicles, and lists: of the sacraments, apostles, disciples, saints, popes,

⁴ For a recent study on the power of lists in the middle ages, see Davide Gherdevich, "PolimaWiki : Un Site Contributif Pour l'étude Du Pouvoir Des Listes Au Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 73 (December 15, 2017): 149–67.

⁵ Thomas Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* (Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1970), 205–26.

emperors, kings, convents, priors, masters-general, bishops, and counts. Many of them concern interests local to the cities where Bernard spent the majority of his career: Limoges, Toulouse, and Lodève: a list of saints buried in the Limousin, the foundation and history of the monastery of Saint-Augustin, the bishops of Limoges, the bishops of Toulouse, the counts of Toulouse, and an administrative history of the bishopric of Lodève.⁶

⁶ The standard bibliography of various aspects of Bernard's career remain Georg Mollat, "145. Bernard Gui (Bernardus Guidonis)," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Brepolis Encyclopaedias (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935) and Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*. On Bernard's inquisitorial texts, see Philip van Limborch, *Historia inquisitionis: cui subjungitur Liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae ab anno Christi MCCCVII ad annum MCCCXXIII* (Amsterdam: apud Henricum Wetsstenium, 1692); M. A. E. Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse," *The British Museum Quarterly* 36, no. 3/4 (1972): 83–92, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4423108>; Yves Dossat, *Les crises de l'Inquisition toulousaine au XIIIe siècle, 1233-1273* (Bordeaux: Impr. Bière, 1959); and Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (Évêque de Pamiers), 1318-1325*, *Civilisations et sociétés* 43 (Paris ; New York: Mouton, 1978). On Bernard's chronicle of the popes, see Célestin Douais, "Un nouveau manuscrit de Bernard Gui et des chroniques des papes d'Avignon," *Bulletin critique de littérature, d'histoire et de théologie* 11 (January 1, 1890) and Gustav Schnürer, "Eine Freiburger Handschrift der Papstchronik des Bernard Gui," *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* 24 (1917): 1–23. On Bernard's time as a papal delegate in Italy and France, see Sigmund Riezler, *Vatikanische Akten zur deutschen Geschichte in der Zeit Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern. Auf Veranlassung seiner Majestät des Königs von Bayern Hrsg. durch Die historische Commission bei Der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1891), 15, 17–19, 22–39; and Patrick Nold, *Pope John XXII and His Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de La Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003). On Bernard's list of the disciples of Jesus Christ, see Alfred Leroux, "Glanures limousines," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 70 (1923): 45–57; On Bernard as bishop of Lodève, see Paul Cassan, "Un Différend entre l'évêque de Lodève et la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Nébian," *Revue historique du diocèse de Montpellier* 4 (May 1912): 113–28, 165–77, 213–22; Célestin Douais, "Bernard Gui, évêque de Lodève, et le curé de Nébian, à propos d'une bulle de Jean XXII (20 avril 1327)," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 10, no. 38 (1898): 197–202. On Bernard's biography of Thomas Aquinas, see Pierre Mandonnet, *Des écrits authentiques de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Second (Fribourg: L'Oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1910), 63–72; Pierre Mandonnet, "La Canonisation de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, 1317-1323," in *Mélanges Thomistes publiés par les Dominicains de la province de France à l'occasion du VIe centenaire de la canonisation de Saint Thomas d'Aquin (18 juillet 1323)* (Kain: Le Saulchoir, 1923), 1–48; Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, "Autour du Ier procès de canonisation de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Un nouveau manuscrit des archives Vaticanes," *Revue Thomiste* 38, no. 76 (1933): 265–98.

In spite of his broad interests and robust work ethic, Bernard was not an original thinker. He did not actually *write* any of these texts. He 'compiled' (*compilare*) the acts of the general chapter, 'arranged' the guide to inquisitorial practice, 'continued' (*continuaré*) the chronicle of popes, and 'committed to writing' (*conscribere*) the saints' lives. Instead of doing 'original' work, he took many disparate anecdotes, facts, and records and turned them into something useful. He built institutions -- and everything that attends them, such as identity, functionality, and ethics -- through the collation of texts. Above all, he had dedicated himself to Dominican cause, that is, *ad matrem suam religionem, que ipsum educaverat*, so much so that even after he had been made a bishop, he returned to Avignon to renew his vow to the Dominican master-general until his death.

Modern Debates

While the author of this sketch of Bernard's life, habits, writings and works (*de vita et moribus ac scriptis et operibus*) remains anonymous, he shaped much of the biographical work that has followed. Though no monograph has attempted to study Bernard's life itself, he does appear, fittingly given his own predilection for such texts, in the pantheon of writers catalogued in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* by Quétif and Échard, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autre bibliothèques* by Léopold

Delisle, *Histoire littéraire de la France* by Antoine Thomas, and *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* by Georg Mollat. Bernard has not escaped the notice of the field's most productive and prolific historians. These works have largely reproduced the short anonymous biography from 1331 with some additions from documentary sources. The degree of agreement between Quétif, Delisle, Thomas, and Mollat on both the facts of Bernard's life and what those facts betray of Bernard varies. What follows identifies the field of consensus and divergence to which this study endeavours to contribute.

These classic works all begin with a very basic question: what should historians call the man who referred to himself only in Latin as Bernardus Guidonis? Although historians have largely resolved the issue today, complications occasionally attend the question of nomenclature. In the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, for example, Bernard appears in indices as Bernardus Guidonis, Bernard Gui, Bernardus Gui, Bernardus Guidonis Lemovicensis, and Bernard Guion. The sixteenth-century historian, Leander Albertus, incorrectly referred to our protagonist as Bernardus de Castris Sancti Vincentii, which Quétif and Échard corrected in the first edition of the *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, correctly attributing Bernard's home to Royère near Limoges.⁷ Many French historians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth

⁷ Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, 576; Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 172.

centuries adopted the name 'Bernard de la Guyonnie', an attribution of which Delisle disposed, or the hybrid "Bernard" Guidonis, unable or too unsure to translate "Guidonis" into French.⁸ Authors closer to Bernard's own time referred to him either in the *langue d'oïl* as Bernard Guion or in the *langue d'oc* as Bernard Gui. Here, Thomas encourages historians to "shake off the tyranny of Latin" when discussing figures from the second half of the thirteenth language. At this point, it is acceptable that family names, like baptismal names be transcribed in the vernacular. Thomas and Delisle both agree that Gui, the Occitan form of Bernard's surname most commonly seen in Limousin manuscripts, ought to be adopted. Scholars since have universally adopted the name 'Bernard Gui.'

Where the anonymous biography from 1331 is silent, Delisle and Thomas provide additional details concerning Bernard's family. Dominican sources indicate that Bernard had at least one brother, Laurent Gui, who requested to be buried in the Dominican cemetery at Limoges in 1327. In addition, there is evidence for three of Bernard's nephews: Pierre Gui, the alleged author of the anonymous biography and like his uncle, prior of Carcassonne and inquisitor of Toulouse; Aimeri Hugonis, a priest at the church of Thurageau near Poitiers;

⁸ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 172; Antoine Thomas, "Bernard Gui," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. xxxv (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1921), 139–40.

and Gui Guidonis, a canon in the church of Saint-Paul de Founillèdes in Alet.⁹ On the question of his family's socio-economic background, however, there is considerable divergence in opinions. Delisle urges caution: Bernard could have belonged to a noble lineage, or he could have come from 'a humble extraction.' On this issue, the sources are silent. However, where Delisle urges caution in divining the background of Bernard's parents, Thomas endeavours to leave behind '*la prudente réserve*' imposed by Delisle, claiming instead that the family belonged to the petty nobility of the Limousin.

Most strikingly, each study portrays Bernard as a man dedicated to distinct causes. That is, to Quétif, Bernard the Writer; to Thomas, Bernard the Papal henchman; to Mollat, Bernard the Historian. Who was Bernard? To Delisle, Bernard was above all a Dominican. The friar had given his entire life to the Dominicans of Toulouse as a young man, and even his prestigious appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse could not detract from his fulfilment of existing obligations to the order and desire to take on even more. Later in Bernard's career, Delisle implies that John XXII recognized Bernard for his work as the order's procurator general, not as inquisitor, and even after Bernard received a bishopric, he continued to express his devotion to the order.¹⁰ On the

⁹ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 173; Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 141.

¹⁰ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 182–84.

other hand, Thomas hardly acknowledges Bernard's relationship with the order. At some points, Thomas belittles Bernard as 'not belonging to the *phalange glorieuse*' of the great thirteenth-century Dominicans, and brushing aside his creation of lists as '*ses travaux personnels*'.¹¹ Instead, the entry in the *Histoire littéraire* focuses on Bernard's service to John XXII. Despite the fact that Bernard possessed the '*senti que la politique n'était pas sa véritable vocation*,' he traversed the Alps and undertook the papal mission to Italy *par obéissance plutôt que par goût*.¹² On the question of Bernard's balance between his duties as inquisitor and Dominican, Thomas describes his appointment as a major accomplishment and casts doubt on Delisle's claim (in bolstering Bernard's identity as Dominican) that Bernard took part in the general chapters at Strassbourg in 1307 or Padua in 1308.¹³

Some of these historiographical questions have been addressed in a sort of revival of interest in Bernard that arguably began in 1980 with the publishing of *Il nome della rosa* by Umberto Eco, in which Bernard appears as an inquisitor (and sees his *Practica Inquisitionis Heretice Pravitatis* quoted directly).¹⁴ Studies of Bernard have largely settled in the Francophone academic world, with only a

¹¹ Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 139, 153.

¹² Thomas, 146–53.

¹³ Thomas, 145–46.

¹⁴ Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans. William Weaver, First Mariner Books edition (Boston: Mariner Books, 2014).

couple of exceptions. In 1981, the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* chose as its theme *Bernard Gui et son monde*, and a very useful collection of essays mostly contextualizing Bernard's life appeared in the conference's attending publication.¹⁵ In addition, Bernard has appeared as the subject of a handful of studies in the Dominican journal, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. Simon Tugwell has made the most extensive use of Bernard's work for his article series including 'Notes on the Life of Saint-Dominic', 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government', and 'Did Dominicans Practise Affiliation in the Thirteenth Century?'¹⁶ Otherwise, Bernard has received the attention of Simonin ('Notes de bibliographie dominicaine: Les catalogues d'écrivains dominicains et la Chronique de Bernard Gui'), Thomas Kaeppli ('Vie de frère Martin Donadieu de Carcassonne écrite par Bernard et Pierre Gui'), Anne-Marie Lamarrigue ('Un inventaire des saints du Limousin par Bernard Gui'), and Lemaitre ('Un nouveau manuscrit des *Flores chronicorum* de Bernard Gui et la bibliothèque des dominicaines de Limoges.')

¹⁵ Vicaire Marie-Humbert and Paul Amargier, eds., *Bernard Gui et son monde*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 16 (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1981).

¹⁶ Simon Tugwell, "The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government IV: Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 72 (2002): 26-159; Bernard Gui, *Bernardi Guidonis: Scripta de Sancto Dominico*, ed. Simon Tugwell, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 27 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1998).

The first explicit 'biography' of Bernard appeared in 1987 as a chapter in Bernard Guenée's *Entre l'Église et l'État*. Guenée's influence on the study of Bernard is not limited to his own work: his student, Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, made a substantial contribution towards understanding the tools and methods used by Gui in his study of history in *Bernard Gui: un historien et sa méthode* in 2000. A second character study (not quite a biography) of Bernard appears in juxtaposition to his rival Bernard Délicieux in Karen Sullivan's 2011 monograph *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*. Individual texts written by the friar have also been edited and studied intensively over the past twenty years: Simon Tugwell published Bernard's works pertaining to the life of Saint-Dominic in 1998; Julien Théry has edited and translated the *Liber Sententiarum* in 2010 and 2018; Agnès Dubreil-Arcin studied Bernard's *Speculum sanctorale* in her 2011 book, *Vies de saints, légendes de soi*; and Marigold Norbye has explored the many editions of Bernard's *Arbor genealogiae*.

This study has limited itself to the first half of Bernard's career -- from his birth to the eve of his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse. In so doing, it has found focus in the Dominican service that Delisle made sure to reference in every stage of Bernard's life. In some ways, the choice to focus on the Dominican's career could be characterized as somewhat reactionary, and it is. Bernard was not just an inquisitor, and his time as inquisitor seems to have been

secondary in his mind to his obligations as a Dominican. Bernard did not take up the work of inquisitor with very much zeal. After his appointment on 16 January 1307, Bernard attended the provincial chapter in Condom that July, and the general chapter in Padua the following year. The first record of Bernard in Toulouse at all after his appointment appears on 17 December 1307 when he attended the nomination of Hugue Pellicier as prior of Agen. Even at that event, however, Bernard continued to act as an agent of the order, confirming Pierre on behalf of the provincial prior. It is not until 3 March 1308, over a year after his appointment, that Bernard proclaimed his first sermon as inquisitor. His obligations to the Dominican Order seem to have dominated his professional bandwidth throughout the rest of his life, which demands further investigation into his formative years navigating his order's history, administration, and preservation.¹⁷ Bernard's ascension to the position of inquisitor provides a convenient break between the first and second parts of his life and work for a number of independent reasons as well. The first half of his career focused entirely on professional advancement within the Dominican Order. He occupied a number of administrative positions including lector of logic at Brives, sub-lector of theology at Limoges, lector of theology at Albi, and prior at Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges.

¹⁷ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 179–83.

Methodology and Structure: Personality and Administrative Texts

Although studies of Bernard's work have provided invaluable findings concerning aspects of medieval institutional authority, the inquisition, the practice of history and the remembering of saints, none has yet explored these sources to learn much more about the man himself. Delisle relied on the *De tribus gradibus* to construct a timeline of Bernard's career in the order and especially his path within the order's schools in southern France.¹⁸ The *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* volume dedicated to Bernard Gui and his world begins with a recapitulation of the findings from Delisle and Thomas as well, although the the articles from the volume have laid the necessary groundwork for further biographical research.¹⁹ Much of the Bernard Guenée's entry on Bernard in *Entre Église et l'État* repeats much of that narrative, along with some additional context and commentary.²⁰ Most recently, Simon Tugwell's contribution to the

¹⁸ See Appendix 1.

¹⁹ Vicaire Marie-Humbert and Paul Amargier, eds., *Bernard Gui et son monde*, 19–37.

²⁰ Guenée, *Between Church and State*, 40–46: Guenée succinctly shows how context can bring a data-point from the *Acta capitulorum* to life. For example, when describing Bernard as a student of logic (we know he was made lector of logic at Brives in 1284), Guenée reminds his reader that young monks were chosen to study logic for a number of reasons cited from Vicaire Marie-Humbert's article from the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, "Positions scolaires et fonctions occasionnelles de Bernard Gui", including the friar's " 'happy commerce', that is, their human warmth, their ability to communicate." This, read alongside the anecdote from the first biography concerning his love of laughter, provides a sense of personality helpful for imagining Bernard. Other descriptions, however, derive more from opinion or conjecture than fact: on page 46, Guenée describes Bernard as "simple, solid and serene" and with "undivided loyalties to his pope, his king, his order, and his region". Two pages later on page 48, Guenée seems to contradict this sentiment with his declaration that "Bernard was not a man for stormy times". A personal aside in his introduction should give readers pause at these particularly assertive,

Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historiae entitled *Bernard Guidonis, Scripta de Sancto Dominico* does much of the same.²¹

In addition to his brief biography of Bernard, Guenée engages the issue of biography as a genre quite intensely and personally. In his history of 'biography', he traces the form's complicated and tumultuous relationship with 'history'.²² In antiquity, 'the historian recounted noteworthy events and striking actions', whereas the biographer sought 'trivial detail[s] or anecdote[s] that would illuminate a character or reveal a virtue'. Hagiography, on the other hand, took biographical methodology to the extreme, since it 'was concerned less with truth than with exemplary virtues'. Following the close relationship between biography and history in the nineteenth century, Guenée claims that history 'began to concentrate on studying the general as opposed to the particular: institutions, structures, long-term trends', implying that such focuses

somewhat sentimental statements. Guenée confessed, somewhat awkwardly, "I do not know what a psychiatrist might say about the relations I enjoyed for several years with my four prelates. I am well aware, however, that the questions I asked and the narratives I made of them tell a great deal about myself. But very few people will know precisely what." It is worth considering, and demanding an explanation against, the possibility that Guenée's work on his subjects here may say more about himself than about the clerics. Also, on page 48, Guenée describes Bernard's time as inquisitor as "the most active and fruitful period of his life". It is debatable whether Bernard would have said about the that period of his life and career, how contemporaries viewed Bernard's time as an inquisitor (especially compared to other points of his life), or whether it is true in a quantitative, qualitative, or indeed any other sense.

²¹ Bernard Gui, *Bernardi Guidonis: Scripta de Sancto Dominico*, ed. Simon Tugwell, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 27 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1998).

²² Guenée, *Between Church and State*, 1–9.

presented mutually exclusive roadblocks to the writing of biography. Indeed, Guenée sought out 'chance, events, chronological sequence' that would allow him to glimpse the 'overwhelming complexity of things'. Bearing these limitations in mind, this thesis attempts to capture the same sort of 'biographical' and personal elements Guenée sought in painting a portrait of Bernard's character, while contributing to broader fields of Dominican, French, and political history at the end of the thirteenth century.

The motivation for the present study of Bernard Gui can be traced in large part to Mark Pegg's review of Anne Marie Lamarrigue's monograph on the friar, *Bernard Gui: un historien et sa méthode*. I agree with him when he laments that the book 'never quite helps us grasp what Gui thought he was doing when he wrote history and so, somewhat paradoxically, as it makes the method more lucid, it makes the man more opaque'.²³ Although, as will become apparent, this project argues that whether or not Bernard Gui ought be considered above all else a historian demands re-examination, Lamarrigue's study did enhance modern scholars' ability to reconstruct the methodologies and sources upon which Bernard relied to produce such an impressive diversity of chronicles (Dominican, papal, royal, comital, episcopal, and more). It is a

²³ Mark Gregory Pegg, "Bernard Gui (1261-1331): *Un historien et sa méthode*. Anne-Marie Lamarrigue," *Speculum* 78, no. 4 (October 2003): 1332-34.

careful, deliberative study of a careful, deliberative friar. However, Lamarrigue, like so much of the scholarship before her, leaves Bernard himself beyond reach: historical practice, like inquisitorial *practica*, become more intelligible, while the man who wrote the source continues to lurk in the shadows, nothing more than a particularly erudite shadow. This thesis aims to give a better idea of the man himself in terms of both professional and religious worldview, as well as more quotidian personality.²⁴

Unlike previous works, this project attempts to learn more about Bernard from his first ambitious administrative account of the Dominican Order. At the general chapter of 1303, held at Toulouse, Aymeric de Piacenza, the order's master-general, requested of Bernard a compilation of the order's essential documentary foundations in one codex.²⁵ Bernard delivered the manuscript containing a completed catalogue of Étienne de Salanhac's list of prominent Dominicans entitled *De quatuor in quibus Ordinem Predicatorum Deus insignivit* and the administrative history Aymeric had requested entitled *De tribus gradibus prelatorum in Ordine Predicatorum* on 22 December 1304. Bernard's *De tribus*

²⁴ To clearly address a potential point of concern: The objective is not to rehabilitate or apologize for the inquisition or one of its chief agents; it is meant to help us understand the internal motivations and worldviews of one of the men best known (now and probably, then) for operating it and on whose work we have based many of our conclusions about religious society, and persecution in particular, during one of Europe's essential steps towards modernity.

²⁵ The order's general and provincial chapters had acknowledged the need for such a reference guide for at least the past sixty years. Chapter after chapter ordered, requested, demanded that individual convents maintain a cartulary of the *Acta capitulorum*, to little or no avail.

gradibus was monumental and included a catalogue of the order's masters-general, a catalogue of the provincial priors of Provence and Toulouse, a history of the convents in the province of Toulouse, a table of all the convents, the acts of the general chapters, and the acts of the provincial chapters of Provence, Toulouse, Paris, and Denmark.²⁶ Aymeric responded enthusiastically six months later, praising Bernard's labour and thoroughness, and promising to help in whatever way he could to fill any of the lacunae in the chronicle's record.²⁷

For our purposes, *De tribus gradibus* is the only one that provides some degree of autobiographical detail, insight into Bernard's practices as a compiler, and clues as to who Bernard was and how he viewed the world around him. Bernard did not leave behind a series of confessions, like Augustine, an entire archival series' worth of diplomas, like the kings of France, or any extended correspondences, like Guillaume de Nogaret or Hildebert de Lavardin.²⁸ He

²⁶ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 303–50; Bernard Gui, “Lettre d’envoi de la compilation sur l’histoire des Dominicains à Fr. Aimeri, maître de l’ordre,” in *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 377–79.

²⁷ Aymeric de Piacenza, “Réponse de frère Aimeri, Maître de l’Ordre des Dominicains,” in *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 379.

²⁸ See Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); William Chester Jordan, *Louix IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979); Charles Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III, le Hardi* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1887); Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Moral Imperatives and Conundrums of Conscience: Reflections on Philip the Fair of France,” *Speculum* 87, no. 1 (January 2012): 1–36; Pierre de Déservillers, *Hildebert et son temps: un évêque au douzième siècle* (Paris: Bourguet, Calais et Cie, 1876).

and his kin do not appear in either royal or local archives until decades after Bernard had entered the Dominican Order, and only a pair of uncles from half a century earlier appear in any surviving source (the chronicle of the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges) at all. To understand Bernard's priorities, preconceptions, and personality formed in the forty-five years before he became inquisitor of Toulouse, his work on the Dominican Order is, for now, all we have to work with.

However, the source provides more in the way of biographical material than one might imagine. Bernard was nothing if not thorough, and the administrative compendium provides a deep mine of details on Bernard, his mentors, his classmates, his colleagues, and his world. This project relies on the friar's redactions of the *De quatuor in quibus Ordinem Predicatorum Deus insigniuit* and *De tribus gradibus praelatorum in Ordine Predicatorum* in a number of ways on a number of levels. Using the manuscripts themselves, the thesis follows Bernard's autograph corrections, notarial reminders, and additions to describe his direct role in the project, how he found and compiled the absurdly overwhelming mass of available documents, and what aspects of Dominican governance, life, and history, according to Bernard, demanded special

mention.²⁹ The extremely detailed and surprisingly personal *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae* provide a convenient year-on-year avenue to track the assignments of every lector, sub-lector, and student of theology, natural philosophy, and logic, including Bernard and his peers, as they worked their way through the Dominican educational system.³⁰ These prosopographical findings coupled with the statutory reforms implemented by the same chapters permit a rich portrait of Dominican pedagogical structures at the very time when Bernard was taking his first professional steps as a friar. Another component of the *De tribus gradibus*, entitled by modern historians the *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provincie Tolosane* serves a kind of guide for what a convent's prior (a position Bernard held for over a decade at Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges) needed to know about the history of his new institution. What did Bernard, as prior, need to accomplish, who did he need to know, and what challenges might he expect? Finally, tucked away in all of these documents lie anecdotes, sometimes sweet ones about Bernard's

²⁹ The main manuscripts consulted, alongside printed editions, include Bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux, MS 780; Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse MS 489; Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, MS 490; and Bibliothèque municipale de Agen MS 3.

³⁰ Bernard Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum: première province de Provence, province Romaine, province d'Espagne (1239-1302)*, ed. Célestin Douais (Toulouse: E. Privat, '1894). Douais also provides a very usable index of every friar who appears in the *Acta*. Even though this index is not perfect (Douais sometimes mistakenly lists one person as two different people and vice versa), his diligence provides the essential foundation for any prosopographical research on Bernard and his contemporaries, or any other thirteenth-century Dominicans for that matter.

mentors in Limoges, sometimes banal ones about this or that noble placing cornerstones of new Dominican artifices, and sometimes frightening ones about the uprisings at Carcassonne and Albi during his tenure as prior.

This thesis argues that studying Bernard Gui's work within and concerning the Dominicans' administrative history can help to open a new field of inquiry into the order's institutional establishment and maintenance in the civic sphere. Bernard attempted to define the order as an institution both in a formal organizational sense (aligned with, for example, the internal, structural definitions laid out by McGuire) and a civic sense, as active members of the communities where they established themselves and where they formed a vibrant element of the civic portrait of medieval Occitania.³¹ The Order of Preachers have received much praise for their constitution and the socio-legal nuances it invented, such as by defining violations of the constitution as infractions to be punished and rectified within the order's hierarchy, rather than as sins. On a strictly administrative level, the order's *studia* and comprehensive system of education has been the subject of much investigation and praise, usually as an ambitious and elegant manifestation of the order's commitment to preaching and combatting heresy. These duties formed the foundation of the

³¹ Brian McGuire, "Monastic and Religious Orders, c. 1100-c. 1350," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons, vol. 4: *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 54–72.

order's *raison d'être* — they consistently earned the order a reputation for robust intelligence and a high degree of organization, the perfect skills for papal inquisitors and royal administrators. What has received less rigorous investigation is the ways in which the friars conceived of their institutional presence in a civic sphere. The one essential element of Dominican history in the 'civic sphere' that has received much attention is the relationship between mendicants and the secular clergy, an issue not foreign to Bernard's work, but also not a central focus. In the world that emerges from his administrative histories of individual convents, we see an organization conforming and squirming within and around the scaffold provided by urban civic environments.

The first chapter reconstructs the world around Bernard as a youth and young man and tries to show why and in what ways he became committed to the a distinctly Dominican identity. Here, Bernard's scrupulous continuation of Étienne de Salanhac's *De quatuor in quibus Ordinem Predicatorum Deus insignivit*, history of the convent of Limoges, catalogue of the convent's priors, and marginal annotations commemorating his childhood mentors (including Étienne and Gérard de Frachet) allow for a rich portrait of Bernard's first monastic domicile. Great literary and historical personalities surrounded him and encouraged him to plunge the order's depths for inspiration and wisdom.

In these men and their writing lay the foundations for the rest of Bernard's administrative career. Following his tonsure, Bernard embarked on a decade-long journey through the Dominican education system. Here, we turn our attention away from the more literary *De quatuor* and *De fundatione et prioribus* to what may appear to be, at first glance, dry and even sterile *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae*. Bernard's fantastically detailed lists of where students and lectors were assigned, and the study to which they were assigned to explore (logic, natural philosophy, or theology) permits a prosopographical analysis of Bernard and his classmates.³² These, along with the statutory reforms of that educational system allow us to assess with whom Bernard interacted, what might have been a 'typical' path for a student like Bernard, and when, how, and whether Bernard ever deviated from or chose to take new paths.

In 1294, Bernard's career assisting the order's educational regime ended when, despite his appointment as lector of theology at Castres at that year's provincial chapter, the friars of the convent of Albi elected him prior. The second chapter begins by extrapolating Bernard's priorities as prior from his *De fundatione et prioribus*, which included the history of each convent's foundation as well as a catalogue of every prior of each convent. This source, like his *Acta capitulorum* provide essential and obvious prosopographical opportunities, and

³² Brian McGuire, "Monastic and Religious Orders, c. 1100-c. 1350," 66.

indeed this study draws upon the *De fundatione et prioribus* to describe his relational network. Unlike the lists of students and lectors in the *Acta*, however, Bernard's catalogue of priors contains commentary and marginal annotations (autograph, no less) that provide additional insight into Bernard's impressions of previous priors.

In addition, the chapter explores the mechanisms he employed to assemble the necessary documentary sources for his *De tribus gradibus*. Bernard relied on numerous convents for various types of documents: his home convent at Limoges provided convenient redactions of Géraud de Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum*, the convent at Figeac had the most complete collection of *Acta capitulorum*, the monastery at Prouille possessed important diplomatic sources from the order's early days. Determining when Bernard visited these convents, the relationships he built, and his project's contemporary scope help us understand Bernard's place in the order during his years as prior. Taken together, the convents' histories alongside descriptions of their exemplary leadership provide a template with which we may sketch Bernard's perception of the effective Dominican administrator. They give us some idea of the wisdom he sought to impart to his audience of future Dominicans and real frameworks with which they could confront challenges. Bernard believed in

structures and a certain architecture to how society ought to be organized, and who the agents of that organization ought to be.

By the end of the century, the end of his career as a Dominican administrator, the end of this project, he was more uncertain. In the third chapter, convents and Dominican practices are under attack. Bernard's most tumultuous tenure as prior was almost certainly his time at Carcassonne at the turn of the fourteenth century, when the town's bourgeoisie revolted, aided by royal officials and some Franciscan friars. The unrest quickly became violent and pervasive. Over the course of the dozen years between 1294 when the first local uprising began to 1306 when Philip the Fair finally intervened to crush the rebellion, Dominicans had been exiled from Albi, Carcassonne, and numerous parishes throughout the Lauragais. Local communities -- across all professional and class divides, including elements of the secular clergy -- resisted Dominican authority. Through close readings of Bernard's first-hand accounts, this project attempts to understand how he viewed and managed the relationship between rebels and Dominican authority, Dominicans and royal authority, and local communities (the *multitudines*) and the Dominicans who sought to serve them.

Bernard Gui

This biography draws as much from the administrative biographies of kings and royal officials by Strayer, Jordan, and Elizabeth Brown as it does from

biographies about the inwardness of personality, like Peter Brown's classic biography of Augustine. It was reading *Augustine of Hippo* and seeing the possibilities of biography to see the world of fourth-century Africa, Rome, and Milan from the bishop's perspective that first inspired me to frame this project as a biography at all. But the thesis relies upon other, perhaps unorthodox, but somewhat obvious sources of inspiration as well: Hesse's *The Glass Bead Game*, Ishiguro's *An Artist of the Floating World*, Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, and other biographical novels all contributed to, at least, the formation of the project's essential plot. At its core, this is the study of one man's relationship with an institution that gave him new horizons of opportunity: it is the story of Joseph Knecht and Castalia, Masuji Ono and Imperial Japan, Jude Fawley and Christchurch.

Each chapter provides distinct discoveries and fresh analyses of the essential moments in Bernard's early career. They can be read individually and even rely on distinctive methodologies. However, the biography hopefully possesses something of a plot and rewards readers who carry on to the end. Broadly, I try to give a sense of Bernard's 'home' convent in Limoges, his enchantment with the order as a student, teacher, and prior, and then his dismay when confronted by the broad popular rebellions (and Dominican failure to control them) at Albi and Carcassonne towards the end of his formal

Dominican career. These three stages in his early career cohere into a story of admiration, ambition, insecurity, and finally devotion.

Chapter 1: Urban Violence in the Limoges of Bernard's Youth

In the entry for Bernard Gui in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, nineteenth-century French linguist Antoine Thomas describes the friar's first-hand accounts as 'empty and bland' (*décharnées et incolorées*), and they are.¹ The lack of drama in his writings, however, is not from lack of material. Limoges in the time of Bernard's youth was a tumultuous town where viscomital, episcopal, abbatial, and bourgeois interests clashed in sometimes violent, but memorable episodes. This chapter asks why Bernard chose to disregard these conflicts in his historical works, especially the *De fundatione et prioribus conventus Lemovicensis* and *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*. I begin by describing Limoges in the 1260s and 1270s, by which time centuries-long urban rivalries and jurisdictional disputes made the town a confusing place. Over this time, Bernard appears more frequently in the footnotes, adding only minor details about the events' protagonists, rather than recounting substantial plot points. I question why Bernard chose to omit as much as he did, and argue that through his histories, Bernard exercised a degree of diplomatic sensitivity in attempting to place the Order of Preachers in as neutral a space as possible, especially in the fraught socio-political context of his childhood in Limoges.

¹ Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 216.

Limoges was a patchwork of various jurisdictional domains, with the viscount and burghers, monks and canons always on edge. In this complicated and contested urban terrain, an entrenched council of townspeople proved a potent 'third party' between the abbey of Saint-Martial, the viscount, and the bishop at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne. One jurisdictional dispute in 1254 between the abbey of Saint-Martial and the city's bishop illustrates the amount of power the Limousin bourgeoisie had amassed by the middle of the thirteenth century. The abbot, Guillaume Amalvin, sought to prohibit the workers of the *cit * from traversing the abbey's garden as they carried out repairs on fortifications at the *ch teau*. However, the consulate held a grudge against Guillaume, who had attempted to limit some of the rights the bourgeoisie had enjoyed since the consulate's establishment, thus provoking the consulate to publish a sort of call-to-arms in which they promised to defend the *francheza de las segnorias* of the burghers against the abbey in 1246.² The grudge had not been resolved by 1254, and the consulate took the opportunity to oppose the abbot's ambitions by claiming that he had no right to limit traffic in the abbey's garden, since the chapter at the cathedral of Saint- tienne had possessed that

² Charles de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges :  tude historique,  conomique et arch ologique, pr c d e de recherches nouvelles sur la vie du saint* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1901), 132; Charles Chabaneau, ed., "M morial du consulat de Limoges," *Revue des langues romanes* xxxviii, no. 2 (1895): 50.

land for time immemorial. However, the consulate did not extract anything too onerous from the abbey of Saint-Martial. Even though the consulate cited in their appeal a transgression against not their own, but rather episcopal rights, no representatives from the bishop of Limoges or chapter of Saint-Étienne were present for the arbitration. The consulate appears to have been the dominant political authority in Limoges around the time of Bernard's birth. After a short arbitration between two monks from Saint-Martial and two bourgeois from the *château*, it was agreed that access to the garden would be prohibited to the consulate and their workers, but that they would ask the abbot for permission when anyone needed access to the gardens in order to make repairs to the city's walls, and he was not allowed to refuse.³

The year 1259 marked a serious escalation in violence between the various power blocs of Limoges.⁴ Following the treaties of Paris in 1258 and London in 1259, it was agreed that the Limousin, Agénois, and the dioceses of

³ Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 132–33; the text of the agreement can be found in Louis Guibert, ed., *Documents, analyses de pièces, extraits & notes relatifs à l'histoire municipale des deux villes de Limoges* (Limoges: Impr. de F. Plainemaison, 1897), 123.

⁴ For the fullest account of the violence within the cité and châteaux in Limoges, see Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 131–41 and Guibert, *Documents de l'histoire municipale de Limoges*, 232–39 for a full timeline. The primary sources cited in this account of the unrest between 1260 and 1276 are drawn from Lasteyrie. Also see, Bernadette Barrière, “The Limousin and Limoges in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Enamels of Limoges, 1100-1350*, ed. John Philip O’Neil (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 22–29 and Sara Louis, “Les bourgeois maîtres de la ville (XIVe-XVe siècles),” in *Histoire de Limoges*, ed. Louis Pérouas (Toulouse: Privat, 1989), 108–9, 114.

Périgueux, Cahors, and part of Saintonge would return to the English crown. Part of the legitimation of this agreement required Louis IX to ask the abbot of Saint-Martial and the consulate of the *Châteaux* to preach a sermon recognizing their new overlord.⁵ This transfer of power coincided with a breaking point in the relationship between the viscount and his bourgeoisie, from whom he had relentlessly extracted taxes for the better part of a generation. The consulate sought assistance from their new king, Henry III of England, and in response, the viscount appealed for aid from Louis IX, making their local disagreement international, albeit not escalating to war.⁶

In this dispute, the religious leaders of Limoges sought neutrality, and it seems as though the strategy worked. Upon Guillaume Amalvin's death in August 1261, his successor, Guillaume de Mareuil, quickly pledged his allegiance to the English crown, and the pro-French viscount did not hold it against him, swearing his loyalty to Guillaume de Mareuil on 11 June 1262. In the ensuing back-and-forth litigation between the viscountess and consulate at the French and English courts, the abbey and chapter seem to have suffered little, if at all.

⁵ For the letter from Louis IX to Guillaume Amalvin, see Guibert, *Documents de l'histoire municipale de Limoges*, 159. Louis only maintained suzerainty over the bishop of Limoges for the French crown.

⁶ For a letter from Louis to his sénéchal in Poitou in April 1262 demanding the strict enforcement of the treaties, see Guibert, 170.

Nevertheless, the abbey of Saint-Martial and canons of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne did not escape this tumultuous period unscathed. In his history of the abbey of Saint-Martial, Charles de Lasteyrie expresses shock and dismay at the fact that, having escaped the brawls sweeping through the streets of Limoges, the abbey's monks and chapter's canons fought one another 'over the pointless question of precedence'.⁷ It took five years of discussion and arbitration and the intervention of the bishop of Périgueux, Pierre de Saint-Astier, to settle, for example, the question of the monks' right to withdraw from the square of Saint-Paul on Palm Sunday.⁸

Another, more violent episode between the two religious institutions unfolded in 1265 when the papal legate Pierre de Beaumont arrived to raise funds for Charles of Anjou's crusade against Manfred. Pierre chose a cathedral canon, Nicolas Béraud, as a tax-collector, who went on to demand one-tenth of the revenues belonging to the monks of Saint-Martial. The monks provided him with a sum that Nicolas deemed insufficient. He accused the monks of hiding assets in an attempt to minimize the amount they would have had to contribute and in an attempt to force them to admit their fraud, called for their excommunication. Soon thereafter, the monks wanted to celebrate the feast of

⁷ Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 135–36.

⁸ Lasteyrie, 136; Henri Duplès-Agier, ed., *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris: Mme. Ve. J. Renouard, 1874), 160.

the Finding of the True Cross at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne, but Nicolas Béraud refused to allow them into the cathedral, claiming that they were under interdict. The monks, returned to their abbey, collected what weapons they had, and returned to the cathedral. Finding it barred, they broke down the doors and forced their way into the choir. The cathedral canons did not go down without a fight, and the two fought right there in the cathedral choir until the monks emerged victorious and the mass was celebrated.⁹

The leaders of Limoges had dealt with their fair share of civil unrest in the past, and as then, they took the violence between monks and canons in their stride. The solution enforced by the papal legate, Pierre de Beaumont, and a group of local power-brokers called upon the abbot to pay the chapter a sum of 100 *livres*, which were then meant to be spent on a large silver statue of Saint-Martial. Despite the elegance of this compromise, the peace did not last long, and once again the issue of jurisdiction -- this time over the parish church of Saint-Just -- sparked violence, and once again, the neighbouring bishop of Périgueux (now Élie de Pilet) was asked to strike a deal. Finally in 1271, the

⁹ Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 136–37; Martin Bourquet, ed., “Chronique de Pierre Coral,” in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 21 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1855), 777.

bishop of Limoges and one of his canons conceded defeat and surrendered their claims on Saint-Just.¹⁰

Throughout this period of urban dispute between 1252 and 1277, the Dominican convent that Bernard entered remained remarkably aloof. That does not mean that they, or Bernard, were completely absent from the tumult -- the convent was not a vacuum. Gérald de Saint-Vaury, the convent's sixth prior from 1260 to 1265 had been a monk at the abbey of Saint-Martial before taking up the call to preach. Bernard Gui held Gérald in remarkably high esteem describing him as *predicator devotus et fructuosus, gratus et letus et largus, et persona venerabilis*, recalling Gérald's last moments praying on Christmas, redacting his entire epitaph, but not mentioning the abbey of Saint-Martial.¹¹ Pierre de Saint-Astier, formerly the bishop of Périgueux, officially joined the Dominicans in Limoges in 1267, and it was as a Dominican that he effectively intervened in a dispute between the abbey of Saint-Martial and the chapter of Saint-Étienne in 1268.¹² He also received *suffragia* from the provincial chapters on two occasions during his life and when he died. His is the only case, besides the pope and the bishops of Toulouse and Narbonne, of an individual receiving

¹⁰ Bourquet, "Chronique de Pierre Coral," 778.

¹¹ Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. Paul Amargier, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica 24 (Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1961), 61.

¹² Gui, 61–62; In 1268, Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 134; in 1272, *ibid.*, p. 172; and upon his death in 1275, *ibid.*, p. 200.

such an honor more than once. Pierre had an especially prominent place in Bernard's life, since he tonsured Bernard when Bernard first entered the order as a boy, but again, there is no mention of the diplomatic efforts expected of the bishop of Périgueux in either Bernard's *De fundatione et prioribus conventus Lemovicensis* or in his continuation of *De quatuor in quibus Deus insigniuit*.¹³

The Dominicans appear four times in the narrative of this urban narrative, and even in these instances, their interventions range only between tangential and calculated to minimize exposure. At the very beginning of the affair, the bourgeois consulate of the *Château* of Limoges pledged to donate eight *sous* and four *deniers* annually to the preachers on the feast of St Dominic.¹⁴ Likewise, the bishop of Limoges, Aymeric de La Serre, also contributed substantial funds to the order's development. Upon his death in 1272, Aymeric bequeathed 4,000 *solidi* to the order for new construction in Brives, for which the order offered prayers for the deceased bishop at that year's provincial chapter in Narbonne.¹⁵ Two years later, on 10 May 1274, the Dominicans joined the Franciscans, the chapter of Saint-Étienne, and the abbeys of Saint-Martin and Saint-Martial to call upon Edward I of England to put an end to the violence.¹⁶

¹³ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 174; Bordeaux MS 780, f. 15.

¹⁴ Guibert, *Documents de l'histoire municipale de Limoges*, 151. The document is undated, but the two documents in the consuls' cartulary before and after this one provide bookends of 1257 and 1262.

¹⁵ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 165; Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 172 for the prayers.

¹⁶ Guibert, *Documents de l'histoire municipale de Limoges*, 237.

The relationship between the viscountess and the French crown and the bourgeois and the English crown involved complicated legal manoeuvring that, in 1274 when Edward I undertook a tour of his French realms, nearly erupted in a proper war between the two kingdoms. This may explain the extraordinary intervention launched by the rivals at Saint-Étienne and Saint-Martial and the normally disinterested mendicants. The Dominicans only appear once more on 28 February 1276, when they were sent by the burghers to request that the consulate and commune be allowed to send representatives to negotiate on their behalf, rather than appear themselves.¹⁷ Years after the violence, however, the viscountess seems to have also favoured the Dominicans. In 1292, Viscountess Margerite of Limoges bequeathed sufficient funds to found a monastery for women in the diocese of Périgueux at Saint-Pardoux, just to the north of Limoges to relieve the burden shouldered by the monastery at Prouilles. The executor of the will, Gerald de Malomonte, along with Dominican officials ensured that the bequest would be recognized by all stakeholders, including the crown, papacy, other Dominicans, and the townspeople.¹⁸ The Dominicans found support in every aspect of society, demonstrating not only a cautious lack of intervention, but also a keen ability to appeal to every party involved.

¹⁷ Guibert, 239.

¹⁸ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 236–39.

However, the order only appears once in Bernard's *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*.¹⁹ This list, like the *De fundatione et prioribus* and Bernard's other writing about the period, contains no reference to the urban unrest of his childhood. Through the use of a regular, formulaic entry about each bishop, Bernard refuses to provide additional personal commentary about the conflicts that consumed the episcopal officers of Limoges. On the one hand, the records of the bishops contemporary to Bernard himself are invaluable, since they provide first-hand descriptions of one of the period's most active protagonists. From these entries, we establish clear chronologies of when bishops were elected and when they died, and we can identify the establishments whence new bishops were chosen (especially the cathedral chapter and abbey of Saint-Martial). On the other hand, Bernard maintains a disinterested distance from the bishops and avoids the more violent episcopal episodes altogether, providing almost no explicitly biased material. There is, for example, no mention of jurisdictional disputes between the cathedral of Saint-Étienne and the abbey of Saint-Martial over rights pertaining to the tithes of Saint-Just in 1271, and the literal invasion of the cathedral by the abbey's monks in 1265 during the episcopate of Aymeri de La Serre goes completely ignored. Instead,

¹⁹ Bernard Gui, "Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium", BnF, MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171; Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 259–60; Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 214–17.

Bernard's *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium* focuses on the institution of the episcopate and its internal functionality. The challenges recorded by Bernard, including a contested election that left the cathedral without a bishop for more than three years, also reflect an anxiety with internal institutional fundamentals.²⁰ Bernard included facts about who the bishops were, what qualifications they possessed, where they had served before, when they were elected, what they accomplished (especially in the way of construction projects), where they served after, when they died, where they were buried.

Bernard had a number of opportunities to celebrate (or at least expound on) the profitable relationship between the town's bishops and friars, but only mentions the order's establishment during the time of Bernard de Savena. There, Bernard Gui only provides slight personal additions, saying that Bernard de Savena received the order's first representatives to Limoges kindly and fatherly (*benigne et paterne*), that is, the precise same language Bernard used in the *De fundatione et prioribus*.²¹ Bernard de Savena's successor, Gui de Clausello, had donated the land upon which the order's first convent was built, and yet in his entry in the *Nomina episcoporum*, there is no mention of the Dominicans. Whereas Gui de Clausello appears as a patron (*patronus*) in the *De fundatione et*

²⁰ BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, f. 208r.

²¹ BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, f. 208; Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, p. 57.

prioribus, he receives the same formulaic treatment as every other bishop in the *Nomina episcoporum*.²² Gibert de Mala Morte, a bishop whose close relative, Hugo de Mala Morte, had served as prior of the Dominican convent in Limoges, and yet Bernard remains stalwart in his detachment. Bernard makes no mention of the relationship enjoyed between the De Mala Morte family and the Dominican Order. In the mid-1260s, Gibert de Mala Morte and his kin sought to translate the body of Hugh de Mala Morte, the third prior of the convent of Limoges, from Limoges to Brives, where many of the family's other Dominicans had been buried.²³

Bernard's and his Dominican confrères' ability to achieve neutrality in the violent urban landscape of Limoges demanded both withdrawal and intervention, aloofness and an expert understanding of each side's history, perception of self, and controversy. We should read his texts as the product of deliberate strategic compositional practices: the silences were not slips of memory, but rather precise decisions meant to give shape to the institutions around him. Especially in the case of the Dominican convent of Limoges, Bernard expunged them from the political unrest that rocked the town in the 1260s and 1270s. This was not because they had no role to play or had nothing

²² BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, f. 208.

²³ BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins ms. 1171, f. 208; Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, p. 60.

at stake in these battles, and it should not be viewed as an indication of indifference on Bernard's part. It was because their neutrality, both at the time and in posterity, formed part of their institutional *ethos*. Although Bernard's descriptions may be 'empty and bland', his methodology and the silences he chose to include, tell us much about how Bernard understood the history of urban unrest, and how that unrest should be remembered or not.

Chapter 2: The Dominicans of Limoges

Many of Bernard's professional accomplishments can be traced back to his background as a Dominican and especially as a Dominican at Limoges. The convent where he came of age provided a guide to internal functionality (particularly in construction), it navigated a complex civic sphere (as we have seen in chapter one) and was home to a specific genre of a 'historical' textual tradition in the personages of Étienne de Salagnac and Gérard de Frachet. The Dominicans of Limoges in the 1260s and 1270s enjoyed a sort of golden age as demonstrated by the fact that the provincial administration chose its priors and elder statesmen to serve as prominent leaders. The convent, whose success can be attributed to the very functionality, civic engagement, and textual traditions to which Bernard bore witness as a novice was second only to Toulouse as a leading centre for Dominican administration and history.

This arguably descriptive chapter answers questions that only its narrative can explain. It would be irresponsible to scrub this essential context in Bernard's life from the record, since it laid the groundwork for his future career, and he referred back to the protagonists of his youth (especially Étienne de Salagnac) often in his later work. The men who trained him were important to Bernard, and so they are to this thesis. In the tradition of Gérard de Frachet, Étienne de Salagnac, and Bernard Gui, we find a number of texts that straddle

the boundary between the historical and the administrative. At its core, this chapter does more than describe people, places, and books that Bernard came across in adolescence. It attempts to understand the physical and intellectual context from which Bernard drew inspiration in writing the texts that form the foundation of the rest of this thesis: the *Quatuor in quibus Deus insignivit, Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae, Priores provinciales provinciae Provinciae*, and *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciae Provinciae*, along with the many other 'administrative histories' he wrote before (and during the first few years of) his tenure as inquisitor of Toulouse.

The standards for entrance as a novice were clear, but not always very assiduously followed or enforced. They were supposed to be at least fifteen years of age, have an aptitude for studies, and a healthy disposition, as monitored by the convent's prior. Occasionally, priors did violate the rules, often by accepting novices who were too young or too poorly educated in the basics of Latin and grammar.¹ Michèle Mulchahey has pointed out that there may have been 'pre-postulancy' schools for young boys in the 'orbit' of their local convent, but there is no evidence that Bernard attended one of these

¹ Célestin Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères Prêcheurs au trezième et au quatorzième siècle (1216-1342)* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1884), 14–15.

schools.² Unfortunately, there is almost no reference to these schools beyond the normative texts (William de Tournai's *De instructione priorum* and the anonymous *Libellus de instructione noviciorum* for example).³ Bernard makes no mention of any sort of 'pre-postulancy' school at Limoges, and no other sources--administrative, normative, or otherwise--that might yield details specific to the novitiate experience at Limoges survive. The idea of the schools, and especially the social mobility they offered the sons of various families, is tantalizing and demands further study, but at least in the case of Bernard, I have found no evidence for his attendance or in the case of Limoges, their existence.

Broadly speaking, there are not as many sources from this period of his life as an historian might want: there are no notebooks, letters, or disciplinary records that might furnish the anecdotes that add the colour and personality on which biography typically thrives. However, there is far more than nothing. The challenge of this section is to harness the few morsels Bernard has left behind in his administrative sources (which permit more than one might expect) and extrapolate an understanding of the system in which young

² M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow Is Bent in Study": Dominican Education before 1350, *Studies and Texts* 132 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 85–97. Especially in William de Tournai, *The De instructione puerorum of William of Tournai, O. P.*, ed. James A. Corbett, *Texts and Studies in the History of Medieval Education* 3 (Notre Dame: Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1955), the order nurtures and educates boys *in loco parentis*, focusing on the virtues of chastity and poverty.

³ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 87–95 for William of Tournai. See Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 17 for the *Libellus de instructione*.

Bernard found himself. I have decided to focus on the informal aspects of Bernard's early formation and especially the order's history, culture, and personal leadership, which were the parameters of this formation rather than any formal, institutionalized education.

Bernard's youth as a novice coincided with a golden age at the Dominican convent in Limoges, and it is not difficult to imagine why the young Bernard would have been persuaded, indeed enchanted, by the world he entered as a boy.⁴ From the beginning, Limoges was not just any Dominican convent: it was one of the first and its founder, Pierre Cellan, was one of Saint-Dominique's most trusted early associates. The foundation of a Dominican house at Limoges has received the attention of many of the order's great historians, from Bernard himself to Quétif and Échard.⁵ Limoges has received

⁴ The convent and province did have some problems in the 1260s and 1270s. For example, the borders of each convent (that is, the geographical extent to which the friars belonging to each convent could preach) were contested and demanded creative solutions from the provincial priors. Indeed, in 1270, simultaneous to the questions and violence surrounding the question of jurisdiction in Limoges, the provincial chapter dispatched a friar named R. G. d'Auvillar to bring together the Dominicans at Cahors, Brives, Limoges, and Périgueux and define the boundaries between them. Other internal issues persisted as well, especially concerning the organizational structure of Dominican studia, priors' access to financial credit, and the expansion of existing and new convents. See Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 153, and for an important critical assessment of early Dominican history. See Ralph Francis Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937) and more recently, Michael A. Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 42 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁵ See Célestin Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Limoges: 1220-1693* (Toulouse: Edouard-Privat, 1892), 1, nn. 1–6 for references to Bernard's Dominican history, Tregius, Malvenda, Mamachi, and Quétif and Échard, all of whom recounted the convent's foundation. See Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 57, n. 1 for many of the modern studies of the convent, including Jean Baptiste Louis

such attention on account of its place as a model for later foundations and because during the thirteenth century, the convent furnished some of the order's most illustrious historians: Gérard de Frachet, Étienne de Salangac, and Bernard Gui. The establishment of the convent at Limoges therefore bears implications for the order's establishment and growth, as well as its intellectual heritage. The convent's foundation also appears to have been a point of contemporary importance, since Gérard de Frachet compiled the convent's history, which Bernard would later abbreviate to complete his *Fundatio et priores conventus Lemovicensis*, and it was continued up to the end of the seventeenth century.⁶ At least according to Bernard's account, no such foundational text existed at any of the other convents where he researched, and he explored the archives and libraries of almost every convent in the province of Toulouse. Part of the reason

Roy-Pierreffitte, "Les dominicains en Limousin," *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 10 (1869): 232–53; André Lecler, "Inscriptions limusines en langue romane," *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 2 (1881): 336–57; Paul Ducourtieux, *Limoges d'après ses anciens plans* (Limoges: Mme Ve H. Ducourtieux, 1884); André Lecler, "Chroniques ecclésiastiques du Limousin, FF. Prêcheurs de Limoges," *Archives historiques de la Marche et du Limousin* 2 (1890): 121–35; Louis Guibert, "Le calice des jacobins de Limoges," *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 34 (1884): 213–14; M. D. Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la province de France. Le siècle des fondations* (Paris, 1898); Marguerite de Waresquiel, *Deux frères prêcheurs à l'époque des origines (Pierre Cellani & G. de Frachet)* (Paris, 1900); André Lecler, *Étude sur les cloches de l'ancien diocèse de Limoges* (Limoges, 1902); Antoine Dondaine, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province de France (1303)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 22 (1952): 381–429.

⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 58; Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Limoges*, 1–2: Gérard began the history of the convent's foundation around 1240, Étienne de Salanhac continued to improve the work, and Bernard summarized it here.

why the establishment of the convent at Limoges may have stood out is that it unfolded almost without a hitch.⁷

In the winter of 1218, a little before Lent, Saint-Dominique dispatched Pierre Cellan of Toulouse to Limoges from Paris to receive a home donated to the new order by the bishop of Limoges, Bernard de Savena, and the chapter of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne.⁸ The friars' new home lay outside the city along the Vienne River, next to the bridge of Saint-Martial which was given by lord Guido de Clausello, archdeacon in the cathedral of Saint-Étienne and future bishop of Limoges.⁹ Only after a suitable site was found did he return to Paris to recruit a few suitable friars to establish the order's presence in the city. The next year, Pierre returned from Paris to Limoges and a little after Christmas, formally accepted the location donated by Guido de Clausello. In cooperation with the bishop (*de voluntate et assensu prefati Bernardi*), a church dedicated to Mary was founded, and Guido, the patron (*patronus*), was given the honour of

⁷ The most thorough and convincing analysis of Bernard's descriptions of various convents' foundations is Cécile Caby, "Construction et sacralisation des espaces conventuels dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (XIIIe-début XIVE siècle)," in *Lieux sacrés et espace ecclésial (IXe-XVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 46 (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 2011), 131–71.

⁸ The following description of the convent's foundation can be found in Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 57–59. Bernard describes Bernard de Savena in his *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*: BnF NAL ms. 1171, f. 207v.

⁹ Bernard describes Guido de Clausello in his *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*, BnF, NAL ms. 1171, f. 207v, but there is no mention of the bishop's gift to the Dominicans. For more details about the order's relationship with bishops and how Bernard recount (or did not recount) that relationship, see chapter one.

placing the first stone in it, in the presence of the clergy and many of 'the people'. This took place a few months later on the Anunciation, 25 March 1221 (at the beginning of the year 1221). In the interim, the friars stayed in the house of Saint-Gerald. The friars moved into their new home on the nativity of the virgin, 8 September 1221. On 6 January of the following year, with the chapel having been completed, mass was celebrated by the archdeacon and patron, Guido de Clausello.

As Cécile Caby has convincingly argued, the 'placing of the first stone' represented far more than a simple honorific or a formality. Bernard Gui, according to Caby, identified when the first stone of new construction was placed and by whom, especially in the case of lay actors, to 'minimise the role of obliged actors from traditional ecclesiastical sources, and thus to enjoy the 'potentialities' offered by a ritual that included a sort of ecclesiastical participation open to all the faithful'.¹⁰ That Guido de Clausello actively participated in the laying of the church's first stone represented a major honour for Guido himself, as a 'patron' of the new establishment. The event also represents an essential aspect of how Bernard imagined the place of Dominicans in the realm of local politics. The Dominican world was not necessarily limited

¹⁰ Caby, "Construction et sacralisation des espaces conventuels dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (XIIIe-début XIVE siècle)," 141-43.

to the political and ecclesiastical elite; rather, it sought the active participation and thus legitimation from the entire spiritual community and would happily receive and recognize alms from anyone as part of fulfilling the apostolic mission of begging. This desire for civic engagement represented an essential aspect of Bernard's vision for the Dominican Order and will recur often throughout his life as the order faced challenges from the very people it was meant to serve. This relationship with the town and all its inhabitants (not just the politically or ecclesiastically potent) articulated by Bernard Gui in his descriptions of consecration ceremonies receives further reinforcement by the original convent's one major flaw as identified by Bernard. The town lay so far to the convent's north that the people did not flock to the church for sermons or other spiritual advice, and thus the Dominicans could not actually do what they had set out to do in the town. On 2 April 1241, the church at the second location was officially consecrated by the recently elected bishop of Limoges, Durand.

Bernard celebrates the procedural precision with which the friars, led by Gérard de Frachet, executed the transfer from the first location at the bridge of Saint-Martial to the Petit Faubourg Manigne. In the *centre ville*, land was scarcer and more valuable, and one point of contention arose over the new convent's cemetery. On 24 August 1240, two events took place: first, the cemetery was consecrated; second, the papal delegate in France, Cardinal Penestrini, relieved

the order's outpost in Limoges of all obligations to the archbishop of Béziers, hundreds of kilometres away, with the entire clergy and a number of lay locals as witnesses. It is difficult to determine the extent to which the seculars and regulars disagreed over some sort of theologically grounded principle or more functional, quotidian encroachments.¹¹ Marjorie Reeves and Penn Szittyta have approached the question of regular and secular debates in what can be described as an abstract, ideological, and theological perspective.¹² Guy Geltner, on the other hand, endorses the view that clerical opposition to the mendicants was largely driven by threats to 'income and status', although he argues that anticlericalism extended 'beyond the boundaries of medieval church history' to include an expansive cross-section of middle-class society.¹³ In so far as disputes between the secular and regular clergy did present themselves to Bernard, he almost certainly viewed them from a strictly functional obstacle

¹¹ See in general, David Knowles and Dimitri Obolensky, *The Christian Centuries: A New History of the Catholic Church*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), 348–50. There is a richer literature concerning the conflict between the seculars and friars at the universities including Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, ed. and trans. Guy Geltner, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 8 (Paris ; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008); Decima Langworthy Douie, *The Conflict between the Seculars and the Mendicants at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century*, The Aquinas Society of London, Aquinas Papers 23 (London: Blackfriars, 1954); Katherine Walsh, *Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh: A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate* (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1981).

¹² Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore & the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (Stroud: Sutton Pub., 1999), chap. 2; Penn R Szittyta, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹³ Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5.

over legal questions of ownership, possession, and other technical questions.

Disputes over cemeteries in particular appears to have primarily threatened the clergy's revenues and territorial ambitions more than anything spiritual.¹⁴ This is not the only mention of the controversial terrain of cemeteries in Bernard's *De fundatione et prioribus*, but Bernard always at least gives the impression that he and his order remained diplomatic in dealings with the secular clergy.

In Limoges, at least, it appears as though the episcopate and Dominicans enjoyed a functional relationship. Bernard's *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*, for example, is far from any sort of polemic against the town's bishops. If anything, that catalogue, along with the relationship described in his *De fundatione conventuum Lemovicensis*, portray an order deeply indebted to

¹⁴ Although it was not propagated until sixty years after this specific contest, Boniface VIII's *Super cathedram* is instructive on the question of whether material or ideological were at the core of the disputes between secular and regular clerics. Much of the bull focuses almost entirely on this question. With regards to preaching, the bull enjoined the mendicants to seek out a license from the parish priest but restricted the bishop's competence to only being able to deny individual friars from preaching in his diocese (as opposed to the order writ large). No such ritual or licensing process was established to resolve the question of cemeteries. Instead, Boniface VIII only mentions death and bequests in financial terms: the friars are required to donate one quarter of revenues received on the occasion of funerals or at the point of death to the secular clergy. See Manfred Heim, "*Super Cathedram*," *Lexicon Des Mittelalters* (Munich, Zurich: Brepolis, 1997); Jean Copeland, "The Relations between the Secular Clergy and the Mendicant Friars in England during the Century after the Issue of the Bull 'Super Cathedram' (1300) (Thesis Summary)," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 16 (1939 1938): 34; Ludwig Hödl, "Der Kommentar des Kardinals Johannes Monachus zur Dekretale *Super cathedram* des Papstes Bonifatius VIII. (18. Februar 1300)," *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005): 133–78; Brendan Joseph McManus, "A Consilium of Fredericus and Oldradus on *Super Cathedram*," *Viator* 33 (2002): 185–221; Yves Congar, "Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle et le début du XIVe," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 28 (1961): 35–151.

episcopal generosity and support. To Bernard, the two were inseparable; even the archbishop of Béziers, from whom the friars sought liberation in 1240, he describes as '*venerabilis dominus pater Philippus*'. The administrative demands of his jobs as lector, prior, and inquisitor could not bear the complications that attended extended ideological disputes with bishops who figure very prominently (and positively) in Bernard's accounts.¹⁵ Above all, Bernard sought accord between the Dominicans and the leaders of the town each convent inhabited; the order's success demanded the maintenance of financial relationships (like that between the convent and Guido de Clausello), political relationships (like that between the friars and the town consulate), and ecclesiastical relationships (like that between the convent and Bernard de Savena, Guido de Clausello, and Durand), and the maintenance of those relationships demanded an adherence to proper legal procedure, like that seen in late August of 1240 under the leadership of Gérard de Frachet.

The Dominican institution in Limoges also engaged in ambitious, successful construction campaigns. Twenty years to the day of the Dominican acquisition of the previous convent, on 8 September 1241, the friars moved to their new, centrally-located home *solempniter ac devote, processionaliter incedentes*, with the entire cathedral chapter, accompanied by the clergy and many people,

¹⁵ The specifics of these responsibilities are explained in the following chapters.

and also other monks, with songs and prayers. In fact, the crowd of Dominican friars was probably many times larger than normal and accompanied by a great deal more pomp and circumstance, since the provincial chapter was held at the convent on the same day.¹⁶ During Bernard's early years in the 1260s, additional construction expanded the Dominicans' home thanks to generous donations from Pierre de Saint-Astier, former bishop of Périgueux and the man who tonsured Bernard Gui. In 1269, Étienne de Salagnac oversaw the construction of new dormitories; in 1273, Jean de Chastanc, the convent's eighth prior and a local Limousin, oversaw the construction of a new bell tower; and around 1275, Pierre de Mulceone managed the construction of a reading room.¹⁷ This construction provided more than just suitable spaces for Dominican endeavors; they also represented more figurative landmarks, punctuating the convent's development and defining each prior's accomplishments.

These men did more than construct buildings: they also constructed and perfected the institutions that these buildings served. During the first few years of his life in the 1260s, likely before Bernard actually arrived, the priors' fortunes fluctuated. In 1261, the provincial chapter ordered the bishop of Périgueux to

¹⁶ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 18, also n. 2; Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Limoges* also cites an archival record: Arch. de la Haute-Garonne, H. Dominicans, *Dominicains étrangers*, 18 Limoges.

¹⁷ For Étienne's construction projects, Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 62; for Jean de Chastanc, *ibid.*, p. 63; and for Pierre de Mulceone, *ibid.*

hurry to Limoges '*quamcito poterit vadat*' in order to rein in the excessive floral ornaments adorning the convent's church.¹⁸ The next year, the provincial chapter censured two of the convent's leaders: Gérald de Saint-Vaur, the convent's prior, for an unsaid violation, and Helye Navarre, a former prior, for not having carried out the visitations assigned to him the previous year.¹⁹ In 1263, however, two of the convent's more renowned friars, Gérard de Frachet and Étienne de Salagnac were chosen as electors for the new master general.²⁰ In 1265, the convent was selected to host the next year's provincial chapter, marking a high-point for the friars of Limoges, as they would not host a provincial chapter again.²¹ The convent hosted the provincial chapter three times, in 1241, 1253, and 1265, all on the feast day of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 September.²² Besides the prestige and income generated by hosting the provincial chapter, it also provided an administrative honour, insofar as the prior of the house where the chapter was held acted as vice-provincial prior, if the provincial prior was absent. The priors and leaders of the convent in Limoges were Bernard's role models, and it shows in his priorities and

¹⁸ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 84.

¹⁹ Gui, 94–95.

²⁰ Gui, 100. That both electors came from the same convent is unique.

²¹ Gui, 4–5; Simon Tugwell, "The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government IV: Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 72 (2002): 60.

²² This day possessed a special significance for the friars of Limoges, since this was the day on which they moved into both their first and second convent in the city.

intellectual constitution, in his descriptions of these leaders, and finally in the margins of the manuscripts Bernard oversaw the creation of, where he carefully added the accomplishments (largely in service to larger Dominican institutions) he knew about regarding each of those leaders, especially Étienne de Salagnac.

Étienne served as professional, intellectual, and personal role models for Bernard and delineated the contours of what a responsible Dominican administrator could accomplish. Étienne, although already a relatively senior member of the convent, held the post of prior from the time of Bernard's entry into the order until 1271, when Gérard de Frachet died. His service as prior was extremely successful. It was during his tenure that the powerful Pierre de Saint-Astier joined the order in Limoges, bringing with him copious funds dedicated to expanding the convent's compound. The first project funded by the former bishop of Périgueux, a new dormitory for the friars, was begun and completed under Étienne's watch.²³ Even after he was relieved of his duties as prior, Étienne remained active in the order and attached primarily to the convent of Limoges.²⁴ As a distinguished senior member of the order, Étienne was elected three times to represent the province's interests at the general chapters in 1274 at

²³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 62.

²⁴ To support the latter claim, note that in the following references, Étienne appears as *Lemovicensis*.

Lyons, 1277 at Bordeaux, and 1279 at Paris.²⁵ Bernard notes in marginal additions that Étienne also served as a sort of arbiter in the order as diffinitor at the provincial chapters of 1273 at Cahors and 1276 at Agen.²⁶ The last official function Étienne enjoyed consisted of confirming friars for important posts in the order's administration: in 1275, Étienne confirmed Pierre de Planis, formerly the lector in Limoges, as prior of Brives, and in 1276 he (along with another prominent Limousin Dominican, Gerald de Saint-Vaur) confirmed Bernard Gerald as provincial prior. Again, these mentions appear as marginal additions made in Bernard's hand.²⁷

Étienne was almost certainly the most accomplished and sought-after friar at the convent of Limoges and indeed, throughout the province of Provence.²⁸ He came into contact with other Dominicans as far afield as in Scotland, and he possessed a deep wealth of personal experience from which to

²⁵ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 180, 211, 224. It seems that Étienne, advancing in age, may have chosen to attend general chapters that were a convenient distance from Limoges. The chapters of 1275 and 1278, for example, were held at Pisa and Milan respectively, which are twice as far as the trip to Paris and both demand a trip over the Alps.

²⁶ Gui, 173, n. 2; 202, n. 10.

²⁷ Gui, 191, 202.

²⁸ I have translated *patria* as region, but Bernard's use of *patria* gives me pause. Where exactly constituted the *patria*? Was it the Limousin, Bernard's *patria*, or the Dominican province of Provence, where the text circulated most widely? Or did Bernard intend for the *patria* to be analogous to the Dominican Order itself? Toulouse, MS 489 f. 16; Toulouse, MS 490 f. 49v; cf. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, p. 305.

divine his *De quatuor in quibus Praedicatorum Ordinem Deus insignivit*.²⁹ Bernard's professional devotion, bibliographic passion, and intellectual interests parallel Étienne's quite closely. Bernard too would go on to serve as a *diffinitor*, prior of Limoges, and provincial representative to the general chapter. He too would catalogue the order's 'great men' and indeed attempt to define for future generations what it 'meant' to be a Dominican -- a unique, and deeply Limousin (at least, three generations deep from Gérard de Frachet to Étienne de Salagnac to Bernard Gui), way of defining the constitution of the Dominican Order.

Bernard's first 'historical' project was to expand Étienne's *De quatuor in quibus Praedicatorum Ordinem Deus insignivit*. *De quatuor* is divided into four parts. The first, entitled *De bono et strenuo duce*, recounts the deeds of the order's founder, Dominic, and includes precise details concerning the origins of the convents of Limoges and Castres.³⁰ Simon Tugwell has perceptively described how Bernard's description in his *Catalogus magistrorum Ordinis Praedicatorum* differs from his description of the saint in the *Speculum sanctorale*, demonstrating Bernard's ability to navigate historical writing across genres.

The *Catalogus* was destined for internal use within the order in southern France,

²⁹ Étienne de Salagnac and Bernard Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica* 22 (Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1949), xxii.

³⁰ See Gui, *Bernardi Guidonis: Scripta de Sancto Dominico* for Bernard's contribution to the history of Dominic.

whereas the *Speculum sanctorale* possessed a broader audience, including the papal curia and convents far beyond France.³¹ The next section describes the order's mission (*De glorioso nomine Predicatorum*) and includes an account of a condemnation of a noblewoman in Toulouse for heresy in 1233 or 1234. The third section contains a list of Dominicans who had contributed to the glory of the order (*De illustri prole*) and includes those who had been martyred, friars who were distinguished by their work or teaching, those who had been associates of Dominic's at the order's foundation, those who were famous for preaching and those who were elevated to episcopal sees, the college of cardinals and papacy (Innocent V and Benedict XI), as well as those who had been offered ecclesiastical dignities and refused. The final section was a sort of miscellany chapter entitled *De securitate professionis* in which some curious details about the order are compiled.³²

Bernard did not view the *De quattuor in quibus Deus insigniuit* as a static text, meant to describe the order at a fixed period in time. Rather, he understood the work as a dynamic text that future 'administrative historians' -- like Bernard himself -- could add more information to what appears to straddle the boundaries between history, chronicle and register. He did not see his

³¹ Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 210.

³² Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 306–8.

mission or his contribution to Étienne's project as 'completion', but rather as 'continuation'.³³ He added findings that had come about in his further research, corrected mistakes, and added new events that had taken place since the time of Étienne's research.³⁴ He went to great lengths to note that his additions were distinct from Étienne's original compilation and even cited the sources of his additional information: *addita que sequuntur ex Vitis fratrum, additum est ex cronicis*.³⁵ Bernard also ensured that the reader knew when he resumed Étienne's work by beginning that new section with a heading: *Frater Stephanus*.³⁶ Many of Bernard's later texts blurred the distinctions between genres as well, but it is essential to recognize that this sort of administrative history had been under development in the convent of Limoges for three generations, starting with Gérard de Frachet's *Vitae fratrum*, continuing with Étienne de Salagnac's *De quatuor*, and reaching its apex with Bernard's numerous catalogues and their centuries-long continuations. Bernard did not invent the administrative history (that is, a history meant to be used administratively); he simply brought the project to as close to completion as it could be.

³³ Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, v.

³⁴ Salagnac and Gui, 4, 7, 183; Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 62.

³⁵ Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, 4, 25, 27, 176–77.

³⁶ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 309; Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, chap. Introduction: Kaeppli provides an extremely clear printed redaction of these marginal notes in his edition of the text.

On a more personal level, Bernard revered Étienne, whom, in both *De quatuor in quibus Deus Predicatorum Ordinem insignivit* and his administrative texts (*De fundatione et prioribus, Priores provinciae Provinciae*, and *Acta capitulorum*), he describes as a senior friar gifted with prudence, wisdom and an even-keeled temperament -- all traits that Bernard's administrative works reflect of himself. The praise that Bernard heaps upon Étienne far surpasses the praise accorded to anyone else in Bernard's records. Étienne led a venerable life, the 'grace of preaching' from his lips, he was blessed by God, and gifted with the prudence and wisdom of discipline. In many ways, he was the ideal Dominican 'statesman': he was an excellent preacher, learned through experience, and revered throughout the region for his clear-headed and disciplined opinions. For Bernard, however, Étienne was far more than his accomplishments. The elder friar represented an ideal role model. He was the '*religionis speculum et imago omni aspicienti*' and was always and everywhere composed of a dignified seniority *morum ac gestuum, in motu ac statu*. Étienne de Salagnac inspired Bernard to more than devout religious practice; he also introduced the adolescent to the power of history. It was from Étienne's lips (blessed with 'the grace of preaching', it might be remembered), that Bernard first heard friars' notable deeds, praiseworthy histories, memorable accomplishments, and the exemplary tales of the order's finest servants. Bernard's description of Étienne

displays a remarkable elegance, cascading from general praise (*vir vite venerabilis*) to the characteristics that other nearby members of the order would have known about Étienne (*opinionis et fame preclare in tota patria*) to the aspects that stood out specifically to Bernard and his contemporary confrères in Limoges (*exempla servorum dei quam plurima novit et ubicumque expediens esse vidit in promptu habuit ad narrandum*).³⁷ It was in *these* hands, hands that built the convent where Bernard grew up, hands that had journeyed from Limoges to the edge of Europe, hands that had written the order's history, that Bernard made his profession to the Dominican Order.³⁸

This chapter has illustrated the inspiration available to Bernard at his home convent of Limoges, especially during the years of his novitiate. He had at his disposal a library that held Gérard de Frachet's works on the order's great men and the convent's foundation. Bernard learned valuable lessons about the order as an institution within contemporary urban society as much from the story of the order's second convent establishment as he did from the dramatic construction of the convent's new home in the *centre-ville* as from the construction happening around him as a novice. From the men still alive

³⁷ Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, 184; Bernard describes Étienne in his *De fundatione et prioribus*, but in much less ornate terms and more strictly administrative terms: Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 60–62.

³⁸ Salagnac and Gui, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, 184; On the character of the vow, see William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, vol. 1 (New York: Alba House, 1966), 119–44.

during his adolescence, especially Étienne de Salagnac, Bernard heard first-hand accounts of the most famous friars and what made them so well-respected: they were competent, they were diplomatic, they were magnanimous, and they were role models upon whom he could find inspiration for his own work. Most of all, Bernard learned the power of 'administrative history'. The works he read by Gérard de Frachet and Étienne de Salagnac were certainly administrative, in so far as they created an *ethos* for the order -- certain events were included and excluded for various reasons ranging from the logistical to the ideological -- using primarily administrative documents and milestones. The image we gather from Bernard and his forbears' work is an organizational system asserting itself in the civic sphere, thus becoming a religious *institution*.

Chapter 3: Bernard's Classmates

Bernard spent his first decade as a professed Dominican in the order's network of *studia* for logic, natural philosophy, and theology. This chapter argues that career paths in the Order of Preachers took different forms depending on an individual's success within institutional structures, especially the schools, which in turn could create very different professional identities for each friar. Some possessed the skills necessary to devote themselves to the order's intellectual pursuits as permanent students or lectors, while others, including Bernard Gui, took a more administrative route. The latter 'administrators' put the order's norms into practice by taking part in the its leadership elections on every level, forming and reforming legislation at the provincial and general chapters, and executing that legislation in the operation of convents as priors. Dominican students hoped to advance through the order's hierarchy of *studia*, and in so doing, better place themselves to guide the order's intellectual development and practical governance.

In such a framework, personal choice was structurally determined by the ability of an individual to learn and manifest a certain *habitus* necessary for advancement within the order.¹ At least in the last quarter of the thirteenth

¹ On *habitus*, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

century, the order's attempts to standardize that *modus operandi* amongst and even within its provinces did not achieve as much as it hoped. In the case of Bernard, by the end of his career as a student, he had travelled far from his home convent of Limoges by studying theology at Montpellier, where he was forced to engage students with a different linguistic and cultural background from his own in the Limousin. Such a leap proved difficult for the malleable, young friar, and the students he met there do not figure prominently in his 'administrative histories'. The Dominican ambition to standardize a *habitus* in the *studia generalia* did not materialize beyond pre-existing socio-cultural borders. This chapter reconstructs the social networks in which Bernard studied, and in so doing, allow us to witness his professional development against those of his classmates. Within the context of the broader thesis, these arguments help give some definition to the limits of individual contingency and structural determinism. They illustrate the institutional scaffolding that Bernard attempted to define in his various catalogues of provincial priors, acts of the provincial chapter, and collections of convents and their priors.

Such documents provide windows into his personal social network. Bernard's dry and objective descriptions act as a kind of grime on the glass, and this reflects Bernard's intellectual priorities: in his writings, Bernard only seeks

'the truth' without controversy or bias.² In many of his order's more contentious moments -- a dispute with the Benedictines over a cemetery in Castres, the anti-Inquisitorial uprisings in Carcassonne (but notably, not in Albi), or the establishment of the monastery at Prouille -- Bernard achieves this distance by redacting documentary evidence in the case of Castres and Prouille and by going out of his way to exculpate the '*multitudo*' of Carcassonne.³ Even in many of the instances where he betrays his authorship with a slip of the first-person, Bernard intervenes only to moderate his findings: to offer competing hypotheses for an event, the potential unreliability of a source, or to moderate a biographical description.

There are moments, however, when, if one scrubs hard enough, the grime thins. Lamarrigue describes the 'limited' moments of 'personal intervention' (*des interventions personnelles limitées*) and argues that Bernard intervenes only *peu à titre*.⁴ She implicitly argues that Bernard sought to

² A particularly valuable source for understanding Bernard's desire for "the truth" is his autograph prologue to the catalogue of provincial priors. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 381–82; Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, ix–x: '*qui noverint plenius et cercius veritatem . . . de quorum aliquibus nondum potui plene, sicut volui, invenire certitudinem veritatis. . . . sed inspecta veritate in multis expediens et devotum Inquisivi autem veritatem de preteritis et antiquis que fuerunt ante nos Sunt eciam nonnulla de primitivis que nunc scire desidero, nec invenire valeo a quo possim expetere veritatem . . .*'.

³ On Castres, see Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 135–51; on Carcassonne, see *ibid.*, pp. 102–105; on Prouille, see *ibid.*, pp. 7–31. More on the tumultuous events in Carcassonne and Albi in chapters six and seven.

⁴ Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui, 1261–1331. Un historien et sa méthode*, *Etudes d'histoire Médiévale* 5 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), 228–33.

depersonalize his historical accounts as much as possible, and for the sources that Lamarrigue has consulted (the *Flores cronicorum*, *Reges francorum*, *Comites tholosanae*) this may have been true. However, Bernard's earlier work on the Dominicans described friars quite important to his life. They were his mentors, friends, and protégés; he could not help but describe them differently, and it is in these subtle distinctions that a more personal portrait of Bernard arises. He leaves behind occasional traces of personal attachment or commentary in his discussion of sources, where alongside the written sources (the *Vitae fratrum*, *Gestes beati Dominici*, and *Acta capitulorum*), he also cites his own personal exposure to the order, both in the stories that he has heard from older friars and from his own first-hand experience (*plura potui ego scire que vidi vel audiui*).⁵

We have already seen this in the case of Étienne de Salagnac, who represents one extreme of the spectrum: Bernard's affection for Étienne, and his unique importance to the young Bernard, are made clear by everything from the slightest marginal addition, to Bernard's first project completing the *De quatuor in quibus Ordinem Praedicatorum Deus insignivit*, to Bernard's admiration for compilation as a genre at all. There are bishops in the *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium* who were *venerabilis* and *magnanimus* like Guillaume du Puy; provincial priors who were *pietatis et gratie plenus, miseris et peccatoribus benignus*

⁵ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, x.

et pius like Pierre de Mulceone; and conventual priors who were *mente devotus, facie et conversatione letus, predicator admodum promptus et copiosus* like Jean de Chastanc.⁶ Pierre de Mulceone appears in both Bernard Gui's *Catalogus prioris Provincie* and the *De fundatione et prioribus*, and in the latter he receives even more effuse praise. Not only was he *nobilis genere, sed nobilior profunda humilitate* (word-for-word the description in the *Catalogus*), but he was also *famosus in tota patria. . . super afflictos et miseros gestans viscera pietatis*.⁷ These mentions would not be so noteworthy if they did not appear alongside laconic, depersonalized descriptions of other men. In the *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium, Catalogus prioris provincialie*, and *De fundatione et prioribus*, the only details Bernard provides concerning Durand (bishop of Limoges when the Dominicans arrived), Bernard de Jurançon, and Jean de Vialnova are where they were from, the dates of their elections, the men who confirmed their elections, when they left their posts, and their deaths.⁸ Such editorial additions and omissions are surprising, given the fact that in other works, Bernard actually attempted to retract some editorialization in descriptions of his historical subjects. The government of

⁶ BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, f. 205r for Guillaume de Puy; Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale 780, f. 32v for Pierre de Mulceone; and Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, p. 63.

⁷ Gui, p. 64.

⁸ BnF MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, fol. 205r for Durand; Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale 780, f. 32v for Bernard de Jurançon, f. 33r; Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, p. 65 for Jean de Villanova.

Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, for example, transforms from a 'liberal' government (as Guillaume de Puylaurens put it) to a 'natural' government; Gérard de Frachet's Charlemagne flourished in every virtue, but Bernard's Charlemagne only flourished in many virtues.⁹

There are other hundreds more friars, however, who appear in the *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae*. The provincial chapters were essential for the organization and administration of the order on a local level; they provided both the vehicle through which acts of the general chapter could be implemented locally, and the space where local issues could rise to the surface and be addressed in a systematic way.¹⁰ The leaders of each convent, which included the prior and his elected *socius*, the general preachers, and the masters of theology, convened annually, usually sometime between June and September, at a different convent each year. The chapter had four official responsibilities: to elect a *socius* who would accompany the provincial prior to the general chapter, to discuss petitions or demands that would be submitted to

⁹ Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui, 1261-1331*, 231: "*sublato sibi dominio liberali*" versus "*sublato dominio naturali*", and "*prefatus rex gloriosus tot floreret virtutibus*" versus "*Karolus rex gloriosus multis floreret virtutibus*."

¹⁰ For a study of how faithfully and effectively the provincial chapters executed the general chapters' will, see Georgina Rosalie Cole-Baker Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360*, Publications of the University of Manchester Historical Series 44 (Manchester: The University Press, 1925) and Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*, Cistercian Studies Series 263 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Cistercian Publications, Liturgical Press, 2016), 232–48.

the general chapter, to name visitors who ensured that individual convents followed the statutes passed by the general and provincial chapters, and to handle any extraordinary business or crises that might have arisen.¹¹ However, other questions attended the chapters. For example, individual friars could submit complaints concerning their prior, as the Dominicans of Limoges did in 1274. The men gathered for the chapter discussed whether or not to entertain such complaints (and other 'political' matters) unofficially in the days preceding the ceremony of the actual chapter in a way not dissimilar to national conventions held by modern American political parties.¹²

An issue that occupies a near majority of the space in Bernard's *Acta capitulorum*, is the question of how schools were organized in the province, including lists of lectors and students at the province's various types of schools for logic, natural philosophy, and theology. Michèle Mulchahey's *First the Bow is Bent in Study* is the most current study of the Dominican educational network and is essential. Mulchahey's study provides a history of the order's schools largely from the perspective of normative texts such as William of Tournai's *De instructione puerorum* and Humbert of Roman's *Instructiones de officiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, and the order's earliest *Constitutiones*.¹³ Hinnebusch's *History of*

¹¹ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, xxii.

¹² For the Dominicans' complaint from Limoges, see Gui, 182.

¹³ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*.

the Dominican Order also provides an overview of the schools, but focuses primarily on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when records from the general chapter, as opposed to the provincial chapters, was richest.¹⁴ The classic work on Dominican education in the province of Provence, and the one which most closely approximates the present study's methodology is Douais's *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs au XIII^e et XIV^e siècle*.¹⁵ Reading these previous studies, especially Mulchahey's use of prescriptive texts, alongside the observations presented here opens new vistas for scholarship surrounding the lived experience of attending a Dominican school in the Middle Ages, since this study draws much more heavily from the administrative and statutory texts on a very local level.

In the lists of students and lectors lies a rich repository of Bernard's social network in his formative years after he officially joined the order. Past scholarship has relied on Bernard's annual accounts to trace the careers of individual friars, such as Guillaume de Pierre Godin, Raymond de Meüillon, and Jean Vigouroux, but like in Delisle's, Thomas's, and Guenée's earlier studies of Bernard, the *Acta* primarily provide or confirm a timeline for the friar's

¹⁴ Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 1:3–98.

¹⁵ Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 1–54.

career, rather than anything more substantive.¹⁶ Douais, without whose patient editions of the *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae* a project like this one would be impossible, used the lists to describe categories of students, such as those who reached particularly high ranks in the order's educational system, focusing on those friars chosen to leave the province to attend other *studia generalia* in Paris, Bologna, Cologne, and Oxford.¹⁷ Reconstructing the networks of friars with whom Bernard grew up, studied, and advanced through the ranks of the Dominican Order reveals much in the way of how Bernard might have stood out (or not) amongst his peers. Thanks to Bernard's year-by-year records in his *Acta capitulorum* and *De fundatione et prioribus*, we can track the careers of hundreds of Dominican friars throughout the second half of the thirteenth and first quarter of the fourteenth centuries. Confronting these sources with a prosopographical methodology reveals Bernard's first professional world, its pathways, its limits, and its challenges.¹⁸

¹⁶ For Guillaume de Pierre Godin, see William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, vol. 2 (New York: Alba House, 1973), 62–63; for Raymond de Meüillon and Jean Vigoroux, Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 92–94.

¹⁷ Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 131–33.

¹⁸ References for much of what follows can be found in appendix three, which includes the appearances of each of Bernard's classmates in Limoges and Montpellier from his *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae* and *De fundatione et prioribus*. This is meant to provide a collection of data more user-friendly and less cumbersome than providing references for each individual friar in the footnotes.

Advancement in the Dominican educational hierarchy was limited to an extremely select few, and each stage in one's pedagogical journey (from student of logic to lector of logic to student of natural philosophy to lector of natural philosophy to student of theology to lector of theology) weeded out a few young friars at every level. Galbraith's *Constitution of the Dominican Order* portrayed the order as both possessing 'an absolute equality between all professed friars' and an increasingly structural hierarchy, but only in the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁹ André Duval has argued that Dominican education provided the first structural mechanism to produce inequality within the order's administration.²⁰ This theory gained further traction in D. E. Showalter's article, 'The Business of Salvation', where he described the order as 'an aristocracy of service, learning, and talent'.²¹ These arguments, however, have been complicated recently by Mulchahey. Using the curricula left behind by Remigio de Girolami, she has claimed that the schools' curricula provided an extensive training to every single one of the friars, making it an exquisitely egalitarian system in which the experience in the conventual schoolroom all the

¹⁹ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 5 for the quotation about equality, and pp. 190-191 for the acknowledgment of an increasing degree of hierarchy.

²⁰ André Duval, "L'étude dans la législation religieuse de Saint Dominique," in *Melanges offerts à M. -D. Chenu, maître en théologie*, ed. André Duval (Paris: J. VRIN, 1967), 221-47.

²¹ Dennis E. Showalter, "The Business of Salvation: Authority and Representation in the Thirteenth-Century Dominican Order," *The Catholic Historical Review* 58, no. 4 (January 1973): 565-67.

to the *studia generale* 'were virtually indistinguishable.²² This is an excellent example of how a system like the Dominican education network takes two very different forms when approaching it from administrative records like Bernard's *Acta capitulorum* as opposed to from prescriptive, normative texts.

Bernard's records in the *Acta*, read alongside his other catalogues of provincial administrative leadership, provide individual after individual confirming Duval and Showalter's hypothesis. They show that out of the fourteen friars with whom Bernard studied in his home convent of Limoges, only one followed a path similar to his, while the other dozen largely stayed close to the comforts of the Limousin. Geographical mobility was possible, but only for a select few, and the order reserved the magnitude of travel that Bernard enjoyed to its most important leaders and thinkers.²³ Bernard was a particularly gifted student and a promising young theologian. That he did not 'make it' to the university of Paris does not prove that he was theologically incompetent or dull in any way; to use his non-attendance at the university of

²² M. Michèle Mulchahey, "The Role of the Conventual Schola in Early Dominican Education," in *Studio et Studia: Le Scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti Tra XIII e XIV Secolo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), 149; M. Michèle Mulchahey, "Societas Studii: Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care as Collaborative Study and Teaching," in *Domenico di Caleruego e la Nascita dell'Ordine Dei Fratti Predicatori* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005), 455 for a brief acknowledgment of Duval's argument.

²³ The mobility inherent to the educational system implied by Mulchahey, "Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care," 443 might apply to the likes of Bernard Gui, Thomas Aquinas, and only a handful of others.

Paris as evidence for him having 'turned out not to be a good enough theologian to send to Paris' is unnecessarily imprecise.²⁴ He advanced further in the field of theology than any of his peers in Limoges and at least as far as all of his peers at the prestigious *studium generale* in Montpellier. One could not reach the order's upper echelons -- administrative or academic -- without stellar performance in the schools.

The story begins in the year 1283, when Bernard was 22 years old and had just officially entered the order four years earlier. He was a student of natural philosophy in his home convent of Limoges, and before that, he had probably studied logic, but the *Acta capitulorum* do not include assignments of students for logic schools.²⁵ He had six classmates: Raymond Barravi, Gauthier de Mota, Jean de Puy de Figeac, Raymond Astranova, Gui Helye, and Raymond de Curemonte. Jean de Puy de Figeac and Raymond had previously studied natural philosophy at Limoges and Bordeaux respectively. There is no record of Raymond Baravi or Gauthier before they appear as students alongside Bernard

²⁴ Guenée, *Between Church and State*, 42.

²⁵ For general overviews of the logic and natural philosophy schools, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 220–76; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:19–36; and Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 53–124. On the intellectual development of the *studia artium* and *studia naturarum*, see M. Michèle Mulchahey, "Dominican Educational Vocabulary and the Order's Conceptualization of Studies before 1300. Borrowed Terminology, New Connotations," in *Le Vocabulaire des écoles des mendiants au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 94–106. Regarding the students' daily lives, they could sometimes act out. For specific examples, see Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 317–18, 321; Showalter, "The Business of Salvation," 560–61; Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*.

in 1283, and afterwards, Bernard records Baravi as a student of theology in Bordeaux in 1287 and Gauthier as a student of theology in Béziers in 1286 and Bordeaux in 1287 and 1288. Baravi died in 1289 immediately after his election and confirmation as prior of Millau, which implies that he must have stood out as particularly gifted.²⁶ Jean de Puy de Figeac and Raymond Astranova hailed from much further south than Bernard: Figeac and Béziers, and after the short time they spent at Limoges studying philosophy (and in Jean's case, theology for three years as well), they continued their theological studies closer to home, at Toulouse. Neither was destined for a notable career (and I mean that in the most literal sense, since they disappear completely from Bernard's records) after they finished studying theology in 1290. What Gauthier or Jean or Raymond did afterwards is unknown, but they could not have continued studying or been promoted to teach philosophy or theology; they could not have been sent to Paris; they could not have been a prior in Provence; they could not have served as a general preacher; they could not have visited any of the convents to measure their compliance with capitulary statutes; they could not have represented their convent's, let alone the province's, interests at any chapter. These men could not advance in the Dominican hierarchy.

²⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 261.

The careers of Bernard's last two classmates from this period, Raymond de Curemonte and Gui Helye, enjoyed a greater deal of responsibility and exposure beyond the classroom. Raymond de Curemonte may have been related to another R. de Curemonte (possibly an uncle or cousin) who was active as a student and lector of logic between 1267 and 1278.²⁷ After his time as a student of natural philosophy with Bernard, Curemonte continued his studies, primarily based in Limoges. He went away briefly to study theology in Agen in 1284, but between 1285 and 1293, Curemonte only studied theology in Limoges. In 1293, he was transferred to the more prominent and prestigious *studium* of theology at Toulouse, and eight years after that in 1301, he was chosen as a visitor to the convents in the deep southwest of the province near Bayonne, Orthez, and Morlaas.²⁸ He seems to have found his calling, however, closer to home, just thirty kilometres north of Limoges, at the newly-established convent of Saint-Pardoux in 1303, where he served as prior until his death in 1311.²⁹

²⁷ In his index, Douais lists both Raymond de Curemonte's as the same person, which seems highly unlikely, since it would be strange for a student of theology in 1278 to be demoted five years later to a student of natural philosophy at the same convent. In fact, there may have been three Raymond de Curemonte's, including the one listed by Douais as having studied theology in 1256.

²⁸ The three towns are today connected by the A64 highway, also known as La Pyrénéenne, which connects Bayonne and Toulouse via Tarbes and Pau. Raymond de Curemonte's relative also hailed from this region and studied logic at Orthez in 1267 and natural philosophy in Bayonne in 1272. On the honour accorded to being chosen as a visitor, see Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 157–60.

²⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 239–40.

Gui Helye's career mirrored Bernard's the closest out of this cohort of students, but whereas Bernard happily made the transition from student and lector to administrator and prior, Gui's vocation is less clear.³⁰ After he completed his studies in natural philosophy, Gui moved on to theology, also at Limoges, in 1285. Apparently, he impressed the convent's friars enough to be appointed sub-lector of theology the next year, in 1286. At some point over the next seven years, Gui was recruited by the secular clergy of Bordeaux to instruct the cathedral chapter's canons, and after that in 1293, the friars of the convent in Orthez elected him prior.³¹ Over the next thirteen years, Gui's career alternated between administrative -- as prior of Brives, very close to Limoges, where he improved the convent substantially (*tempore prioratus sui prosperatum est opus ecclesie evidenter*) -- and theological posts as reader of the bible at the *studium* in Toulouse and lector at the *studium* in Limoges.³² Finally in 1306, Gui was released from his administrative duties as prior so that he could move back to his home convent in Limoges, where he very probably fulfilled duties similar to those he carried out during his time in Bordeaux fifteen years earlier.³³

³⁰ To avoid confusion while maintaining consistency as much as possible, I refer to Bernard Gui as Bernard (as I have throughout this work) and Gui Helye as Gui.

³¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 120.

³² Gui, 167–68.

³³ Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:10–13; Paul Amargier, “Écoles conventuelles et université,” in *Études sur l’Ordre Dominicain* (Marseille, 1986), 26. I thank Professor Neslihan Senoçak for the idea of applying the term “freelance preachers” to mendicant friars.

Communities often expected and even depended on Dominican schools to actively participate in urban affairs and fulfilling pedagogical needs that either the commune or cathedral chapter could not. However, Bernard was quickly called back to the order's administration when he was appointed prior of Périgueux in 1307 and prior of Limoges in 1309. Although he served as prior for more convents than Bernard did, Gui only strayed far from Limoges once, very early on in his career when he was elected prior of Orthez. After that, his appointments at Brives, Bergerac, Périgueux, and Limoges kept him close to home. One of Gui's more sensitive diplomatic assignments occurred in 1309 when the provincial prior dispatched him and Hugh de Moncerant to ensure that the newly-established convent at Saint-Junien had sufficient supplies and friars. The provincial prior had originally wanted Bernard Gui to undertake this inquest, but he declined on account of his inquisitorial duties (although this may have been disingenuous, since he otherwise never let his inquisitorial duties interfere with other work related to the Dominicans).³⁴ When it came to building sustainable relationships with the local episcopate, Gui Helye was a sort of intellectual freelance teacher and Dominican diplomat.

These descriptions of Bernard's peers are important reminders that Bernard's ambition was not to exalt or memorialize the friars he knew: his

³⁴ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 226.

redactions of the *Acta capitulorum* and *De fundatione et prioribus* were meant to memorialize the events, decisions, and people who mattered to the order's constitution. These were not Bernard's diaries, but they are still useful. In his class of philosophy students in 1283 at Limoges, there were students who continued their studies only a handful more years and then disappeared, and then there was Gui Helye, whom Bernard probably knew quite well, since their careers overlapped nearly perfectly. They attended the same provincial chapters representing their convents, they both alternated between administrative and academic positions (although whereas Bernard preferred the administrative, Gui almost certainly preferred the academic), and on the eve of his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse, Bernard Gui and Gui Helye found themselves back where this journey began, in Limoges, with almost a quarter-century's worth of experience, leading their community, within and beyond the convent's walls, as prior and scholar.

By the time Bernard eventually left the Limousin, he had studied natural philosophy and theology in Limoges for the better part of the previous six years, where he found himself surrounded by other Limousin friars, destined by-and-large for sometimes successful, but nearly always local, careers in the Limousin. Many of the friars with whom, between 1285 and 1288, he studied theology in Limoges never rose past the rank of student of theology. Guillaume

de Veteri Villa, Helye Fayditi, Pierre Artivi, Raymundo d'Avio, and Pierre Vaycaris never even left Limoges, and like the majority of Bernard's classmates in natural philosophy, they disappear from the record after completing their studies at Limoges. Two other students, however, did enter the order's upper echelons. Bertrand Fulcodi was made sub-lector of theology in Limoges in 1294, lector of theology in Albi in 1298, the same post at Périgueux in 1300, a general preacher in 1302 (at the same time as Bernard), and served as prior in the Limousin at Bergerac (1311-1313) and Brives (1316-1318). Pierre Helye originally hailed from Périgueux, where he taught logic in 1282 and studied natural philosophy in 1284. After his one year studying theology in Limoges in 1286, Pierre was promoted to student of theology at the province's second *studium* at Toulouse, where he stayed until his promotion to sub-lector of theology in Périgueux in 1291 and then the same post at Limoges in 1292. Amongst all the students with whom Bernard studied over his five years in Limoges, none continued their education outside of what would become the province of Toulouse.³⁵ Most stayed in the Limousin, going only so far as the

³⁵ Célestin Douais, *Les frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^{me} et au XIV^{me} siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1885), 33; Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 325, n. 12; and for Bernard's description in his catalogue of provincial priors, Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 780, f. 33r: *Anno domini mo ccco iiio in generali capitulo Visuntino'' fuit divisa provincia Provincie ordinis predicatorum in duas provincias. Inferiori vero parti provincie impositum est nomen novum et vocata est provincia Tholosana. Et in sinistro choro ratione antiquitatis maioris primum locum retinuit sicut prius quia in ea ordo predicatorum originem noscitur accepisse. Ordo ei' exordium habuit in Tholosa. Pars vero superior provincia Provincie retinuit vetus nomen. Et sigillum cum angelo quod et prius ratione in*

next bishopric or two over in Périgueux or Bordeaux; in only two cases did a friar go further: Gui Helye went to Orthez in the distant southwest, but as a prior, not a student; and Bertrand Fulcoldi went to Albi as lector of theology. There appears to have been a strong connection to one's own 'home' convent.

This attachment developed in spite of numerous attempts by the provincial chapter to regulate the movement of students. The chapter at Narbonne in 1272 ordered that students hurry to the schools they had been assigned to and that they not return to their home convents until the following provincial chapter named the next school (typically late July or early August). If the students did not get to their assigned school by the feast of Saint Michael (late September), then they could lose their place. This gave students approximately two months to return to their home convent, spend time there, and then go to their next assigned *studium*, which may have been just enough time for the students to decide not to return. The problem was addressed again in 1274 at Toulouse, but this time the student could return to their home convent with the permission of the school's prior and of their home prior. However, these examples make the 1275 reform, which consolidated the number of *studium* in a vicarate from ten convents to six, all the more confusing,

scripti nominis in eodem. Et in dextro choro post provinciam Aragonie ex ordinacione capituli provincia ratione sortita est locum suum.

since in reality it did not actually address the problem of students (and lectors for that matter) moving around the province, unsure of where they would go next and thus leading to late starts and curricular confusion. Thus, after the 'restructuring' of 1275 the same problem persisted in the chapters of 1275, 1276 and 1279. In 1292, the chapter issued a rather desperate plea acknowledging the failures of past statutes, asking the students to obey the order diligently since it had been promulgated by the authority of the provincial prior. Students wanted to go home, and the priors evidently did not take the provincial chapter's warning seriously enough to stop them.³⁶

Bernard's first move away from the Limousin took him on a journey far further than Brives and his local community to the prestigious *studium generale* in Montpellier and illustrates why a friar may not want have wanted to go far from home.³⁷ His promotion brought him to the capital of the future province

³⁶ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 128, 164, 187, 199, 210, 230, and 366 The conception of a "home" convent and what relationship a friar could expect to have with it demands further study.

³⁷ On the history of the order's studia generalia, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 352–78; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:37–98; and Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 130–35. Hinnebusch and Douais have very little to say regarding Montpellier in particular, and Mulchahey only references Montpellier in terms of its formal recognition from Nicholas IV in 1289, which allowed the studium generale operated by the Dominicans to confer degrees in theology upon their students. Mulchahey best defines the key characteristics of a *studium generale*: "order-wide enrolment, centralized administration, and a permanent location". Amargier, "Écoles conventuelles et université," 25–26; Marcel Bories, "Les Origines de l'Université de Montpellier," in *Les universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 5 (Toulouse: Privat, 1970), 92–107; and Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "Le développement de la province dominicaine de Provence (1215-1295)," *Annales* 28, no. 4 (1973): 1017–41.

of Provence, far removed from anyone he knew well or, quite possibly, anyone he had ever met. Even though he did not technically come from a foreign province (and thus counted as an 'intern' as opposed to an 'extern'), Bernard was from a culturally and linguistically distinct region hundreds of kilometres to the north and did not fit in with the other students, many of whom, as we shall see, arrived at Montpellier with cliques of past connections already formed. The presence of students from foreign provinces often caused conflict. At Oxford in 1261, Simon of Henton refused entrance to externs, especially those from neighbouring Ireland; at Cologne in 1265, Herman of Havelberg sent a handful of students back to their home provinces; and at Paris in 1287, the general chapter dispatched visitors to undertake an inquest into the behaviour of foreign students and force those who caused problems to return home.³⁸ In a strictly administrative sense, the decision to divide the provinces had already been made by 1287 at the general chapter held at Bordeaux and confirmed at the next year's chapter at Lucca. In spite of the fact that the division was formally adopted as policy in 1287/1288, the implementation of that division would take more than fifteen years and did not officially occur until 1304. Analysing the origins and career paths of Bernard's classmates at Montpellier in 1289

³⁸ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 377–78 and Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:49–56.

illustrates some of the ways in which prominent friars continued to work in both Toulouse and Provence in the years after 1287/1288 and before the official division in 1304.

Both Hinnebusch and Mulchahey largely attribute the friction at these schools to economic matters: the foreign province was expected to finance its own students' stipends and living expenses but sometimes would not pay. This, however, would not have been a problem in Montpellier for Bernard, who experienced other problems unique to going far away from home. Surrounded by students who came from the opposite side of the province, Bernard failed to form lasting professional or social contacts with the men he studied with at Montpellier. There was no Gui Helye, with whom he would commune and collaborate over the following decades; there was no community of senior friars who could instruct and inspire him in the same way that Étienne de Salagnac had done at Limoges. Even if there had been, the place of a student in a foreign convent was very different from that of a regular friar. Students were exempt from many prayers; they could not be dispatched to the city on errands; they did not bear the same responsibilities as everyone else, and this marked them out as foreign, as much a target of curiosity as of resentment. Bernard was alone at Montpellier, and when he sought to expand his history of the convents of the province of Provence beyond the collection of convents that would go on

to become the province of Toulouse, he did not reach out to his former classmates at Montpellier; instead, he wrote straight to the provincial prior.³⁹ What follows attempts to reimagine the community of learning he found there and what opportunities a student there might expect to have thereafter.

There were eighteen other students of theology at Montpellier in 1289 when Bernard arrived, a significant increase from the thirteen students Montpellier hosted the previous year, possibly on account of the *studium* having received papal recognition from Nicholas IV.⁴⁰ He joined an already large class of nine students who had entered the convent's *studium generale* between 1284 and 1288, and eleven came from the three southern cities of Béziers, Narbonne, and Marseilles. Pierre de Casa Dei, Pierre Ricardi, Martin Pensati, Ponc de Torrellis, Pierre Aycardi, and Raymond de Corsavy all studied at Béziers, with the latter four all studying either natural philosophy or theology together in 1284.⁴¹ Raymond Pharandi, Gerald Palheri, Ponc de Torrellis, and Bernard Sabbateri all studied at Narbonne and overlapped between 1286 and 1288, and Guillaume Rostagni and Jacob Franci studied theology together in Marseilles in 1286.⁴² When Bernard arrived, he entered a culturally distinct school filled with

³⁹ Gui, "Lettre d'envoi de la compilation sur l'histoire des Dominicains à Fr. Aimeri, maître de l'ordre."

⁴⁰ Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 324-325.

⁴¹ Gui, 276-278.

⁴² Gui, 296-298, 306-307, 313-315.

students who had already come up through their local convents' ranks and knew each other quite well. Despite the order's earnest desire to break down international and hierarchical divisions through a commitment to executing their *propositum* and an appreciation of internationalism, such socio-structural divisions did exist. It is hard to imagine that Bernard, entering the convent of Montpellier alone as a student surrounded by others who came with built-in social networks, did not feel a little lonely.

Following their studies at Montpellier, Bernard and his classmates embarked on careers that reached greater heights than his peers at Limoges, even if there was still a winnowing. Almost half of his peers from Montpellier never rose above the rank of a student of theology, either finishing their studies at the *studium* and then re-joining the mass of their confrères or studying just one or two more years at another less prestigious *studium theologie* before disappearing from the *Acta capitulorum*.⁴³ All nine of the remaining friars became lectors at some point after their studies, reaffirming the claims assumed in the past that the *studium*'s purpose was to train future lectors who would go on to educate new generations of Dominican students. For about half of the remaining nine, the position of lector was as high as they would rise within the

⁴³ These students include G. Rostagni, Jacob Franci, P. Ricardi, P. de Castello, P. Aycardi, P. de Boberiis, Hugo Deodati, and Ber. Sabbaterii de Montepessulano (who only rose to the rank of prior of Toulouse from 1328 to 1329). Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 56.

order's administrative hierarchy. P. de Casa Dei became lector of theology at Rodez, Radulf d'Asio at Die, R. Pharandi served as sub-lector at Sisteron, and Martin Pessati at Millau and Collioure, all with the exception of Rodez in the new province of Provence.⁴⁴ Despite the fact that these convents did not host prestigious *studia* in theology, the positions still held weight. Academically, they ensured that these men could access the material means to continue pursuing theological research, and administratively, it guaranteed them a voice at the provincial chapters as representatives of their convents. Lectors were also guaranteed extra food, a lightened prayer schedule, money for clothing, and a *socius*, who would serve as a research assistant. They were also protected from obligations that brought them outside the priory, such as preaching and begging for alms.⁴⁵

A few of the more advanced students, including Ponc de Torrellis, Gerald Palheri, Jean Berenguarii, and Jean de Caprillis, received the honorific title of 'general preacher'.⁴⁶ The office had originally involved literal preaching throughout the province. These preachers possessed extraordinary theological training and could be trusted by their confrères to preach beyond the limits of

⁴⁴ Gui, *Acta capitulorum*, 333 for P. de Casa Dei, Radulf d'Asio, 350 for R. Pharandi, and 333 and 411 for Martin Pessati.

⁴⁵ On the privileges of being a lector, see Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:56–57.

⁴⁶ H. C. Sheeben, "Prediger und Generalprediger im Dominikaner Orden des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961): 112–41.

their own convent to the rest of the province. According to Galbraith, by the middle of the century the order began using these prestigious preachers to help with the province's administration, representing his 'home' convent at the provincial chapters, and by the end of the century, the position seems to have been purely honorific and held for life. The province of Provence notoriously appointed many more general preachers than it was supposed to, despite numerous admonitions and restrictions placed upon it by the general chapter.⁴⁷ The latter two even had the honour of studying theology at Paris together in 1296 after having proved themselves as successful students at Montpellier and as promising lecturers of theology at smaller towns in their province.

That many of the *studium's* more successful students became lecturers and preachers throughout the province (almost exclusively in what would become the new province of Provence) should not be surprising. Many other scholars have begun their investigations with the basic premise that education served as the essential foundation for the rest of the order's ambitions. If the Dominicans were to preach and combat heresy, a strong theological education provided the best preparation for those tasks.⁴⁸ More notable, however, is the number of

⁴⁷ On the "general preachers" or "preachers-general", see Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 162–74; Showalter, "The Business of Salvation," 565–66.

⁴⁸ Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study*, 3–74; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, 2:3–18; and Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation*, 1–12, 141–54. Douais's description is certainly the most memorable: 'Les raisons providentielles pour lesquelles l'ordre fut fondé, le but d'apologétique qu'il se donna et qu'il poursuivit, l'apostolat

successful students who both lectured and ran convents as priors. The role of the *studium* in identifying and training promising administrators has been largely overlooked, probably because unlike logic, philosophy, and theology, no standard curriculum existed specifically to teach friars how to run a convent. The exception to this could be material prepared for hearing confessions and the bi-weekly *collationes scientificae*.⁴⁹ Mulchahey argues that both provided the foundations for how they should interact with heretics, thus preparing friars for pastoral and inquisitorial duties. The *collationes scientificae* may have also provided suitable training for future priors, who as we shall see in chapters four and five, required strong communication and political know-how, whereas the position of inquisitor did not necessarily demand such a strong administrative or political training, even though a legalistic or historical one might have been helpful for organizing large amounts of data, information, and misinformation.

It might be easy to assume that learning how to govern did not demand special instruction, since most of these friars had lived within Dominican limits

de protection et de défense doctrinale que les circonstances lui imposèrent à l'origine, devait inévitablement le conduire là'.

⁴⁹ M. Michèle Mulchahey, "Summae Inquisitorum and the Art of Disputation: How the Early Dominican Order Trained Its Inquisitors," in *Predicatores Inquisitores: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the First International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition 23-25 February 2002*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2004), 145–56. On the creation of pedagogical manuals that could serve explicit and implicit purposes more broadly, see Mulchahey, "Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care," 458–62.

as long as they could remember, but such a career was not for everyone.⁵⁰ For example, Jean de Caprillis, the Parisian master who returned to lecture at Alès, Béziers, and Le Puy and to preach in the Carcassonnais, never served as a prior. Raymond de Corsavy, who studied at Paris in 1294 and then served as lector at Perpignan, sub-lector at Montpellier, and as a general preacher was appointed twice as prior, but he does not seem to have enjoyed the task. His first term at Perpignan between 1303 and 1304 was by all appearances uneventful, but when he was transferred to Montpellier around Easter 1304, he only stayed the minimum two months before a new provincial chapter could appoint his replacement.

The careers of other friars brought them closer to Bernard's orbit. Pierre Vitalis, despite being far more devoted to lecturing than to administration, appeared at Saint-Junien, near Limoges, in August 1291 to facilitate the transfer of bourgeois donations to the town's newly established convent.⁵¹ As we shall see in later chapters, Bernard's career took him to the tumultuous convents of Albi and Carcassonne, and after his departure, one of his classmates from Montpellier was left to control the fallout. Ponc de Torrellis, formerly lector of

⁵⁰ Enrico Artifoni, "I Podestà professionali e la fondazione retorica della politica comunale," *Quaderni storici* 21, no. 63 (December 1986): 687–719 for an example of how professional manuals were used to train an administrative class. I thank Eric Nemarich for the reference.

⁵¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 223.

theology at Rodez and a general preacher appointed alongside Bernard in 1302, was appointed prior of Carcassonne from 1304 to 1305 and prior of Albi from 1306 to 1307.⁵² Two friars, Gerald Palheri and Jean Berenguari, also overlapped with Bernard as preachers at the provincial chapter of 1302 at Carcassonne.

The presence of so many of his classmates in the *De fundatione et prioribus* provides another opportunity to measure the connection, or lack thereof, Bernard established with his classmates at Montpellier. In none of his descriptions does he yield even the slightest bit of personal information, besides in the rare case where Bernard mentions when the friar died and where he was buried. Six of his classmates appear in the *De fundatione et prioribus*, five of them as priors themselves: Jean Berengarii, prior of Montpellier from 1304-1307; Gerald Palheri, prior of Narbonne from 1300-1303, 1307-1310, and 1312-1315 and prior of Montpellier from 1310-1312; Ponc de Torrellis, prior of Figeac from 1298 to 1300, of Carcassonne from 1304 to 1305, and Albi from 1306 to 1307; Ber. Sabbaterii de Montepessulano, prior of Toulouse from 1328 to 1329, that is, after Bernard had stopped redacting new entries himself; and Raymond de Corsavy, prior of Perpignan from 1303 to 1304 and prior of Montpellier for two months in 1304. Bernard does not betray any personal intimacy towards any of these men. The most informative entry available is that of Ponc de Torrellis: *Sextus decimus*

⁵² Gui, 104 for Carcassonne, 205 for Albi.

*prior Fr. Poncius de Torrellis, de predicatione Carcassonensi. Successit fr. Iacobo Manescalli, ex lectore ibidem prior effectus. Prior fuit annis duobus, fuitque absolutus in cap. gen. Massilie a. D. MCCC. Hic obiit in Limoso, ubi fuit sepultus, in festo S. Clementis, IX kal. Decembris a. D. MCCCIX.*⁵³ Amongst his peers at Montpellier, this is the only one to include a date of death and location of burial, which compared to the level of detail Bernard provides regarding his peers at Limoges, is paltry.

The letter Bernard sent to Guillaume de Laudun, provincial prior of the new province of Provence, on 1 August 1311 further demonstrates the lack of professional contact Bernard had with his former classmates at Montpellier.⁵⁴ In his prefatory letter, Bernard asked the provincial prior for his assistance in double-checking and correcting Bernard's work related to the new province since it lacked so many details on account of the great distance Bernard would have to travel to access the documents, despite his best efforts. There appears to have been some push-back against Bernard's efforts to collect administrative documents: this should not be surprising given the paucity of care directed by friars to the project of preserving the acts of the provincial chapter before the project. However, it is worth considering that despite having studied in the

⁵³ Gui, 133.

⁵⁴ Gui, "Lettre d'envoi de la compilation sur l'histoire des Dominicains à Fr. Aimeri, maître de l'ordre."

capital of the new province of Provence for two years with some of the most well-connected Dominicans of his day, Bernard could not rely on their assistance in providing him with basic administrative documents. Amongst his classmates from Montpellier, Bernard knew friars who occupied high-ranking positions at fifteen convents between 1290 and 1311.⁵⁵ And yet, he does not pay them any special attention in his descriptions of the convents' foundations and priors, even when they were priors. Moreover, it is noteworthy how little information Bernard had at his disposal, given his personal connections at these institutions. At Montpellier, Narbonne, Perpignan, and Béziers, marginal notes indicate his disappointment: '*De . . . non potui amplius invenire*' accompanies each of these entries.⁵⁶ At many of the convents (Le Puy, Sisteron, Die, Aix, Aubenas, Tarascon, and Alès), Bernard does not provide any more information than what was available in the *Acta capitulorum* he could find in the province of Toulouse. The three convents, which Bernard treats more fully are Collioure, Puycerda, and Saint-Maximin, but the details did not come from individual friars. Rather, Bernard recounts dramatic events that involved international political posturing on the part of characters such as the crowns of Aragon and

⁵⁵ These fifteen were Montpellier, Perpignan, Narbonne, Le Puy, Millau, Sisteron, Die, Collioure, Puycerda, Aix, Aubenas, Saint-Maximin, Béziers, Tarascon, and Alès.

⁵⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 247 for Montpellier, 251 for Narbonne, 256 for Perpignan, and 260 for Béziers.

Naples and the papacy.⁵⁷ The only three convents that do receive additional details, Montpellier, Narbonne, and Millau, are all easily explained without reference to Bernard's classmates. At Montpellier, he consulted Guillaume de Petralata; at Narbonne, the prior Helyas Navarra, a prominent friar from Limoges whom Bernard revered; and at Millau, the priors Guillaume de Petralata and Helyas Arnaldi of Limoges, the latter having served from 1296 to 1301 and died in Limoges while Bernard was prior of that convent in 1305.⁵⁸ But Bernard does not appear to have established any sort of lasting connection with his peers at the *studium* of Montpellier and could not rely on any one of these connections for assistance in compiling his *De fundatione et prioribus* when he wrote to Guillaum de Laudun in 1311. Montpellier and what became the new province of Provence after 1304 was never Bernard's home, and the men he met during his studies in 1289 and 1290 at the *studium generale* never became fruitful professional contacts.

This chapter has recounted Bernard's first professional steps in the order as a student of natural philosophy and theology. In particular, certain elements of the Dominican education apparatus became clearer. Competition prevailed, and not every friar developed or found a permanent professional community,

⁵⁷ Gui, 271 for Collioure, 273 for Puycerda, 275 for Saint-Maximin.

⁵⁸ Gui, 247 for Montpellier, 251 for Narbonne, 269 for Millau.

thus complicating, if not outright refuting, Muclhahey's portrayal of the medieval convent as a site of 'educational teamwork. . . engaged in a collaborative enterprise of learning and teaching' and Amargier's description of the schools as '*l'image du collège apostolique, douze membres et avoir à sa tête non seulement un prieur, primus inter pares, mais encore un docteur*'.⁵⁹ Taking this observation a step further, the entrenchment of practices and professional networks in individual convents and provinces calls the claim that the Dominicans had 'achieved centralisation' into doubt.⁶⁰ The structural imposition of the schools did not succeed in detaching friars from their 'home' convents, and even friars in the same province could fight or fall out of touch, losing any seed of professional uniformity to chronological and geographical distance.

The system of schools did create a hierarchy and appears to have served as a sort of reverse sieve, making sure that only the best of the best students ever reached the positions with the greatest responsibility: lectors and preachers yes, but also priors. The skills necessary to be a good prior--that is, a good administrator--were not necessarily those taught in the classroom. Instead, the

⁵⁹ Mulchahey, "Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care," 443–45 and Amargier, "Écoles conventuelles et université," 22.

⁶⁰ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 6: 'The thirteenth century, which saw in the state the rise of a complex administrative machine, produced the Order of Preachers. This Order achieved centralisation.'

job demanded institutional legitimation that could be translated both internally and externally into political, social and financial power. The next chapters explore the phase of Bernard's career that followed his years spent in the Dominican *studia*, that is, his time as an administrator.

Chapter 4: Bernard the Prior

Chapters four and five trace Bernard's career as prior of the four convents of Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges between 1294 and 1307. It was during this period of his career that Bernard achieved the greatest success and acquired his reputation as an expert compiler of administrative documents. His accomplishments include both the tangible (overseeing new construction and fostering diplomatic relationships) and the abstract (the defence of specifically Dominican political achievements). The first chapter explores how Bernard became a prior, what the office demanded of him, and the internal challenges both he and the office (the *prioratus*) faced at the turn of the fourteenth century. Using Bernard's numerous references to the order's ongoing construction projects, the second chapter turns our attention from Bernard's work inside the convents to relationships with external authorities to argue that he viewed the prior's responsibilities extended beyond the administrative to the political and diplomatic. The second chapter also gives greater form to the political, financial, and consular anxieties he grew to anticipate over the course of his thirteen-year career as prior. It argues that his administrative compendium responded to a metastasising atmosphere of unease that Bernard, as one of the order's premiere priors, felt bound to do.

Bernard enjoyed a period of immense administrative accomplishment during his thirteen years as prior. It should come as no surprise that Bernard's collection of administrative records forms an essential element of so many studies of Dominican institutional history today. His reputation as an expert administrator had spread throughout the order, and at the general chapter in 1304 at Toulouse, the master-general, Aymeric de Piacenza, formally recognized his acumen by requesting a compilation of the order's essential institutional documents: the acts of the provincial chapters, catalogues of provincial priors, and histories of the convents of the provinces of Toulouse and Provence. It is thanks to this commission and Bernard's careful research that so many reference materials survive as sources for modern research.

The position of prior demanded the friar's full attention. He and his sub-prior were the only two friars entrusted with what Humbert de Romans described as the general *cura animarum* of the community.¹ The demands of the office far outstripped the capabilities of any one man, and so, priors appointed a council of senior friars to assist in the convent's management. This advisory board assisted in a broad range of matters including auditing financial accounts; appointing, changing, and dismissing officers; nominating friars for special orders, to preach, or to hear confessions; about deciding which friars to send to

¹ Galbraith, 117–18.

beg or preach and which friars should be sent together; appointing, dismissing, or keeping servants; about procuring the necessities of life; distributing dead friars' books; and generally managing the minutiae about which a prior might need advice.² The council both assisted the prior in the administration of quotidian tasks and held the prior accountable by providing a check on his power as an individual, especially when it came to applying the convent's seal to contracts, letters, and reports.

Oversight of Dominican priors came from both above and below. A formal check on the prior's power came in the form of an annual vote of confidence, in which all of the convent's friars had the opportunity to either maintain the status quo or elect a new leader. From the superior provincial chapter, the assembly of Dominicans dispatched senior friars known as visitors to audit each convent and ensure that priors operated in compliance with the order's statutes and norms. Showalter argued, 'the characteristic feature of Dominican organization was its interlocking system of delegates and representatives possessing *plena potestas*', which in turn 'represented a carefully planned attempt to solve the problems of parochialism and inflexibility by combining a strong central authority with institutions embodying recent

² Galbraith, 115–17.

developments in the theory of representation'.³ Most recently, Gert Melville has revisited the question of Dominican administration by identifying 'fixed' aspects of the order's governance such as its written constitution and 'fluid' aspects like the statutory *admonitiones* passed at general and provincial chapters. While the former provided a framework within which the order organized itself, the latter offered mechanisms through which the order could respond and adapt to new challenges.⁴

Bernard's work reflects the political theories at work in the order at the turn of the fourteenth century. This chapter explores the questions of administration, 'interlocking systems' of representation, and the 'fixed and the fluid' built into the Dominican Order's operation of individual convents through his *De fundatione et prioribus*. Around the turn of the fourteenth century, at exactly the time when Bernard composed his administrative compilations, this system was beginning to succumb to greater autocratic leanings from the order's superiors, and increasing loyalty to local, rather than universal,

³ Showalter, "The Business of Salvation," 561–63; On *plena potestas* as a mechanism for managing the legal competence of representatives and their principals, see Gaines Post, "Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies: A Study in Romano-Canonical Procedure and the Rise of Representation, 1150-1325," *Traditio* 1 (1943): 355–408.

⁴ Gert Melville, "The Fixed and the Fluid: Observations on the Rational Bases of Dominican Constitution and Organization in the Middle Ages," in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, Studies of the German Historical Institute, London (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

priorities.⁵ Galbraith has attributed the maintenance of Dominican constitutional balance to the general chapters until the middle of the fourteenth century, but in Bernard's work, a second potential source of stability appears. In the preface to the first edition of his *De tribus gradibus* in 1304, Bernard claims that the purpose of his work is to remind his confrères of the state of the order, its progress, and what proves that it deserves the gift of divine clemency.⁶ His preface to his catalogue of the provincial priors from 1309 gives this sentiment greater precision, focusing on the history of the convents, the guides and priors (*rectores et priores*), and the memory of just men (*memoria justorum*) in their lands. His anxiety penetrates further when, while still justifying the utility of his work, claiming that when discord arises, let it not be in a stone of displeasure and a rock of scandal, but rather let it generate fear and caution, so that it shall stand and not fall, thanks to the conservation of its past and thus, the protection of its future.⁷

'However, to write this and to have it in each convent will not be useless, but the truth having been considered in many things expediently and devotedly, so that the sons who were destined for the fathers and will rise into perfect men in the Toulousain province shall not be ignorant of their origins and their progress and the status of their convents and places, and those rectors and priors who

⁵ Showalter, "The Business of Salvation," 565; Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 190–91.

⁶ Gui, "Lettre d'envoi de la compilation sur l'histoire des Dominicains à Fr. Aiméri, maître de l'ordre."

⁷ Bernard Gui, "Préface de l'histoire des prieurs provinciaux et des prieurs conventuels de l'ordre des dominicains dans les provinces de Provence et de Toulouse," in *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 381.

accomplished [these things], and so that memory of the just, who as long as they lived in the Lord deserved perpetual life in heaven, shall survive with praises throughout the lands. Thus if discord of any sort will arise amongst them (just as some fell from the ranks of the Angels), let it not be in the stone of displeasure and the rock of scandal, but rather may it beget fear and caution, so that he who stands should see and not fall, giving thanks for his preservation from the past and guarding himself against the future.'

'Hoc autem scire et in singulis conventibus habere non erit inutile, sed inspecta veritate in multis expediens et devotum, ut filii qui nascentur pro patribus et exurgent in viros perfectos in provincia Tholosana non ignorent primordia et progressus sui status suorumque conventuum et locorum, et sub quibus rectoribus et prioribus profecerunt, vivatque memoria justorum cum laudibus in terris, qui, dum hic viverent in Domino, vitam perpetuam in celestibus meruerunt. Quod si inter istos casus alicujus occurrerit (nam de Angelorum ordinibus aliqui ceciderunt), non sit in lapidem offensionis et petram scandali, set timorem potius generet et cautelam, ut qui stat videat ne cadat, pro sui conservatione gratias agens de preterito et sibi precavens in futurum.'

If the order's government distinguished it from other forms of ecclesiastical,

regular, and indeed secular government, then the maintenance of this ideal

system did bear on individual friars' identity. Bernard's vision of the

Dominican government and its unique accomplishment was based on acting in

good faith and trust, which demanded forgiveness and clean, honest resolutions

of conflict grounded in history and fact.

Bernard triumphed as prior of Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges.

Following his years at Montpellier, he was appointed lector of theology back in

the soon-to-be province of Toulouse at the convent of Albi (he was only one of

two members of his class at Montpellier to receive an appointment outside of

the future province of Provence). Where other students, such as Raymond de

Corsavy, demonstrated a clear predilection for teaching and studying theology, Bernard sought out more administrative responsibilities.⁸ Between 1294, when he was first elected prior of Albi, and 1307, when he was appointed inquisitor of Toulouse, Bernard served as prior at four of the most important and difficult convents in his province: Albi from 1294 to 1297, Carcassonne from 1297 to 1301, Castres from 1301 to 1305, and Limoges from 1305 to 1307.⁹ To occupy the position of prior at so many key convents testifies to Bernard's reputation for effective and responsible management.

Most of Bernard's time as prior would have been occupied with the managing of the convent's officers and the management of financial matters. All told, thirty-two officers responsible for every aspect of Dominican life, from gardening to the making of clothes to the ordering of books, reported to their prior. The prior was responsible for choosing suitable men for the job, training these men, assessing requests for special dispensations, and then receiving and auditing annual reports from each of them detailing the financial expenditures for each office.¹⁰ Bernard thrived. Although his quotidian practices and administration have not survived, Bernard does recount some of his more

⁸ Despite his primarily administrative career, Bernard still wrote treatises concerning Christian doctrine, the mass, and the conception of the Virgin Mary. Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 362–65 and Thomas, “Bernard Gui,” 156–60.

⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 67 for Limoges, 102–103 for Carcassonne, 154 for Castres, and 199–200 for Albi; Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 176; and Thomas, “Bernard Gui,” 144.

¹⁰ Thomas, “Bernard Gui,” 118.

notable accomplishments in the *De fundatione et prioribus*. At Albi, for example, he developed a close relationship with the city's bishop, Bernard de Castanet, and also oversaw the construction of a new bell-tower and brick wall.¹¹ When the friars of Carcassonne elected him prior, the chapter faced massive urban unrest in protest of the order's relationship with the inquisition, and Bernard negotiated furiously with royal, papal, episcopal, and bourgeois leadership to try to find a solution.¹² After his absolution (for which he seems to have expressed immense gratitude), Bernard was appointed lector of theology in Carcassonne. However, he did not stay for long, and in 1302 took up the post of prior of Castres, where he completed a number of important construction projects including two chapels and developed fruitful relationships with the local community.¹³ He was again appointed lector of theology at Carcassonne (the provincial chapter seemed eager to have him at-hand in the tumultuous convent), but again refused for the position of prior of his home convent, Limoges. Back in his home convent, he enjoyed continued success, most notably hosting Pope Clement V and a group of eight cardinals en route to

¹¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 199.

¹² See below, chapters six and seven.

¹³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 154.

Bordeaux over Easter. Here, like in Albi and Castres, Bernard oversaw yet more construction, this time the convent's library.¹⁴

Each convent's cohort of friars took responsibility for electing their own prior.¹⁵ The basic rules were straightforward: only friars whose profession was older than four years could vote; there was no absentee voting; priors from other convents must have resided in the convent in which they voted for one continuous year immediately leading up to the vote; there was to be no electioneering or canvassing or outside influence; the prior could be elected by a majority of friars present (*per scrutinum*), by a committee elected by the convent's friars (*per compromissionem*), or by unanimous acclamation.¹⁶ The order's constitutions drew inspiration for its electoral procedure largely from canon law, established at the third and fourth Lateran councils, surrounding the election of bishops.¹⁷ The two nevertheless diverged in some important respects. For example, whereas ecclesiastical elections required agreement in

¹⁴ Gui, 67.

¹⁵ Benedikt Maria Reichert and Franz Andreas Frühwirth, eds., *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome: In domo generalia, 1898).

¹⁶ Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 1:217–19, 236–42; Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 45–47; Léo Moulin, "Les formes de gouvernement local et provincial dans les instituts religieux," *Revue internationale des sciences administratives* 21 (1955): 45–47; Tugwell, "Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," 28–123. Tugwell provides comprehensive and insightful analysis of how the constitutions' provisions for elections transformed over the course of the thirteenth century and what bearing they had on the order in both abstract ideological and functional, operational regards.

¹⁷ Tugwell, "Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," 28 and Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 1:217.

both *maior et sanior pars*, the Dominicans only required a simple majority of friars present, thus doing away with the '*subtilitates*' that burdened defining the *sanior pars*.¹⁸ Dominican attitudes towards confirmation also diverged from canon law, insofar as the confirmation meant confirmation in office, or put more bluntly, the non-removal of an already-elected prior.¹⁹ It seems as though the Dominicans were far less concerned with the dangers of a potentially incompetent majority than their ecclesiastical counterparts were and that the friars' primary concern was the steady operation of their convents and provinces.

Unfortunately, very few records survive besides the order's own constitutions to assist in reconstructing the exact processes, controversies, and compromises that determined the outcome of individual elections.²⁰ It comes as something of a surprise that the election of priors does not appear in Bernard's *De fundatione et prioribus*. In fact, when accounting for his own appointments as

¹⁸ Tugwell, "Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," 29–32, 44–45.

¹⁹ Tugwell, 47–48, but Tugwell also argues that provincial priors could have exercised some authority and indeed, by 1272 did exercise a sort of "near-authoritarian" stranglehold over the confirmation of provincial priors despite the fact that the provincial prior oftentimes delegated that task. The matter is more complicated than Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 111–12 would lead one to believe. "The conventual prior was elected by the conventual chapter, and his election confirmed by the provincial prior. As soon as this confirmation reached the house, the new prior entered office."

²⁰ According to Tugwell, "Election, Confirmation and 'Absolution' of Superiors," 67–68, there are four model letters in Archives départementales de la Côte d'Or, H 221 requesting the confirmation of conventual elections. I have not been able to consult these documents, but they may provide some insight into how convents dealt with the various outcomes of their elections.

prior, Bernard does not use '*electus*' once. Instead, he 'succeeded' Guillaume Bernard and was confirmed as prior of Albi, 'translated' from Albi and confirmed as prior of Carcassonne, confirmed as prior of Castres, and succeeded Étienne Laurelli and was confirmed as prior of Limoges.²¹ The only additional information beyond '*electus esse*' appears in the entry for the priors of the convent of Morlaan in 1325 when Jean de Garrossio was elected *unanimiter*.²² Why Bernard chose not to include the results of conventual elections or to collate those elsewhere is mysterious. If he wanted the data, he certainly had access to the records, which were received annually by the provincial prior, and to include additional information (even, say, *per scrutinum*, *per compromissionem*, or *unanimiter*) would not have been too onerous a task. Elections, however, were delicate subjects, and Bernard knew that they could very well split an entire community of like-minded confrères. At Limoges around the time of Bernard's entry into the Dominican Order as a boy, the cathedral chapter divided into two camps after the death of Aymeric de Serra in 1272. They elected Clement de Saint-Hillary and Symon de Rupecavardi, and it was only through the intervention of Helye de Malamorte, a local noble, and the papacy

²¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 67 for Limoges, 102-103 for Carcassonne, 154 for Castres, 199-200 for Albi; on the procedure for absolving a prior, see Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 113-14.

²² Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 188.

that the matter was finally resolved in 1275.²³ Within the order itself, the elimination of the *sanior pars* rule, which brought so much subjectivity with it, and the circumscribed authority enjoyed by the provincial prior both demonstrate a commitment to institutional stability rather than ideological adherence.

There is an additional piece of evidence that demonstrates Bernard's wilful avoidance of controversial or embarrassing topics: the case of Bertrand de Clermont. Bernard does not often give the reason or circumstances of friars' absolution. Only when a friar refused the post or died or was 'transferred' does he say explicitly why the prior's term ended. Bernard may have done this to minimize embarrassment for friars with short tenures or because he simply did not know the precise circumstances and thought better not to speculate or gossip. Bertrand was prior of Bergerac from 1283 to 1284, and in the *De fundatione et prioribus*, he only receives a cursory mention that follows the formula of name, predecessor, length of tenure, and when he was absolved.²⁴ Bernard, however, knew more than what this entry would lead the reader to believe, since in his redaction of the *Acta capitulorum provinciae Provinciae*, Bernard describes the circumstances of the punishment meted out to Bertrand

²³ See especially, Bernard's entry in Bernard Gui, *Nomina episcoporum Lemovicensium*, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Nouvelles acquisitions latins 1171, fol. 208r.

²⁴ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 172.

de Clermont in 1284 that led to the prior's demise. Bertrand had intercepted a letter meant for the provincial prior, opened the letter, read it, and had it copied, leading to his removal from office and a ban of two years on holding the office of prior.²⁵ This ban, however, does not seem to have carried much weight, since the following year, Bertrand was made prior of Bergerac again, a post he held for seven years. In the short span of just half a year, he went on to be elected and confirmed prior of Le Puy, then the same in Narbonne, and finally was promoted to the prestigious post of inquisitor of Toulouse.²⁶ Bernard, as we have seen here and elsewhere, sought to maintain the ideal of stability and the maintenance of reputation by avoiding potentially unsavoury topics, like contested elections and inglorious absolutions.

The men who became priors often came from similar educational backgrounds. As the previous chapter argued, the order's network of *studia* and attendant levels of prestige constructed a rather inflexible hierarchy of friars. Yet, the order demanded men with specific talents -- some concrete, like a certain familiarity with construction, for example, and some abstract, such as a degree of charisma necessary for managing a large team of friars -- to run its

²⁵ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 122 and Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, 280.

²⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 173 and Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 122-123. On the question of absolution generally, much, especially concerning agency and reputational effects of it, remains unknown.

convents. This problem has not evaded earlier historians. In the early 1960s, Léo Moulin approached the question of the balance of power within Dominican convents by arguing that by selecting councilors on the basis of their reputation and seniority, the order combined spiritual and political authority, thus expressing a high degree of faith in human reason.²⁷ On the other hand, these democratic aspects of Dominican governance are complicated by the 'increasing concentration of all importance and a great deal of power in a relatively small number of hands' first sketched by Showalter.²⁸ Earlier historians of the order have offered solutions to this problem that are accurate, but too one-dimensional. Galbraith's thesis that the 'only consideration was what was best for the Order' in determining which friars went where and did what denies the fact that individual friars did possess individual talents and aspirations, and Hinnebusch's conclusion that 'retention or removal depended on local or personal considerations' also obscures the essential role that the order's structural framework played in determining precisely who was allowed to determine what 'considerations' mattered.²⁹ In Bernard's *De fundatione et prioribus*, we find a solution to this administrative conundrum in an example of

²⁷ Moulin, "Les formes de gouvernement," 47, 49, 54; Léo Moulin, "Le pluricameralisme dans l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs," *Res Publica* 2 (1960): 51.

²⁸ Showalter, "The Business of Salvation," 565.

²⁹ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 111 and Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, 1:220.

a non-legislative instantiation of Melville's theory of 'the fixed and the fluid'. The order built its structures to create a pool of talented, well-educated friars rich in the social and cultural capital necessary for the order's progress, which were 'fixed.' However, the way in which it distributed those friars in scholarly and administrative roles demonstrated a degree of 'fluidity' that allowed for friars, like Bernard, to follow professional pathways best suited to their own talents.

A brief account of Bernard's own career in the context of his contemporaries illuminates how he experienced this phenomenon of a 'negotiated talent pool'. Before his election as prior of Albi in 1294, Bernard had served the convent as a successful lector of theology. The roles of lector of theology and prior probably held similar amounts of prestige in the order's hierarchy, and two of Bernard's classmates from Montpellier followed a trajectory extremely similar to Bernard's. Gerald Palheri and Ponc de Torrellis both became priors in 1298 at Albi and Figeac respectively, beginning decade-long careers as administrators. They had, like Bernard, served as lectors for a few years beforehand at relatively small convents (Puycerda and Aix, and Béziers and Rodez, respectively). Even though they, unlike Bernard, were elected by convents different from those where they taught, Gerald and Ponc's careers demonstrate that the order's *studium generale* created a pool of lectors of

theology and conventual priors simultaneously. Whereas the lector took responsibility for the order's internal edification, the prior managed both internal, quotidian affairs (as we shall see in this chapter) and external relationships necessary for the order's continued success (as we shall see in the next chapter).

However, it is difficult to describe with any certainty a 'typical' career path that would have led to serving as prior or as a prominent lector of theology.³⁰ Some friars very clearly only had academic ambitions: Jean de Caprilis, for example, served as lector at Aubenas, Arles, Alès, Béziers, and Le Puy after his studies at Montpellier and Paris. The case of Ytier de Compreignac presents a more ornery academic, who, when appointed prior of Limoges a third time in 1301, refused 'the yoke of serving as prior' and chose to remain a lector at Cahors instead.³¹ Ytier had a history of stubbornness: in 1292, when he was assigned lector at Bordeaux, he simply did not go, remaining in Limoges (his hometown) as lector. In the cases of Bernard and Gui, again there are striking similarities in that both had been appointed to academic posts and then, when later appointed prior, chose to take that position instead. In 1294

³⁰ In this chapter, reference will be made to friars who studied at the *studium* in Toulouse while Bernard was in Montpellier. These friars can be found in appendix 4. They formed the professional network with whom Bernard would interact far more as his career shifted back to the province of Toulouse and away from Provence.

³¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 65.

Bernard was appointed lector of theology at Carcassonne before taking the post of prior at Albi, and again in 1301 he was appointed lector of theology at Carcassonne before taking the post of prior of Castres. In 1296, Gui Helye was appointed reader of the Bible at Toulouse (a very prestigious position), but chose to take on the office of prior of Brives, and in 1301, he was appointed lector at Figeac but took on the post of prior of Bergerac. In the case of Gui Helye, it could have been his devotion to the Limousin and desire to be closer to home that drew him back in both cases. Unlike the case of Ytier de Compreignac, who preferred to remain a lector rather than taking up the post of prior in 1301, Bernard and Gui's choice to become prior did not draw extra attention, meaning that the prior may have been seen as somewhat more prestigious. Others seemed obviously destined for careers as prior, such as Bernard de Cambernard who never taught and founded the convent of Saint-Gaudens, served as its prior twice, and as prior of Saint-Emilion. A few others, such as Bertrand Fulcoldi and Bernard Sabbaterri, focused on theological studies for most of their careers and then took the office of prior decades later in their life, when the nature of the position was changing.³² In rare cases, like

³² Bertrand Fulcoldi served as prior of Bergerac from 1311 to 1313 and of Brives from 1316 to 1318, and Bernard Sabbaterri served as prior of Toulouse from 1328 to 1329. Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 190–91 describes convents of the mid-fourteenth century as taking on an increasingly local, rather than universal attitude.

those of Bernard Gui and Gui Helye, the friar received assignments alternating between both fields before settling (in these two friars' cases) on the administrative route.

Amongst Bernard's classmates, only Bernard de Cambernard became a prior without first serving some other position (usually lector or sub-lector of theology) first. A one or two-year tenure in such a position would have provided useful exposure to the administrative responsibilities of a prior to whom he reported on both academic (his students' progress, for example) and administrative (the financial expenditures incurred by study) matters. For example, Bernard may have gained valuable first-hand experience at Albi while serving as lector of theology in 1293 when the final preparations for constructing the convent's new church began and the convent's prior demanded greater counsel from his more senior officials. Thus, there were a number of factors at play when deciding which friars taught and which governed: personal preference, past experience, proximity to his home convent, and personality all played important roles in demanding a flexible, personal institutional administration.

In both the scope of topics he tackled and the specific institutional documents he transcribed, Bernard identifies external outreach to nobles, burghers, other orders, royalty, and anyone else tangentially related to the

organization of society as essential to the order's mission. If study formed the foundation for the friars' internal preparation, strong ties with their community formed the foundation for the friars' external success. The next chapter explores one facet of that argument, Bernard's careful description of Dominican construction projects.

Chapter 5: Dominican Diplomacy

In 1305, during his short tenure as prior of Limoges, Bernard had a problem: he wanted to build a gate, and the viscount would not let him. Years earlier, the friars had purchased a parcel of land a couple hundred metres up the road from their convent, and now they hoped to control access to their terrain. This may have been a long-standing priority since the time of violent unrest in the 1260s and 1270s, or perhaps a product of the recent tumult experienced in Carcassonne, Albi, and other cities, or perhaps a combination of the two compelled the Dominicans to fortify. The gate facing the modern-day Place Manigne would have divided the viscount's quarter from the Dominican convent, which itself straddled the border between the territory under the viscount's control and that under the bishop.¹ Bernard's entry in the *De fundatione et prioribus* does not say why the viscount had opposed and delayed the preachers' proposal, but control of doors, portals, and windows, let alone entire gates, was heavily regulated in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, especially when questions of jurisdiction arose.²

¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 67.

² See chapter 1 for an overview of the jurisdictional disputes in Limoges. For another example of disputes over doors, see a resolution between Philip III and the church of Saint-Merri in Paris included a ban on the construction of new entrances, exits, windows, or any other portals on the boundary between the canons' cloister and the rest of the church's domains, where the crown exercised "high justice". The punishment for building new portals included the loss of the canons' legal jurisdiction. Ryan Low, "A New Assessment of Private Jurisdiction and Royal Power in Medieval Paris" (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 2016), 81–82. For the accord

This chapter also serves as a sort of gate between internal Dominican administrative practice (explored in the last chapter) and the external, political relationships which also demanded priors' attention. Many historians of the Dominican Order, including Mulchahey, Galbraith, Hinnebusch, and Boyle, have focused on the prior's responsibilities for internal, conventual administration, rather than external diplomacy. Hinnebusch goes so far as to claim that the Dominicans never engaged in external fundraising or in any sort of financially- or politically-related activities.³ While this may have been true about many Dominican administrators (and individual friars), such as the lector, it was not the case of the prior. These relationships spanned from intra-order affairs to those between the order and popes and kings, bishops and burghers. The stakes could range from the order's independence to the daily supply of bread. The maintenance of these alliances provided the essential funds for expansive construction projects, legal protection from the challenges levied by both regular and secular opponents, and political and military support in times of more violent crises. With regard to the catalogues of conventual priors, Bernard's accounts focus, above all else, on construction: the

between Philip III and the church of Saint-Merri, see D. Michel Félibien, *Histoire de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Chez G. Desprez et J. Desessartz, 1725), 24–30.

³ William A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers," *The Catholic Historical Review* 41 (1960 1959): 436–53.

chapels, libraries, belfries, dormitories, and workrooms built by the order and financed by local men and women. These constituted what Gert Melville has described as 'concrete, symbolic references' to the order's place in society, a self-reinforcing system which articulated Dominican legitimation and the largesse of local notables.⁴ As prior, Bernard needed to direct much of his administrative energy towards the maintenance and leverage of external relationships as a means of both defending the order's rights and expanding the order's geographical, political, and spiritual footprint.

These foundational stories, all told by the documents transcribed by Bernard, tell us much about the friar himself. Such endeavours demanded maintenance, and as prior of Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges, external relations or community engagement occupied a great deal of Bernard's time. Moreover, the preservation of documents related to those endeavours betray one of his great and enduring interests in the technicalities of expansion. The combination of legal, popular, and political legitimation created a robust framework that, in Bernard's view, could provide for the order's continued

⁴ Gert Melville, "L'institutionnalité médiévale dans sa pluridimensionnalité," in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Age en France et en Allemagne : actes des colloques de Sèvres, 1997, et Göttingen, 1998, organisés par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et le Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, ed. Jean Claude Schmitt and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), 250.

success, both in terms of physical, geographical expansion as well as in serving individual communities, fighting heresy, and preaching to 'the people'.

In 1308, the provincial chapter of Toulouse called upon Bernard Gui, then inquisitor of Toulouse, to embark on a sensitive diplomatic mission. For almost twenty years, the friars of Limoges had contested the establishment of a convent in neighbouring Saint-Junien. The new convent, the friars of Limoges claimed, encroached on the already limited terrain of their own ancient and famous convent. Limoges and Saint-Junien were the two closest convents in the entire province of Provence at the time of the latter's foundation.⁵ The provincial chapter chose Bernard to investigate whether or not the friars of Saint-Junien had properly established and consecrated a convent, and if they had, then provide them with the authority to appoint a vicar (*vicarium assignandi*). Bernard declined on account of his work investigating and punishing heretics (he was, in his words, '*totaliter occupatus*'). It is surprising that Bernard defied the chapter's wishes and cited his inquisitorial obligations as the reason why. In no other instance before or after this did Bernard defy the Dominican hierarchy, especially when to do so delayed an already protracted process by yet another year. I believe that Bernard felt that this issue, which had divided his *confrères*

⁵ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 220. See *ibid.*, 315 for a map of the convents in the province of Provence.

at Limoges might be too close to home. I do not believe that Bernard's motivations were sinister (i.e. that he wished to spite the convent of Saint-Junien by further delaying the process), since he states his admiration for Hugh de Moncerat later in the *De fundatione et prioribus*. Despite the fact that he did not attend the matters at Saint-Junien, it is worth understanding what exactly his peers had asked Bernard Gui to do.⁶ Moreover, even if Bernard did not undertake the task himself (in the end, his friend Gui Helye did), he maintained a strong interest in the case, and he included the evidence collected by the investigators in the foundation story of Saint-Junien's entry in the *De fundatione et prioribus*.⁷

Bernard's would-be assignment, to determine whether the friars of Saint-Junien occupied a convent and had celebrated a mass to consecrate that space, entailed more than a quick visit. It was a proper legal ordeal, which if handled improperly, could put the convent at risk of challenges from both lay and clerical authorities. The story begins in 1292 when Bernard's collection of documents pertaining to Saint-Junien commences. Before any donation could be solicited in 1292 the friars needed to prove that their new venture enjoyed the support of the town's leaders. The file on Saint-Junien begins with four letters:

⁶ Gui, 226.

⁷ Gui, 220–29.

from the canons of the church, from the beneficiaries (*beneficiati*) of the church, from the prebendaries of the church, and from the town's burghers.⁸

All four letters make the same arguments, word-for-word, even though they come from different local interests. They all recognize the spiritual and temporal benefits of hosting a Dominican convent: the convent would bring peace to the citizens, illuminate the *patria*, and liberate the people from the chains of sin.⁹ The townspeople claim that they would host the Dominicans well, promising to receive them 'with happiness and rejoicing'. The letter also makes reference to the resistance mounted by Pierre de Mulceone, prior of Limoges. Despite the fact that the Augustinians had come to the town and that Saint-Junien was the most powerful in the region, Pierre de Mulceone would still prevent friars from establishing a convent there. They counter this by explaining that the town is well-stocked with grain, wine, and oil, as well as a humble and devoted population -- Saint-Junien was fertile both literally and spiritually. The letter concludes with a promise to negotiate in good faith and to provide as much assistance as the friars need so that the two parties may reach a good end to their negotiations.

⁸ For an example of Dominican diplomacy, see Michel Lauwers, "Testaments inédits du chartrier des Dominicains de Liège (1245-1300)," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire/Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 154, no. 1 (1988): 159–97.

⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 220–21.

The most interesting of the four letters is the one just mentioned from the town's burghers, in which a broad array of local society is represented. There are temporal officials such as Guillaume Congeri, the prévôt for the bishop of Limoges, Aymeric Jolet, an episcopal servant in Saint-Junien, and Bernard Passot, a clerk in Saint-Junien. There are teachers such as Pierre Daubi, the rector of the town's school, Geoffroy Boni, rector of the town's music schools, and Étienne, rector of the parish school in Saint-Quentin. There were two chaplains: Jean de Forges, chaplain of Estanhac, and Hugh, chaplain of Vayrac. Finally, there were the citizens: Aymeric Godardi, Geoffroy de Claustro, and Pierre Michaelis.¹⁰ The Dominicans enjoyed broad support from throughout the community, and maintaining that support was essential for establishing and legitimizing their spiritual and temporal authority in the towns where they operated.

Bernard includes one redaction of the contract in which Jean Comtorau de Saint-Junien, a deacon, donated two houses and adjacent parcels of land to the order, represented by Pierre Bovis, a cleric who served the Dominicans as a sort of proctor (*procurator*).¹¹ The contract was brought before an episcopal official in Limoges (*officialis Lemovicensis*) who verified the precise details of the

¹⁰ Gui, 222.

¹¹ Gui, 223 Pierre's relative, Adémar, was a prominent member of the convent at Brives, where he served as lector until 1293 when he was appointed prior; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

donation.¹² Jean Comtorau and his brother Ytier Comtorau had conceded their rights pertaining to the land in perpetuity, and irrevocably released possession of their homes in Saint-Junien on Rue de Salern (the modern-day Rue de Jean-Jacques Rousseau), along with an orchard and plot of farmland.¹³ The contract is extremely robust. The donation was made in the name of Jean and Ytier Comtorau and their heirs; it is irrevocable, in perpetuity, and free; and Jean Comtorau, the deacon, was of healthy mind and made the donation voluntarily.¹⁴ The episcopal official from Limoges overseeing the case affixed the seal of the court of Limoges on 25 October 1292, and nine days later, on 3 November 1292, Jordan Paute, with the permission of Raymond Extranei, then the Dominican prior of Brives and vicar of the province of Provence, arrived in Saint-Junien and celebrated Mass in the houses on the Rue de Salern to establish the convent officially.¹⁵ It seems likely that given Pierre Bovis's familial connection to the convent of Brives and the fact that it was Raymond Extranei, prior of Brives, who dispatched friars to establish the convent, that the legal action originated in Brives. The friars also knew that their *confrères* in Limoges

¹² On the increasingly administrative responsibilities undertaken by episcopal officials in England at the same time, see Aaron Hope, "Hireling Shepherds: English Bishops and Their Deputies c. 1186 to c. 1323" (Ph. D. Thesis, University College London, 2013).

¹³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 223.

¹⁴ Gui, 223–24.

¹⁵ Gui, 224; however, in Gui, *Acta capitulorum provincialium*, the records from the provincial chapter of 1292 do not mention Saint-Junien.

would challenge the new convent's establishment and that if it were to stand, the donation of land needed to be as airtight as possible, and so the administrators at Brives summoned a lawyer they could trust to negotiate with the extra-ordinal parties.

The second half of Bernard Gui's investigation would have demanded evidence of the first mass celebrated in the new convent. Here the friars of Saint-Junien also had sturdy evidence in the form of a legal document from Aymeric Roderii, a public notary invested with apostolic authority.¹⁶ Aymeric both confirmed that the mass took place in the houses donated by the Comtorau brothers and provided additional details pertaining to the contract, including the license granted to the friars to construct whatever buildings they needed on the land and the consent of the church's chapter, canons, and prebends to the convent's establishment.¹⁷ The mass, however, seems to have been a rather private affair: one cleric, Aymeric Estanhac, attended, and Arnaldo Lo Gasco, his wife Blanca Flors, Jean Comtorau, and Beatrice Pozeta were specially invited to witness the mass.¹⁸ It is unclear whether anyone else attended, but

¹⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 224.

¹⁷ Gui, 224–25.

¹⁸ Gui, 225; on the relationship between gender, labour, and status of women in late medieval northern Europe, see Martha C Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986). See also, Anne Elisabeth Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

given the short notice and the fact that the convent lay outside of the city's walls, it would not be surprising if the mass consisted of these five people, the notary, and the Dominican Jordan Paute.

In the end, the provincial chapter did certify the establishment of the monastery, but only seventeen years later in 1309.¹⁹ Over the course of nearly twenty years, the town's attitude towards the order had changed for unsaid reasons, and Jean Comtorau wanted to annul the donation. It was left up to the convent's first official prior, Hugh de Moncerant, to resolve these matter, which he did effectively (probably by citing the extensive legal documents prepared by Pierre Bovis and the papal legate Aymeric Roderii). In addition, the canons of the church at Saint-Junien, who had penned one of the four letters in support of a new convent in 1291, also turned on the friars.²⁰ The possibility of physical violence seems to have demanded a physical response from Hugh and the Dominicans. After receiving permission from the bishop of Limoges, Reginald de La Porte, in late October, Hugh de Moncerant and a lay brother took up residence in the Dominicans' houses. They quickly set out to arrange an altar, bell, belfry, and other things required for divine service and saying mass.²¹ By

¹⁹ However, the Dominicans of Saint-Junien appear to have received a donation in 1307 from Marguerite Vilensa. Archives départementales de Haute-Vienne, ms. 18 H 7.

²⁰ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 227.

²¹ Gui, 227.

leveraging his relationship with the bishop and at least one member of the local bourgeoisie (Ytier David), the prior Hugo successfully beat back challenges from the convent's former supporters. This sort of delicate diplomacy demanded both familiarity with legal documents (contracts concerning the transfer of land and papal instruments regarding the celebration of mass) and political acumen to navigate Dominican, episcopal, suzerain, and urban interests.

When it came to construction, legalities, and managing the social and political relationships between the order and local stakeholders, Bernard was something of an expert.²² In his youth, Bernard witnessed significant expansions in his hometown of Limoges. During the priorship of Jean de Chastanc, the priory's church's bell-tower was completed in 1273, and eight years later while Pierre de Mulceone was prior, new dormitories, reading rooms and private chambers were built, thanks to a generous donation by Pierre de Saint-Astier, bishop of nearby Périgeux.²³ While serving as prior of Albi from 1294 to 1297, Bernard oversaw the completion of the church's bell-tower and

²² On Dominican architecture in the thirteenth century, see Richard Sundt, "*Mediocris domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46, no. 4 (December 1987): 394–407; Benoît Montagnes, "L'attitude des Prêcheurs à l'égard des oeuvres d'art," in *La naissance et l'essor du gothique méridional au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 9 (Toulouse: Privat, 1974), 87–100; and Gilles Gérard Meersseman, "L'architecture dominicaine au XIIIe siècle. Législation et pratique," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 16 (1946): 136–90.

²³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 63.

brick walls around the convent's periphery.²⁴ Regarding the construction of a chapel in 1300 at Carcassonne, Bernard noted that the town of Carcassonne contributed 900 *livres turonenseium* in an agreement in which he, as prior of the order, was involved.²⁵ At Castres, he negotiated a family donation from Berengere Amblard de Castres, his sister, Fina, and their two younger brothers, Amblard and Pierre, which financed the construction of two chapels to Saint-Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.²⁶ However, his proudest and most distinctive accomplishment took place during his tenure back in his home town of Limoges, where he raised over one hundred *livres* to construct a library for the convent.²⁷ During his tenure as prior, Bernard oversaw actual construction projects, like those at Albi and Limoges, legal and political developments at Carcassonne, and local charity from the notables of Castres.

Each new building served as both the literal facilities necessary for the order's functional duties as well as memorials to the political prowess of individual priors and the order writ-large. They were monuments, that is, fixed references, to the relationship between the order and its network of benefactors in a self-reinforcing system of legitimation and prestige. The order received

²⁴ Gui, 200.

²⁵ Gui, 103.

²⁶ Gui, 154.

²⁷ Gui, 67; Yves Dossat, "Les Priorats de Bernard Gui," in *Bernard Gui et son monde*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 94–96.

local third-party validation, while local interests received public, as we shall see, ritualized approval from an international organization.²⁸ The ideal of poverty was complicated. Contrary to Hinnebusch's aspirational praise, the Dominicans were not deconstructing 'a new society, built on an expanding economy, tempted to overvalue wealth and material prosperity.' They did not 'disengage from secular concerns' or fully 'rely on divine Providence' or limit their activity to 'prayer, preaching, and study.'²⁹ Whatever Dominic's early admonitions against 'becoming involved in temporal matters, or in putting up a building, or in discussions of temporal business,' there was no avoiding political and philanthropic engagement by the end of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans, like religious orders before and after them, had to hustle.

Bernard understood this, and his *De fundatione et prioribus* demonstrates how the intellectual detachment described by Hinnebusch and others would have proven impractical and impossible. It is important to contextualize Bernard Gui's exposure to this sort of political construction within the order's story of rapid expansion in the thirteenth century. He may have been a gifted politician, but he was not the order's first. The order had a system for the

²⁸ Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), chaps. 2, 'The Economic Background: Supply and Demand for Charity' for the "economic and non-economic considerations in its determination."

²⁹ Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers."

establishment of convents that, as we've seen at Saint-Junien, demanded legal, liturgical, and political finesse. The foundation of these processes had been laid generations ago at Bernard's home convent in Limoges.

The convent at Limoges was one of the very first convents established by Saint-Dominic outside of Paris and Toulouse. In 1219, a little after Lent, Pierre Cellan of Toulouse came to Limoges from Paris with a handful of other Dominicans sent with him. He intended to receive a house in Limoges that had been arranged by Saint-Dominic, and indeed upon his arrival, the bishop of Limoges, Bernard de Savena, and the cathedral chapter warmly received him. After making this initial contact, Pierre returned to Paris while his Dominican associates stayed in Limoges to find a suitable place for the new convent. The archdeacon of the cathedral in Limoges and later bishop, Gui de Clausello, purchased a parcel of land just outside of the city along the Vienne River next to the bridge of Saint-Martial, about one and a half kilometres from both the viscount's *Château* and bishop's *Cité*.

The next year, Pierre and his associates returned to Limoges to accept the land donated by Gui. A church dedicated to Mary was to be founded on that site and Gui, whom Bernard describes as the convent's patron (*patronus*), placed the first stone in the church in a ceremony well-attended by the clergy and many townspeople. In 1221, when the friars moved into their new convent, Gui

de Clausello, cleric and patron, celebrated the first mass.³⁰ Both of these ceremonies -- the placing of the first stone and the celebration to the convent's first mass, always *presente clero et populo multo* -- became important rituals in the performed relationship between order and benefactor. There were other rituals that cemented the order's place in the towns they occupied. Understanding the rituals helps explain the curious line in the letters from the canons, prebends, and bourgeoisie of Saint-Junien: '*visibiliter tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, tamquam a viris pacem portantibus, illuminantibus patria, et liberantibus Dei populum de vinculis peccatorum.*'

During his tenure as lector of theology at Albi in 1293, Bernard witnessed the placing of the first stone of the Dominicans' new church by the local bishop, Bernard de Castanet. The event took place with many of the secular canons as well as a great crowd of commoners (*cum canonicis multis utriusque ecclesie Albiensis ac multitudine copiosa plebis*). Bernard served as a deacon for the event and recorded it so that future generations and others who did not have the chance to witness so grand a ceremony would believe that it took place. Bernard de Castanet continued to support the Dominicans financially and

³⁰ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 57–58.

donated to them over a thousand *livres* that had been confiscated from two citizens of Albi convicted of heresy.³¹

Bernard organized his own foundation ceremony in 1303 when Berengere Amblard de Castres and his sister and a friend of the brothers, Fina, each donated one chapel--the former dedicated to Saint-Dominic and the second to Saint-Peter-Martyr--to the order. The chapels were 'built from their devotion and finished with their funds'. On 5 July 1303, two of Berenger's sons, Amblard and Pierre, placed the first two stones at the new chapels donated by their father and aunt.³² The Amblard family intended for the power and prestige offered by the opportunity to collaborate with the friars to extend beyond their own lives to the next generation. The new chapels represented more than a one-off gesture of kindness from Berengere and Fina; they represented an enduring alliance between order and family.

Bernard describes the relationship between patrons, townspeople and the Dominicans again in the foundation of the order's second convent in Limoges in 1240, when the first was deemed too remote and too cramped. First, a cemetery for the friars was consecrated by the archbishop of Berry, on the order of Cardinal Penestrini, then papal legate in France, again in the presence of the

³¹ Gui, 199.

³² Gui, 154.

clergy and many townspeople (*in presentia cleri et populi*). A year later, on 2 April 1241, Durand, bishop of Limoges, founded a church for the friars in that second location, and just a few months later on 8 September, the brothers moved from the first convent to their new, more centrally-located home. That year, the convent at Limoges hosted the Dominican provincial chapter, and thus scores of friars from throughout the province of Provence joined the solemn, approximately mile-long, slightly uphill parade from the banks of the Vienne to the new convent, just west of the modern Mairie de Limoges (today, the parish cathedral of Saint-Marie, a small park, a handful of restaurants and flats, and a parking lot occupy the former convent). If Bernard's account is to be trusted, the occasion was not meant to be festive: the friars marched solemnly, heads bowed, in an ordered, ceremonial procession (*solempniter ac devote, processionaliter incedentes*).³³ Indeed, any merriment that did take place was left to those who accompanied the friars in their march, the clerics and many townspeople (*comitante clero et populo multo*), who sang and shouted praises at the Dominicans.³⁴ All of this, including the humility (no matter how sincere),

³³ On the notion of performed mendicancy in architecture, see Sundt, "Dominican Legislation on Architecture," 396.

³⁴ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 58. For two examples of how popular and social elites experienced piety differently, see Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Place, Status, and Experience in the Miracles of Saint-Louis," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 19 (2010): 249–66; Meredith Cohen, "An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris," *Speculum* 83, no. 4 (2008): 840–83.

constituted an elaborate performance of Dominican legitimacy in the town: the clerics, the bishop, the townspeople could all appreciate the friars' prominence, increasing at that, in Limoges.

The foundation at Carcassonne was more complicated. On the eve of his first crusade, Louis IX made significant contributions to Dominicans across France. Beyond Carcassonne, he also established the Dominican convents of Rouen, Mâcon, Jaffa, Compiègne, Béziers, and Caen, and he expanded the convent in Paris and in Rouen. Jordan and LeGoff both rightly assess this donation as but one part of Louis's huge donation to the Dominicans on the eve of his first crusade and in the case of Carcassonne and Béziers, his contribution to the religious-political enterprise of rooting out Catharism in Occitania.³⁵ Bernard does not mention anything about Louis's donation of the convent at Béziers. He is not even sure exactly when the convent was established, writing that it 'began to be founded around 1247, based on what he could gather from speaking with older friars.'³⁶ This implies that by Bernard's time, this program

³⁵ On the history of the relationship between especially Louis IX and the Dominicans, see Sean Field, "King/Confessor/Inquisitor: A Capetian-Dominican Convergence," in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Jenna Phillips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 44–49; Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 54–56, 84; and Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth E. Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 254–56, 671. The Dominicans' active promotion of Louis's cult after his canonization is best studied by M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

³⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 260.

did not survive in the memory of Dominican friars beyond the convent's walls. In September 1247, Louis IX ordered his seneschal to find and grant the Dominicans a suitable square in the new city where the friars could establish a convent. However, Louis's generosity preceded the provincial chapter's order to establish a convent in Carcassonne -- Louis could not postpone his donation for the sake of Dominican technicalities. Likewise, the Dominicans would not delay such a generous donation. Thus, a vicar, rather than a prior, led the group of friars there for five years, while appropriate plans could be formulated for the acquisition and development of the land. Friars with similar functional responsibilities probably remained at Limoges between 1219 and 1220, while Pierre Cellan returned to Paris after making initial contact with the bishop and chapter there. They probably performed a task similar to the legal acquisition of property executed by Pierre Bovis in the documents pertaining to Saint-Junien. On a more abstract level, the provincial prior expected the vicar to promote the order's reputation, probably constructing a local network similar to the one we have already examined in the promotion of the convent of Saint-Junien.³⁷ That the Dominicans needed five years to lay the political, financial, and legal groundwork necessary to establish a proper convent in Carcassonne

³⁷ Gui, 97.

demonstrates that they demanded far more than physical space and financial solvency to survive. They needed strong political and communal connections.

Louis's support did not end in 1247. On 2 October 1255, just before the flood that destroyed their first convent, Louis IX pledged fifteen *solidos* per week for the purchase of fish (*pictantia*) and twelve *livres* annually for the purchase of new tunics. Bernard described Louis as a 'pious patron' (*pius patronus*) of the brothers and reminded the reader that the king's pledge had been honoured for sixty years all the way up to Bernard's time in 1315.³⁸ Following the flood of 1255, Louis played purchased land on which the Dominicans could build a new convent. However, the bishop of Carcassonne, Guillaume Radulph, summoned the king from Aigues-Mortes to resolve a jurisdictional dispute over the land. In the end, Louis transferred ownership, jurisdiction and dominion over three towns to the bishop in return for new land for the Dominicans. By handing the jurisdictional and legal disputes himself, Louis saved the friars from an awkward dispute with the bishop. In Bernard's account, this diplomatic and legal assistance far outweighed the cash donation Louis also made of two hundred *livres* for the construction of the new convent's buildings.³⁹

³⁸ Gui, 97–98.

³⁹ Gui, 98–99.

The royal intervention succeeded, and thereafter, the episcopal see donated one barrel of wine and sixty small loaves of bread twice per week, and even when the seat was empty, the chapter's administrators ensured that the donations continued. In these donations of daily necessities, two aspects are worth noting. First, the donation continued to possess a ritual element, but without an audience; instead, the ritual seems to have existed to simply hold the donors accountable for maintaining their donation and avoid an awkward situation in which the Dominicans might need to remind the donor about the promised gift. For example, the friars received fifty-one *livres* and ten *solidos* from the royal treasurer in Carcassonne every year on the feast of Saint John the Baptist. The ceremony had originally taken place in the king's salt-cellar on a weekly basis, when the treasurer would give the friars twenty *solidos*, and according to Bernard, the donation commemorated the piety of the crown (not the piety expressed by Louis, it should be noted, but rather *royal* piety).

The second noteworthy component of these donations concerns the measurement of bread and wine given by the cathedral chapter and bishop. Bernard describes a transformation and formalization that may have come about as a result of some degree of tension between the two groups. When the donation of bread and wine began, the canons provided however much the friars needed for one day per week, *panem sine numero et vinum sine mensura*.

The informality of the donation implies a sort of trust that the Dominicans would not take advantage of the canons' generosity, that they would only take as much as they really needed. At some unspecified date, things changed. Perhaps the canons had to tighten their belts and limit their donations, perhaps the Dominicans had betrayed the trust of their benefactors. It is impossible to say with certainty, but the new level of oversight implies that the trust had been violated. Measurements were taken: the friars were limited to precisely one full barrel of wine (which contained six *migerias*), and either sixty small loaves of bread or thirty large loaves of bread, and they were to be consumed in the refectory of the church of Saint-Nazarre, where the canons themselves ate, presumably so that the canons could make sure that the friars did indeed need as much bread and wine as they said they did.⁴⁰

Castres, where Bernard was prior from 1301 to 1305, provides the most thorough documentary evidence besides Saint-Junien. There, the order's patron (again, *patronus*) was the lord of Castres, Philip de Montfort the junior. At the order's general chapter in 1258, which was held in Toulouse, Philip requested that the Order establish a convent in his town, where arrangements had already

⁴⁰ Gui, 99–100. On measurements, see Daniel Lord Smail, “Mesurer la valeur à Marseille et à Lucques à la fin du moyen-âge,” in *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge. II. Savoirs, écritures, pratiques*, ed. Lauren Feller and Ana Rodríguez, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 156 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2016), 303–4.

been made for the friars to occupy the church of Saint-Vincent.⁴¹ On 28 May 1258, the bishop of Albi, Bernard de Combret, donated, in perpetuity, the church of Saint-Vincent of Castres with the martyr's relics, the church's books, the church's cemetery, squares, houses, lands, and any other property pertaining to the church within the town of Castres. To ensure that the legal transfer of property, which like Saint-Junien and Limoges, and unlike Carcassonne, was expected to take place between the order and the donor directly, the Dominicans dispatched Guillaume Raymond of Bordeaux to handle the negotiations (*ad hoc specialiter destinato*). Like Pierre Bovis at Saint-Junien after him and Pierre Cellan at Limoges and the vicar at Carcassonne before him, Guillaume Raymond probably had some sort of legal training and was well-equipped to ensure that the bishop's administrators properly transferred the territory to the friars. However, the land did not pass into Dominican possession without some complications. Although this property may have legally belonged to the bishop of Albi, it was a group of Benedictine monks who possessed the church *de facto*, and foreshadowing the controversy in Saint-Junien between canons and friars, the two groups came into conflict. Like so many other Dominican foundation stories, Bernard recounts the popular ceremony, this time convoked by the bishop of Albi, Bernard de Combret,

⁴¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 135 and Reichert and Frühwirth, *Acta capitulorum generalium*, 93.

where canons, their associates, and many prominent townspeople were called to the episcopal chambers so they could witness the official conveyance of the land from the bishop to the friars (now represented by Guillaume Raymond, Pierre le Petit, Bernard de Rocozele, and Pierre de Villamagna. The donation received official approval from Ysarn Garegavi, the public notary of Albi (and a future Dominican himself; they really were quite well-connected) and stamped with the bishop's seal.⁴²

Within a week of the donation by Bernard de Combret, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Vincent, Guillaume de Béziers, granted the land to the Dominicans, then represented by Pierre le Petit. Despite the fact that the Benedictines did not possess the church *per se* or *de jure*, they still possessed certain rights pertaining to the church, such as the right to collect burial fees in the cemetery and revenue from offerings, all of which they handed over to the Dominicans. Besides, it was always more prudent to achieve an amicable resolution quickly before extra-legal measures were put to use, like at the Dominican convent in Saint-Junien and cathedral of Limoges. This second deal was far more complicated than that negotiated by Guillaume Raymond with the bishop of Albi. The monastery of Saint-Vincent would not release all their authority (temporal in the question of burials and alms, spiritual in the sense

⁴² Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 136.

that the relics and body of Saint-Vincent lay in the church) without some concessions. The abbot and his successors were allowed to give mass on two days of the year: the feast of Saint-Vincent and the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary. The Benedictines were to receive one-quarter of all revenues collected from burials in the cemetery, and the two orders would evenly divide the proceeds from the candles left for the dead. This contract, symbolically signed in the church's cemetery (probably the most controversial of the disputed terrains, since it lay at the intersection of spiritual and temporal affairs) required greater formality, especially in the witness list, which included Philip de Montfort, the Dominican Bernard de Capestang, Sycardi Sabbaterri (archdeacon of Lautignac, who later became a Dominican), Pierre Bertrand de Castres (a judge of Philip de Montfort's, who also later became a Dominican), and the document was executed by Amelii Sycardi, the public notary of Castres.⁴³ The Dominicans, however, did not trust the Benedictines and sought even greater legal protections against their opponents' potential claims. In an appeal to the pope that same summer. Philip de Montfort intervened when the Benedictine monks challenged the Dominicans' possession of the body of Saint-Vincent just two months after the original agreement. Philip appealed directly to Pope Alexander IV, suggesting that a papal bull protecting the Dominicans

⁴³ Gui, 136–37.

might be an appropriate compensation for the sanguinary sacrifices by the Montfort family on behalf of the papacy.⁴⁴

With regard to the establishment of more recent convents, such as Albi (which was established in 1276), Bernard can be sparing in his details. He provides the date which the provincial chapter ordered friars 'to promote' the order there and who those friars were, the date when the general chapter approved the establishment, and the date when the provincial prior officially ordered the construction of a convent.⁴⁵ Using records contemporary to his own career from Saint-Junien and his historical accounts at Limoges, Carcassonne, and Castres as models, we are able to fill in the gaps and reconstruct what took place at Albi and elsewhere. We can see that '*ad promovendum*' related to the collection of local supporters from clerical, lay, and political backgrounds. For the convent to be '*regualiter positus et receptus*', a convent needed more than just a space in which to house its friars. Men specially designated to the task of negotiating and drafting detailed contracts had to be dispatched, and they had to troubleshoot with both potentially indecisive donors and stalwart opponents. If the prior hoped to provide his friars with a chapel, bell-tower, walls, gates, offices, libraries, dormitories, or any sort of refurbishment, he needed to raise

⁴⁴ Gui, 137–38.

⁴⁵ Gui, 197.

funds from local sources. We can also imagine the cast of characters involved in such transactions. There were some friars who specialized in this sort of diplomatic, legal, technical work, but occasionally the order would hire outside help from a friend of the friars. Donations came from men and women, as living donations and as bequests upon death, from the cathedral canons, from bishops, and from the crown. A local priest or deacon might sometimes conduct the first mass alongside Dominican representatives and local noble and bourgeois guests. Most importantly, the 'clergy and people' of the town always participated; in their rituals, monumental construction, and liturgical rites, the Dominicans' found their audience in the local community they hoped to save and impress.

These projects were not simply monuments meant to glorify the order. Within their walls, teams of friars administered a veritable government, meeting their own convents' immediate needs while executing the broader Dominican mission of preaching and combatting heresy. Bernard's commitment to and memorialization of construction projects resemble his administrative history, insofar as they presented an argument for how the order and its members should lead: as members of the community eager to nurture useful, lasting and local relationships. Bernard intended for future Dominicans both to acknowledge the importance and utility of buildings and administrative

compilations, as well as to expand them. No project was static or complete.

Each undertaking, including the Dominican systems of government, demanded constant refinement and development.

Chapter 6: Bernard and the Uprisings in Carcassonne and Albi

Bernard Gui did not formally undertake the fight against heresy *per se* until his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse in 1307, but his fight against heretics began nearly a decade earlier during his tenures as prior of Carcassonne and Albi. It was then and there that a series of insurrections against the inquisition, led by convicted heretics, attacked Dominicans, and royal power. They brought the issue to him. In Bernard's oeuvre, this violent threat to institutional authority appears most prominently in his *De fundatione et prioribus*. In the decade between 1295 and 1305, a coalition of communal leaders, Spiritual Franciscans, and their commoner followers launched a series of four revolts in response to inquisitorial practices in the region around Carcassonne and Albi. The four insurrections escalated from a local band of malcontents in 1295 led by perennial trouble-makers, to an assault against the Dominicans led by the consulate themselves, to a near-formal coalition of local potentates, and finally to an appeal to the king of Majorca and open rebellion against Philip the Fair.

Such a dramatic episode has not escaped the attention of historians. For a general account of the events, the *Histoire général de Languedoc* provides the most reliable narrative and many of the essential documents (especially royal letters of remission and appeals to the crown). These magisterial tomes fill

many of the lacunae in the archival record caused by the French Revolution, World Wars, and general archival decay.¹ Henry Charles Lea's *History of the Inquisition* uses some of the Doat manuscripts from the trial of Bernard Délicieux in 1316, but largely repeats De Vic and Vaissette.² For the full use of Délicieux's trial, Alan Friedlander's *Hammer of the Inquisitor* provides the essential narrative including relevant biographical details pertaining to the Spiritual Franciscan's life.³ One final recent study of Délicieux's involvement in the insurrections appears as a chapter in Karen Sullivan's application of literary theory to inquisitorial history, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*.⁴ The riots also appear as the foundation of some studies on unrest as a general theme, especially for historians of a Marxist persuasion, such as in *Inquisition and Medieval Society* by James Given and *Lust for Liberty* by Samuel Cohn.⁵ Finally, anecdotes as rich as those that appear in the chronicles of Philip the Fair's

¹ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives: composée sur les auteurs & les titres originaux, & enrichie de divers monumens*, 2nd ed. (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1872), vol. IX.

² Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages: The Inquisition in the Several Lands of Christendom*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888), 69–105.

³ Alan Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁴ Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 124–45.

⁵ James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 130–40 and Samuel Kline Cohn, *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425: Italy, France, and Flanders* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 100, 112.

conciliatory journey to the south did not escape Joseph Strayer in his *The Reign of Philip the Fair*.⁶ Only in Annemarie Lamarrigue's *Bernard Gui: Un historien et son monde* has another historian attempted to learn about Bernard himself from his record of the events at the turn of the fourteenth century in Carcassonne and Albi.⁷

While these studies have provided accurate reconstructions of the narrative, they have not interrogated the role played by the Dominicans as leaders of the inquisition. Kieckhefer comes the closest to analysing Dominican institutionalization surrounding the inquisition when he cites the inquisitions of Toulouse and Carcassonne as those closest to formal institutional inquisitions before the early modern period.⁸ However, Bernard's description of the Dominicans' role both in the execution of the inquisition and in the suppression of rebellion during the uprisings of 1295 to 1305 challenges Kieckhefer's refutation of any sort of inquisitorial institution. The Order of Preachers was that institution. Specifically the convent at Carcassonne served as a training ground, a documentary repository, and a site of diplomatic activity undertaken

⁶ Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 13–15, 260–62.

⁷ Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui, 1261-1331*.

⁸ Richard Kieckhefer, "The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, no. 01 (January 1995): 53–54.

by Dominican, papal, and royal interests. Besides Toulouse, Bernard's sources lead us to imagine Carcassonne as a veritable capital of the Occitan inquisition.

Beyond the institutional nature of the order and inquisition, Bernard's text offers unique insights about how he perceived the relationship between the order (and thus the inquisition), himself as an officer of that order, and the community at-large. His ambivalent attitude to Dominican authority and popular agency presented below complicates Karen Sullivan's conclusion that he simply sought to cleanse the land of heretics.⁹ His diction and prose offer a window into his own then-growing ambivalence towards the relationship between inquisitorial zeal and a dedication to local well-being. By analysing his *De fundatione et prioribus* in isolation, much can be learned about Bernard and his world.

During his years as prior of Carcassonne, Bernard had access to many of the convent's administrative, archival, and historical documents. He compiled these into an entry about the convent in the *De fundatione et prioribus*, where he also included his own first-hand account of the uprisings that took place in and around Carcassonne at the turn of the fourteenth century. According to Bernard's accounts, those who sought to undermine the inquisition directed much of their vitriol against the Dominican Order. It was the Dominicans

⁹ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, 125–45.

whose preachers were attacked at the pulpit, the Dominicans whose chapels were burned and ransacked, the Dominicans who were expelled from some towns for over a decade. That the Dominicans were intimately involved in the inquisition's operation and execution comes as no surprise.¹⁰ The question is how Bernard imagined the Dominican and inquisitorial as one functional operation centred in the epicentre of the upheaval, that is, in Carcassonne. In order to interpret the tumult that Bernard confronted immediately before his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse, it is essential to understand the institution as he did. The following pages trace a triangle linking Bernard Gui, as prior of Carcassonne then Albi, the inquisition's activity, and the interventions of the French crown. The last two were closely linked. The inquisition depended on the crown's support because its power provided an ultimate sanction, and enabled its source of income (confiscation) from which the crown also profited, just as the inquisition's activity indirectly reinforced royal authority in the Languedoc.

As a prior and inquisitor himself, Bernard possessed functional knowledge of both the city's Dominican Order and the inquisitorial apparatus. Bernard's records allow us to reconstruct Carcassonne both literally (in terms of

¹⁰ *Praedicatores, Inquisitores. I, The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition : Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition, 23-25 February 2002, Dissertationes Historicae 29* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 2004).

the Dominicans' landed presence) and administratively. He viewed the town as a regional nucleus of the inquisition and as a hub where Dominican, royal, papal, and local interests could convene. This chapter argues that the view of Carcassonne held by Bernard possessed the institutional characteristics one expects to find in a provincial capital. This fundamentally challenges the broadly accepted argument by Kieckhefer that the inquisition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not an institution. Bernard and his contemporaries understood their order, their mission, their inquisition as part of the same institutional operation.

The second half of this chapter recounts the history of Dominican and royal activity in both the order's goal of extinguishing heresy and the crown's objective in incorporating the former county of Toulouse into the royal domain. Dominican legitimacy needed the protection of whomever governed their jurisdiction, and indeed, they sought out and nurtured diverse relationships across the south. From the very beginning of the royal project to absorb the south, the Dominicans played an important role, and that cooperation was as clear to Occitan potentates as it was to Bernard in 1300 and to us today. The rebellion against the inquisition and thus against the Dominicans directly undermined the foundations of the order's power.

During the thirteenth century, the convent served as a stepping-stone for men who went on to occupy prominent inquisitorial positions in the Languedoc. Bernard describes the convent's first prior, the Catalan friar Ferrer, as a zealous persecutor of heretics who so thoroughly rooted out their supporters that his reputation survived all the way up to Bernard's time half a century later.¹¹ Four other priors in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Hugh Émile, Pierre Arssivi, Pierre Regis and Bernard himself, also served as inquisitors in the diocese of Toulouse later in their careers.¹²

In his *De foundationibus et prioribus*, Bernard describes Ferrer as a steadfast and brave inquisitor and persecutor of heretics, like an iron staff that could shatter heretics and their followers. According to Bernard, heretics even up to his own time feared the name of Ferrer. Fear and efficacy are not the same though, and Ferrer does not appear to have been particularly effective in his fight against heresy. In March 1234, the consuls of Narbonne complained to the consuls of Nîmes that Ferrer posed too many ambiguous questions in his interrogations and pronounced unreasonably harsh sentences. A year later in 1235, his practice triggered a riot in the city following one of his public

¹¹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 100; Laurent Albaret, "Ferrer," in *Les Inquisiteurs: portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc, XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Domaine cathare (Toulouse: Editions Privat : Diffusion SOFEDIS, 2001), 34–39.

¹² Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 100–103.

sermons.¹³ After fleeing first to Toulouse and then Albi and then to Elne, he returned to Carcassonne in 1237, where he arrested twenty people suspected of heresy. They escaped his custody in September 1240.

At first glance, the praise heaped upon Ferrer by Bernard appears to betray bias and unreliability or unpredictability. However, Bernard may have had good reason to believe in Ferrer's capabilities, and Ferrer's reputation as an inquisitor was probably augmented by the fact that most of his accomplishments were documentary and administrative, rather than anything more dramatic. The registers he compiled provided the foundation upon which his Dominican *confrères* could extend the inquisition over the course of multiple generations from his time in the 1230s all the way down to Bernard's in the 1300s.

After the assassinations of Guillaume Arnaud and Étienne de Saint-Thibery at Avignonet in May 1242, Ferrer participated in the revival in inquisitorial institutionalization that was taking place. Guillaume and Étienne were not the sole victims of this attack. Their assailants recognized that power lay not with the inquisitors themselves but in their texts. The Dominicans lost

¹³ Albaret, "Ferrer," 34; Célestin Douais, "L'albigisme et les frères prêcheurs à Narbonne," *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de Narbonne* 3 (1895-1894): 287-382; Jean Duvernoy, ed., "Enquête de Ferrer pour le Lauragais et les rescapés de Montségur, copie Doat d'un livre de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne (Doat XXII, f. 108 à XXIV, f. 232) (1242-1244)," in *Le dossier de Montségur, texte latin*, trans. Jean Duvernoy (Carcassonne: Centre de valorisation du patrimoine médiéval, 1998).

essential documents pertaining to procedure, sentencing, and lists of convicted heretics. The disaster inspired new Dominican legislation urging friars to copy inquisitorial material and forbidding the carrying of records. This in turn stimulated the copying of texts and the establishment of more formal 'capitals' of the inquisition at Toulouse and Carcassonne.¹⁴ This is not totally dissimilar from Philip II's establishment of Paris as an administrative capital following his defeat at Fréteval in 1194.¹⁵ Philip's last baggage carriage and all the royal documents contained in it succumbed to enemy forces. Rather than carry those documents with him, the king decided to construct a repository at Paris. It was this moment that modern historians have decided to consider the establishment of Paris as the capital of 'France'. The Dominican decision to maintain their documents at Toulouse and Carcassonne (or at least those related to the inquisition) should lead us to consider those cities 'capitals' as well.

Around this time, Ferrer began compiling documents concerning the powers and rights pertaining to the inquisition with friar Pierre de Marseillan. Ferrer defended one important principle: the inquisition in Languedoc was formally established and authorised to break all political opposition orchestrated by comital authorities and certain hostile local bishops. Bernard's

¹⁴ Dossat, *Les crises de l'Inquisition*, chap. 1.

¹⁵ John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 158.

own work echoed Ferrer's, and this explains his high degree of admiration for the first prior of Carcassonne. Like Ferrer, Bernard also specialized in the collation and presentation of documents pertaining to administrative functionality. As Bernard's perception of the inquisition comes into focus, a parallel antagonism emerges between inquisition and heresy on the one hand, and Dominican authority and political opposition on the other.

As a site of inquisitorial centralization, the Dominicans of Carcassonne had to deal with many violent challenges from the townspeople they were meant to serve. Subsequent priors of Carcassonne complained of the tumult in the town, and it seems as though the inquisitorial capital in the Lauragais was a challenging post. One prior, Bertrand de Clermont, went so far as to ask not to be appointed because he sought peace and quiet, rather than the turbulence that characterized Carcassonne's inquisitorial atmosphere. When Bernard himself left the convent in 1302, he was relieved to be free of the responsibility.¹⁶ Neither this elaboration nor Bertrand de Clermont's appear in any of Bernard's other entries in the *De fundatione et prioribus*, leading one to believe that Carcassonne was, at least for these two priors, extraordinary. One particularly notable example of the intersection between institutionalization and organized urban violence took place in the first half of the 1280s.

¹⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 103.

At the beginning of that decade, the citizens of Carcassonne made an appeal to Pierre Chalus, the royal chancellor, but following a royal inquiry into the complaint and into Bernard de Castanet, the inquisition was ultimately allowed to continue. The citizens appealed to Honorius IV, who sent a letter to the inquisitors apologizing for the recalcitrant behaviour exhibited by the citizens of Carcassonne. After the failed appeals, the consuls of Carcassonne and some of its prominent ecclesiastics, including the archdeacon, episcopal ordinary, and other members of the secular clergy bribed Bernard de Lagarrigue, a clerk for the inquisition, to burn some registers held in the inquisitorial archive.¹⁷ Again, Lea overstates when he claims that the 'sharpest antagonism between the Inquisition and the local church' existed. Moreover, his silence on what inspired any such 'antagonism' implies that it was an obvious by-product of what he formerly described as the 'cruelty of the inquisitors'.¹⁸ The library housed the registers, which contained the evidence, testimony, and confessions of convicted heretics: these were the manuscripts that could undo generations of inherited success, and without them, the living could not be punished for their ancestors' heresies. Upon the failure of appeal

¹⁷ Michèle Lebois, "Le complot des Carcassonnais contre l'inquisition (1283-1285)," in *Carcassonne et sa région* (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc et du Roussillon, 1970), 159–63; Laurent Albaret, ed., *Les Inquisiteurs. Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc, XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Domaine Cathare (Toulouse: Editions Privat: Diffusion SOFEDIS, 2001), 26.

¹⁸ Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, 2:59.

to both royal and papal authority, urban locals had reached a tipping point, willing to rebel violently against the inquisition and the men who ran it. The Dominicans were natural enough enemies, and Carcassonne, the local capital of the inquisition, an obvious enough target. This anger, however, could no longer be contained to just the Dominicans, since French royal officers and papal legates also now placed themselves (as they had for over a decade since the seizure of Toulouse in 1271) on the Dominicans' side. By the time Bernard became prior of the town's convent, local unrest and anxiety was directed towards all forms of authority -- royal and inquisitorial, the seneschal and the Dominicans -- began to bleed into each other.

Carcassonne was also the seat of royal authority for a geographical expanse much greater than the Carcassonnais itself. Royal *arrêts* reveal that the seneschal's authority stretched to the feet of the Pyrenees in Limoux to the banks of the Tarn in Albi to the shores of the Mediterranean at Béziers. Often in partnership with royal officials, the Dominican inquisitors, also headquartered in Carcassonne, undertook the imposing task of rooting out heresy. Both institutions benefited materially and politically from this coordinated effort, and Bernard's entries on Carcassonne and Albi in his *De fundatione et prioribus*

provide important and distinct accounts of the experience of royal-inquisitorial partnership.¹⁹

In order to understand the presence of royal authority in the Carcassonnais, one must understand the distinctive setting that was Carcassonne, which was a town both in a geographical sense and a legal one. The Crown allowed for towns to operate rather independently, especially with regard to the inheritance of land, mercantile regulation, and the completion of public works projects. Perhaps most importantly, locally appointed consuls ran the city, including the collection of taxes. Especially important in the relatively recently conquered south, these local administrators knew their town better than any northern royal official. Even if they embezzled some revenue, they still collected more than the crown could on its own. Strayer's account, especially with regard to the details surrounding the relationship between Philip and southern Dominican inquisitors, is not perfect, as shall be seen in the next paragraph. Strayer is, however, extremely reliable in his descriptions of legal and administrative elements of Philip's reign, including the definition of towns.²⁰ Such a system introduced some complications into the administration of the south, and as royal power increased, questions of jurisdiction and the

¹⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 97-108 for Carcassonne, 197-206 for Albi.

²⁰ Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 106 and Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 125-26.

requisition of goods (both property and movable goods) arose. These disputes provided the source of conflict and motivation for royal intervention in Carcassonne. For example, townsmen resented financial exemptions demanded by religious orders and secular clergy and occasionally rioted as a result, putting royal officials in a precarious position between two essential, but competing, local interests.²¹ The inquisition presented the crown with an especially tricky situation, since it was both deeply unpopular in local bourgeois circles, but extremely profitable for the crown. In the contest between local authorities in Carcassonne, Philip the Fair oscillated between local appeals for royal intervention against the perceived excesses of the inquisition and the real benefits enjoyed by his coffers. Although he never took any truly concrete measures to limit the inquisition in the Languedoc, he desired popularity as a means of protecting his kingdom's integrity and felt compelled to act in an at-least symbolic fashion. Thus in 1295, Philip commanded his officers not to cooperate with the inquisition, and even went so far as to curb the Dominicans' more unpopular (arguably heinous) practices, while removing the inquisitor of Toulouse.²²

²¹ Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 108.

²² Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*.

One royal official dispatched to quell the violence at the end of the century, Jean de Picquigny, actually took the side of the rebels, leading them to the inquisitorial prison and freeing certain incarcerated heretics, inspiring little to no immediate response from Philip. This inaction became a pattern of the king's attitude toward the threats Bernard and his *confrères* faced at the turn of the fourteenth century.²³ The king who reigned for much of Bernard's adult life eludes easy explanation.²⁴ Above all, the owl-king desired popularity and took pragmatic steps to achieve that popularity, including the (in Bernard's eyes) irresponsible avoidance of intervening on the Dominicans' behalf against urban uprisings. However, Philip could also be extremely principled -- perhaps too principled for Bernard's taste -- and punish his adversaries without restraint. Bernard sought to untangle the contradictions in Philip's policies towards Languedoc, both for the order's immediate benefit and to reconcile increasing royal hesitation to intervene on the order's behalf with the crown's historical zeal in the Dominicans' defence. The question of the nature and history of the royal-Dominican relationship goes directly to Bernard's state of mind as a Dominican in the tumultuous province of Toulouse.

²³ The details of these non-interventions are described in chapter 7.

²⁴ Brown, "Moral Imperatives and Conundrums of Conscience."

The beginning of the story which brings together Carcassonne, the rise of royal power, the Dominican inquisition, resistance to these two authorities, and Bernard Gui can be dated to 1271. Upon the death of Alphonse of Poitiers on 21 August 1271, the domains formerly pertaining to the county of Toulouse passed to the crown's direct possession.²⁵ Philip III's agents did not lose any time in asserting royal authority in the region. The consuls did not offer their support without some conditions. At that meeting in the Château Narbonnais, they reserved their right of urban self government via the *consulat*, jurisdiction over criminal justice, tolls, *les leudes* and all other privileges and customs of the city. Agreements reached over the following weeks primarily pertain to administrative overhaul, including the implementation of French customs, the dismissal of superfluous officials, submission to new royal officials, and most importantly, a commitment to hand over goods and lands confiscated from heretics to the king.

²⁵ Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 9:1-7. On the state of the Toulousain under the government of Alphonse of Poitiers, see Pierre François Fournier and Pascal Guébin, eds., *Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers: arrêts de son parlement tenu à Toulouse et textes annexes, 1249-1271* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1959), xxxiv-xlv and lxxvii-lxxxvii. Alphonse governed the region from Paris, and the vicars and seneschals he appointed to administer his domain directly hailed primarily from the greater Paris area. On what can be discerned from Alphonse's and his wife's, Jeanne de Toulouse, last wills concerning their devotion (or lack there of in Alphonse's case) to their Toulousain domains, see Gaël Chenard, "L'exécution du testament d'Alphonse de Poitiers (1271-1307)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 167, no. 2 (December 2009): 375-90. On the French absorption of the Midi into the royal domains during the reign of Louis IX and Alphonse de Poitiers, see still Edgard Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alphonse de Poitiers. Étude sur la réunion des provinces du Midi & de l'ouest à la Couronne et sur les origines de la centralisation administrative d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: H. Plon, 1870).

When royal and local officials met again on 8 October 1271 to finalize the seizure of the province, they did so in the Dominican convent in Toulouse. The Dominicans, as we have seen, enjoyed robust ties with the local communities in which they were established, and the friars had the political and social capital necessary to act as a neutral site of negotiation between the crown and city. Most of all, the most recent agreements had all included references to the seizure of heretics' goods. Philip III acknowledged the inquisition as a real source of material, spiritual, and political power, and the Dominicans were essential to that aspect of royal control. Philip then sent two of his own officials, Florent de Varennes (a knight) and Guillaume de Neuville (a canon at the cathedral of Chartres) to receive, again, oaths from the consuls and Toulousain notables on 17 December 1271, including for the first time, to implement the eradication of heresy.

The seizure of Toulouse was not managed without conflict. Although Philip III appears to have retained many of the administrators under the employ of his late uncle, Alphonse of Poitiers, the *saisementum* of 1271 does appear to represent a significant breaking point in relations between the crown and its newly acquired Occitan subjects.²⁶ A particularly violent episode unfolded in

²⁶ Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 9:9; on the establishment of rural “baillages” and judgeships, see Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism*, 29; Edgard Boutaric, “Organisation

the conflict between Philip III and Count Roger-Berand IV of Foix as a result of the crown's emphasis on the confiscation of convicted heretics' property and the reinvigorated Dominican inquisition.²⁷ Lea's exposition of the rise of royal power in the south as 'constantly encroaching on old privileges, weakening local jurisdictions and the crown combined both the legislative and executive functions' overstates the crown's ability and ignores the high degree of controversy and resistance the crown faced.²⁸ The crown intended to make good its claims to confiscated property, at the expense of local potentates, such as the count of Foix. All goods formerly belonging to heretics passed to the crown, who subsequently placed the burden on comital claimants to prove their ownership of such land. These plaintiffs probably felt some pressure to act quickly, since the seneschal of Carcassonne (an office that, at least judging by the *arrêts* of the Parlement, could be occupied by men, to borrow a phrase from Joseph Strayer, more royalist than the king) was authorized to sell both land and movable goods.²⁹ The count of Foix and royal officials had clashed on this question at least once before. In 1255, Pierre d'Auteuil, then-seneschal of

judiciaire du Languedoc au Moyen Âge," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 16 (1855): 200–230, 532–60, and 17 (1856) 97–122 and Fournier and Guébin, *Enquêtes d'Alfonse de Poitiers*.

²⁷ Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 9:11–18 and Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273–1282* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 42–43; Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III, le Hardi*, 55–65.

²⁸ Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, 2:56–57.

²⁹ Edgard Boutaric, ed., *Actes du Parlement de Paris* (Paris: H. Plon, 1863), sec. 429.

Carcassonne, and the count of Foix disputed the confiscation of heretics' goods at the castle of Penautier. Since the king possessed high justice over the castle, Parlement ruled that only he could confiscate the property.³⁰

However, Roger-Berand had some precedent on his side, since the Parlement in Paris and the crown itself had ruled in local authorities' favour on a number of cases related to the prosecution of heretics. In 1261, a royal letter affirmed the right of Lambert de Limoux (against royalist pretensions from the seneschal of Carcassonne) to exercise high justice and undertake the *faidimenta* (a purusit against *faidits* or fugitive heretics) within the territories granted to him from the crown.³¹ Eight years later in 1269, Parlement conceded further procedural authority to local authorities, according the right of burning heretics at the stake and the confiscation of their movable goods to the Marshal of the Albigeois, the lord of Mirepoix.³² Jurisdiction and the chain of confiscatory power over heretics' movable goods and property was a real controversy that created political, legal and cultural conflict. No elegant consensus had been reached by the seizure of the Toulousain in the autumn of 1271 or 1272 when Philip marched his armies south to put an end to Roger-Berand IV's displeasure.

³⁰ Boutaric, sec. 46A.

³¹ Boutaric, sec. 571.

³² Boutaric, sec. 1480.

In thirty years' time, the controversies which would provoke the crown's armies to march south were much more political and far less jurisdictional or legalistic. Bernard lived through these transformations, which cut across political, social, religious, and economic categorization. This chapter has attempted to argue that the inquisition as he knew it actually did possess strong institutional characteristics: it had a functional capital in Carcassonne, and had formed a robust alliance with the crown. The two could rely each other, as independent institutions, to bring each other political and economic benefits. By the revolts of 1300, times had changed.

Chapter 7: Unrest through Bernard's Words

Bernard's accounts of the four uprisings in Carcassonne around the turn of the fourteenth century are significantly different. Some differences are particularly striking. The protagonists and antagonists change in person, in purpose and in degrees of organization. The tactics employed by both sides change in form and in severity, and the participants are not the same. Each event ends with a slightly different agreement brokered by different parties performing roles that change over time. However, there are subtle, prosaic shifts as well. Bernard's changes in diction and tone betray a cautious scholar empathetic to the local community he had committed himself to serve and inflamed by external meddling. I begin by picking apart the words Bernard uses to define the uprisings -- what words did he use to describe those who attacked the Dominicans, and what did they do, precisely?

This discussion extends the previous chapter's conclusion - that the inquisition was seen as an 'institution' -by arguing that the 'rebels' and 'insurgents' also viewed the Dominican Order and 'office of the inquisition' as one and the same. We then meet the 'masses' of townspeople, to whom Bernard grants some leniency, both in what he labels their actions, that is, as *rabies*, and what he chooses to omit on account of the *honor multitudinis*. Bernard's consideration for the local community juxtaposes the external interference by

Bernard Délicieux, the two royal *enquêteurs* Richard le Neveu and Jean de Picquigny, and others. One of the principle arguments here is that the Dominicans and rebels competed for legitimation by the *multitudo*. Bernard imagined the crowds as, so to speak and *mutatis mutandis*, something like a constituency subjected to the persuasive tactics of two competing political parties. Popular legitimation, and by extension popular agency, mattered to Bernard. The Dominicans lost, and he recognized this, but he did not blame his constituents. Instead, he blamed the heretical rebels for playing unfairly, as it were, for lying, slandering, and fabricating false registers.¹ Failure to acknowledge the role popular agency in Bernard's story would be a mistake on two counts: it would, *a priori* here, do insufficient justice to Bernard's own worldview, while also air-brushing out the popular support that was so crucial to the narrative. This chapter looks at Bernard's prose and diction to see if it can reveal his attitude to the rebellion's participants in Carcassonne. For it gives us insight into his attitudes towards locals and foreigners -- a distinction that tells us much about how he viewed the inquisitorial facet of the Dominican mission in the south of France on the eve of his appointment as inquisitor of Toulouse.

In methodological terms, this chapter draws upon the instruction and warnings in John Arnold's contribution to *Cathars in Question*, especially with

¹ The analogy of a game is drawn from Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 24.

regards to what narrative sources can tell us about the inquisition, the possibility of 'a shared cultural milieu' reaching across the centuries, and viewing Bernard Gui's 'prompt to authorship' less as 'patronage' and something more like 'professional duty'.² The present chapter does make some attempt to 'understand the relationship between dominant discourses, specific texts, and external "reality"' in the way Arnold prescribes for the study of the inquisition after 1200. However, at its core, the analysis here has been stimulated by Pegg's *The Corruption of Angels* insofar as it picks apart one text to understand lived experience to as great an extent possible.³ In terms of historiography, I have tried to avoid the trap described by Arnold at the beginning of his article, 'Religion and Popular Rebellion, from the Capuciati to Niklashausen'. That is, I have avoided comparing this uprising to earlier uprisings and writing them off as 'lacking sophistication', 'driven by panic rather than politics', or 'inchoate'.⁴ In fact, I am not arguing anything about the rebellions or the rebels themselves, per se. This thesis is about Bernard Gui, and this chapter says something about

² John H. Arnold, "The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem," in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages 4 (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), 60–63, 65–66.

³ Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); see Arnold, "The Cathar Middle Ages," 72–73 on his objections to Pegg's approach to Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 609 in *The Corruption of Angels*.

⁴ John H. Arnold, "Religion and Popular Rebellion, From the Capuciati to Niklashausen," *Cultural and Social History* 6, no. 2 (June 2009): 149–69.

how Bernard, as an antagonist of the rebels, understood the intersection of heresy, politics, and rebellion.

The element of Bernard's diction which must be treated *a priori*, is how he chose the word to describe the events he recounts. Were they a rebellion? Where they a revolt? Were they an insurrection? This may seem pedantic and philological, but the words Bernard used and that we decide to use here tell us something about the events themselves, the Dominican Order, and the history of post-Crusade southern France. Bernard left behind prime evidence for how he viewed the unrest in the main verbs and subjects of sentences describing the actual activities. The ring-leaders of these first attacks are named -- the convicted heretics Guillaume Garrici and Guillaume Bruneti, two professors of law in Carcassonne -- while their co-conspirators remain nameless (*cum suis complicibus*). Most of the rest of the account utilizes the language of rebellion: to rebel (*rebellare*), wantonly (*procaciter*), and disobediently (*contumaciter*), and the direct objects of this 'rebellion' were the Dominicans and the 'office of the inquisition' (*contra officium inquisitionis et contra fratres*). Unfortunately, Bernard could not record all of the attacks' details, claiming that there were so many and they were so terrible that it was neither easy nor appropriate to write them down. What he does write about the attacks is that there were many directed against the office of the inquisition (again, *officium inquisitionis*), the brothers,

and the order's allies, and that these attacks multiplied and spread throughout the territory surrounding Carcassonne. Bernard, however, does not dwell on those who joined Guillaume Garrici, Guillaume Bruneti, and their immediate co-conspirators. In fact, Bernard seems to exculpate the '*populus*', whom the ring-leaders provoked (*concitare*) to a great mutiny, civil discord, or insurrection (*seditio magna*).⁵

This first description provides evidence for two key conclusions. The first is that the office of the inquisition (*officium inquisitionis*) was a real target and existed alongside the Dominicans. When the rebels attacked the inquisition as an institution, the Dominicans suffered as well. If Bernard had described in greater detail the precise ways in which the *officium inquisitionis* suffered at the rebels' hands, then we may have a better idea of what the contours of that institution looked like. Even without these descriptions, Bernard has left behind an idea of how he defined these rebels. He avoids any discussion about their specific cases or what made them heretics, except the fact that they had been convicted and had confessed (*convicti et confessi*). According to Bernard and for the purpose of understanding Bernard's point of view (rather than any objective reality as to whether or not these men did in fact subscribe to non-orthodox beliefs), they were not defined '*in negativo*', but rather had admitted their own

⁵ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 102.

heretical stance.⁶ Moreover, we witness here that Bernard viewed this religious unrest not simply as anti-orthodox, but rather as a substantial, physical threat. They did not represent just the resurgence of heresy as a dangerous confusion or as a competing system of beliefs or even a 'sort of violation of order' abstractly construed, but rather they formed the premise of an organized (physical) assault against Dominican institutions.⁷

The second conclusion, however, pertains to the ways in which Bernard assigns agency and thus culpability in these entries. Bernard did not seek punishment for every single person who committed an act of violence or resistance against the inquisition and Dominicans. Perhaps such a task proved impossible, given the breadth of anti-clerical and anti-inquisitorial sentiment. Bernard does not grant the 'people' (the *populus*) much of any agency, thus absolving them of guilt in these heretical uprisings. However, in exculpating the masses and protecting their *honor*, Bernard also betrays his sentiment that those crowds, the masses in whose service the Dominicans (and Bernard

⁶ On the definition of heretics and heresy *in negativo* up to the thirteenth century, see Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Christian Experiences of Religious Non-Conformism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 443.

⁷ On the earlier "ideological and juridical" conception of heresy as a "crime of lèse-majesté" in Innocent III's *Vergentis in senium*, see Merlo, 445; Walter Ullmann, "The Significance of Innocent III's Decretal 'Vergentis,'" in *Études d'histoire Du Droit Canonique Dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, vol. 1 (Paris: Sirey, 1965), 729–41; and Rebecca Rist, "'Lupi Rapaces in Ovium Vestimentis': Heretics and Heresy in Papal Correspondence," in *Cathars in Question, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages 4* (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), 229–41.

himself) purported to be, were indeed 'passive receptacles for religious ideas and practices', susceptible to lies, tricks, and rumour.⁸ In the following paragraphs, we turn our attention to Bernard's vocabulary of popular agency, especially in the context of other textual representations of heretics

The next episode of urban unrest (which took place during Bernard's tenure as prior of Carcassonne) receives a more specific name: the *rabies Carcassonnensis*.⁹ Although he does not refer the order's antagonists by name in this section, Bernard goes into greater detail concerning the crowd's violent crimes. At some points in the narration, he chooses rather generic verbs (*facere, inferre, efficere*), but two of Bernard's verbs used to describe those carrying out the unrest stand out: *dehonestare* (to dishonour, discredit or disparage) and *deridere* (to mock, to laugh at, to make fun of). The unrest has lost the sense of rebellion and instead taken on the image of bullying and a series of violent crimes against the inquisition, Dominicans, and their allies (again, *inquisitioni et fratribus et amicis*). Bernard only references the riots' perpetrators as the 'crowd' (*multitudo*). In fact, he appears to have struggled with identifying individual ringleaders and parsing who in the town had taken part in the violence. He

⁸ Arnold, "Religion and Popular Rebellion," 152 for a rejection of the same practice done by modern historians when writing about the laity in religious revolts.

⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 103.

explicitly avoids naming each individual rioter on account of the *honor multitudinis*. In 1299, a leaderless rabble rioted, and humiliated the Dominicans.

A settlement between the inquisitors, seneschal of Carcassonne and the town itself appeared to have brought the conflict to its conclusion. However, the agreement and heavy punishment did not control the blaze of rebellion. Bernard uses the term *rabies Carcassonensis* again, but this time to describe a well-organized and formalized spate of violence which resembled what we today imagine as a 'rebellion' more than any other previous episode of unrest, as opposed to the leaderless mob mentioned above.¹⁰ Also unlike the previous events, Bernard enumerates the *rabies*'s leadership: Jean de Picquigny, viscount of Amiens and a royal delegate, the Franciscan friar Bernard Délicieux, and a man from Carcassonne named Élias Patrice. In the account, Bernard Délicieux is described as the 'inciter of evil-doers' (*incentor malorum*) and Élias appears as the 'standard-bearer of an unjust army' (*vexillarius iniqui exercitus*) and 'appeared like the petty king of Carcassonne' (*qui regulus Carcassonensis videbatur*).

Unlike the riots of 1299, Bernard describes the nature of the crowds taking part in the violence with greater precision. For these leaders, he does not concern himself with *honor*, and despite the violence of the crimes, he does not hold back in his descriptions of the attacks. Instead, he describes the followers

¹⁰ Gui, 104.

of Jean de Picquigny, Bernard Délicieux, and Élias Patrice as *proditores* (traitors) and as *hereticales* (heretics), frustrated and angry at being uncovered by the Dominicans and inquisition. The label of heretics aligns with earlier events described by Bernard, but the use of traitors implies some sort of activity betraying the trust established between a lord and their subjects. The implied lord is Philip the Fair, since Élias Patricius does bear the title *regulus Carcassonensis...proditor veri regis*. Thus, Bernard establishes for the first time, an explicit and existential link between royal and Dominican interests in the decade-long period of unrest that dominated Carcassonne. This phase of assaults against the Dominicans and inquisitors launched both verbal insults and physical violence against Dominican property destroying more than a dozen of the order's homes. Moreover, the assailants, apparently unlike previous attackers, undertook these acts of violence in plain view during broad daylight. An organized rebellion with noble backers attempted to destroy Dominican structures (literal and figurative) of power in Carcassonne.

It is worth pausing, at this point, to consider the question of why Bernard chose to describe two such fundamentally different events by the same term, *rabies Carcassonensis*. On a purely definitional level, *rabies*, a rage or madness or craze, does encompass everything from riots ignited by perceived injustices to a functional rebellion supported by men with some legitimacy. However, when

the history of the literary representation of heresy is considered more broadly, the label of *rabies* should also be read in a medical context. The term refers to the disease afflicting wild animals, primarily wolves, whose packs oftentimes deserted them to die alone. These hungry and delirious wolves would then stray closer and closer to farms, livestock and peasants, and some unlucky peasants were infected. Heretics were often referred to as wolves, especially in terms of hiddenness and disguise.¹¹ Moreover, heresy as a concept was also widely referred to in medical terms, especially as a 'cancer' or as leprosy.¹² Although Moore found that thirteenth-century authorities only occasionally used the language of disease, Bernard's use of *rabies* in his chronicle account of the uprisings shows that heresy's pestilent connotation was not lost.

Moore convincingly argues that 'the comparison of heresy and disease provided not simply a casual or convenient metaphor, but a comprehensive and systematic model' for what heresy could be.¹³ It is therefore relevant to briefly

¹¹ Lucy Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages (York: York Medieval Press, 2011), 161–71; Herbert Grundmann, "Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung," in *Kultur- und Universalgeschichte. Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1927), 91–107; and Rist, "Lupi Rapaces," 233.

¹² Bob Moore, "Heresy and Disease," in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *Medievalia Lovanensia* 1 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1976), 1–11. See Rist, "Lupi Rapaces," 234 for Innocent III's copious use of metaphors of disease in "*Inter cetera que*", "*Religiosa fides et*", "*Etsi reseccande sint*", and "*Gloriantes hactenus in*" and pp. 238–239 for Honorius III's use of the metaphor of disease in "*Cum dilectus filius*."

¹³ Moore, "Heresy and Disease," 9.

explore what exactly Bernard imagined when describing the uprisings as *rabies*. What characterizes rabies, and what has earned it its infamy, is the nature of the disease itself. Rabies had been the subject of study by Aristotle, Celsus, Galen, Oribasios, Discordies, Caelius Aurelianus, Aetios of Amida, Paulos of Aegina and more, and its symptoms were well known throughout the medieval world of the thirteenth century.¹⁴ Besides the intensely painful bite that transmits the disease, the course of the infection itself is distinctly painful (and before very recently, rabies was incurable). Aside from the typical and well-known foaming at the mouth and fear of water, in almost four out of five cases of death by rabies, the brain does not release endorphins, and the patient dies in excruciating pain characterized by paroxysms and screams.¹⁵ The disease and its connotations would not have been lost on Bernard's medieval audience. His choice to describe the unrest as *rabies* reflects both a sense of fear of the outbursts of violence and wailing of the crowds, as well as a sense of pity for the people of Carcassonne infected by the rumours of heretics and in the case of Bernard Délicieux and Jean de Picquigny, foreigners.

¹⁴ Jean Théodoridès, "Rabies in Byzantine Medicine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (1984): 149; Michel de Tornéry, *Essai sur l'histoire de la rage avant le xixe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie de la faculté de médecine, 1893).

¹⁵ William Chester Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 155, no. 4 (December 2011): 410–11.

Most importantly, like the use of '*concitare*' and '*honor multitudinis*' in the first account, *rabies* partially exculpates the crowds. Heretical, treasonous, and foreign interests had filled the town with lies and tricks, like wolves in sheep's clothing, and infected the good townspeople with an excruciating disease. The language of lies, deceit, and trickery that Bernard uses is not original. For example, when Arnold of Brescia arrived at Zurich, Bernard de Clairvaux describes the way in which he won over the support of the rich and powerful 'through the flattery of his sermons' and the 'simulation of his virtues'.¹⁶ The foreigners who led the rebellion following the October 1299 settlement, including Jean de Picquigny, viscount of Amiens and Bernard Délicieux (elsewhere described by Bernard Gui as a mercenary [*stipendarius*]), contain none of the restraint exercised on behalf of the crowds of Carcassonne.¹⁷ In Bernard's view, they deserved minimal mercy, both in terms of legal, contemporary punishment and in terms of historical memory. He describes precisely how these men propped up the false petty-king, Élias Patricius, spread vicious rumours about the friars and destroyed their buildings. Moreover, Bernard presents the *multitudo* of Carcassonne as more reasonable than the foreign rabble-rousers. By all appearances, the settlement of October 1299 had

¹⁶ Merlo, "Christian Experiences of Religious Non-Conformism," 440–41.

¹⁷ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 204.

ended the strife between townsfolk and Dominicans. The intervention of the viscount of Amiens and foreign Franciscan friar stoked the flames of the *rabies Carcassonensis* back to full force. The local population of Carcassonne, therefore, appears to possess little agency in the matter and thus, receive a degree of insulation from guilt. Nevertheless, it is over the support of these crowds which the Dominicans and rebels fight, and it is their support which Bernard uses as a barometer to measure the potency of the rebellion.

These two themes of heresy as infection and disdain of external actors also appears in his descriptions of contemporary uprisings in Albi.¹⁸ That account, in the entry on Albi in the *De fundatione et prioribus*, is more detailed and polemical. It includes the specific means by which the traitors persuaded their popular supporters, actual episodes of attack, and even quotations of chants levied against the Dominicans as the crowds attacked them. In the case of Albi, some local notables took up arms against the inquisition, and Bernard does not hide his sense of betrayal by men who should have known better: men such as Jean Donadiou and Galhardus Stephani, who were both lawyers and judges, or Guillaume de Pesinchis and Pierre Nicholay, vicars in the church of

¹⁸ The most comprehensive studies of the uprisings in Albi are Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*; Jean-Louis Biget, "Un procès d'inquisition à Albi en 1300," in *Le credo, la morale et l'inquisition*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 6 (Toulouse: Privat, 1971), 273–341; Julien Théry-Astruc, "The Heretical Dissidence of the 'Good Men' in the Albigeois (1276-1329): Localism and Resistance to Roman Clericalism," in *Cathars in Question*, Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages 4 (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), 79–111.

Albi. More broadly, those opposing the inquisition primarily came from the minor nobility and urban middle-classes.¹⁹ Beyond the notorious leadership of Bernard Délicieux, other Franciscans shared in the blame. Although he does not name them, Bernard cannot hide his disappointment with the Friars Minors collusion in the spread of heresy and attacks against the inquisition. According to Bernard, the Franciscans' complicity included the knowing protection of criminals (what would today amount to obstruction of justice) and the active recruitment of rebels and spreading of discord in opposition to the inquisition.²⁰

Théry-Astruc has painted a vivid and convincing portrait of the political and economic conditions that led to 'dissidence' in Albi at the end of the thirteenth century. The core of unrest lay in the reassertion of episcopal power in temporal affairs undertaken by Bernard de Castanet, bishop of Albi from 1276 to 1308. This opposition to ecclesiastically-induced social order, according to Théry-Astruc, formed a sufficient threat to institutions such as the episcopal see of Albi and Order of Preachers so as to 'be qualified as heresy'. Bernard de Castanet and the inquisitors who aided him viewed the two activities -- of

¹⁹ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 203. Théry-Astruc, "Heretical Dissidence," 84–85 convincingly uses Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism* and Biget, "Un procès d'inquisition à Albi en 1300," 298–304 to argue that "the sociology of accused individuals reported to the Inquisition confirms that the good men's friends came from the rural minor aristocracy and, above all, urban social classes born of economic growth since the eleventh century, the well-off or rich middle classes formed of craftsmen and merchants."

²⁰ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 204.

opposition to episcopal power and 'heresy' -- as 'being two facets of the same enemy'.²¹ What an analysis of Bernard Gui's work adds to Théry-Astruc's portrayal of events is the Dominican perspective of urban turmoil in which they were forced to involve themselves. The friars enter the scene on the side of the bishop through the avenue of inquisition, the 'supreme weapon' in the 'struggle to impose ultra-clericalist rule on the local oligarchy', and it does seem as though the straw that broke the camel's back was indeed the inquisition. This inquisition appears to have cut particularly deep in the local urban middle-class and rural minor nobility because of both the heavy-handed assertion of episcopal power articulated by Bernard de Castanet, as well as the broad definition of a heretic. Upon his appointment as bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet levied tithes and new taxes to build a new cathedral and episcopal palace, clamped down on moneylenders, controlled sexual practices more intensely than previous bishops, and extended an invitation to the Dominican inquisitors of heretical depravity. Théry-Astruc defines 'informality' as a key characteristic of late thirteenth-century heresy: those found guilty of heresy by the inquisition 'were only judged according to their degree of socialization with the "heretics"'.²² According to Bernard, the heretics of Albi and Cordres and

²¹ Théry-Astruc, "Heretical Dissidence," 82–83, 110.

²² Théry-Astruc, 79–81, 84, 95–99, 101–8.

their allies - and it should be noted here that Bernard does not provide a definition of heresy or an explanation of what made them heretics in the first place - rebelled against Bernard de Castanet because he and the Dominican inquisitors had condemned them for heresy, to which (again, according to Bernard) they had confessed and been convicted.²³ The Dominicans stand side by side with the besieged bishop of Albi in what Bernard Gui characterizes as a violent struggle for the truth.

As in his entry for the convent in Carcassonne, Bernard does not assign guilt to the people, mostly because the men who started these revolts were, in Bernard Gui's estimation, liars and cheats. These convicted heretics had first brought their case to the crown under the façade of piety (*sub specie pietates*), but in the end the truth emerged victorious over their lie, which was 'inequity' itself (*mentita est iniquitas sibi et veritas non defecit in finem*). It was those convicted heretics who 'roused the entire country against the inquisitors and bishop' and 'manufactured the greatest sedition amongst the people', and it was only with half-truths and defamation that they duped their countrymen into taking up arms.²⁴ The rebels even used some of the Dominican instruments for defining

²³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 201.

²⁴ This aligns well with Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 161–71 in that thirteenth-century authors described heretics as “wolves in sheep’s clothing” to highlight this sort of deceptive verbal trickery.

truth against them, forging registers that purported to be written by inquisitors and the bishop and to exonerate the ancestors of the rebels.²⁵ Moreover, the 'people' never appear as named destructive agents or in the nominative at all -- many 'were added' to the rebels' ranks, for example. Although Bernard does not use the term *rabies* again to describe the events in Albi, he does use somewhat medical descriptions of the crowds. They grew uncontrollably angry (*sevire gravius*), increasingly crazy (*amplius insanire*), and even grew horns (*cornua erigere*).²⁶ The friar could even see the craziness in their eyes.²⁷ The medical discourse Bernard deploys when describing the mobs of Albi is far more graphic and threatening than that used about Carcassonne. What this episode shows is that 'heresy' as imagined and reconstructed by Bernard Gui was not just a manifestation of 'resistance to Roman clericalism' *tout court*, but rather a specific case of resistance to Roman clericalism that had, at its core, roots (at least) sympathetic to heresy.

However, unlike the description of events in Carcassonne, which ended only because of the conflation of royal and Dominican interests -- that is a literal

²⁵ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 42–44 for “the inquisitorial archives in the Languedocian imagination”, and *ibid.*, pp. 3-4 and Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, trans. Colin Gordon, 1st American ed (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 93 on the relationship between power and the “economy of discourses of truth.”

²⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 202.

²⁷ Gui, 203.

treason plotted against the crown finally convinced Philip the Fair to finally intervene -- Bernard provides a model for diffusing tension in his account of Albi. In the bishop of Toulouse, he found the ideal of Christian patience, kindness, and leniency that could effectively combat the violence. On February 11, 1303, the men and women of Toulouse attacked their bishop, Pierre de la Chapelle-Taillefert, a fellow Limousin, ally of Clement V, and former bishop of Carcassonne. The bishop calmed the crowd with patience and sympathy. When the crowd attacked him with vitriol and chants calling for his death, Pierre responded with a prayer, 'in the model of Christ, "*qui, cum malediceretur non maledicebat; cum pateretur non comminabatur*". He 'patiently and steadfastly' tolerated the crowd's abuses, and in the end they felt no need for further vengeance or vindication. Through lenience and kindness (*indulgere*), Pierre persuaded the crowd to recognize the error of their ways, knowing that, '*beati sunt qui propter iustitiam persecutionem patiuntur*'. The patient bishop whom Bernard sought to immortalize did not stop there, though. He took to the pulpit and 'equipped with good sermons towards patience', he warned the people of Toulouse not to take up arms and kill or butcher each other, lest they be banished or excommunicated. Instead, when they saw violence on the horizon, they were to shout the name of God. With this, he created a new custom that ensured justice in the city.

Later, to guarantee the peace, every household was made to deposit their swords and other weapons at the entrance of the city, and with peace assured by the bishop, there were, according to Bernard, tears of joy throughout Toulouse.²⁸ Such a regulation has an affinity with the harsh measures imposed by the 'episcopal monarchy' at Albi under Bernard de Castanet. They too represented a form of clerical government, and they too would have most adversely affected 'prosperous citizens and members of the nobility who had remained marginal to the changing and socio-political landscape', except this policy bore less of an air of control (like Bernard de Castanet's policies surrounding moneylending and contraception) and more an air of grace. Bernard Gui's praise of such a practice (and his silence concerning any of Bernard de Castanet's governmental policies) indicates that perhaps an institutional form of episcopal government was not necessarily the font of popular dissidence, as articulated by Théry-Astruc.²⁹ In fact, read alongside the records cited in chapter five related to the foundation of convents (in that case, Saint-Junien) where Bernard Gui cites the establishment and maintenance of peace as a key element of the Dominican project, the institutionalization of the Dominican organization within civic spheres -- episcopal, bourgeois, and noble -

²⁸ Gui, 202.

²⁹ Théry-Astruc, "Heretical Dissidence," 102.

- fits very neatly with the project a Pierre de Chapelle-Taillefert undertook in early fourteenth-century Toulouse.

Bernard juxtaposes this model of Christian patience with the inefficacy, tactlessness, and flippancy of the royal officials (northerners) sent by Philip the Fair. As the violence grew and the rebels took on a more unified form, they made an appeal to the king, queen, and entire royal court on behalf of the people of the diocese of Albi, claiming to vindicate the alleged heretics and protect the faithful, ostensibly against the inquisitors. Bernard, however, is not entirely clear on whether or not this petition actually motivated Philip's decision to dispatch two of his own men to investigate the unrest. He transitions from the rebels' appeal to Philip's decision with the abstract phrase, 'but a lie is inequality to itself' and truth did not fail in the end'. Royal letters instructed the two men, Jean de Picquigny and Richard Neveu, to restore order to the land – rather oblique and vague instructions. Usually, modern scholars grant their historical actors the benefit of the doubt and presume that vagueness is not intentional. That is, in any normal circumstance, we might agree that Jean and Richard did not need explicit instructions because it would have been clear to them what they needed to do. However, given Philip's uncertainty about and reluctance to interfere in matters in the south, these instructions may have

been left intentionally amorphous to give the two administrators a wide purview to act.

The royal agents gravely disappointed Bernard and his Dominican colleagues. Under their watch, attacks against the bishop and inquisitors simply multiplied, and Jean de Picquigny even ordered the town's jail invaded and certain inquisitorial administrators to be arrested.³⁰ This royal endorsement of the rebels emboldened them and led to one of the first major climaxes in Bernard's account. Shortly after the attack against the inquisitorial jail, crowds in Albi, Carcassonne, and Toulouse rioted against the inquisitors, their allies and the bishop of Albi, chanting, '*Ad proditores! Ad proditores!*' When the bishop of Toulouse attempted to quell the crowds, they became even more enraged, men and women alike shouting '*Ad mortem! Ad mortem! Moriatur proditor, moriatur!*' It was only when the bishop responded with patience 'in the example of Christ' that the crowd calmed itself.³¹ The people broadly seem to have seen Jean and Richard as leaders of the rebellion, since when the rebels vandalized the images of Saints Dominic and Peter on the city gate in Albi, they wrote the names and drew the visage of the viscount and archdeacon. In the end,

³⁰ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 201.

³¹ Gui, 202.

however, 'truth' would not allow the images to remain, and after a few years the 'authority of equity' began to repair the damage.³²

Bernard was not finished with the two royal officials, though. At the end of his account of the unrest in Albi, he recounts how Jean de Picquigny and Richard Neveu met their ends. Jean was excommunicated in the following year for having impeded the official business of the inquisition. He ended up in exile in Abrucio, Sicily, where he died in 1304 without a priest, without a final blessing, and without redemption from the church. Richard, who was appointed bishop of Beziers soon after the events in Carcassonne and Albi, did not escape divine punishment either. He was struck down with leprosy and died of shame as a leper in 1309, just before Pentecost.³³ Bernard does not mention Philip once after his account of the king dispatching these two administrators, but he does mention royal authority in the final lines of his account.

Underlying all of this, however, is an earnest anxiety on the part of Bernard, who had good reason to fear for the soundness of Dominican administrative (and physical) infrastructure in the south. Dominicans ran the inquisition, and without a proper inquisitorial office to attack, rebels

³² Gui, 203.

³³ Gui, 204.

understandably targeted Dominican institutions instead. Meaningful ties between the order's convents and local communities formed an essential component of the Dominican ethos. Establishing a strong relationship with the local secular clergy, nobility and townspeople insulated the friars from parochial disputes, legal challenges and violent crime. Bernard bore these important elements of administrative networking in mind while composing the *De fundatione et prioribus*.³⁴ Beyond the administrative, legal and financial benefits of local ties, a functional relationship with the convent's stable of commoners laid the groundwork for the order's most fundamental missions: to preach and to root out heresy.

We find in Bernard's work a carefully constructed narrative that protected the image of local townspeople by exculpating the crowds and placing blame on troublemakers against local interest. This complicates an important argument about Bernard and his conception of the inquisition: Karen Sullivan's juxtaposition of Bernard as invested in a 'universal, ecclesiastical organization' vis-a-vis Bernard Délicieux as a 'champion of a local civic power structure'.³⁵ This is too simple. Bernard Gui certainly had local interests in mind whilst combatting heretics in the south of France. This thesis has already

³⁴ See chapter five.

³⁵ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, 146–61.

established the essential Dominican relationships between order and town in the thirteenth century which was as much a political practicality as it was an ethos.

This chapter has shown that Bernard considered the way in which the crowds and townspeople would or should be remembered in relation to these uprisings. He relieves them of guilt and attempts to protect the '*honor multitudinis*' by scrubbing the crowds of any agency whatsoever. Whether or not the townspeople viewed Bernard Gui as a stooge for the Dominicans and inquisition or Bernard Délicieux as a local 'champion' is not clear from the surviving sources. What is clear, though, is that Bernard Gui was not oblivious local interests, nor did he seek actively to antagonize them. At worst he was ambivalent about the fact that locals had committed crimes, and they had attacked Dominican interests, but he refrains from holding them fully complicit out of a fear that it would be unfair.³⁶

These revolts, from the beginning, have been difficult to define. Bernard did not see them simply as a religiously-inspired uprising as driven by heretical belief; he also acknowledged, if only implicitly, the complex web of religious, social, and political interests at play, anticipating Arnold's insight that religiosity amongst the laity was not just 'a tactical afterthought or cultural

³⁶ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 103.

hinderance', but rather a ingrained element of lay rebellion.³⁷ The rebels, perhaps because of their identity as heretics but not because of their beliefs per se, targeted the defamation and destruction at the Dominicans. These uprisings were anti-Dominican and anti-inquisitorial in nature. They did not seek to defend Catharism or any other system of beliefs as acceptable, but rather sought to delegitimize the institutions which administrated the inquisition. This chapter has not sought a way around this conflation and has instead embraced that tension and let it run unchecked as a reminder that the religious, the political, and the popular blended together in Bernard's mind. The vocabulary of heresy -- especially confession, disease, and wolfish deception -- could be used to describe political events that included formal 'treason' against the French Crown as well as informal but physically destructive 'rebellion' against Dominican mechanisms of authority.

Conclusion

The persecution of the Dominicans lasted for about eight years, from 1301 to 1309, long after Philip and the crown intervened.³⁸ The defacement of the images of Saint Dominic and Saint Peter on the city gate at Albi were not restored for several years, and for five or six years, conditions remained too

³⁷ Arnold, "Religion and Popular Rebellion," 151.

³⁸ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 204.

dangerous for the Dominicans to preach at all.³⁹ When the crowds drove the Dominicans out of their convent at Albi, they also put the friars under something resembling communal interdict. The townspeople stopped giving alms, refused to bury the dead in the Dominican cemeteries, stopped partaking in any other deference of piety or subsidy of charity, and refused to come to the brothers' church even to see the body of God.⁴⁰ Exacerbating the chasm between the Dominicans and the townspeople, a new rash of heresies spread on the coattails of the insurrection. Using the same medical language as his descriptions of the *populus*, Bernard wrote that many heresies began to multiply and swarm, and they infected many in the diocese of Pamiers, Carcassonne, Toulouse, and Albi, as if through the legitimate inquisition and repression of those heretics and of their beliefs, the seeds brought forward fruit.⁴¹

Just a few years after his tenure as prior of Carcassonne and first-hand experience with these rebellions, Bernard rose to one of the most powerful ecclesiastical positions in southern France: inquisitor of Toulouse. His service in Carcassonne and Albi, shaped his attitudes towards heresy and orthodoxy, order and disorder. He appreciated the close relationship between the crown and inquisition as a functional office under Dominican auspices. Bernard

³⁹ Gui, 203.

⁴⁰ Gui, 202.

⁴¹ Gui, 204.

largely exculpated the common people of the towns where he and his confrères served and found blame in meddling foreigners and irresponsible, treasonous local authorities. Finally, Bernard saw the renewal of heresy in Languedoc as an existential threat to Dominican authority. Understanding this anxiety and ambivalence is essential in understanding Bernard the administrator, Bernard the future inquisitor, and Bernard the man.

Epilogue

Bernard never left the Dominican Order. After he was relieved of his duties as prior of Limoges in 1307 and appointed papal inquisitor of Toulouse, he continued to serve the order in formal and informal capacities. The then-inquisitor continued attending Dominican provincial and general chapters, and his order continued to call upon him for diplomatic assignments. By 1307 Bernard had achieved, as we have seen, a well-earned reputation as a responsible, competent, and affable administrator, and the Dominicans did not want to lose him entirely to inquisition business.

The order especially demanded that Bernard play a prominent role in its governance at the provincial and general chapters. In July 1307, his *confrères* nominated him one of the four *diffinitoress* of the provincial chapter (alongside the priors of Limoges, Bayonne, and Castres) and then as the province's representative to the following general chapter in Padua.¹ Again in 1311, the chapter requested that he serve as a *diffinitor* for the provincial chapter in Bordeaux, and on 13 May 1312, Bernard cast a vote for Bérenger de Landorre as master-general during the general chapter at Carcassonne. The *diffinitors'* responsibilities demanded extensive organizational work before, during, and after the chapter, and friars who were well-respected and had some authority

¹ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 179.

and administrative experience, such as Bernard, were ideal candidates. They oversaw reviews of new and floundering convents, and the chapter trusted them to investigate and resolve the most serious transgressions and scandals.² It was not a ceremonial position.

On at least two occasions (although there were probably more too minor to record), the provincial prior called upon Bernard to serve his order in extraordinary ways. On 17 December 1307, the provincial prior requested that he confirm Hugh Pellicier as prior of Agen since they were both in the same city, and Bernard was the highest ranking Dominican in Toulouse at the time.³ Emboldened by Bernard's cooperative attitude, the provincial chapter held at Rieux in 1308 made a much more significant request of the inquisitor to investigate whether or not the convent at Saint-Junien had been properly established.⁴ Here, Bernard drew the line and excused himself of the assignment by his inquisitorial obligations, despite his vast experience and intimate knowledge of convents' foundation and the political complications that attended them.⁵

² Humberti de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Torino: Marietti, 1956), 2: 349-350.

³ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 114.

⁴ Bernard also possessed a personal connection to the convent of Saint-Junien in his confessor and friend, Pierre Sycardi, who was a friar at the convent in 1311: Gui, 229 and Anonymous, "Vie de Bernard Gui, écrite par un contemporain," in *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui*, by Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 429-31.

⁵ Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus*, 226.

The diplomatic acumen Bernard had gained during his time as prior did not go to waste as inquisitor. As Karen Sullivan has shown, the inquisition, like the rituals surrounding the construction of new convents described in chapter five, were performances.⁶ Whereas the placing of the first stone or a formal procession or celebration of the first mass in a new convent acknowledged the contribution of local men and women, the inquisitor's sermon, equal in magnitude, did exactly the opposite: it shamed local men and women who had substantially rebelled against ecclesiastical authority. Drawing on Bernard's *Practica* and *Liber sententiarum*, Sullivan has identified three moments in the inquisitorial process which demanded performance and the interpretation of performance by both inquisitor and accused: the heretic deceived and intellectually out-manoeuvred parishioners and secular clerics in the towns and villages where they preached; then, the heretic and inquisitor engaged in epistemological battle over what the accused actually believed and more broadly, whether interior beliefs could be proven, and if so, how; and finally the inquisitor announced to the townspeople that the accused had been investigated, confessed, and refused to abjure before handing the guilty party over to secular authorities for punishment. This last performance articulated

⁶ She argues this especially forcefully in her chapter on Bernard in Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, 124–45.

more than a sentence or confirmation of guilt. It defended a system of justice that was meant to protect the community in a thorough, equitable manner, and it portrayed that system as merciful: it was the accused who desired punishment, not the inquisitor, and this had to be made clear.⁷

The ritual placing of the first stone, or of the solemn procession of Dominicans from their old convent to a new, more centrally-located one was not so dissimilar from the ritual of the general sermon of the inquisition. Both ceremonies targeted the same audience; both provided the order with an opportunity to project their political power in the town, bolstering its legitimation and authority; both articulated abstract relationships between the order, community, and elite. In the case of the general sermon, the friars acted as the people's protectors from the preaching of Cathars, Waldensians, and pseudo-Apostles. The procession of Dominicans in towns where they founded convents, likewise established them as servants of the community whose presence portended both spiritual and temporal peace: that is, *pacem portantibus, illuminantibus patria, et liberantibus Dei populum de vinculis peccatorum*.

In terms of actually carrying out the inquisition, Bernard could draw upon his advanced education in a number of ways. Mulchahey has illustrated

⁷ Bernard Gui and Julien Théry, *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui*, Lire le Moyen âge (Paris: CNRS, 2010), 328; this method of forcing people to make an impossible choice as a means of disingenuously ascribing agency to them is very common in modern policing as well.

the ways in which both the pedagogical material (especially concerning the reception of penitent souls) and methodology (the bi-weekly *collationes scientificiae*) furnished friars with 'practical' skills that could aid in the execution of inquisitorial duties. This thesis has also shown how these skills could also be applied to the administrative responsibilities born by priors. Although Mulchahey deserves much credit for showing the ways in which the theological pedagogy enjoyed by Dominican friars could possess practical applications, they were not confined to the inquisition.⁸ But also, Bernard's advancement in the order brought him a certain degree of social and cultural capital. The Dominicans, as we have seen through Bernard's life, enjoyed deep connections with every level of lay and clerical society, and he was an expert practitioner when it came to leveraging those relationships. As inquisitor, he collaborated with royal, episcopal, monastic, and papal forces, drawing on both the authority enjoyed by the inquisition *per se*, but even more from the political ethos of his Dominican past.

In the middle of his tenure as inquisitor, Bernard was appointed proctor general of the Dominican Order. The exact date of this appointment is not certain. He served for four years, one of which included at least part of the first year of John XXII's reign (that is, between 5 September 1316 and 4 September

⁸ Mulchahey, "*Summae Inquisitorum* and the Art of Disputation," 145–56.

1317). According to his contemporary biographer, Bernard also could be found in Avignon during August 1318, when he advocated for the canonization of Raymond de Peñafort.⁹ The proctor general's primary responsibility was to represent his influence at the papal court in Avignon (Galbraith describes him as acting 'as does an ambassador to a foreign power'), and to live permanently at the *curia*.¹⁰ Bernard could only handle inquisitorial business remotely at best, although no special arrangements seem to have been made in his absence.

There, the proctor-general established networks of important contexts, especially those in the curial administration. He needed the diplomatic delicacy that provided him with the fluency to move easily between 'secular and ecclesiastical institutions, the centre of the universal Church and members of local churches, between the service of the curial administration and the thousands of [his order's] members dispersed around the world who, on account of distance or the lack of ability, could not come to Rome themselves'.¹¹ Bernard possessed many qualities that made him the ideal person to represent the friars at the John XXII's court. One hitherto overlooked aspect of Bernard's pre-inquisitorial past that made him especially well-qualified to serve at John

⁹ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 182–83.

¹⁰ Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 136. The most useful overview of the proctor's responsibilities is Andreas Sohn, "Les procureurs à la Curie romaine. Pour une enquête internationale," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 114, no. 1 (2002): 371–89. More research on the Dominican presence in royal and papal courts is necessary.

¹¹ Sohn, "Les procureurs à la Curie romaine," 373.

XXII's *curia* was his Occitan identity.¹² More formally, his commitment to Dominican priorities, administrative competence, and diplomatic charisma all combined to make him an extremely formidable proctor. Having served the order as a lector, conventual prior, and as a regional inquisitor, Bernard possessed broad experience negotiating with other Dominicans as well as with local, royal, and papal interests. His understanding of these relationships and their bearing on the order's functional operation provided him with the perspectives necessary to ensure that the friars received the support they needed from the papal court.

John trusted the Dominicans, and they played an important role in a number of his theological controversies.¹³ The Dominicans Pierre de la Palud and Hervé Nédellec were cited by John in his response to the long-standing dispute between the regular and secular clergy in 1318. Guillaume de Peyre Godin (from Bayonne) served as a papal legate to Spain from 1320 to 1324 and played a large role in the canonization of Thomas Aquinas. Jacques de Concotz, a friar from Quercy, was appointed bishop of Lodève and archbishop of Aix-en-Provence in addition to serving as the pope's confessor. Guillaume de Laudun,

¹² Catherine Léglu, "A Genealogy of the Kings of England in Papal Avignon: British Library, Egerton MS. 1500," *Electronic British Library Journal*, 2013, 1–3 for John XXII's preference for Occitan prelates at his curia.

¹³ Sylvain Piron, "Avignon sous Jean XXII, l'Eldorado des théologiens," in *Jean XXII et le Midi*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 45 (Toulouse: Privat, 2012), 357–91.

the former provincial prior of Provence became archbishop of Vienne in February 1321. Bernard was surrounded by *confrères*, many of whom were also compatriots, and some of whom he had worked with before.

Only a handful of records give us an insight into Bernard's specific responsibilities at Avignon. One of Bernard's primary responsibilities involved welcoming Dominican dignitaries to the papal *curia* and ensuring that their diplomatic objectives aligned with the order's priorities. In the biography of Bernard written shortly after his death, a number of friars, including Arnald Borgueti (inquisitor of Barcelona and provincial prior in Aragon), Guillaume de Gardaga (a friar from Bayonne), and Pierre Bernard (a bachelor at the *curia*).¹⁴ One particular visit by a Dominican friar stands out. Sometime towards the end of 1317, Edward II of England sent a letter to the order's provincial prior, vicar of the master-general, and Bernard in his capacity as proctor-general. Edward II sought a special license for Nicolas de Wisebech to make an unspecified request to John XXII on the crown's behalf, making it abundantly clear that the friar was acting on behalf of his king, not his order.¹⁵ The 'special license' probably

¹⁴ Anonymous, "Vie de Bernard Gui," 429–30.

¹⁵ The letter has been published in full in Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 400 and; Richard de Bury, *The Liber Epistolaris of Richard de Bury*, ed. Noël Denholm-Young (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1950). Copies also reside in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions latins nn. 1265 and 1266. The original survives thanks to Richard de Bury as a formulary in Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (= The National Library of Wales), Brogyntyn MS II.7, Liber epistolaris, f. 61v: "*Vos igitur affectuose requirimus et rogamus quatinus eidem fratri Nicholao, ut dictis negociis insistere et ea prosequi valeat pro nostris commodo et honore, velitis nostri intuitu licenciam concedere*

implied that the friar be exempt from having to disclose his business to his Dominican superiors. Edward faced difficult political complications domestically and in Gascony, and the involvement of French Dominicans (given their historically close relationship with the French crown described in chapter six) might have undermined his scheme. In any event, the request was ridiculous and rested upon 'a conflation of legends' and a measure of desperation more than anything else, so the plausible deniability enjoyed by Bernard and his *confrères* in leadership may have actually been a blessing.¹⁶ Whether or not John XXII consulted Bernard, but it is unlikely that the Dominicans at the *curia* knew of this ridiculous plot.

During his time spent Avignon on the order's behalf, Bernard made a lasting impression on the pope. On two occasions, John XXII dispatched

specialem"; See also Harwood, "Calendar of the Contents of the MS. No. 21 in the Library of J. R. Ormsby-Gore, Esq., M. P., at Brogyntyn, Co. Salop.," in *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts* (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1874), 382.

¹⁶ This account is summarized in Roy Martin Haines, *King Edward II: Edward of Caernarson; His Life, His Reign, and Its Aftermath, 1284 - 1330* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2006), 33–35. The story behind Nicolas's request involves a conflation of a number of different legends surrounding a prophecy attributed to St Thomas Becket concerning oil used to anoint Charlemagne and shown (by the countess of Luxemburg and Margaret, Edward's sister and the wife of the duke of Brabant) to be miraculous. Facing political difficulties in England around the time of the Treaty of Leake, Edward hoped that a public re-anointment with that oil by a papally-appointed delegate might resolve his misfortunes. Nicolas was tasked with requesting the pope for approval and for a delegate, but the strangeness of the scheme was not lost on the seasoned lawyer that was John XXII. The pope replied that such a re-anointment would not qualify as superstitious or sinful, subtly jabbing Edward in his explanation that "unction did not impress anything on the soul", anyway. However, the curia would send no such delegate, since any such ceremony would create too scandalous an affair.

Bernard on the sort of diplomatic missions for which his pedigree fitted him. On 1 March 1317, John entrusted Bernard with enforcing a series of peace treaties between King Robert of Sicily and his subjects in Piedmont on the one hand, and Count Amedeus of Savoy, Marquis Manfred of Saluzzo, and the knights Philip of Savoy and Mathieu Visconti, on the other. The failure cannot be attributed to a lack of resources, since the papacy responded to Bernard's requests for staff and materials without reservation. In addition, Bernard and his partner, Bertrand de Turre, enjoyed great latitude in their enforcement of the truces, including the privilege of actually amending and reforming the truces to make them more workable.¹⁷ This was an absolute failure.

On the one hand, Bernard did not know any of the towns where he was meant to proclaim the papal truce. As prior, Bernard spent years in towns to develop and nurture sometimes decades-long relationships. His accounts of Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and (especially) Limoges are products of the voracity with which he mined the archives in an attempt to comprehend the social, political, and financial histories of the towns where he worked. In northern Italy, he spent only a few days in each town before moving on, and

¹⁷ John XXII, "Deux lettres de Jean XXII, relatives à une mission en Italie qu'il confiait à Bernard Gui," in *Notice sur les manuscrits*, by Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), 398–400; for the calendar of letters, see Guillaume Mollat, *Jean XXII Lettres commues* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1939), nn. 5099, 5132, 5134, 5135, 5141, 5494.

despite his best efforts (there is evidence he spent some time, perhaps too much, exploring local archives in Bologna and Verona), he could not effectively execute his mission. On 21 September 1318, John XXII dispatched Bernard to France to negotiate a ceasefire and treaty between Philip of France and Baldwin of Flanders. At the negotiations held in the priory of Royallieu, not far from Compiègne, on 11 October 1318, Bernard's foreignness got in the way of his diplomatic finesse. Both Bernard and his associate, the Franciscan Bertrand de la Tour (from Quercy) preferred to speak Occitan, whereas the other representatives spoke Latin or (mostly) in northern French, which Bernard would not have been able to understand.¹⁸ Despite his official title of inquisitor *regno Francie*, Bernard's jurisdiction really only pertained to Occitania, and he (the friar who had never before really left the south) only spoke Occitan. Bernard and Bertrand began by reminding the warring parties of the love felt by the papacy for all Christians, but especially for the 'most Christian' king and the subjects of the kingdom of France. They then chastised both sides for waging war against each other and thus distracting from a new crusade, and finally they concluded by demanding that both sides observe the peace declared by the papacy seven months earlier on 8 March.¹⁹ This mission also ended in failure

¹⁸ Nold, *Pope John XXII and His Franciscan Cardinal*.

¹⁹ Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 151–53.

when the Flemish (who did not enjoy nearly as much favour from the papacy as the French) stormed off before a compromise could be reached.

Despite these setbacks, Bernard still held sway in Avignon, and in 1318, he requested and received a number of favours for his relations. On 21 September 1318, John XXII granted benefices to Bernard's nephews, Aymeric Hugonis and Gui Guidonis, and one of Bernard's notaries in his inquisitorial office, Pierre Boeri.²⁰ After almost two decades in papal service, Bernard received an appointment first as Bishop of Tuy in Galicia some time in 1323 and then as bishop of nearby Lodève in the archdiocese of Narbonne on 20 July 1324.²¹ It is unlikely that Bernard ever visited Tuy, but in Lodève, he entered a third, especially fruitful phase of his administrative career. According to the contemporary biography, Bernard administered the bishopric as well as he would any Dominican convent. He raised alms, oversaw new construction, wrote a chronicle of the bishops of Lodève, and (channelling his establishment of the library at the convent in Limoges) organized the bishopric's bibliographic

²⁰ Mollat, *Jean XXII Lettres communes*, nn. 8434 (Aymeric Hugonis), 8435 (Pierre Boeri), and 8436 (Gui Guidonis).

²¹ Mollat, *Jean XXII Lettres communes* does not include the document appointing Bernard as bishop of Tuy. However, he is addressed as bishop of Tuy in two entries (18290 and 18635). In the former document, Bernard appears in Limoges overseeing the transfer of a number of benefices, and in the latter it is not clear whether Bernard was actually in Tuy when the testimonies and licenses from the curia were sent to him. The transfer to Lodève does appear in *ibid.*, n. 19952, and Bernard oversaw operations there more personally, having requested and received two legal clerks soon after his appointment (*ibid.*, n. 20673).

holdings to ensure that the church's rights and privileges were properly maintained.²² This last reference probably pertains to Bernard's last historical endeavour: compiling the bishopric's documents and redacting a cartulary.²³

In terms of genre, the cartulary aligns with the rest of Bernard's bibliographic output. He expected that future bishops of Lodève would reference the collection of documents so that they could develop the best administrative practices possible, fend off legal challenges, and run the bishopric to the best of their collective (rather than individual) ability. Bernard simply got the ball rolling in a document that he hoped would continue to live - - that is receive additions, change format, and most importantly, influence the administration of the bishopric. The friar's last writing project, thus, was not so different from his first -- a living, dynamic guide. And the cartulary did just that. Over the course of the four-and-a-half centuries between Bernard and the French Revolution (when the cartulary was lost), the cartulary grew to five large volumes. By the seventeenth century, only four survived, and in 1634, the then-bishop of Lodève, Jean de Plantavit, transcribed a few of the lines and described the manuscript.²⁴

²² Anonymous, "Vie de Bernard Gui," 429.

²³ Henri Stein, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français, ou relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris: Picard, 1907), 302–3; Célestin Douais, *Un nouvel écrit de Bernard Gui: Le synodal de Lodève* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1894); Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 273.

²⁴ Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 273–74.

For centuries after his death, Bernard's compilations of Dominican documents provided the schema for at least his province's and his home convent's record-keeping and administrative historical writing. In one of the manuscripts (Bordeaux 780), contains a continuation of the provincial priors of Toulouse in the three hundred years from Bernard's death up to the seventeenth century.²⁵ These early modern notaries made full use of the folios Bernard had left blank at the end of these sections for precisely this sort of continuation. In his history of the convents in the province of Toulouse, it is very likely that Bernard consulted the foundation story written by Gérard de Frachet for his home convent of Limoges.²⁶ The *Libellus de fundatione conventus Lemovicensis*, begun by Gérard de Frachet, was expanded by Étienne de Salanhac, and completed by Bernard. The convent's monks continued to add to the *Libellus* all the way up to the French Revolution.²⁷ The seventeenth-century French scholar and bibliophile, Étienne Baluze, was especially fond of his compatriot and

²⁵ Bordeaux, MS 780, f. 34.

²⁶ Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui, 1261-1331*.

²⁷ Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Limoges*, 1–3; Jean-Loup Lemaître, “Un nouveau manuscrit des Flores chronicorum de Bernard Gui et la bibliothèque des Dominicains de Limoges,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 76 (2006): 84. Douais claims that the Benedictine commitment to studying history at the end of the seventeenth century provided the impulse for the Dominicans to undertake their own historical projects including the *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum* by Quétif and Échard, the *Bullarium ordinis FF. Praedicatorum* by Ripoll, and the *Annales ordinis Praedicatorum* by Mamachi. Histories of individual convents besides Limoges were also transcribed, including a history of the convent of Albi (from 1210 to 1706), Saint-Gaudens (1292-1706), Montauban (1251-1706), Alais (1240-1700), Brive (1261-1568), Béziers (1247), Clermont-Lodève (1317), and Rodez (1383). These are all held in the order's archives in Rome.

transcribed the anonymous biography of Bernard from shortly after his death in 1331 as a preface to Baluze's collection of Bernard's works pertaining to Limousin history.²⁸ Baluze referenced Bernard's administrative histories of the bishops of Limoges and *De fundatione et prioribus*, as well as his *Speculum sanctorale* and *Flores chronicorum*.²⁹

These latter texts were the ones that earned Bernard broad (geographical and chronological) fame. In his own time, the *Flores chronicorum* was translated into French and Occitan, was presented to King Philip VI of France, and was redacted from Portugal to Prague. Dozens of manuscripts survive.³⁰ However, Bernard lives in the minds of most readers as the evil inquisitor portrayed by F. Murray Abraham in the film adaptation of Umberto Eco's novel, *The Name of the Rose*. He is calculating, scheming, obsessed by the tricks played by words. Despite that portrayal's dramatic interpretation, it rests on sure foundations.³¹

²⁸ Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Baluze 92, f. 1-6.

²⁹ Patricia Gillet, *Étienne Baluze & l'histoire du Limousin: desseins et pratiques d'un érudit du XVIIe siècle*, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 5, Hautes études médiévales et modernes 92 (Genève: Droz, 2008), 73–74, 78–79, 165–68; Alfred Leroux, "Notes inédites d'Étienne Baluze sur l'histoire du Limousin," *Bulletin de la Société des lettres, sciences, et arts de la Corrèze* 10 (1888): 459–81. For a full catalogue of Baluze's manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, see Lucien Auvray and René Poupardin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la collection Baluze* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1921).

³⁰ Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui, 1261-1331*; Lemaître, "Un nouveau manuscrit des Flores chronicorum"; Thomas, "Bernard Gui," 176–85; Delisle, *Notice sur les manuscrits*, 188–234.

³¹ Gui and Théry, *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui*; Bernard Gui, *Practica Inquisitionis Hereticae Pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1886); Derek Hill, "How to Read Parts 1 to 3 of Gui's *Practica Inquisitionis Hereticae Pravitatis*," *The Mediaeval Journal* 6, no. 2 (July 2016): 25–43, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.TMJ.5.112761>; Derek Hill, "Change in

Umberto Eco's Bernard Gui is the same Bernard found on the pages here.

However, the inquisition (or at least Bernard's time as inquisitor) barely appears, and only in the epilogue. This is not because I want to apologize for the inquisition or exonerate Bernard in any way. Nor I have attempted to weigh in on the debates about inquisitors as 'wicked and immoral' and 'determined by the effective force behind them of which they are the exponents', or motivated by zeal and charity.³² Rather, this thesis has contributed something towards understanding Bernard as an historical actor -- who was this inquisitor and where did he come from?

the Fourteenth-Century Inquisition Seen through Bernard Gui's and Nicholas Eymerich's Inquisitors' Manuals" (Ph. D. Thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2016).

³² On wicked and immoral contingency versus a more structuralist interpretation, see Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*. (Princeton University Press, 2013), 14–17. On zeal and charity, see Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, 5–15.

Appendix 1: Bernard's Timeline

Date	Location	Event	Reference
1267-1275	Dominican convent at Limoges	Received tonsure from Pierre de Saint-Astier, bishop of Périgueux	Bordeaux 780, fol. 15; ms 55 de Toulouse, fol. 12v; Toulouse 490 fol. 35
16 September 1280	Dominican convent at Limoges	Made profession between the hands of Étienne de Salanhac	" <i>In cujus manibus sum professus anno Domini MCC octogesimo, XVI kalendas octobris.</i> " Bordeaux 780, fol. 22v; ms 55 de Toulouse fol. 18v; Toulouse 490, fol. 50.
1283	Dominican convent at Limoges	Bernard studies natural philosophy	
1284	Dominican convent at Brives	The provincial chapter at Perpignan assigns Bernard to teach logic at the convent of Brives	" <i>Assignamus studia logycalia... : pro conventibus Lemovicensi, Brivensi, Caturcensi, Figiacensi, Petragoricensi, Bragariacensi, ponimus studium in Brivia; lectorem fratrem B. Guidonis Lemovicensem.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 338
1285-1287	Dominican convent at Limoges	Studied theology	1285: " <i>Assignamus studentes in theologia... in conventu Lemovicensi fratres Guidonem Helye, B. Guidonis...</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 340. 1286: " <i>Assignamus studentes in theologia... Lemovicis fratres P. Nayratis, R. de Amo, P. Armi, Jo. de Podio, B. Guidonis, P. Helye.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 342v 1287: " <i>Assignamus studentes in theologia... Lemovicis fratres R. de Curamonta, Bertrandum Fulcodii, B.</i> "

			<i>Guidonis, G. de Veterivilla, Hel. Fayditi</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 345.
1288 (probably)	Dominican convent at Limoges	Studied theology	" <i>Assignamus studentes in theologia... Lemovicis fratres R. (sic) Guidonis, Hel. de Pinu, R. de Curamonta, G. de Veterivilla, Helyam Fayditi Brivensem.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 347v.
1289-1290	Dominican convent at Montpellier	Studied theology	1289: " <i>Assignamus studentes in theologia: in Monte Pessulano... B. Guidonis...</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 350v. 1290: " <i>Assignamus studentes... in conventu Montis Pessulani fratres R. de Corsanino, B. Guidonis Lemovicensem...</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 352v.
1291	Dominican conventA at Limoges	Began teaching theology as a sub-lector	" <i>Ad secundam lectionem....[assignamus conventui] Lemovicensi B. Guidonis</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 357.
1292	Dominican convent at Albi	Lector of theology at Albi	" <i>Assignamus lectores... Albiensi B. Guidonis Lemovicensem</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 359v
5 July 1293	Dominican convent at Albi	Attended the placing of the first stone of the convent's church. The bishop of Albi, Bernard de Castanet is also in attendance at the ceremony	" <i>Sextus prior frater Guillermus Bernardi, Galliacensis, successit fratri Raymundo Blegerii. Tempore prioratus sui, fuit fundata ecclesia fratrum anno Domini MCC nonagesimo III, Diminica infra octavas apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Qua die Dominica, venerabilis pater dominus Bernardus de Castaneto, episcopus Albiensis, indutus pontificalibus, cum ministris indutis sacris, processionaliter accessit ad caput quod nunc est ecclesie, cum conventu fratrum, cum canonicis multis utriusque ecclesie Albiensis ac multitudine copiosa plebis, cum officio sollempni psalmodum et cantus, secundum</i>

			<p><i>rubricam ordinarii episcoporum; ibique devote, flexis genibus in terra, posuit in fundamento primarium lapidem politum prius et consignatum, ipsum lapidem ipse situans et cementans, manu artificis dirigente. Ego frater Bernardus Guidonis, lector eo tempore in conventu et dyachonus, in ipso officio sacris indutus, qui vidi et astiti, premissa scripsi, ut qui non viderunt posteri qui futuri sunt ita credant. Episcopus memoratus tunc nichil optulit, set tempore succedenter in posterum dedit pro opere istius ecclesie partem bonorum omnium sibi incursorum, que ad episcopum pertinebat, duorum civium de Albia (isti duo fuerunt Guillermus Aymerici et Johannes de Castaneto, qui fuerunt pro crimini heresis sentencialiter condempnati, jam defuncti, ad valorem mille librarum turonensium et amplius". Toulouse 490, fol. 216v</i></p>
1294	Dominican convent at Carcassonne	Appointed lector of theology at Carcassonne, but does not end up taking up the job.	<p><i>"Assignamus lectores theologie fratres conventui... Carcassonensi B. Guidonis Lemovicensem."</i> Toulouse 490 fol. 365</p> <p>NB: Douais's transcription and Delisle disagree</p>

July 1294	Dominican convent at Albi	Elected prior of Albi	<p><i>"Septimus nomine prior, minor omnium, successi ego frater Bernardus Guidonis, Lemovicensis dyocesis, fratri Guillermo Bernardi predicto. Fui autem confirmatus in priorem in crastino beate Marie Magdalene anno Domini M CC nonagesimo IIII. Hoc in tempore fuit magna campana ecclesie, et murus latericius orti ex parte fossati. Fueram autem ibidem prius in officio lectoris annis duobus precedentibus, et sub nuncupatione prioris sequentibus annis tribus, et in quarto anno qui tunc agebatur fui inde translatus ad prioratum Carcassonensem, Sabbato post festum sancti Dyonisii confirmatus, anno Domini M CC nonagesimo septimo, qui premissa omnia recollegi et scripsi."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 217.</p>
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October 1297- July 1301	Dominican convent at Carcassonne	Bernard serves as prior of the convent	<i>"Quintus decimus prior nomine, set precedentibus posterior meritis et virtute, successi fratri ac patri Odoni de Causencio memorato ego frater Bernardus Guidonis, Lemovicensis dyocesis. Fui autem translatus de prioratu Albiensi, in quo quartum tunc agebam annum, ad prioratum Carcassonensem, Sabbato post festum beati Dyonisii, confirmatus in monasterio Pruliani anno Domini M CC nonagesimo VII. Serviivi autem Carcassone annis quatuor, a cujus pena, utinam magis a culpa, fui absolutus in festo beate Marie Magdalene celebrato, data diffinizione in festo sanctorum Felicis et Adaukti martirum, anno Domini M CCC I, qui premissa collegi et conscripsi."</i> Toulouse 490 fol. 157
4 October 1299	Monastery of Prouille	Bernard delivers the last rites to Bernard de Tournes, prior of the monastery at Prouille	<i>"Dormiuit autem in Domino in festo beati Francisci, illucescente aurora diei Dominice, anno Domini M CC nonagesimo IX, cujus corpus sanctum ego frater Bernardus Guidonis, tunc prior Carcassone, indignus minister, eodem die, tradidi ecclesiastice sepulture, non sine fratrum et sororum gemitu et ploratu..."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 108.

July 1301	Carcssonne	Bernard remains in the city after his tenure as prior to take part in "theological exercises"	<i>"Et disputet Carcassone B. Guidonis..."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 380v.
1301-1305	Dominican convent at Castres	Bernard serves as prior of the convent	<i>"Decimus octavus nomine prior successi ego frater Bernardus Guidonis, Lemovicensis diocesis, fratri Pontio de Caercino predicto, confirmatus in priorem in crastino Assumptionis beate Marie semper virginis anno Domini M CCC I, qui premissa conscripsi in conventu Castrensi. Tempore quoque isto, facte fuerunt capelle due in ecclesia Beati Vincentii, in latere dextro a parte meridie, quarum primam in honore beati Dominici, patris nostri, Berengarius Amblardi de Castris, secundam vero in honore beati Petri martiris, fratris nostri, domina Fina, soror sua devota fratrum amica, ex devotione construere ac perficere suis sumptibus elegerunt. Anno siquidem Domini M CCC III, prima die Julii mensis, feria secunda apertum est fundamentum pro utraque, et sequenti feria sexta, tertio nonas Julii, duo filii Berengarii Amblardi, Amblardus scilicet et Petrus, pueri innocentes, posuerunt duos primarios lapides pro eisdem. Finaliter in capella</i>

			<i>beati Petri martiris fuit posita clavis testudinis in vigilia ejusdem martiris et tam illius capelle quam alterius fuit testudinatio consumpta in crastino translationis beati Dominici, patris nostri, anno Domini M CCC V, quo hec scripsi. In conventu Castrensi servivi annis quasi quatuor. Fui autem absolutus in capitulo provinciali Lemovicis, in festo beate Marie Magdalene, celebrato anno Domini M CCC V."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 185.
1 February 1302	Toulouse	Bernard is present for the election of Itier de Cognac, prior of the Dominicans of Limoges.	<i>"Tandem electio et confirmacio cassata fuit Tholose in vigilia Purificacionis beate Marie anno Domini M CCC I, me presente."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 133.
1302	Provincial chapter at Carcassonne	Bernard is made preacher general	<i>"Facimus predicatores generales fratres... B. Guidonis"</i> Toulouse 490 fol 386 v
1305	Dominican convent at Carcassonne	Bernard is appointed chair of theology at Carcassonne, but Bernard never takes up the post	<i>"Absolvimus priores... Castrensem... Assignamus lectores in theologia... Carcassone fratrem B. Guidonis"</i> Toulouse 490 fol. 392

<p>23 August 1305 - 16 january 1307</p>	<p>Dominican convent at Limoges</p>	<p>Bernard is elected prior</p>	<p><i>"Decimus nonus prior, omnium minimus, successi ego frater Bernardus Guidonis fratri Stephano Laurelli, in vigilia beati Bartholomei apostoli, Burdegalis confirmatus anno Domini M CCC V; in sequenti vero tempore paschali, anno Domini M CCC VI in festo beati Georgii martyris, quod fuit in Sabbato, dominus Clemens papa V, cum octo cardinalibus, venit Lemovicam, et ad domum fratrum Predicatorum declinavit sine diverticulo ad manendum: ubi concessit priori presente, agenti gratias et petenti, quod confessor quem sibi eligeret et ipse prior super fratres et confessores quos ipse prior fratribus deputeret, pro una vice, eandem et tantam haberent in omnibus potestatem in foro penitenciali absolvendi et dispensandi ab omnibus culpis et penis, citra purgatorium, quantam ipse papa super eos habebat. In crastino vero, in quo fuit dies Dominica, littera dominicali B, idem papa, visitato prius corpore sancti Martialis, et benedictione data populo congregato in platea Sancti Geraldi, recessit apud Sollempniacum, versus Burdegalam dirigens gressus suos. Hoc eodem anno Domini M CCC Vi, facta fuit libraria, pretio centum librarum et amplius. Prior fui anno uno et dimidio. Fui autem absolutus per litteram magistri ordinis, et factus inquisitor Tholosanus per litteram prioris provincialis Francie, receptis inde litteris utrusque Lemovicis in festo beati Marcelli pape et martiris, XVII</i></p>
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			<i>kalendas Febroarii anno Domini M CCC sexto.</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 133v.
1307	Figeac	Bernard designated the provincial representative to the general chapter at Strasbourg	<i>"Assignamus socium priori provinciali ad capitulum generale fratrem B. Guidonis, priorem Lemovicensem."</i> Toulouse 490, fol. 397v.
16 January 1307	Limoges/Toulouse	Bernard receives a letter from the provincial prior of France promoting him to Inquisitor of Toulouse	see above

July 1307	Condom	Bernard participates in the provincial chapter at Condom, where he is again designated the provincial representative to the general chapter at Padua	" <i>Diffinitores fuerunt: prior Lemovicensis, frater Stephanus Laurelli; prior Baionensis, frater P. de Fabrica; prior Castrensis, frater Lupus; inquisitor Tholosanus, frater Bernardus Guidonis.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 397v. " <i>Diffinitor capituli generalis frater B. Guidonis, inquisitor Tholosanus, cui socium assignamus fratrem Johannem de Faubeto, priorem Condomensem.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 400
17 December 1307	Toulouse	Confirmed the nomination of Hugues Pellicier, prior of Agen	" <i>Frater Hugo Pellicerii, Tholosanus, successit fratri Petro Geraldii, confirmatus in priorem per fratrem Bernardum Guidonis, inquisitorem Tholosanum, ex commissione prioris provincialis, XVI kalendas Januarii, anno Domini MCCCVII, tholose, ubi tunc erat uterque.</i> " Toulouse 490, fol. 162v.
3 March 1308	Saint-Étienne Cathedral in Toulouse	Bernard performs the functions of inquisitor for the first time.	" <i>Anno Domini MCCCVII, V nonas Martii, Dominica prima Quadragesime, fuit factus primus sermo per fratrem Bernardum Guidonis, inquisitorem Tholosanum, in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Stephani Tholose.</i> " Limborch, <i>Historia inquisitionis</i> . Amsterdam, 1692, in-folio.

Appendix 2: Students at Limoges

This appendix includes both the students who formed the focus of the study in 'Bernard's Classmates' (that is, those who attended the school for natural philosophy the year that he entered, 1283) as well as those who also studied theology alongside Bernard at Limoges between 1285 and 1288. Although they did not appear in 'Bernard's Classmates', an analysis of their career paths further reinforce the conclusions drawn in that earlier chapter.

Friar	Years	Roles	Place
Bernard Gui	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1284	Lector of logic	Brives
	1285	Student of theology	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Sublector of theology	Limoges
	1292	Lector of theology	Albi
	1293	Lector of theology	Albi
	1294	Lector of theology	Carcassonne
	1294-1297	Prior	Albi
	1297-1301	Prior	Carcassonne
	1301	Lector of theology	Carcassonne
	1301-1305	Prior	Castres
1302	General preacher	Carcassonne	
1305-1307	Prior	Limoges	
Guidonem Helye	1282	Student of theology	Limoges
	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1285	Student of theology	Limoges
	1286	Sublector of theology	Limoges
	1293-1296	Prior	Orthez
	1296	Reader of the bible	Toulouse
	1296-1300	Prior	Brives
	1301	Lector of theology	Figeac
	1301-1304	Prior	Bergerac
	1305-1306	Prior	Brives

	1307-1308	Prior	Périgueux
	1309-1311	Prior	Limoges
Raymond de Curemonte	1256	Student of theology	
	1267	Student of logic	Orthez
	1268	Student of logic	Condom
	1269	Lector of logic	Castres
	1270	Lector of logic	Anicii
	1271	Student of natural philosophy	Bordeaux
	1272	Student of natural philosophy	Bayonne
	1278	Student of theology	Limoges
	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1284	Student of theology	Agen
	1285	Student of theology	Limoges
	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges
	1289	Student of theology	Limoges
	1293	Student of theology	Toulouse
		1301	Visits convents
	1303-111	Prior	Monastery of Saint-Pardoux
Galterum de Mota	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Béziers
	1287	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1288	Student of theology	Bordeaux
Johannem de Podio Figiacensis	1279	Student of natural philosophy	Carcassonne
	1281	Student of natural philosophy	Orthez
	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1284	Student of theology	Limoges
	1285	Student of theology	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1289	Student of theology	Toulouse

	1290	Student of theology	Toulouse
Raymundus Barravi	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1287	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1289	Prior	Millau
Raymundus Astranova	1280	Lector of logic	Béziers
	1281	Lector of logic	Carcassonne
	1282	Student of natural philosophy	Bordeaux
	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1287	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1288	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1289	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1290	Student of theology	Toulouse
P. Vaycaris	1274	Lector of logic	Limoges
	1276	Student of logic	Agen
	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
R. de Avio	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
P. Artivi	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
P. Helye	1282	Lector of logic	Périgeux
	1283	Lector of logic	Bergerac
	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Périgeux
	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
	1287	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1288	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1289	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1290	Student of theology	Toulouse
	1291	Sublector of theology	Périgeux
	1292	Sublector of theology	Limoges
Bertrandus Fulcodii	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Périgeux
	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1289	Student of theology	Limoges
	1294	Sublector of theology	Limoges
	1298	Lector of theology	Albi

	1300	Lector of theology	Périgeux
	1302	General preacher	Carcassonne
	1311-1313	Prior	Bergerac
	1316-1318	Prior	Brives
G. de Veteri villa	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Condom
	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges
	1290	Student of theology	Limoges
Helyam Fayditi	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges
Helyam de Pinu	1281	Student of theology	Bayonne
	1283	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1284	Student of theology	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1287	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges

Appendix 3: Students at Montpellier

This appendix includes both students who formed the focus of the study in 'Bernard's Classmates' (that is, those who attended the *studium* the year that he entered, 1289) as well as those who were at the *studium generale* in 1290, Bernard's second year of theological studies in Montpellier. Although they did not appear in 'Bernard's Classmates', an analysis of their career paths further reinforce the conclusions drawn in that earlier chapter (indeed, many of the students from 1290 overlap with those found in the 1289 entry). Moreover, the *Acta capitulorum* from the provincial chapter held in 1290 only contains a partial record of who attended the school that year.

Friar	Year	Assignment	City
Bernard Gui	1283	Student of natural philosophy	Limoges
	1284	Lector of logic	Brives
	1285	Student of theology	Limoges
	1286	Student of theology	Limoges
	1287	Student of theology	Limoges
	1288	Student of theology	Limoges
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Sublector of theology	Limoges
	1292	Lector of theology	Albi
	1293	Lector of theology	Albi
	1294	Lector of theology	Carcassonne
	1294-1297	Prior	Albi
	1297-1301	Prior	Carcassonne
	1301	Lector of theology	Carcassonne
	1301-1305	Prior	Castres
1302	General preacher	Carcassonne	
1305-1307	Prior	Limoges	
P. de Casa Dei	1280	Lector of logic	Le Puy
	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Aubenas
	1285	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1286	Student of theology	Avignon
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier

	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Lector of theology	Rodez
Radulphus de Asio	1281	Student of natural philosophy	Tarascon
	1284	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1286	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Lector of theology	Die
R. Pharandi	1286	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1287	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Sublector of theology	Sisteron
G. Rostagni	1280	Lector of logic	Arles
	1281	Lector of logic	Sisteron
	1282	Student of natural philosophy	Sisteron
	1286	Student of theology	Marseilles
	1287	Student of theology	Marseilles
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Student of theology	Avignon
Johannes Berenguarii	1284	Lector of logic	Sisteron
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1292	Lector of theology	Millau
	1294	Lector of theology	Alès
	1296	University	Paris
	1299	Lector of theology	Tarascon
	1301	Lector of theology	Béziers
	1302	General preacher	Carcassonne
	1304-1307	Prior	Montpellier
Petrus Vitalis	1281	Student of natural philosophy	Perpignan
	1282	Lector of logic	Marseilles
	1283	Lector of logic	Tarascon

	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Béziers
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1293	Reader of the Sentences	Collioure
	1299	Lector of theology	Arles
	1300	Lector of theology	Le Puy
	1301	Lector of theology	Saint-Maximin
	1302	Lector of theology	Aubenas
Jacobus Franci	1279	Student of natural philosophy	Carcassonne
	1280	Student of natural philosophy	Narbonne
	1285	Student of theology	Marseilles
	1286	Student of theology	Marseilles
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
P. Ricardi	1281	Student of natural philosophy	Perpignan
	1286	Student of theology	Béziers
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
Geraldus Palheri	1287	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1288	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Sublector of theology	Narbonne
	1294	Lector of theology	Puycerda
	1296	Lector of theology	Aix
	1298	Prior	Albi
	1300-1303	Prior	Narbonne
	1302	General preacher	Carcassonne
	1307-1310	Prior	Narbonne
	1310-1312	Prior	Montpellier
1312-1315	Prior	Narbonne	
Martinus Pessati (Pensati)	1284	Student of theology	Béziers
	1286	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier

	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Lector of theology	Millau
	1292	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1297	Lector of theology	Collioure
Poncius de Torrellis	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Béziers
	1286	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Sublector of theology	Béziers
	1297	Lector of theology	Rodez
	1298	Preacher	Carcassonne
	1298-1300	Prior	Figeac
	1304-1305	Prior	Carcassonne
	1306-1307	Prior	Albi
Johannes De Caprilis	1285	Student of theology	Avignon
	1286	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1292	Lector of theology	Aubenas
	1296	Lector of theology	Arles
	1296	University	Paris
	1299	Lector of theology	Alès
	1300	Lector of theology	Béziers
	1300	General preacher	Marseilles
	1301	Lector of theology	Le Puy
P. de Castello	1285	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Sublector of theology	Bordeaux
P. Aycardi	1282	Student of natural philosophy	Béziers
	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Béziers
	1285	Student of theology	Montpellier

	1287	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1288	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
P. de Boberis	1287	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1288	Student of theology	Bordeaux
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
Hugo Deodati	1288	Student of theology	Agen
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
Ber. Sabbaterii de Montepessulano	1284	Lector of logic	Carcassonne
	1286	Student of natural philosophy	Narbonne
	1287	Lector of natural philosophy	Carcassonne
	1288	Lector of natural philosophy	Castres
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1292	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1328-1329	Prior	Toulouse
Raymundus de Corsavino	1281	Lector of logic	Narbonne
	1282	Lector of logic	Perpignan
	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Béziers
	1285	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1286	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1287	Lector of natural philosophy	Tarascon
	1288	Lector of natural philosophy	Avignon
	1289	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1294	University	Paris
	1297	Lector of theology	Perpignan
	1299	Sublector of theology	Montpellier
	1300	Preacher	Marseilles
1303-1304	Prior	Perpignan	

	1304	Prior	Montpellier
G. de Blumaco	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Albenacio
	1289	Student of theology	Narbonne
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1291	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1292	Sublector of theology	Carcassonne
	1302	General preacher	Carcassonne
P. de Amacio	1284	Student of natural philosophy	Albenacio
	1290	Student of theology	Montpellier
	1292	Student of theology	Montpellier

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