

Confession 15

Arnaud de Savinhan de Tarascon

Witnesses against Arnaud de Savinhan of Tarascon, on the accusation of heresy:

The year of the Lord 1320, the 20th of the month of April. Bertrand Cordier of Pamiers, dwelling in Tarascon, coming spontaneously and of his own free will, revealed and confessed under oath to the Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God, bishop of Pamiers and to Brother Gaillard de Pomiès, of the order of the Preaching Brothers, substitute for my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, in the presence of the discreet persons master Hugues de Bihères and Bernard Faissier, official, in the city of Tarascon, the following:

During Lent, I think it was the year 1318 (1319), I came from Pamiers to Tarascon and I passed over the bridge at Tarascon. When I was at the Head of the bridge, which is in the parish of Quiè, there were Jean de Beubre, Pierre de Mayshelac, Pierre Mercier the draper and Arnaud de Savinhan, all of Tarascon. They asked me if there was any news from Pamiers. I told them yes, because everyone was saying that a letter had been sent by the Hospitalers from overseas which said that in 1318 two great cities founded on sand had fallen into ruins, and also that the Antichrist had been born and during this year there would be great wars in the world. After this I added: "If this is true, everyone better see that they stay in a good state, because in a short time, it will be the end of the world." To this Arnaud de Savinhan replied, "And do you yourself believe that the world must end?" I told him that I believed it indeed and asked him: "And you, do you not believe it?" He replied, "Indeed, no!" I said, "If you do not believe that the world will end, you have even less faith than a dog, because otherwise we cannot come to complete salvation on the day of the Last Judgment, the day of Judgment which will be the end of the world." Arnaud told me that the world had never had its beginning in the past, and there had never been an epoch where it did not exist as it exists now and it would never finish in the future, because the world had never begun and would never finish, but always is and will always be. And even though we live and die, the world will always be and there will never be any other world than the present. I then said to him, "Arnaud, you are greatly mistaken in this." He responded to me by waving his hand in derision, "You think you know so much. Let's turn in for the night." This said, he turned into his house. When he had entered, I said to the others mentioned above, who were present when Arnaud said this: "Look at the faith he has!" They replied to me: "Indeed, he has spoken very badly" and Jean de Beubre added, "It comes from his family, that he says such things!"

The same year and day as above, Pierre Mayshelac of Tarascon, parish of Quié, witness under oath and interrogated concerning that which precedes, said:

About two years ago, in the springtime, I don't recall exactly the year or the time, Bertrand Cordier had come from Pamiers and one night after dinner, I myself, this Bertrand, Jean de Beubre, and Pierre Mercier, all of Tarascon were near the table that is before the house of the said Bertrand, at the Head of the bridge of Tarascon on the other side from the water; I and the others asked this Bertrand if there was any news

from Pamiers. He said yes, that they were preaching in the churches, to wit, that two cities had been swallowed up and the Antichrist roamed freely over the earth and there would be wars and for these reasons each person ought to hold himself in good faith, with good sense and honorably, because after this the world would end in a little while. Arnaud de Savinhan responded that the world had always been the way it is now, and it would be forever, and it would never end in any other way, and thus time had passed and would pass forever. This said, he left us right away, and entering into his house, said: "Go home and don't quibble too much about this." While saying this, he waved his hand in a sign of derision. When he had gone into his house, Bertrand said, to me and the others mentioned above: "You see how this Arnaud speaks heretical things!" and we agreed that he had not spoken well.

-Were you informed about or instructed about any of these matters by him? -No.

-Have you made this deposition out of hatred, love, fear, prayer, or payment? -
No, only for the truth, pressed by my conscience.

He asked that if he remembered anything more, he might confess and depose it, his above oath notwithstanding. And he said nothing else pertinent.

The same year as above, on April 22nd, Jean Yfort of Tarascon, alias Beubre, in the presence of the said lord bishop and Brother Gaillard de Pommiès, having sworn on the Gospels of God to tell the truth, said:

About two years ago, I think, but I do not recall the exact day, Bertrand Cordier, a resident of Tarascon, had arrived from Pamiers and one night after dinner we -- myself, the said Bertrand, Pierre Mayshelac, Pierre Mercier and Arnaud de Savinhan, all of Tarascon -- were at a table that is at the Head of the bridge of Tarascon, parish of Quiè. Myself and the others asked this Bertrand if there was anything new to report from Pamiers. He told us yes, that everyone was saying in Pamiers that two cities were to be swallowed up, and one already had been and that the Antichrist ruled. If this was true, everyone had better be good, because after this it looked like the world would end in a short while. At this, Arnaud de Savinhan replied that the world had always been just as it was now, and always would be and we would not see the world change other than it does just now. And, making a gesture of turning his hand, he said, "We ought not quibble too much about these things; let's go to bed." When he had gone back to his house, Bertrand said to the others, "Look at what faith Arnaud has!" Jean told him that this was not too surprising that he would say things like this, because he came from a heretical family.

Interrogated as to whether he had made this deposition out of hatred, love, fear, prayer, prompted by a salary or otherwise suborned, he said no, but because it was the truth and did not say anything else pertinent.

And I, Rainaud Jabbaud, cleric of Toulouse, sworn in the matter of the Inquisition, have, on the order of my lord the bishop, faithfully corrected the said confessions against the original.

Confession of Arnaud de Savinhan of Tarascon

The same year as above, May 9th. Since he had been denounced to the Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, and this Arnaud de Savinhan of Tarascon parish of Quié, was accused of having said and affirmed that the world had neither beginning nor end, but was always as it is in the past and would be in the future; and of having said that humanity has always been and would always be; and of having affirmed also that the world had always been in the state where it is now and will be forever, and that there is not other world than the present; that he had said this before several people; and that these things are manifestly contrary to Holy Scripture and the Christian faith; my said lord bishop, wishing to find the reason for these things being said by the said Arnaud, with the assistance of my lord Germain de Castelnaud, archdeacon of Pamiers, and of Brother Gaillard de Pomiès substitute for the inquisitor of Carcassonne, had him brought into the château of Tarascon, in the house of Arnaud de Niaux, where at that time my said lord bishop was lodged.

Do you believe that the world has a beginning and must end? -God has made the world and He existed before the beginning of the world. I believe also that the world will end.

-Have you always held this belief? -Yes, because I have never believed the contrary.

-Have you ever said that the world has neither beginning nor end? -Never, that I recall, but I have said several times, while working, as a joke, "For all time it has been and for all time will be, that a man with another man's wife will make free" (Tos temps es, e tos temps sira, qu'home ab autru moilha jaira), but I have never said that the world had no beginning nor that it will never end.

On the second article:

-Do you believe that the generation of men has always existed in the past and that it will always exist in the future? -The generation of men began after the creation of Adam who was the first man and it will last until the day of Judgment, and thus, before Adam and after the final Judgment, it did not exist and there was no generation of men.

-Have you ever believed that the generation had no beginning and that it must not have an end? -No.

-Do you believe or have you believed that the world has always been in the past just as it is now, and it will always be thus in the future? -No.

-Have you ever expressed such opinions? -No.

-Do you believe that there must be another world? -No, on the contrary; just as the world was created by God from nothing, so too, after the Judgment, the sky and the earth and all the material things that are found therein will be destroyed, except for the spirits of the angels and saints who will dwell with God in the celestial kingdom.

-You believe that all bodies will be destroyed after Judgment day. Do you believe that human bodies will be destroyed as well? -All the human bodies will be destroyed after Judgment day and there will remain only human spirits, of which some will be with God and some with the devil.

-For how long have you believed that after Judgment Day all the bodies of the world will be destroyed, including the human ones? -For as long as I can remember.

-Who taught you this? -I have learned my letters, to know the seven Psalms, a little of the Psalter, the fifteen signs of Judgment, the *Credo*, the *Pater*, the *Ave Maria*.

And based on this, I believe that all bodies will be destroyed after Judgment. I have had no other master.

-Do you believe that the same bodies and bones, in which men live, have lived and will live will be resurrected and come to the universal judgment? - Yes.

-Since you believe this do you not also believe then that human souls must live forever in their own bodies, those bodies which are resurrected on Judgment Day? - After the Judgment, the resurrected human bodies will be destroyed and only the human spirits will survive.

-For how long have you believed this? -For all time, as far as I remember.

After this, the same year, on May 11th, the same Arnaud, coming before my said lord bishop and Brother Gaillard, substitute for my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, in the city of Verdun, appearing judicially under the good faith of an oath taken by him, said, in order to retract his previous error:

I have said and I have believed for as long as I remember that human bodies will be destroyed after the universal Judgment, and there will remain only their souls. But now, instructed for the first time, since my confession above, by Raimond Frèzat, rector of Quié and by Pierre de Gaillac of Tarascon, I believe that the human body will exist eternally after Judgment so that each man may be recompensed or punished for having done good or ill.

-Do you persist in the rest of your confession above? -Yes.

-Do you wish to add or retract anything in this confession? -No.

And since it appears from the depositions of the witnesses above that he had not plainly confessed his errors, my said lord asked him to avow more fully and to acknowledge his error and gave him time to reflect during the three weeks immediately to come, if he would take an oath neither to absent himself nor to flee and to come and present himself before my said lord bishop each time he would be required to do so, under the pain prescribed in cases of heretical deviation.

After this, the same year as above, on July 15th, the said Arnaud, appearing judicially in the Chamber of the bishop of Pamiers before my said lord bishop, assisted by Brother Gaillard de Pomiès, substitute for my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, came under citation, said and avowed:

About two years ago, I don't remember the season, one Sunday night, I was at the Head of the bridge of Tarascon in the parish of Quié. There with me were Bertrand Cordier and Jean de Beubre, and others whose names I do not remember. This Bertrand said, it seemed to me, that two cities had been destroyed and that the world was going to end soon. I told him that the world has always existed and will exist always, and will never end. "And we should not put ourselves in the place of God, He knows what to do on this subject!" This said, I entered my house.

-When you said that the world would always exist and has always existed, did you believe it? -No, on the contrary, I have always believed that the world had a beginning and will end, but I said that in my stupidity and my thoughtlessness.

-Have you ever said that there is no other world than the present one? -I believe that God created the world from nothing and that he will reduce it to nothing after the Judgment and that there will be no other world after.

-Who taught you this? -Master Arnaud Tolus, who ran the schools in Tarascon.
-Have you taught this to one or more people, or have you said these things to others or elsewhere? -No, unless it is as I have deposed.

After this the same year as above, the 5th of September... at the episcopal seat in Pamiers....before the bishop and Brother Gaillard....the said Arnaud was interrogated by my said lord bishop if he wished to confess more completely on the accusation of heresy of which he was the subject. He responded no. And since he did not wish to do it, on the request above, nor presently, and that he had meanwhile, as a result of what preceded, a long time to deliberate and since witnesses had deposed against him, my lord the bishop arrested him as strongly suspect of heresy and enjoined him to render himself immediately to the château des Allemans, destined for such people and to not leave without the express will of my said lord bishop.

After this, the same year as above, on October 25th, having been released from the prison of the château des Allemans, where he had been placed because he did not wish to confess the truth, and in which he had remained from September 5th until the present day, and appearing judicially in the Chamber of the bishop before my said lord bishop, assisted by Brother Gaillard de Pomiès, substitute for my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, said that he had not been tortured or put to the question, that he had not been the object of threats, that he had not been instructed or influenced to avow that which follows, but that he was deposing voluntarily of his own free will, in order to assuage his conscience, and said:

As long as I can remember, for about thirty years, since I am now forty-five, I have firmly believed that the world, that is to say, the sky, the earth and all the elements, was not made by God, but that it has always existed by itself, without having been made by God or anyone else. I have also firmly believed during this time that Adam was the first man, that God made him, and that the generation of men followed this. But before God made Adam, the world existed forever in the past, nor did it have a beginning within this eternity, nor in principle a single moment of creation.

During this time, from the beginning of May of this year, I still firmly believed that the world had no beginning, it would never end and it would continue into the future in the same way it does now, so that just as there is now a generation of man that has existed since Adam, there would always be one in the future, so there would be vines, other plants and all the animals and that these generations would never cease. I believed that there would be no other world than the present. But, at the beginning of May of this year, I was informed by Pierre de Gaillac and the rector of Quié that the world must end, and now I believe this.

Since this time, that is the month of May, after having been called by my lord the bishop, I have changed my belief and I now believe that the world was made by God in time and from nothing, and as a result it cannot always exist. I had believed that just as God had created the world from nothing he would also reduce it to nothing after the Judgment, and this in regard to bodies only, and that spirits would remain. Likewise, since I believed that human bodies would be raised up on Judgment Day, I also believed that they would be reduced to nothing, with only spirits remaining. But now, having been instructed by my lord the bishop, I believe and I will believe in the future,

with God's help, that it is God who created the world from nothing, that is to say the sky and the earth, all bodies and all spirits; I also believe that the world has not always existed, but that it began in time, with God having made and created it. I believe also that the world will not exist forever in the future as it does now, but that it will cease all movement, generation and corruption on the Day of Judgment, but that the sky and the other elements will not be destroyed, although they will be renewed. I believe also that all human bodies will rise again for the universal Judgment and that they will endure forever after Judgment, guided by their respective human souls, either in glory or in pain, according to the merits or demerits of men in the present life. And it is in this belief that I wish to live and die.

-Have you ever had a master who has taught you to believe the heretical articles that you have avowed? -No, but I myself have invented them in reflecting on the world; according to what one sees here, I did not think it was God who had made the world, that it had had a beginning and that it could have an end. And if I have fallen into this heresy, it is because I never had anyone to instruct me on the contrary. I go faithfully to mass, but I do not listen to the sermons, because I am so consumed by my affairs and my work as a stone-cutter. And I did not think I should leave the mass so early.

I also believed this because of proverbs in the vulgar tongue that are repeated frequently in Sabartès, such as the one transcribed above: "tostz temps fo e sira, que hom ab autru moiller jaira" and others similar to this one, which I do not recall at the present.

I have heard many people in Sabartès (I do not recall their names at present, but when I do remember them, I will reveal them to my lord the bishop), who said openly and in public that the world has always existed and will forever, and that led me to my belief.

-Have you ever taught anyone these heretical articles, or have you mentioned them to anyone? -No, except for what I have deposed and avowed above.

-Why did you not avow in the beginning that you believed these heretical articles, when you were first questioned on this subject? -Because I did not believe that it was a sin to believe these things, and that is why I have never confessed them, even to a tribunal of penance. Since I did not remember having said them, I began by denying that I ever did.

(The Formula of absolution as found in the confession of Arnaud Gelis follows, minus the reference to Vaudoism.)

Done the year and day above, in the presence of the discreet personage my lord master Bernard Faissier, official of Pamiers, of the religious persons Brothers Aicret of the order of Preachers of the convent of Pamiers, David, monk of Fontfroide, Bernard de Centelles, monk of the same monastery, witnesses to these convocations, and of myself, Guillaume Peyre-Barthe, notary of my said lord bishop, who was present for all that precedes, having received it and written all of it on the order of the said lord bishop.

After this on March 7th.....Preaching Friars of Pamiers. (Same formula as in the confession of Jacquelin den Carot.)

Done the year and day as above, in the presence of my lord Germain de Castelnaud, archdeacon of the church of Pamiers, Brother Pierre, companion of my lord the inquisitor, master Barthélemy Adalbert, notary of my lord the inquisitor, and of myself

Guillaume Peyre-Barthe, notary of my lord the bishop who has received and written all that precedes.

This sentence was pronounced in the cemetery of Saint-Jean-Martyr, Sunday, March 8th (1321). See the sentence in the Book of Sentences of the Heretical Deviation. (Note - the sentence has not been preserved.)

And I, Rainaud Jabbaud, cleric of Toulouse, sworn in the matter of the Inquisition, have, on the order of my lord the bishop, faithfully corrected the said confessions against the original.

Against Arnaud Savinhan of the Head of the bridge of Tarascon, a leader of heresy:

The year of the Lord 1322, on November 25th, Vésian Teisseyre of the Head of the bridge of Tarascon of the parish of Quié, cited as witness by the Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, concerning certain denunciations against Arnaud Savinhan, who had been sent to the dungeon of the Wall and currently wears crosses, of whom it is said that he does not wear the crosses imposed on him and is not doing the other penances that were enjoined upon him; that he has said his sentence was without cause and unjust, even though he knew the reason why he was sent to the Wall and the crosses were imposed upon him, appearing judicially before my lord the bishop at the bishop's palace of Pamiers, swore on the four holy Gospels of Gd to tell the truth pure and entire on the facts which precede and others concerning the Catholic faith. This oath taken, he said and deposed that which follows:

Since the Sunday before the octave of the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul of this year (June 4, 1322) when we had a public sermon delivered at Pamiers, imposing the crosses on the said Arnaud de Savinhan, who had been sent to the Wall, as penance, I have never seen him wearing them even though I live next to him at the said place at the Head of the bridge, until my lord the bishop came to Tarascon and celebrated a mass there, the Sunday after Saint Mary Magdalen (July 25, 1322). I saw him then at mass wearing his crosses. Since then, I have not seen him wearing them, neither in the street, nor at church, nor anywhere. I have only seen him wear them one time at his house. Even though I have seen him often go to church, I have not seen him go to the priest after the Epistle to receive discipline as is customary for those who have been ordered to wear crosses.

After Arnaud returned from this sermon, where the crosses were imposed on him, I was with him and my lord Raimond Frézat, rector of Quié, in Arnaud's house. Before I was sent to the dungeon of the Wall, I had bought a house for him for 40 pounds "tournois" and I asked him to pay me the money, if he was able. He told me that the calumnies (*lauzengues*) of his neighbors had made him lose his goods, but, he himself felt he had lost them through no fault of his own. "And may God pardon the one who did that!" He made similar statements yesterday, when we were coming to the bishop's palace of Pamiers, between Valirhes and Foix, I think.

-Who was present? -Just Arnaud and myself.

And he said nothing else pertinent. Interrogated as to whether he had made this deposition out of love, hate, fear, or ill-will, instructed, bribed, admonished or otherwise suborned, he said no, but because it was the truth.

The said Vésian made this deposition the year, day and place mentioned above, before my lord the bishop, in the presence of the religious persons Brothers Gaillard de Pomiès, Arnaud du Carla, O.P., and of master Guillaume Nadin of Carcassonne, notary public by royal authority and notary of my lord the bishop and especially for the Inquisition, who has received this on the order of my lord, at the place where I, Jean Jabbaud, above-mentioned cleric have faithfully transcribed it and corrected it against the original.

The year and day as above, Guillaume Thibaud, son of Guillaume Bernard Massonier, of Tarascon, cited as witness by my said lord bishop regarding the above denunciations against the said Arnaud, appearing judicially before him, swore on the four holy Gospels of God to tell the pure and entire truth concerning these facts. The oath having been taken by him, he said and deposed that which follows:

I have not seen Arnaud Savinhan wear the crosses which were imposed upon him this year when he left the dungeon of the Wall, until now, in the bishop's palace of Pamiers, even though I have often seen him going about the town of Tarascon and also working in the house of Bernard Augé of Tarascon. I have also not seen him go to receive discipline from the curé after the Epistle, as those who wear the crosses are supposed to do.

And he said nothing more pertinent, although diligently interrogated. Interrogated as to whether he had made this deposition out of hatred, love, fear, prayer, prompted by a salary or otherwise suborned, he said no, but because it was the truth and did not say anything else pertinent.

The same Guillaume made this deposition the year, day and place and in the presence of the witnesses above-mentioned, before my said lord bishop and master Guillaume Nadin, of Carcassonne, notary public by royal authority and notary of my lord the bishop and especially for the Inquisition, who has received this on the order of my lord, at the place where I, Jean Jabbaud, above-mentioned cleric have faithfully transcribed it and corrected it against the original.

The same year as above, on November 26th Jean Montanié of the Head of the bridge of Tarascon, parish of Quié, cited as witness by the Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, concerning certain denunciations against Arnaud Savinhan, who had been sent to the dungeon of the Wall and currently wears crosses, of whom it is said that he does not wear the crosses imposed on him and is not doing the other penances that were enjoined upon him; that he has said his sentence was without cause and unjust, even though he knew the reason why he was sent to the Wall and the crosses were imposed upon him, appearing judicially before my lord the bishop at the bishop's palace of Pamiers, swore on the four holy Gospels of Gd to tell the truth pure and entire on the facts which precede and others concerning the Catholic faith. This oath taken, he said and deposed what follows:

Since the crosses were imposed on Arnaud Savinhan this year, in the sermon given at Pamiers by my lord the bishop and the inquisitors, I have not seen him wear the crosses imposed on him as penance until my lord the bishop visited the church of Sabart, and now, at the bishop's palace of Pamiers, although I live quite close to him and I have often seen him walking around the city of Tarascon and the Head of the bridge and at church. And even though the rector of Quié has often admonished those required to do penance for heresy to do the penances which were imposed on them by my lord the bishop and the inquisitors, I have furthermore not seen him go to receive discipline after the Epistle from the curé, although, since this admonishment, several people have done so.

This year, around All Saints', Arnaud Savinhan, Bernard Turière and I were at my mill, and there Arnaud said that his neighbors had made a plot against him so that he would lose all his goods, and conspired among themselves to give testimony against him as a leader of heresy. He said the these neighbors, who had plotted against him were Jean de Beubre, Arnaud de Causou, Honors, the wife of the said Bernard Turière, and my lord Raimond Frézat, rector of Quié. And moreover, he said, he did not believe he was guilty of heresy, nor did he or had he held a belief bad enough that he should have lost his goods, because he had never been a heretic and had never seen any heretics. But, he said, "I have to do what my lord the bishop wants!" I heard him say things similar to this in substance in his workshop. He also said that his cousin, Pierre de Gaillac had harmed him in part. And when he said this, he did not care what anyone thought.

And he said nothing else pertinent. Interrogated as to whether he had made this deposition out of hatred, love, fear, prayer, prompted by a salary or otherwise suborned, he said no, but because it was the truth and did not say anything else pertinent.

The said Jean made this deposition the year, day and place above-mentioned before my said lord bishop, in the presence of the religious persons the Brothers Gaillard de Pomiès, Arnaud du Carla, O.P., Bernard de Taïx, monk of the monastery of Fontfroide of the order of Cîteaux, and of master Guillaume Nadin, notary public by royal authority and notary of my lord the bishop and especially for the Inquisition, who has received this on the order of my lord, at the place where I, Jean Jabbaud, above-mentioned cleric have faithfully transcribed it and corrected it against the original.

The year of the Lord 1322, the last day of November, Arnaud Savinhan of the Head of the bridge of Tarascon, cited by the Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers concerning denunciations against him, appearing judicially before him at the bishop's palace at Pamiers, swore on the four holy Gospels of God to tell the entire and pure truth on these facts and other concerning the Catholic faith and the Inquisition. This oath taken, he said, deposed and avowed the following:

Since the crosses were imposed upon me this year as penance at the sermon given at Pamiers the Sunday in the octave of the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, I have worn them, when I left the dungeon of the Wall, the Sunday when they were imposed on me and the Monday following, on my over-tunic where I had them sewn and

only in the bishopric of Pamiers and Mas-Saint-Antonin. Tuesday, I returned toward Tarascon and when I was near the church of Saint-Sernin of Vernet, I turned my tunic inside out and put it on my shoulders backwards so no one would see the crosses. When I was at Tarascon, I wore the over-tunic with the crosses for about two weeks, but I rolled the fabric over my head and on my shoulders and around the breast, so that no one could see them, and I hid them as often as possible so no one could see them.

Later, I took them off of this over-tunic and I sewed them to a jacket that I wore inside out when I dressed myself or on the shoulders so that no one could see them. But when my lord the bishop was due to visit the church of Sabart, and since I work often doing plastering at Quié, I headed out and wore this jacket in the above described manner just to the bridge of Sabart and then I turned it right-side out and wore the crosses during the celebration of the mass and during the sermon and just until my return to Quié. And then I turned it back so no one could see the crosses, put it on a plum branch and went to eat without wearing it.

After this I did not wear it in public until I went, several days later, to the house of Arnaud de Niaux of Tarascon; I hid the crosses again since I was afraid that someone would see them.

Afterward, when I went around Tarascon or elsewhere, I either left the jacket with the crosses sewn on it or else I wore it inside out so that no one could see them, except for the day of the Feast of Saint-Antonin when I went to Pamiers; I did not wear them all the way, openly, but just from the time that I was in Mas-Saint-Antonin, otherwise I wore my jacket or my over-tunic backwards. When I was in Mas-Saint-Antonin or Pamiers, I wore the crosses openly. But since then, I have not worn them openly until now, when I came, upon being cited, to Pamiers. Thus, since they were imposed on me I have not worn them, except at Mas-Saint-Antonin, Pamiers and at the mass and sermon that took place at Sabart when my lord the bishop visited this church.

-Why did you not wish to wear these crosses in public? -I refrained from wearing them out of my own pride and self-esteem.

The same week when Arnaud Cogul, Pierre Magre, Guillaume Autast, Raimond Vaissière, Bernard Franque, Barthélemy Amilhac the priest, and I were condemned to the dungeon of the Wall, the said Raimond Vaissière, who had both seen and talked with heretics, told me in the dungeon, as he had told the others who asked how and why we had been condemned to the Wall, since we did not have heretical views and had never talked to heretics, as he had, that we “were condemned to the dungeon solely for the words that you have spoken!” He said he had never seen or heard tell at Carcassonne that anyone had been condemned to the Wall by my lord the inquisitor solely for words that they had spoken, unless they had heretical views and had listened to heretics. But, he said, “this bishop of Pamiers hates all the country of Sabartès, because they have resisted paying their tithes to him, and for this reason he wishes to place you behind these inquisitorial walls and has condemned you to be here. And this resistance to the tithes has caused you all a lot of grief.”

The others and I said that we had received an evil sentence. We also said we had an evil Saint John (because we had been condemned in the cemetery of Saint John). We said that we wished this bishop would be the pope or the bishop of some other place in five or six years, so that we might never again come before him, because this bishop is slippery and subtle when he runs an inquest.

I myself also said to the others that I had certainly spoken the heretical words that my neighbors imputed to me, but I had never believed them. But it was Pierre de Gaillac who did me in because he told me, before my confession that I should say I believed the heretical words I had spoken and that I had believed them because I never had anyone to teach me the contrary. And then, based on his instructions, I confessed what I believed before my lord the bishop in my first confession, although I did not believe them in actuality, as I have just said.

-What were the words that Pierre de Gaillac said to you before you swore that you believed these errors and where did he speak them to you? -In the great room of the bishop's palace at Pamiers, in the presence of Pierre de Spinalbel, my brother-in-law, and Bertrand Hélie, my first cousin, of Tarascon, Pierre de Gaillac told me to make my deposition thus, that I believed the errors contained in my confession because no one had taught me the contrary, but if someone had taught me the contrary, I would never have believed them. This same Pierre told me that if I avowed that I believed these errors, I would risk nothing. I told him that if I did as he suggested, I would admit everything, since I had already avowed having said these errors. He told me that I need not have fear, if I were to confess and speak in this way. Pierre de Spinalbel told me then that if there was any risk in speaking this way, Pierre de Gaillac would never have advised me to do so. It was thus, on the instruction of Pierre de Gaillac that I said that I believed these errors, since indeed (according to what he says now) I have never believed that this world here has endured forever in the past and will endure always in the future. But I confessed that I believed this and several other heretical articles on the counsel of the said Pierre (according to him.)

-Have you ever, since you have avowed that you believed these articles just until now, said to my lord the bishop or before my lord the inquisitor or before his notary when the summary of your guilt was read to you, or at any other time, that you have never believed these heretical articles, but that you were instructed and suborned by Pierre de Gaillac who had told you to lie about having believed them? -No, and even when my lord the bishop had told me more than six times, even before this was written down, and after, not to swear that I believed them if I did not believe them truly in my heart. Thus, and notwithstanding the words of my lord the bishop I swore to have believed these articles during the period indicated by my confession on the instruction of the said Pierre de Gaillac. And meanwhile, before being called to hear my sentence, after having been released on bail, I came one more time before my lord the bishop and I spoke to him briefly and I would have said more if I wished. When I was called to hear my sentence the extract drawn from my confession was read by my lord the bishop and the religious personage my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, who asked me if the contents of my confession were true and I responded that I wished to hold and persevere in my confession and the extract that had been made, as being true and containing the truth and that I did not wish to retract anything contained in my confession. When I was condemned and my inculcation was read to me, I did not retract and say that I had never believed these errors, but after my condemnation to the dungeon of the Wall, and when we were going toward the château des Allemans, I said to Guillaume Cavatier, the sergeant of my lord the Count of Foix at Tarascon that Pierre de Gaillac had given me bad advice.

When I was incarcerated in the Wall des Allemans, Bernard Clergue of Montailou was there at the same time. At this time the said Bernard told me, as well as the other detainees, that we had received a bad sentence and suffered bad fortune from the "Graces" and that was because we were talkers and had such long tongues that we had lost our goods and been sent to the Wall. But he himself and his brother Pierre Clergue had never spoken to the point of losing their goods or causing others to lose theirs. He himself had said what he wished to my lord the bishop, and the truth, and in the future my lord the bishop could get no advantage over him. He also said that prayers to the bishop were worth nothing because he was a hard man and the more that one beseeched him the harder he became.

Barthélemy Amilhac the priest, with whom this Bernard lived in the dungeon of the Wall, told me that Bernard Clergue had asked him to convince Béatrice, who was also in the dungeon, to retract what she had deposed against his brother Pierre Clergue, and that if she would do so, he would give her a great sum of money. It seemed to me that this sum was 50 pounds "tournois". And Raimond Vaissière also told me roughly the same thing regarding this Bernard.

After having been liberated from the Wall that year, the Sunday in the octave of the apostles Peter and Paul, and having received the crosses that had been imposed on me as penance, as I have already related, while return to Tarascon, I said one time, at my house, in the presence of my wife Bernarde and Vésian Teisseyre, that my neighbors had calumniated me and made me lose my goods, although I did not think I had committed a fault that should have caused me to lose them since I had never seen any heretics. I said essentially the same thing in the house of Jean Montanier, of the Head of the bridge of Tarascon in the presence of the said Jean and of Bernard Turière. I said the same thing to Raimond Peyre of Quié on the road while going from Quié to Tarascon except that I added that I did not believe that it was an error or a heresy to believe that the world has always existed in the past and will always exist in the future, with the same features it has now, and that it was not God who had made it, until my lord the bishop showed me that to say and believe this was indeed a heresy.

I have said similar words many times and have heard them said by many people, whose names I do not recall, nor the places, but without adding what I added to Raimond Peyre on the subject of my lord the bishop. And in saying this, I do not believe I spoke badly.

And he said nothing else pertinent.

And because of the above facts, the terms of the sentence rendered against him, the retraction of the avowals made judicially in declaring himself innocent, and not doing any more of his penances, the said Arnaud has fallen once again under the sentence of excommunication, and because the benefit of absolution that he had received has ceased to have effect since he committed these acts, and since he had adopted a position of impenitence, with the goal of drawing from him a clear and more perfect truthfulness my said lord bishop received anew an oath to tell the pure and entire truth with the goal of finding out if he had ever believed and still believed the errors below, contained in his first confession, which were read intelligibly to him in the vulgar tongue after he confessed. These errors are word for word the following:

For as long as he can remember, which would be about thirty years, given that he is currently about 45 years old, he has clearly believed that the world, that is to say

the sky and the earth and the elements, was not made by God, but it has always existed in and of itself, not having been made by God nor by anyone else. All this time, he has believed that Adam was the first man, that God had made him, and that from him has come the generation of men. But before God made Adam, the world has existed from all eternity in the past and he believed, it has never had a point of origin during its existence, nor a principle of its creation.

Item he has believed, he said, during all this time, just until the beginning of the month of May 1320, that just as the world has never begun, it will never finish and it will exist into the future in the same way it exists now; and in the same way as men have been engendered and existed since Adam, there will always be in the future the generation of men, vines and other plants and all the animals and that this generation will never cease.

And he believed that there is no other world than the present one; but, he said, he was informed toward the beginning of the month of May during the said year by Pierre de Gaillac and the rector of Quié that the world must end and he has believed so since then.

Item he said that since this time, that is to say since the beginning of May, after having been called by my lord the bishop for these facts, changing his above-cited belief, he has believed that the world was made by God *ex nihilo* and in time, such that it has not always existed. He has believed also that just as God has made the world *ex nihilo*, he will also return it to nothing after Judgment Day, and this will be for all bodies, whose souls alone will live on; and even though he believed that bodies will be raised up in the universal Judgment, he believed that after Judgment they will once again be reduced to nothing, with their spirits alone remaining.

The said Arnaud, when these articles were read to him and explicated in the vulgar tongue, when my lord the bishop asked him to state the belief that he had and has concerning these articles on peril of his soul, responded, and repeated several times, that he believed these articles perfectly and that he believed they were true during the period indicated in his first confession, up to the time that he was instructed to the contrary by my lord the bishop; but that since then he has not believed these errors or erroneous articles.

-Why have you confessed above that it was on the counsel and instruction of Pierre de Gaillac that you have sworn to have believed these errors, because you had no one to teach you the contrary, otherwise you would not have believed them, if as you now testify, you did in fact believe them? -This year in September, I think, I do not recall the moment or the day, I was coming from the mill of Tarascon where I was working to pierce a hole for the crankshaft. On the road I met Guillaume de Niaux of Tarascon in front of the door of his house and he said to me: "Pierre de Gaillac did some good turn for the two of us, because he sent me to be detained in the dungeon of Carcassonne and he made you lose all your goods! I am making a good many complaints to God about this!"

I told him: "May God pardon you!" and that Pierre de Gaillac had counseled me to state and avow, before my lord the bishop, that I believed the errors that were attributed to me, even though I did not believe them. And for having believed Pierre and having avowed on his counsel that I believed these errors I was sent to the Wall and I had lost my goods. Guillaume told me then: "My lord the bishop will inform himself of

the truth of your account and since he is a good man, he will grant that the goods you have lost will be restored to you.”

Guillaume Tron of Tarascon, before I was sent to the dungeon of the Wall, said to me at the table outside his house, that Pierre de Gaillac had calumniated me at Carcassonne before my lord the inquisitor and had charged me before my lord the bishop.

It is for this reason and also because I believe that I will receive greater mercy before my lord, and that my lord will give me something and help me, if I say that I have avowed these errors, abused by Pierre de Gaillac, that I have indeed said that I said what I said, although I have never believed it. But in reality in I have believed these errors. I do not seek that anything bad may happen to the said Pierre; on the contrary it would displease me if anything bad were to happen to him.

It seems to me almost certain that Jean Montanié of the Head of the bridge has said to me in his mill that if my lord the bishop is told of the fact that I have avowed to have believed these errors which I in fact never believed on the instructions of Pierre de Gaillac, that he will either give me something of his or rule that I should recuperate and own once again the goods that I lost when I was sent to the Wall.

Pierre de Gaillac told me, before I confessed that I believed these errors, both at Allemans and at the bishop’s palace of Pamiers: “Cousin, tell the truth, and if you have believed these errors, then avow them; you can easily say that you had no one to instruct you to the contrary and if you had, you would not have believed them. But if you have not believed them, do not say or admit that you have believed them.”

-Why are you returning to what you said above, to wit, that Pierre told you to avow the errors contained in your first confession? -Pierre did not tell me that, unless it pertains to what was just said.

-Why did you say before diverse persons after having been sent to the dungeon of the Wall that you did not know why you lost your goods, because you did not think yourself culpable? -Out of stupidity, because I had lost my goods.

He did not wish to respond in any other way but acknowledged that he did not say this to defame the Inquisition or my lord the bishop. And, he said, he repented of not having worn his crosses nor having done the penances that had been imposed on him and also to have said in this confession that he never believed these errors and heresies, although he did believe them in reality, as he avowed elsewhere; he repented also of having said to certain people that he did not know why he had lost his goods, because he did not think himself guilty of heresy, never having seen any heretics and of having taken from Pierre de Gaillac the idea to avow that he believed errors that he did not believe. He asked for absolution from the sentences of excommunication give by my lord the bishop and my lord the inquisitor, and having incurred the law because of these facts, submitted himself to the mercy of the said lord bishop and my lord the inquisitor of Carcassonne, and declared himself ready to receive, accomplish and undergo all penance which our said lord bishop and inquisitor or their successors might wish to impose on him for these deeds, renouncing all defenses by which he might defend himself and returning to that which had avowed and now and furthermore in the matter of heresy; and after having received his abjuration and the avowals below, the said lord bishop gave him absolution for the said sentences of excommunication, if it was with a good heart and a truth faith that he wished to return to the unity of the

Church and if he had confessed the truth plainly as much concerning himself as others and if he received and accomplished the punishment or penance that our said lords bishop and inquisitor or their successors would wish to impose upon him for these facts, without which, as my said lord bishop declared, he did not intend to absolve these sentences of excommunication.

The tenor of this abjuration and this oath are as follows:

“I myself, Arnaud de Savinhan, appearing judicially before you, Reverend Father in Christ my lord Jacques, by the grace of God bishop of Pamiers, do abjure all heresy that rises up against the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Roman Church, and all belief of heretics, of whatever sect condemned by the Roman church and especially of the sect which I followed and all complicity, hiding, defense and frequenting of these heretics, subject to the pain that is due by law to those who relapse into heresy previously abjured judicially;

Item I swear and promise to pursue according to my power the heretics of any sect condemned by the Catholic Church and especially the sect that I followed and the believers, inciters, concealers and defenders of these heretics, including those that I know or believe to in flight because of heresy, to have arrested and remanded any one of them, according to my power, to my said lord bishop or to the inquisitors of the heretical deviation at all times and in whatever place I know of the existence of the above-said or one of them;

Item I swear and promise to hold, guard and defend the Catholic faith which the holy Roman church preaches and observes;

Item I swear and promise to obey and defer to the orders of the Church, of my lord the bishop and the inquisitors, and to appear on the day and days fixed before them or their replacements, at all times and in whatever place I receive the order or requisition on their part, by messenger or by letter or otherwise, to never flee or absent myself knowingly in a spirit of contumaciousness and to receive and accomplish according to my power the punishment and penance that they have judged good to impose on me. And to this end I pledge my person and all my goods.

And he concluded in the present case, asking for sentence on his deeds and praying that he be treated with mercy.

And my said lord bishop finished with him.

The said Arnaud avowed and abjured in the manner above-specified the year and day as above, before my lord the bishop in the episcopal chamber of Pamiers, in the presence of the religious persons Brother Gaillard de Pomiès, Arnaud du Carla, O.P., Bernard de Taïx, monk of the monastery of Fontfroide of the order of Cîteaux and master Guillaume Nadin, above-mentioned notary who has received this on the order of my lord the bishop in the place of myself Jean Jabbaud, above-named cleric, and who has faithfully transcribed and corrected them against the original.

The year of the Lord 1323, the 12th of May, Arnaud Savinhan above-mentioned, denounced and suspected of only rarely wearing in public the crosses imposed upon him as penance, contravening by this his own oath in not accomplishing the penance imposed on him for heresy upon being released from prison, and cited by my lord the bishop, swore on the four holy Gospels of God to tell the pure and entire truth on these facts and other concerning the Inquisition, as much concerning himself as cited as

concerning others living and dead as witness. This oath taken, he said, deposed and avowed as follows:

On festival days, I openly wear the crosses on my cloak, but the other days, and especially when I am working I do not wear them because I am in a tunic or shirt. When I return from work, I take my cloak and I wear the crosses, but sometimes I wear it with the crosses hidden; most of the time I do not wear them by day, because I work each day in a tunic and sometimes I go around the town of Tarascon without wearing them, because I go in a tunic or over-tunic.

I have seen Guillaume de Niaux, since the crosses were imposed on him recently at the sermon given at Carcassonne. But I have not seen him wear the crosses that were imposed on him. It was only for a short time, since our citation, his and mine, before my lord the bishop of Pamiers that I have seen him wear them.

And I have only seen the wife of Pierre den Hugol of Quié wear her crosses once, even though it has been about a year since they were imposed on her at the sermon given at Carcassonne by my lord the inquisitor.

I have never seen the wife of Guillaume Delaire of Quié wear her crosses, although it has been several years since they were imposed on her. And indeed these women and I are from the same parish; and I have never seen them come for discipline between the Epistle and the Gospel on Sundays and feast days. I repent of not having worn these crosses continually, and I declare myself ready to do the penance that my lord the bishop has imposed upon me for this.

Done the year, day and place above-mentioned, in the presence of the religious persons Brothers Gaillard de Pomiès, Arnaud du Carla, O.P., and of master Guillaume Nadin, notary above-mentioned who has received this on the order of my lord the bishop in the place of myself Jean Jabbaud, above-named cleric, and who has faithfully transcribed and corrected them against the original.

NOTES

We find these people of Quié in a group of processes at the end of the Register. Arnaud, this time, received a very hard sentence which is summarized in a brief resmé of the *Liber Sententiarum* de Toulouse du Sermon de Pamiers du 19 juin 1323 (*Historia inquisitionis*, p. 393)

He is mentioned along with Guillaume de Niaux, each of whom is sentenced for failing to wear their crosses, but with different sentences:

Guillaume de Niaux of Tarascon, one year in the dungeon of the Wall
Arnaud de Savinhan, strict imprisonment in the dungeon of the Wall

Strict imprisonment is a small compartment shared with one of two companions in misfortune, and not the communal room that is mentioned elsewhere, and a regimen of bread and water. Very strict imprisonment involves irons on the hands and feet. It is probable that Arnaud's punishment was mitigated later or that the gaoler, the notary Marc Rivel, his wife Esclarmonde and the sergeant Garnot, who were the personnel of the prison des Allemans, were humane, because Arnaud de Savinhan was still alive on

January 17, 1329, at which time he was released, to wear crosses, in a Sermon given at the bishop's palace of Pamiers.