

Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition
in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon
(c. 1167–1276)

Damian J. Smith



* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD *

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By

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**Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition
in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon
(c. 1167–1276)**

The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

(formerly Medieval Iberian Peninsula)

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For Martín, Pilar, Laurent and Marco

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
ACPZ	Archivo de la Catedral de Pilar, Zaragoza
ACU	Arxiu Capitular d'Urgell, La Seu d'Urgell
ADH	Archivo Diocesano de Huesca, Huesca
ADHG	Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Toulouse
ADPO	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
<i>Benoit</i>	<i>Recueil des actes des comtes de Provence appartenant à la maison de Barcelone. Alphonse II et Raimond Bérenger V (1196–1245)</i> , ed. F. Benoit, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925).
BNP	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris</i>
BRA BLB	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona</i>
BRAH	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia</i>
CDCH	<i>Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca</i> , ed. A. Durán Gudiol, 2 vols (Zaragoza, 1965–7)
CDCZ	<i>Colección diplomática del Concejo de Zaragoza</i> , I, 1119–1276; II, 1276–85, ed. A. Canellas López (Zaragoza, 1972–5)
CDIACA	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i> , ed. P. de Bofarull y Mascaró (Barcelona, 1847–1910)
<i>Chanson</i>	<i>Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise</i> , ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1931)
CHCA	<i>Congrés d'història de la Corona d'Aragó</i>
HGL	<i>Histoire générale de Languedoc</i> , ed. C. Devic and J. Vaissète (5 th edition, Toulouse, 2003)

<i>Liber Antiheresis</i>	<i>Der Liber Antiheresis des Durandus von Osa</i> , ed. K. Selge, <i>Die Ersten Waldenser</i> , vol. 2 (Berlin, 1967)
<i>Liber contra Manicheos</i>	<i>Une Somme anti-Cathare. Le Liber Contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca</i> , ed. C. Thouzellier (Louvain, 1964).
LFM	<i>Liber Feudorum Maior</i> , ed. F. Miquel Rosell (Barcelona, 1945–7)
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. G. D. Mansi, 31 vols (Florence, 1759–98)
MDH	<i>La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)</i> , ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1965)
MDI	<i>La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)</i> , ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1955)
MGHSS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae latinae cursus completus</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64)
Potthast	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno 1198 ad annum 1304</i> , ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols (Graz, 1957).
Puylaurens	Guillaume de Puylaurens, <i>Chronique 1145–1175</i> , ed. J. Duvernoy (Toulouse, 1996)
PVC	<i>Petri Vallium Sernaii monachi Hystoria Albigensis</i> , ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyons, 3 vols (Paris, 1926–39)
Register	<i>Die Register Innocenz' III</i> , eds. O. Hageneder, A. Haidacher, C. Egger, C. Rudolf, A. Sommerlechner, J. C. Moore, H. Weigl, R. Muraier, 8 vols to date (1964–2007)
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet and L. Delisle, 25 vols (Paris, 1869–1904)
VL	Villanueva, J., <i>Viage literario a las iglesias de España</i> , 22 vols (Madrid, 1803–52).

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INTRODUCTION

There are few matters in the study of medieval history which receive more attention than crusade, heresy and inquisition. Indeed, it might be felt a disproportionate amount of time is spent focused on these themes. I return to them here because it is the case that the subjects of the crusades (and particularly the Albigensian crusade) involving the Crown of Aragon in the course of the thirteenth century, the spread of heresy in Catalonia and beyond, and the first years of inquisitions in lands which would later become famous for the mythologized Inquisition, have received far less attention than they deserve.

It may seem curious. After all, the driving force in the first years of the *negotium fidei* in Languedoc was Arnau Amalric, a Catalan, who had previously been prior and then abbot at the great Cistercian house of Poblet.¹ In the major battle of the crusade, at Muret, it was the king of Aragon, Peter II, and the knights of Aragon (rather than the Catalans), who met their demise.² It was the kingdom of Aragon which Pope Honorius III threatened with invasion in 1217.³ While it was, a Navarrese, Guillermo de Tudela, who provided us with our most balanced account of the early years of the crusade, it was an Aragonese, Durán de Huesca, who, through an extraordinarily expert knowledge, gave us our most helpful information on the heretics of Languedoc in

¹ On Arnau, see M. Alvira Cabrer, 'El "venerable" Arnaldo Amalarico (h. 1196–1225): Idea y realidad de un cisterciense entre dos Cruzadas', *Hispania Sacra*, 48 (1996), 569–91; R. Foreville, 'Arnaud Amalric, archevêque de Narbonne (1196–1225)', in *Narbonne. Archéologie et Histoire. XLVe congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Montpellier, 1973), 129–46 (repr. eadem, *Gouvernement et vie de l'Eglise* [London, 1979], XIV); B. Kienzle, 'Innocent III's Papacy and the Crusade Years, 1198–1229: Arnould Amaury, Gui of Vaux-de-Cernay, Foulque of Toulouse', *Heresis*, 29 (1999), 49–81.

² Alvira Cabrer, *El Jueves de Muret* (Barcelona, 2002); idem, *Muret 1213: la batalla decisiva de la cruzada contra los cátaros* (Madrid, 2008); J. Ventura i Subirats, *Pere el Catòlic i Simó de Montfort* (Barcelona, 1960).

³ *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome, 1965) [hereafter MDH], 86–8, nos. 106–7.

the period from the 1180s until the 1220s.⁴ Those heretics, both the ones we usually call Cathars and the ones we always call Waldensians, were more numerous in the lands of the south than is often realized (though, of course, what characterizes this period is not the level of heresy but the level of orthodoxy).⁵ Given that, it is, or should be, unsurprising that it was a Dominican of Catalonia, Ramon de Penyafort, who played such a large part in the development of inquisition.⁶

Part of the neglect is, firstly, no doubt, a result of the shift in Catalan historiography during the last thirty years towards socio-economic history, coupled with what is, at times, a regrettable parochialism (though no more so than elsewhere).⁷ Added to this, it is so ingrained in the minds of French historians that the lands of the south are naturally a part of France, that it is difficult for them to roll back eight hundred years and appreciate that but for a few chance happenings the Languedoc might very well have been united to the Crown of Aragon.⁸ For English-speaking scholars the barriers are less mental than linguistic (though Catalan is a lot easier to read than they might imagine!). There are only a few historians of the lands of the Crown of Aragon and their hands are very full.

Of course, it would be churlish in the extreme to suggest the neglect of these subjects had been entire, especially given the recent excellent

⁴ See *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1931), vol. 1; *Der Liber Antihæresis des Durandus von Osca*, in K. Selge, *Die Ersten Waldenser*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1967); *Une Somme anti-Cathare: Le Liber Contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. Thouzellier (Louvain, 1964); and see below, chapter 4.

⁵ See below, chapter 3.

⁶ L. Galmés, 'San Ramon de Penyafort y la inquisición en la Alta Catalunya' in *Praedicatorum Inquisitores: The Dominicans and the Mediaeval inquisition: Acts of the First International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition* (Rome, 2004), 85–104; See A. Errera, 'Il Directorium Inquisitoriale', *Magister Raimundus: Atti del Convegno per il IV Centenario della canonizzazione di San Raimondo de Penyafort*, ed. C. Longo (Rome, 2002), 165–91; C. Douais, 'Saint Raymond de Peñafort et les hérétiques. Directoire à l'usage des inquisiteurs aragonais (1242)', *Le Moyen Âge*, 12 (1899), 305–25; and below, chapter 5.

⁷ On the state of historical studies in the Iberian peninsula generally and the challenges posed, see, J. E. Ruiz-Domènec, *El reto del historiador* (Barcelona, 2006); idem, 'Which History for the 21st Century?', *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum*, 1 (2007), 25–30.

⁸ Also note the comments of P. Linehan, *Spain 1157–1312: A Partible Inheritance* (Oxford, 2008), x: 'One problem about the crown of Aragon, as the battle of Muret demonstrated, is that the natural affinities of part of it were not with Spain at all but, despite the failure of all previous attempts to establish a regime straddling the Pyrenees, with Languedoc.'

studies of Martín Alvira Cabrer.⁹ If I have returned in the first chapter to the theme of Muret it is because, of the three great battles fought in the period 1212–1214, which played such a significant part in Medieval European history, it remains, outside of Spain, the least known and the least understood. Las Navas de Tolosa (16 July 1212), neither saved Europe nor destroyed an Almohad power already in decline. Nevertheless, it is a defining moment because the Christians were always subsequently in the ascendancy in a way that was still not obvious seventeen years before when Alfonso VIII's forces were crushed at Alarcos.¹⁰ The defeat of the Empire and England at Bouvines (27 July 1214) confirmed the shift in the balance of power towards the Capetians, fatally undermining Otto and pushing John towards his ignominious encounter with the barons at Runnymede.¹¹ Muret (12 September 1213), it is argued here, failed to make a significant impact in breaking the age-old ties of language, culture and civilization which united Catalonia and Occitania. Yet it did break the political power of the Crown of Aragon in lands where that power had been developing over a very long period and it did play a major part in determining that those lands would fall to the Capetians.

If the realistic prospects of further advancement for the Crown in the south of France ended with Muret, the struggle did not. Indeed, the theme of the second chapter here is to show that the conflict between Aragon and France at the end of the thirteenth century was, in part, the continuation of the conflict of Muret. The Crown's invasion of Sicily and the French invasion of Catalonia have as their background Muret, the treaty of Meaux-Paris, Charles of Anjou's acquisition of Provence in 1245, the treaty of Corbeil and other more minor incidents. The interest of James I in Languedoc was far less than the troubadours hoped for but far greater than we might expect. For we tend to suppose that Christian Spanish kings were always intent on fighting the Muslims when in reality they were often far more interested in fighting each other or somewhere else. James generally did opt for war in the south but in large

⁹ Alvira Cabrer, *El Jueves de Muret*; idem, *Muret 1213: la batalla decisiva de la cruzada contra los cátaros*. Alvira Cabrer's fine edition of the documents of the reign of Peter II (*Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213). Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica*, 2 vols, Colección "Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas", Zaragoza) is forthcoming.

¹⁰ See the excellent study of F. García Fitz, *Las Navas de Tolosa* (Madrid, 2005).

¹¹ For the historical memory of the battle, see G. Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines, 27 juillet 1214* (Paris, 1973).

measure because that was where his best opportunities lay. The extent to which the ultimate fate of the Midi was decided by Las Navas and the opportunities it presented for the Crown – the conquest of Majorca, the conquest of Valencia, the conquest of Murcia – is a central theme here. Too little notice is generally given to how the restoration of Christian Spain influenced the history of what was to become France.

Equally, little notice is given to the part those heretics we associate with southern France play in the religious history of Catalonia, though study of them helps us to understand not only the nature of heresy but the nature of orthodoxy as well. My interest here has been in tracing the influence of heresy from the last third of the twelfth century until the last years of James I. This, of course, obliges us to begin with some notably controversial sources, and, most particularly the ‘council’ of Saint- Félix. It is not my intention to suggest that Catalonia was swarming with heretics. It was not. There were, however, significant groups of heretics in some areas and my major interest has been in looking at where these areas were and in what circumstances and among which people heresy spread. Many of the answers will be, I suspect, very unsurprising to those familiar with the subject – reconfirming much of what has long been suspected. That heresy had a stronger foothold where royal power was slight, among disaffected lords, who helped it spread across mountains and into towns, will hardly be shocking, but for the sake of balance what is well-known must be stated as well as what is unknown. Concerning the beliefs and rituals of the heretics, I have only related what the sources tell us and have not sought to speculate beyond the facts since there is a danger of presuming that all of the heretics believed in exactly the same things and acted in the same ways. Happily, the beliefs of the heretics are the subject of an excellent new study by Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez.¹²

Although the heretics now usually known as Cathars, at least as they existed in southern France and northern Italy, have been a source of enormous fascination for professional historians and amateur enthusiasts alike, in the main because of their perceived victim status, the Waldensians have, nevertheless, received less attention. Yet, within the lands of the Crown of Aragon there are very good reasons to believe that they were a strong presence (including in lands where royal power prevailed), were feared more than other heretics, and hence legislated against severely. It is perhaps now forgotten that the draconian

¹² P. Jiménez-Sánchez, *Les catharismes: modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Universitaires de Rennes, 2008).

legislation of the kings of Aragon of the 1190s and, likewise, the *Directorium* of Ramon de Penyafort (and others) in the 1240s, were primarily directed against the Waldensians.¹³ More problematic because closer to the teaching of the Church, and at times indistinguishable from Catholics, the failure of the episcopate of the province of Tarragona to deal with the Waldensians demonstrates to us not only the public enthusiasm for them but the deep-rooted conservatism of the local bishops who were so out of tune with the reforming spirit of Innocent III. The pope's efforts spared for posterity the erudite Durán and others and since Durán's works give us not only a marvelous view of the heretics but also the best view of the attitudes of the Catholic Poor, they form an essential part of this study.

The development of inquisition is also an essential part of this work. The legislation of the kings of Aragon is a very important part of the pre-history of inquisition and inquisitions were to play an important part in the religious, social and political history of the realms. Bishops had more influence in the conduct of inquisitions than is usually realized. While the Dominicans were likewise to play a key role in the development of inquisitions, it should also be remembered that, their inquisitorial role aside, they, and the Franciscans, through preaching, education and pastoral work, persuaded to orthodoxy many who might have been enticed towards heterodoxy. It was undoubtedly the case that it was a Dominican who never acted as an inquisitor, Ramon de Penyafort, who had the greatest long-term influence on the development of the institution's procedures. Though I have no doubt not done him justice here, it was that extraordinary legal mind, with its ability to categorize everybody, combined with a profound sense of justice and equity, which spared inquisitions in the province of Tarragona from developing in the unsavoury way which they did at times in some other areas.¹⁴ That, in the history of inquisitions, as in the history of much else, royal influence was not to be too far away, is the final theme of chapter 5 and if I have ended the sections of this book concerning politics, heresy and, inquisition at the end of the reign of James I, it is not because the story ends with the death of the conqueror but because

¹³ C. Baraut, 'Els inicis de la inquisició a Catalunya i les seves actuacions al bisbat d'Urgell (segles XII–XIII)', *Urgellia*, 13 (1996–7), 419–22, nos. 1–2, 429–34, no. 8.

¹⁴ On Conrad of Marburg and the beginnings of inquisitions in Germany, see D. Kurze, 'Anfänge der Inquisition in Deutschland', in *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter: mit einem Ausblick auf das 20. Jahrhundert und einem Beitrag über religiöse Intoleranz im nichtchristlichen Bereich*, ed. P. Segl (Cologne, 1993), 131–89.

the following years would see myriad developments which could not be dealt with effectively in one and the same book.

For the historian of the thirteenth-century Crown of Aragon cannot lament a lack of source material. As Aurell has pointed out, those working on the Albigensian crusade have an abundance of chronicles at their disposal,¹⁵ and for the conquest of Majorca and Valencia we have an account from none other than the king-conqueror himself.¹⁶ James's description of the Christian advance was not based on some lost epic poem or songs sung by troubadours. It was, rather, an intensely intimate account of his own participation in the restoration of Christian Spain (which some historians, since the nineteenth century, have called the *Reconquista*).¹⁷ It was also a highly selective account and it certainly omits events which the king did not feel demonstrated 'the mercies that Our Lord has shown us'.¹⁸ The *Book of Deeds*, as it is now customarily called, has to be used cautiously and alongside other accounts where they are available to us and, of course, with the abundant documentation for the king's reign. The extent of that documentation reminds us that if James has a lasting place in the memory of the people of the former realms of the Crown (and the celebrations for the eight hundredth anniversary of his birth in 2008 suggest that he does) it is not simply because of the conquest but rather because of the extraordinary expansion of government which took place in his sixty-three year reign.¹⁹

¹⁵ M. Aurell, 'Les sources de la Croisade albigeoise: bilan et problématiques', in *La Croisade Albigeoise. Actes du colloque du Centre d'études Cathares de Carcassonne octobre 2002*, ed. M. P. Gimenez (Toulouse, 2004), 21–38. In the same volume also see, K. Wagner, 'Les sources de l'historiographie occidentale de la Croisade albigeoise entre 1209 et 1328', 39–54, and the same author's, *Debellare Albigenses: Darstellung und Deutung des Albigenserkreuzzuges in der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung von 1209 bis 1328* (Neuried, 2000).

¹⁶ *Llibre dels Fets*, ed. J. Bruguera, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1991).

¹⁷ On the *Llibre*, see S. Cingolani, *Jaume I: Història i mite d'un rei* (Barcelona, 2007); idem, *La memòria dels reis: les quatre grans cròniques i la historiografia catalana des del segle X fins al XIV* (Barcelona, 2007); D. J. Smith, 'James I and God: legitimacy, protection and consolation in the *Llibre dels Fets*', *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum*, 1 (2007), 105–119. On the *Reconquista*, see M. Ríos Saloma, 'La Reconquista: una invención historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)', in *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte. Guerre idéologie et religion dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XIe–XIIIe siècle)*, ed. D. Baloup and P. Josserand (Toulouse, 2006), 413–29.

¹⁸ *Llibre dels Fets*, ii, 7, c. 1.

¹⁹ For the published documentation, see especially, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, 5 vols, ed. A. Huici Miranda and M. Cabanes Pecourt (Valencia-Zaragoza, 1976–82); *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: the registered charters of its conqueror, Jaime I, 1257–1276*, ed. R. I. Burns, 4 vols to date (Princeton, 1985–2007).

James's was not the only government which was expanding in the thirteenth century and a word should certainly be said here concerning the papal letters. The papal letters are a vital source, not only for the political history of these years but also for the history of heresy and the development of inquisitions. Given that much of the papal correspondence is published, and some of it in splendid editions (most notably the documents of Gregory IX concerning Spain edited by Santiago Domínguez Sánchez)²⁰ it is somewhat surprising that the local historians of the Iberian Peninsula do not make more use of it. In his account of events, James I may well, for ideological reasons, have wished to downplay the part of the papacy in the affairs of his kingdom.²¹ That is no reason for us to do the same. Often the *narratio* of a papal letter, being in large measure the account of events as seen from the viewpoint not of the Roman Curia but rather of the person coming to the Apostolic See to tell the pope about them, is our best and often our only source. Even though we must be fully aware, as the papacy certainly was, that the reports the Curia heard were partial or even, at times, downright deceitful, nevertheless, there are cases of suggested heresy which we know about (for instances, in Palencia and Majorca), only because that correspondence is there.²²

The papal correspondence also has in its favour that it is far less problematic than the records of the inquisition, which are, of course, the most important source here for chapters three and five. Monsieur Jean de Doat and his team did not undertake a tour of the Catalan archives,²³ and it may well be that even if they had, it would not have yielded us much more information on the current topics than we now possess. The Doat collection, nevertheless, provides much information for the history of heretics and inquisition in the Crown's lands and it is supplemented by other records, particularly from ecclesiastical archives, which allow us to say something of the lives of the heretics and of the inquisitors who operated against them. The records are highly complex and diverse.²⁴ In this formative period of inquisitions,

²⁰ *Documentos de Gregorio IX (1227–1241) referentes a España*, ed. S. Domínguez Sánchez (León, 2004).

²¹ See Smith, 'Jaime I y el papado', in *Jaume I: El poder reial. Les institucions. La política internacional*, ed. M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2009), forthcoming.

²² *Documentos de Gregorio IX*, nos. 539, 580, 904–5.

²³ On the construction of the Doat collection and the difficulties they encountered, see H. Omont, 'La Collection Doat à la bibliothèque nationale: documents sur les recherches de Doat dans les archives du sud-ouest de la France de 1663 à 1670', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 77 (1916), 286–336.

²⁴ See C. Bruschi, '«Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem»: Precautions before reading Doat 21–26', in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed.