MEDIEVAL NARBONNE

A City at the Heart of the Troubadour World

Jacqueline Caille and Kathryn L. Reyerson

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Edited by Kathryn L. Reyerson

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AVANT-PROPOS

C'est au professeur Philippe Wolff, dont je voudrais ici saluer la mémoire, que je dois d'avoir choisi comme sujet principal de mes recherches universitaires la ville de Narbonne au Moyen Age, en privilégiant la période s'étendant de la fin du Xe siècle au milieu du XIVe siècle.

D'emblée un problème se pose à qui veut entreprendre une étude systématique de la métropole languedocienne: le caractère dispersé, disparate et surtout désordonné des sources dont dispose le chercheur pour mener à bien cette tâche. Il faut en effet savoir qu'on ne trouve pas à Narbonne de fonds notarial (à la différence de Toulouse, Montpellier, Perpignan), pas non plus de cartulaire laïque (à la différence de Montpellier ou Carcassonne), pas de cartulaires ecclésiastiques si ce n'est quelques fragments (à la différence de Nîmes, Béziers ou Agde), pas de chronique urbaine (contrairement à Montpellier). En l'absence d'inventaires thématiques, reste à se plonger dans la masse documentaire (encore très abondante malgré les nombreuses destructions) en dégageant, chemin faisant, des sujets particuliers à étudier dès lors que l'on dispose, sur l'un ou l'autre d'entre eux, d'un dossier relativement cohérent, mais pas forcément complet. De ce type d'approche naît la nécessité, de temps à autre, de « revisiter » un aspect déjà abordé, dès lors que de nouveaux renseignements sont découverts au hasard d'investigations toujours poursuivies.

Malgré tout, à la suite de toutes ces années de recherches, il nous est désormais possible de brosser à grands traits un tableau d'ensemble de la Narbonne médiévale, l'un des principaux centres urbains du Midi languedocien au Moyen Age. C'est ce qui est proposé dans ce volume avec un accent particulier mis sur les XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Un « survol historique » général (I) donne pour commencer un cadre global à partir duquel des renvois sont faits, pour de plus larges développements, aux quatorze articles reproduits ici ou encore aux quelque vingt travaux concernant l'antique métropole languedocienne que nous avons publiés par ailleurs, l'ensemble constituant une « bibliographie panoramique » de la question.

Les quatorze études qui ont été retenues pour le présent ouvrage sont reproduites, soit sous leur forme initiale avec des addenda et corrigenda, soit sous forme de traductions en anglais assorties de mises à jour

systématiques. Les unes et les autres ont été regroupées autour de quatre thèmes principaux. Il s'agit, premièrement, de montrer le développement urbain d'une agglomération composée d'une « Cité » antique (à la fois ville du seigneur ecclésiastique et ville du seigneur laïque, ce qui n'est pas le schéma le plus courant) et d'un « Bourg » médiéval auxquels s'ajoutent divers faubourgs du Moyen Age, les uns et les autres soumis aux deux dirigeants de la Cité. Le deuxième centre d'intérêt concerne les seigneurs de la Cité avec, tout d'abord, deux articles (V, VI) portant sur l'organisation seigneuriale et féodale de Narbonne qui ont été retenus, bien que relativement anciens, parce qu'ils trouvent aujourd'hui un regain d'actualité à un moment où la recherche récente confirme ce qui s'y trouve en filigrane, à savoir l'existence « d'une féodalité » et aussi celle « d'une seigneurie » en Languedoc, l'une et l'autre structurant de manière évidente la « vie politique narbonnaise » dès le XIe siècle. A cela s'ajoutent les numéros VII et VIII, portant sur le consulat, d'une part, et la communauté juive de la ville, d'autre part, où sont présentés quelques aspects du « peuple » de Narbonne face aux deux seigneurs qui se partagent le pouvoir sur l'agglomération. Enfin, le numéro IX situe ces deux derniers, archevêque et vicomte, dans le contexte historique régional, celui de la « grande guerre méridionale du XIIe siècle », elle aussi objet d'un incontestable regain d'intérêt ces derniers temps.

Dans la troisième partie est mise en exergue l'une des « figures » de cette « grande guerre », véritable « guerre de Cent Ans languedocienne », à savoir la fameuse vicomtesse Ermengarde qui gouverna Narbonne et sa vicomté pendant plus d'une demi-siècle et fut célébrée par les troubadours à l'instar de sa contemporaine la duchesse Aliénor d'Aquitaine dont on a commémoré le huitième centenaire de sa mort en 1204. Le quatrième et dernier thème, société et vie religieuse, fait une place toute particulière aux hôpitaux et à l'assistance (XII, XIII, XIV, XV), sujets sur lesquels on dispose pour Narbonne de renseignements assez nombreux que nous avons pu préciser au cours de nos dernières recherches, complétant ainsi l'ouvrage que nous avons consacré à la question en 1978.

La réimpression ou la publication en traduction des divers articles repris ici n'auraient pas été possibles sans la libéralité des responsables des publications ou des maisons d'édition qui ont abrité les parutions originales : que les uns et les autres soient remerciés. Il nous faut également remercier le docteur John Smedley d'avoir conduit avec « fermeté », mais aussi « patience et compréhension », la production de ce volume des Variorum Reprints. Enfin, il nous reste à exprimer toute notre gratitude à notre collègue, le professeur K.L. Reyerson sans qui cette publication

n'aurait pas pu voir le jour. Nous avons trouvé en elle, tout d'abord, une traductrice émérite des articles I, V, X et XIII : à sa parfaite maîtrise du français, qui a permis d'en rendre la lettre, s'est en effet ajoutée, pour en rendre l'esprit, sa connaissance approfondie du « Midi médiéval » pour lequel « nous partageons la même passion ». Surtout, elle a, très amicalement, soutenu de bout en bout l'élaboration de ce volume apportant, chemin faisant, par maintes suggestions constructives, diverses améliorations au projet initial.

JACQUELINE CAILLE
Sérignac-en-Quercy
Décembre 2004

FOREWORD

It is thanks to Philippe Wolff, whose memory I would like to invoke here, that I came to choose the town of Narbonne as the principal object of my research, with a focus on the period from the end of the tenth century to the mid-fourteenth.

At the outset, whoever wishes to undertake a systematic study of this metropolis of Languedoc faces a problem: the dispersed, disparate and above all the disordered nature of the sources available to the researcher. One must realise that there is no notarial archive to be found at Narbonne (unlike Toulouse, Montpellier or Perpignan), no lay seigneurial cartulary (unlike Montpellier or Carcassonne), no ecclesiastical cartularies, other than a few fragments (unlike Nîmes, Béziers or Agde), nor any urban chronicle (unlike Montpellier). In the absence of thematic inventories, one has to plunge into a mass of documentation (and this is still very abundant, despite much destruction), picking one's way through to light upon some particular subjects to study when one has amassed a sufficiently coherent dossier, even if an incomplete one, on one topic or another. This type of approach necessitates the "revisiting", from time to time, of a topic already covered, when new information comes to light during one's on-going investigations.

Despite all this, after all these years of research I have been able to draw a picture of medieval Narbonne, one of the chief urban centres of medieval Languedoc. This is what is achieved in the present volume, with a particular emphasis on the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. To open the volume, a historical overview (I) provides an overall framework, and for detail on the development refers the reader to the fourteen studies that follow, and to a further twenty or so other articles I have published on Narbonne. Together they constitute a bibliographic "panorama" on the subject.

The fourteen studies included in the present work are in part reproduced as first published, with addenda and corrigenda, in part in English translations which have been systematically updated. They are grouped around four main themes. First comes a group (II, III, IV) showing the urban development of an agglomeration comprising an antique "Cité" (at once the town of the ecclesiastical and the secular lords, which is not the

most common form of urban organization), and a medieval "Bourg", to which several suburbs were added during the Middle Ages, both under the jurisdiction of the two lords of the Cité. The second centre of interest has to do with those who "ran" the town. To start with, two articles (V, VI) deal with the seigneurial and feudal organization of Narbonne. These have been included, even though relatively old, because they have gained a new relevance now, as recent research has confirmed the line taken in them. This is that there did exist a "feudal system" as well as a "lordship" in Languedoc, both of which clearly shaped the political life of Narbonne from the eleventh century. Studies VII and VIII, one dealing with the consulate, the other with the Jewish community of the town, present some aspects of the "people" of the Narbonne in relation to the two lords who shared power over the town. Article IX, finally, places the two lords, the archbishop and the viscount, within the historical context of the region – being the "great southern war" of the twelfth century, which in itself has attracted much renewed interest in recent years. In the third section, pride of place is given to one of the "protagonists" of this war, a true "Hundred Years' War" in Languedoc, the famous viscountess Ermengarde (X, XI). She ruled Narbonne and its viscounty for more than half a century and was celebrated by the troubadours, just like her contemporary, the duchess Eleanor of Aquitaine, the 800th anniversary of whose death was commemorated in 2004. The fourth and last section, on the theme of society and religious life, gives prominence to hospitals and communal assistance (XII, XIII, XIV, XV). These are subjects on which we have a good deal of information for Narbonne, and which I have been able to make more precise in recent research, thus completing the work I devoted to the topic in 1978.

The reprinting or republication in translation of the articles included here would not have been possible without the generosity of the editors and publishers of the works which first gave them a home; I thank them all. I must also thank Dr. John Smedley who has undertaken, with firmness but also patience and understanding, the publication of this volume in the Variorum series. Finally, I must express my deepest gratitude to my colleague, Professor K.L. Reyerson, without whom this work would not have been possible. She has, first, been a fine translator of studies I, V, X and XIII; her mastery of French, which enabled her to translate the text, is completed by her profound knowledge of the medieval Midi, for which we share the same passion, and which has enabled her to capture the spirit of the work. Above all, she has with great kindness, from start to finish, supported the preparation of this book, all along the way giving

constructive comment and helpful suggestions for how the initial project could be improved.

JACQUELINE CAILLE
Sérignac-en-Quercy
December 2004

INTRODUCTION

The articles that follow are the work of Jacqueline Caille, an urban historian of medieval southern France and a specialist of the history of medieval Narbonne, one of the principal sites of troubadour culture. For almost forty years Jacqueline Caille has been a perceptive student of the urban institutions of this rich past. Caille is an archival scholar par excellence, who knows the archives of Narbonne in depth and has been consistently revising the work of nineteenth- and earlier twentieth-century historians and enhancing our understanding of urban development, urban politics, society, and religious institutions.

Among the towns of Languedoc, Narbonne enjoys a remarkably diverse history that included a role as an important Roman administrative center and economic entrepot, echoed in the Middle Ages when it became a dynamic site of commerce and industry on the Mediterranean coast of southern France. From the thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, Narbonne reached its medieval heyday, combining investments in the luxury trade with significant artisan industry in leather and in cloth production. Its merchants traveled the Mediterranean, trading in the Levant alongside Italians and other southern French. Politically, Narbonne was a double town, with two resident lords, the viscount and the archbishop, archrivals for urban domination. Culturally, the court of Viscountess Ermengarde was a magnet for southern troubadour culture. Escaping the brunt of repression of heresy, Narbonne maintained a reputation for religious orthodoxy. By the thirteenth century the town supported a vibrant tradition of hospitals and charitable institutions and numerous houses of the mendicant orders. Jacqueline Caille has brought medieval Narbonne to life through her meticulous reconstruction of the topography and physical landscape, and her analysis of the society, politics, and economy of the town.

What are the elements particularly identified with medieval southern France? Heterodoxy in religion, particularly the Cathar heresy. Troubadour culture. Minorities and cross-cultural exchange. A flourishing urban world closely tied to rural surroundings and engaging with the wider Mediterranean through trade and travel. A noble culture linked by oaths of fidelity. A secular political society rather than one dominated by the

church. Twelfth-century seigneurial administrations relying more on Jews than clerics as experts (Narbonne, Montpellier), and thus lacking that clerical administrative culture of the North. A Roman law/written law tradition and a notariate providing a common business culture that stretched throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond.

Mediterranean France was a region of large towns or cities - Avignon, Marseille, Montpellier, Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, and somewhat smaller Aix-en-Provence, Arles, and Béziers. Italy on the east and Spain on the west, particularly Aragon-Catalonia, were well-endowed in this regard, too, and Italy was for southern France and Catalonia a pace setter in legal, political, and economic matters. Though the towns of the French Mediterranean world have disparate origins, some a Roman origin like Narbonne, and others a medieval beginning without a Roman past, there is a consistent culture which emerged in this area at least from the eleventh century when new agglomerations like Perpignan and Montpellier became towns in their own right.

History is written by the winners, and southern France and its medieval civilization did not prevail, because of the victory of northern France in the thirteenth-century Albigensian crusade. Though its unique past was never obliterated, politically the North came to dominate the south (the Midi) in later periods of French history. This said, southern France has always represented more than a lingering attraction for the North and still does today. And this goes beyond climate and beaches. This volume opens a window for the reader into the rich world of the medieval Midi, viewed from the perspective of one of its cultural capitals. Caille's insights invite comparison with other southern French towns and with the northern urban experience.

This collection begins with Caille's synthesis (I) of the history of Narbonne from Roman beginnings through the end of the Middle Ages in the fifteenth century, written for this volume. The reader will find a wealth of facts about the place of Narbonne within the Midi, emerging first as a Roman town, then, after a passage in the Early Middle Ages under Visigothic and, subsequently, Muslim rule, evolving as a seigneurial capital with an archbishop and a viscount each possessing lordships, as a bourgeois and consular town, and finally as a *bonne ville* of the French king, with the viscounty fully integrated by King Louis XII into his domain in 1507. In this introductory overview Caille then examines the history of medieval Narbonne thematically, beginning with its economic role as a significant center of artisanal production and international trade within

Languedoc, for which she situates a medieval apogee in the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth centuries. A second thematic approach concerns the physical development of the town in its topography, monuments, and urban landscape. Particularly insightful is her discussion of the vicecomital and archiepiscopal contributions to this double town of *Bourg* and *Cité*, unusual in that both authorities resided in their fortresses in the *Cité*.

Caille pursues the issue of urban development in three articles, the first (II) comparing the growth of the old town of Roman origin, Narbonne, with that of the new dynamic metropolis of medieval foundation, Montpellier. In spite of their divergent origins, there were many similar trends that affected both urban sites. Inquiring about the reasons for the economic ascendancy of Montpellier over Narbonne, Caille emphasizes the more favorable geographic location of Montpellier, closer to Italy and well-placed on the road systems stretching north to the Champagne fairs and to Paris and west to Aquitaine. The presence of Italian merchants in Montpellier, earlier and more numerous than ever they were in Narbonne, reinforced this advantage. Finally, the political situation of Montpellier permitted the emergence of a more autonomous consulate under distant lords while in Narbonne the archbishop and the viscount were ever present.

The ramparts of Narbonne (III) offered Caille the challenge of textual reconstruction in the absence of any visible trace of the medieval fortifications today. The result is a meticulous review of all written evidence for the walls, themselves a negotiated collaboration between the archbishop and the viscount in the seigneurial period. Towers of the fortifications were held in fief of the archbishop in his section, with defensive responsibilities accompanying the holder, but an absence of sources prohibits the tracking of the viscount's techniques in managing the walls. With the emergence of consulates in the *Cité* and the *Bourg* in the thirteenth century, the defense system witnessed even greater competition. In all some thirty-five hectares of town and suburbs (eighty-six and one half acres) were enclosed within defensive structures by the end of the twelfth century.

The third contribution under the heading of urban development treats the organization of parishes in Narbonne (IV). In contrast to a general presumption of an early multiplicity of parishes in medieval towns, Caille describes the experience of Narbonne with a late onset of parish organization like that of other southern towns of Roman origin. Prior to the eleventh century the community had remained undivided under the

archbishop. The appearance of parishes was part of a broader phenomenon of urban growth, from the eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries, by which time eight parishes had emerged.

Also reflecting urban growth was the establishment of an archiepiscopal lordship in Narbonne. In her section on urban politics, Caille traces in detail (V) the creation of an archiepiscopal lordship over all of the *Bourg* and over the western third of the *Cité*. The Carolingian era set the foundation for the landed wealth of the Narbonnais archbishopric. Weathering the heyday of the proprietary church in the mid-tenth through mid-eleventh century, a series of strong archbishops, beginning with Guifred of Cerdagne (1016–1079), the infamous simoniac, whose father bought the archbishopric for him at age ten, rebuilt the lordship and triumphed in a struggle with the viscount, reviving the bevy of rights associated with the see under the Carolingians. The Gregorian reform had little effect, needless to say, on this process. Viscounts were the "men" of the archbishops for certain of their holdings in the *Cité*. Even the formidable Viscountess Ermengarde would recognize that she was the "vassal" of the archbishop in 1155. To retain their political clout the archbishops relied periodically on their relations with the counts of Toulouse.

Political and economic rights over Narbonne were divided between the archbishop and the viscount in the twelfth century. In a second study of archiepiscopal power (VI) Caille traces the evolution of the temporal lordship of the archbishop in the second half of the thirteenth century. The Albigensian crusade gave the archbishop an opportunity to attempt seizure of the whole of the lordship of the *Cité*, hitherto shared with the viscount. Archbishop Arnaud-Amalric even attributed to himself the title of duke of Narbonne from the spoils of the Raymonds of Saint-Gilles until Simon de Montfort claimed it for himself. The archbishop was the feudal superior of the viscount for half of the *Cité* and for the totality of the *Bourg*. The viscount put his hands in those of the archbishop and swore "fidelity in all things." However, the viscount reserved his liege homage for the king of France, creating thereby some ambiguity. The archbishop in turn was a direct dependent of the king of France for the western half of the *Cité* and for all of the *Bourg*. These titles gave the archbishop prerogatives of justice, both civil and criminal. Caille dissects the functioning of the archiepiscopal court that enforced sentences excluding the death penalty, mutilation and whipping, these being monopolies of the viscount. The archbishop also enjoyed economic rights over wine sales, ovens, mills, etc., customs duties, jurisdictional rights over

town markets that he shared with the viscount, and a shared right of coining money. The consuls exercised a growing role of surveillance and organization of the town artisanal trades. In the thirteenth century the formation of a consulate introduced a third organ of government at Narbonne. By the end of the thirteenth century, with royal support, the consulate offered a challenge to the shared vicecomital and archiepiscopal administration of Narbonne. Yet, at this date, the archiepiscopal lordship remained powerful.

Caille analyzes thoroughly the problems surrounding the appearance of a consulate at Narbonne in her next article (VII). Consular movements, of Italian inspiration, reflected the influence of the growing mercantile and artisanal population in urban government in Languedoc. Though consuls were mentioned in Narbonne as early as 1132 in a representative role abroad on behalf of the town, it would only be in the early thirteenth century that four consuls of the *Cité* and four of the *Bourg* appeared in an arbitration proceeding at home. By the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century the consuls had acquired certain prerogatives in the municipal administration in the areas of the economy, urban policing, and public works. No document constituting either consulate has survived, but by the last quarter of the thirteenth century the consuls were claiming to hold their prerogatives directly from the king of France. Narbonne experienced considerable growth in the same era, with demographic and topographic expansion, and the development of international trade. The viscount and the archbishop extended their lordships over the surrounding countryside. The urban community of bourgeois, merchants, and artisans, *milites*, and descendants of the *familia* of both the archbishop and the viscount created an urban identity as a *universitas* of the *Cité* and of the *Bourg*, coming together as the "*cives narbonenses tam Civitatis quam suburbii*" in the thirteenth century. The flourishing of intellectual life, the development of law, the creation of a notariate, and the emergence of charitable and hospital facilities accompanied this urban expansion.

Narbonne was also the site of considerable cross-cultural exchange over the centuries, with domination first by Arian Visigoths, and then by Muslims. A significant Jewish community weathered the rule of these diverse powers. However, three documents suggest anti-semitic measures on the part of the Carolingian Charles the Simple, with confiscations of Jewish property on behalf of the church. In an article examining anti-semitism at Narbonne (VIII), Caille questions the authenticity of these sources because she discovered Jews still in possession of some of the

"confiscated" properties in the second half of the tenth century. More telling was the continued participation of Jews in the management of the real and mobile property of the archbishops of Narbonne. Caille investigates as a possible source of interpolation, Guifred of Cerdagne, who had already embroidered upon a Carolingian diploma of 844 for the sake of his lordship (V). However, the evidence remains unconvincing, and Caille invokes instead as the source of these falsifications the movement to recover tithes and the struggle of the archbishop to create a rival lordship to that of the viscount at Narbonne. Caille argues for a tradition of toleration and cosmopolitanism at Narbonne that permitted Benjamin of Tudela to praise the doctors of its Jewish community in the twelfth century.

Frequently absorbed by the internal workings of the town of Narbonne, Caille steps back to consider the broader political situation in an article following the fate of the lords of Narbonne in the rivalry of the houses of Toulouse and Barcelona for the south of France in the twelfth century (IX). Adding to the mix was the powerful vicecomital house of the Trencavel with one branch in control of Carcassonne and Béziers, another in possession of Nîmes and Agde. These rivalries gave rise to wars and bravura that found their echo in troubadour poetry. Alphonse-Jourdain of Toulouse gained some control of the viscounty during the childhood of Ermengarde, even to the point of attempting to marry her in 1142, but this move was too much for the Trencavel and their allies who imprisoned Alphonse. Peace came with Alphonse's engagement to restore the viscounty to Ermengarde who had married Bernard of Anduze, a follower of the Trencavel. For a period in the mid-twelfth century Ermengarde ruled her lordship with little resistance, participating in the siege of Tortosa and taking the initiative to bring about a reconciliation between the Trencavel and the house of Barcelona in the person of Raymond-Berenger IV in 1150. This alliance was disturbing for the count of Toulouse, causing the count to imprison the Trencavel. Several years later in 1157 the quarrel had subsided, for Raymond of Toulouse, son of Alphonse, promised to aid Raymond Trencavel against all except his (Raymond's) brother. The count of Toulouse was again a target of a coalition (including Ermengarde) in 1158 in which Henry II of England participated. Only the aid of Louis VII of France, who joined with Raymond in defending Toulouse, brought about a truce. Ermengarde was closely allied to the Barcelonnais, all the while conciliating the Trencavel who in turn had close relations at this time with the count of Toulouse.

Ermengarde herself had to appeal to Louis VII for assistance in a law suit against the rebellious lord of Puisserguier, supported by Raymond V of Toulouse and his wife Constance when Puisserguier wished to throw off vicecomital jurisdiction.

Relations shifted again in the latter part of the twelfth century. Ermengarde of Narbonne entertained good relations with the count of Toulouse, but she pledged allegiance to Louis VII in 1173 in response to Raymond V's homage to Henry II of England. She sought Louis VII's intervention in the south as did the archbishop of Narbonne who feared a Plantagenet invasion. In 1177 Raymond V of Toulouse's ambitions against Narbonne and the Trencavel caused a coalition to form against him and pushed Ermengarde again into the corner of the Aragonese.

By the end of the century the houses of Barcelona and Toulouse had reached a reconciliation with the marriage of Raymond VI and Eleanor of Aragon. Several months later the viscount of Narbonne, Aymeric III, recognized that he held Narbonne, excepting what he had of the archbishop, in fief from the count of Toulouse. In the horror that was the Albigensian crusade (1209–1229), Toulouse and Barcelona allied to face the northern forces, while the viscount and the archbishop of Narbonne had as their highest priority the safeguard of their lordships. They escaped the invasion of northern troops, but the spiritual leader of the crusade, Arnaud-Amalric, becoming archbishop of Narbonne, did what he could to subordinate the viscount to his power.

Viscountess Ermengarde has always been a particular focus of Caille's interest and merits one of the sections of this volume. A direct contemporary of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Ermengarde ruled her viscounty for over fifty years. She was a battlefield participant, a lord who inspired loyalty in her followers, a diplomat in the viper's nest of southern French politics, and a patron of troubadours. Caille's lengthy, well-documented 1994 article (X) focuses on the youth and poignant late years of the distinguished twelfth-century viscountess. Her attention to these two periods in the life of Ermengarde can serve as bookends for the significant recent study by Fredric Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002). In her work Caille refrains from developing the whole of Ermengard's career in light of the already extensive work by previous scholars. Particularly informative in her focus on the last years of Ermengarde's life was the tragic fashion in which she was forced from her lordship by her nephew Pierre de Lara, whom she had associated in

power. Ermengarde died in exile with few, if any, of the trappings of her station surrounding her. Her fate recalls that of Constance of France and Marie de Montpellier. Caille also traces the legendary dimensions of this *maîtresse femme* in the literature of the sagas (XI). In the *Orkneyinga Saga*, dating from the late twelfth century and reworked about 1234–1235, the prince Rognvald Kali, ruler of the Orkneys from 1139–1158, is said to have made a visit to Ermengarde in her town of Narbonne during a voyage to the Holy Land in 1151–1153 on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Taken with her, even to the point of contemplating marriage – there are several poems invoking her in the saga –, Rognvald promised to return home via Narbonne. In the end he went back overland to the North. In 1158 he was killed in the Orkneys. Caille accepts as possible the presence of Rognvald in Narbonne and even the participation of his Orkney companions in a court of love, given the troubadour culture at Narbonne, but rejects the marriage project because Ermengarde's husband, Bernard of Anduze, was still alive in 1152. The mention of marriage could have been the result of the influence of French courtly lyric on the author-compiler of the saga, writing after the events.

A final section of this volume treats the society and religious life of Narbonne. In the first two articles (XII and XIII) one witnesses the revisionist spirit of Caille at work on her own scholarship. A specialist of medieval hospitals and the author of a monograph, *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au Moyen Age* (Toulouse, 1977), Caille describes in detail the vibrant hospital life at Narbonne. Having sketched the administration of hospital and charity institutions at Narbonne in her first article, Caille thereafter discovered new documentation, permitting her to refine her understanding of the development of charitable institutions in the town. The twelfth century saw the emergence of four houses for the poor and lepers. Two more hospitals for the poor appeared in the thirteenth century. Eight more hospitals and additional charitable activities would join this early network. There was, in addition, a Jewish hospital. Beyond these, the parish churches and religious houses also offered charitable assistance. Caille is able in her second article to add one further hospital foundation to the mix, that of Lamourguier, though the foundation attempt would seem to have failed. This explosion of hospital activity paralleled the economic growth and prosperity of the town well into the fourteenth century. After situating these institutions topographically, Caille examines their administrative and economic structures. Overarching supervision of such charitable activities belonged to the archbishop. The

hospital orders had their own grand masters. In her first article Caille argues that from the middle of the thirteenth century the municipal magistrates, at least the consuls of the *Cité*, were active, as well, in administration of some of these institutions. In the second revisionary study, she redates this trend to the end of the thirteenth century and assigns initiative to the consuls of the whole of the town. At mid-century the cathedral chapter still exercised administrative control over the hospital system. There may have been competition between the consuls and the chapter for supervisory prerogatives at mid-century and greater ecclesiastical resistance to the expansion of lay initiatives in the area of charity than earlier thought. By the end of the thirteenth century lay supervision had triumphed. Caille sees this as a movement parallel to the increasing role of the consuls *vis-à-vis* the viscount and the archbishop, the town's traditional lords, in the exercise of political power by that same date.

The intellectual life of Narbonne has also been among Caille's interests. Narbonne was the site of an ephemeral university *studium* (XIV). A bull of Pope Innocent IV in 1247, in effect, made reference to such an institution. Caille dates its probable inception to the years 1238–1247, perhaps the result, as in the experience of the University of Toulouse, of treaties relating to the Albigensian crusade, in Toulouse's case that of Paris-Meaux of 1229, in the case of Narbonne, perhaps those of Lorris in 1243, in each case, measures mounted against heresy. The fate of the *studium* in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is unknown. In the first half of the fourteenth century the University of Paris held an attraction for Narbonnais students, and a college was founded there by the archbishop in 1317. In 1342 a college of Narbonne was founded at the University of Toulouse. In spite of an undoubted decline in the *studium* of Narbonne, education was still dispensed there, the most illustrious teaching being that of the Spiritual Franciscan Peter John Olivi in the late thirteenth century. Private law schools persisted, and there was a theology school attached to the cathedral church, permitting the survival of higher education in the town at a time when it was still flourishing as an urban center.

Jacqueline Caille concludes this volume of studies with an examination of Narbonne in the early fifteenth century, based on a pastoral visitation of 1404 (XV). She is able to reconstruct the itinerary of the visitor in the *Cité*, the suburbs, and the *Bourg*, from church to hospital to religious house to leprosarium to private chapel. From the documentary record of the

visit Caille is able to draw up a topographic inventory of the religious establishments of Narbonne that indicated, she concludes, an undisputed decline. The poor state of repair of numerous churches reflected the degenerating economic situation of the town, stemming from the difficulties of the late fourteenth century. By then the heyday of Narbonne had passed, and the age of the troubadours was long gone.

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I

Historical Overview: Narbonne from Roman Foundations to the Fifteenth Century

Today a sub-prefecture in the south of France, ten kilometres from the Mediterranean, Narbonne remains proud of its Roman and medieval past. It is an historical overview of the latter that will form the basis of the following discussion, but with reference as well to the classical origins of the town.[1]

I. A POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CAPITAL OF THE MIDI

A provincial Roman metropolis (2nd c. BCE – early 5th c. CE)

Founded first in 118 BCE as a Roman colony, Narbo Martius was re-founded in 45 BCE by Julius Caesar himself. Situated on the *via Domitia*, the vital artery linking Italy to Spain, recently conquered by Rome, the town grew rapidly in importance in the first century BCE, proving itself, according to the formula of Cicero, "the observatory and the rampart of the Roman people" in transalpine Gaul.[2] Having quickly become the seat of provincial government, Narbonne experienced a remarkable expansion for two centuries from the time of Augustus. The city dominated a vast expanse extending from the Alps and Lake Geneva in the east to the river Garonne and the Pyrenees in the west and the south, a territory called

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[1] On Narbonne and its environs from prehistory to the present, see *Histoire de Narbonne*, ed. J. Michaud and A. Cabanis (Toulouse, 1981) (2nd ed. 1988) with chapters devoted to antiquity by M. Gayraud and to the Middle Ages by J. Caille and J. Michaud; for generalities on the sources, see R. W. Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (New York, 1941).

[2] For the Roman period, see also M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle* (Paris, 1981), and E. Dellong, D. Moulis, and J. Farré, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule. Narbonne et le Narbonnais* (Paris, 2002). Brief quotations of Latin authors in this overview have been drawn from these works.

thereafter *Narbonensis*, the "Narbonnaise"; within this Narbonne acted as the religious metropolis of the imperial cult.

The third and fourth centuries CE ushered in a period of difficulties. The zone of influence of the Roman city shrank to the region west of the Rhône, called the *Narbonensis prima*. To the east of the river the *Narbonensis secunda* escaped the orbit of Narbonne before 381 CE. In keeping with the pattern of topographical reduction and fortification of the core that characterized most Roman cities in the West, Narbonne was surrounded by a solid wall, reducing its surface area.[3] The city shared the decline that insidiously affected the western empire of the late Roman period. Although the latter succumbed to the blows of the great invasions of the fifth century, during the whole of the Middle Ages Narbonne remained one of the political and religious capitals of the Midi, at times more important, at others less so. Christianized very early, the town was, from the middle of the third century, blessed with a metropolitan bishop, even if this prerogative was momentarily contested by Arles in the course of the fifth century, before undergoing an undeniable decline. Furthermore, Narbonne continued to shelter, at each stage of its medieval history, representatives of lay power.

A Visigothic capital (5th – early 8th centuries)

When the Roman frontiers gave way before the invading barbarians, at the beginning of the fifth century, the town, which had grown up on the left bank of what was probably an artificial arm of the river Aude (today replaced by a simple canal, the Robine), was not a direct victim of the Vandals, the Suevi, or the Alans, but from autumn 413 to autumn 414 it was for a time occupied by the Visigoths, who took over peacefully. Their leader, Athaulf, celebrated his marriage with Gallia Placidia (the half-sister of the emperor Honorius) with great pomp and circumstance at Narbonne. Gallia Placidia had been taken hostage by his predecessor, King Alaric, during the famous sack of Rome in 410. Pushed back after that, it was only in 462 that the Visigoths reoccupied Narbonne, but this occupation then lasted for a period of two and a half centuries.

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[3] This reduction took place from the end of the third to the beginning of the fourth century CE, according to the preferred hypothesis, though it is also possible to date this fortification to the early fifth century (before 436–37); see article no. III, "Les remparts de Narbonne des origines à la fin du Moyen Age", in this volume.

The town then became one of the metropolises of the vast Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse that had emerged, stretching from the Loire river in the north to the columns of Hercules at the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula and from the Atlantic to the Rhône and to the Durance. The capital, installed at Narbonne after the 507 conquest of most of Aquitaine by the Franks of Clovis, following the Gothic defeat at Vouillé, thereafter shifted in 530 first to Barcelona, then Merida, and finally to Toledo. Nonetheless, Narbonne remained the residence of the governors of "Septimania" (a shrunken *Narbonensis prima*, amputated from the dioceses of Toulouse and Uzès and constituting more or less the Languedoc-Roussillon of today), the sole province of Gaul still in Visigothic hands. Several times, but ephemerally, the town would again become the capital of the kingdom when one or another of its governors seized the crown. Thus, the most civilized of the barbarian peoples, continuing and reviving Roman traditions, assisted Narbonne in preserving a certain renown, longer than other classical cities. It was to one of its great native jurists, Leo Narbonensis, that the kings Euric and then Alaric II turned to work on the codification of barbarian laws (the Code of Euric) or the compilation of Roman laws (the Breviary of Alaric, *Lex Romana Wisigothorum*). Even before the conversion of King Recared to Catholicism in 587, the metropolitan bishops do not seem to have suffered from the Arianism of the Visigoths. Thereafter, as eminent representatives of the clergy of the Gothic kingdom, they attended the national councils of Toledo and organized provincial councils at Narbonne.

A Muslim military base, cornerstone of the Gaulish province of al- Andalus (early 8th – middle 8th century)

The collapse of the Visigothic realm under the attacks of Arab/Berber troops brought about the seizure of Narbonne by the Muslims (as early as 715 or, at the latest, in 719), even before the completion of their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Narbonne then became the spearhead of their annual raids against the decaying Merovingian kingdom, in the direction of Aquitaine on the one hand, towards Provence and the Rhône and Saône valleys, on the other. One theory has it that some of the survivors of the battle of Poitiers of 732, at which Charles Martel annihilated the Muslim armies, took refuge at Narbonne; but there is no evidence for this claim. However, it is a fact that some years later, in 737, the town successfully resisted a long siege undertaken by the same Charles Martel, although the latter defeated a relief force sent by the emir of Cordoba in the immediate

neighbourhood. The relief army was exterminated on the banks of the little coastal river of La Berre that flows into the lagoon of Bages.

A governor called a *wali*, who combined administrative, judicial, and especially military functions that he exercised while supervising the Gothic count, still in place at Narbonne as in other towns of Septimania submitted to Islam, defended the walled city of Narbonne, *chef-lieu* of the province of Gaul of al-Andalus (the Muslim kingdom of Spain and Gaul). This "base" remained a precarious possession, always under menace of attack by either the dukes of Aquitaine, more or less autonomous powers, or by the armies of the Frankish rulers. The latter delivered Narbonne from Muslim occupation in 759 at the wish of Pepin the Short, mayor of the palace, who became king. The town became subject to the new dynasty, all the while maintaining the Gothic count in his functions. Twice, subsequently, the Muslims threatened the town, in 793 and in 1019, but without taking it. Thereafter, if there were Muslims at Narbonne, they were part of a trade in slaves. [4]

A Carolingian metropolis (mid 8th – late 10th centuries)

Rescued by the troops of Pepin the Short and not by those of his son, Emperor Charlemagne in person, as legend would have it, Narbonne enjoyed a century of Frankish peace, protected by the Spanish march created by the conquests of Charlemagne beyond the Pyrenees. The count of Narbonne was one of the great personages of the Carolingian world; at times he held the title of marquis of Gothia, but without this making the old city again the capital of Septimania. Narbonne was nonetheless one of the centres of this region henceforth called Gothia.[5] Thus, in 864, Narbonne was one of ten mint sites authorized in a capitulary of Charles the Bald for the West Frankish kingdom, in addition to that of the palace. This ruler may have stayed at Narbonne some twenty years earlier; one of his successors, King Carloman, may have done the same in the years 882–4.

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[4] On the preceding, see *Histoire de Narbonne*, 98–102. On the Muslims in Languedoc, see Ph. Sénac, "Présence musulmane en Languedoc. Réalités et vestiges", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 18 (1983), 43–57.

[5] Joining the Goths, already numerous in this ancient Gallic province of the Visigothic kingdom at the end of the eighth to the early ninth century were their compatriots from beyond the Pyrenees, the *Hispani*; having collaborated with the Franks during the Carolingian expeditions into Muslim Spain, they were obliged to flee the anger of the emir of Cordoba.

In the religious domain, the positive experience of Narbonne under the Carolingians is noteworthy. Not only was Narbonne restored to metropolitan rank (with Uzès and Toulouse again subordinate, joining Nîmes, Lodève, Béziers, Maguelone, Agde, Carcassonne, and Elne, reconstituting the *Narbonensis prima*), but the ecclesiastical province that Narbonne directed was expanded to include bishoprics from beyond the Pyrenees that had been liberated from Islamic domination by the Carolingians (Gerona, Urgell, Barcelona, Ausone-Vich, later joined by Roda). The bishopric was raised to an archbishopric at the time of Nebridius (799–822), who carried on an epistolary correspondence with important figures of the entourage of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious (Alcuin, Theodulf of Orléans, Agobard of Lyon, and Benedict of Aniane, the restorer of the Benedictine order).

But from the mid-ninth century new difficulties arose: Saracen (Muslim pirate) and Viking (Norman) attacks; internal struggles at the heart of the disintegrating Carolingian empire; finally, Magyar (Hungarian) raids at the beginning of the tenth century (about 927).[6] Profiting from the disorder, little local potentates progressively usurped the power that the kings were losing, then that of the counts, acquiring regalian rights and making these hereditary within their own families. Among these usurpers were the viscounts of Narbonne.

A seigneurial capital (late 9th – mid-14th centuries)

In Narbonne at the cusp of the ninth–tenth centuries three viscounts succeeded each other from father to son, under the authority of the Guillelmides (Bernard Plantevelue and William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine): Albéric-Aubry, Maïeul, Albéric-Aubry II (from whom descended the comital family of Mâcon, following his departure from Narbonne, and who was the maternal uncle of the abbot of Cluny, Saint Mayeul). After 918–919, another vicecomital line began, under the sway of the house of Toulouse-Rouergue, in the person of Eudes-Odo, son of a viscount named Francon and spouse of Richildis of Barcelona. This new line continued in direct descendance up to the viscountess Ermengarde, who was succeeded by her nephew, Pierre-Manrique of Lara, count of Molina, the founder of the vicecomital family whose elder branch persisted up to Amalric III (1336–1341) and the younger up to Guillaume II (1397–1424). From the latter the viscounty passed to his uterine brother Pierre de

[6] See J. Caille, "Les 'Vikings' et Narbonne: entre histoire et légende", *Bulletin de la Société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude* CI (2001), 51–3, on Norman raids of the mid-ninth century.

Tinières, *alias* Guillaume III, before being sold to the family of Foix, who in turn ceded it to the king of France, Louis XII, in 1507.

In the second half of the tenth century, the hereditary viscounts seized the *episcopatus* (the bishop's prerogatives) in their town, but from the mid-eleventh century, they came up against the ambition of archbishops Guifred of Cerdagne (1016–1079) and Richard of Millau (1106–1121), cardinal and ex-abbot of Saint-Victor of Marseille, respectively the founder and consolidator of the archiepiscopal lordship of Narbonne with which the viscounts had henceforth to share the *dominium* (political authority) over the town and the *castra* (fortified towns) of the environs, as well as the usurped regalian rights (judicial, financial, economic and other). Henceforth, Narbonne and its hinterland were administered by two rival lords (a layman and an ecclesiastic), each theoretically in the *mouvance* of the counts of Toulouse who in fact called themselves "dukes of Narbonne" from the late eleventh century. It was Raymond of Saint-Gilles who first took the title of "count of Narbonne" and then of "duke of Narbonne", from 1088, even before he had succeeded his brother in the county of Toulouse under the name of Raymond IV.[7] He then transmitted this ducal title to all his successors.

In fact, the lords of Narbonne, viscounts as much as archbishops, profited from the rivalries of *lignages* (family groupings) which tore the Midi apart in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,[8] for each to construct a practically autonomous "principality" by relying on their faithful vassals; of these some resided in Narbonne itself where they held the towers of the town in fief.[9] The archbishops, supporters of the Peace of God movement (late tenth century), then of the Truce of God (eleventh century), managed to make the viscounts acknowledge that they were vassals of the archbishops for a part of the town. The vicecomital power was not damaged thereby; Aymeric I participated in the crusade to the Holy Land where he died in Jerusalem in 1105. Aymeric II was active in the Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula where he perished at the battle of

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[7] See nos. V and VI of this volume: "The Origins and Development of the Temporal Lordship of the Archbishop in the Town and the Territory of Narbonne (9th–12th centuries)", and "La seigneurie temporelle de l'archevêque dans la ville de Narbonne (deuxième moitié du XIIIe siècle)".

[8] See no. IX: "Les seigneurs de Narbonne dans le conflit Toulouse–Barcelone au XIIe siècle", and H. Débax, *La Féodalité languedocienne (Xe–XIIe siècles)* (Toulouse, 2003), 72–98: "La guerre de cent ans méridionale (fin XIe–fin XIIe siècle)".

[9] See no. III: "Les remparts de Narbonne, des origines à la fin du Moyen Age", 23–8.

Fraga in 1134.[10] Perhaps ever more impressive, the viscounty was administered for fifty years by an exceptional woman, the viscountess Ermengarde (1143–1192/4). Politically adept (she profited from the greed of the Toulousains and the Catalans), she was nonetheless an attentive patron and protector of the troubadours, reigning, as legend would have it, over a court of love, as did another lady of the Midi, her contemporary, the famous duchess Eleanor of Aquitaine.[11]

In the thirteenth century, while the renown of Ermengarde was spreading as far as Iceland[12] and Saint Louis was reigning in Paris, the viscount of Narbonne was still a sufficiently important figure for the bourgeois of Montpellier to ally with him against their own lord, James the Conqueror, king of Aragon, against whom they were in a struggle to defend their "liberties and privileges". On 24 November 1254, in fact, a league between the *universitas* (political community) of Montpellier, represented by the consuls and syndics, on the one hand, and, on the other, Amalric I,[13] reflected political influence, both seigneurial and urban, which, in the Midi in the mid-thirteenth century, was closely tied to the rival ambitions of the crowns of France and Aragon. A few years later, in the autumn of 1257, the same Amalric I welcomed to his palace Princess Christina of Norway, who stopped over at Narbonne on her way to Spain where she was to marry the *infante* Felipe, one of the brothers of King Alfonso X of Castille.[14]

For his part the archbishop busied himself in opposing the viscount. He allied himself with the king of Aragon.[15] Thus in 1252, James the Conqueror placed Guillaume de la Broue in possession of the castles and Valencian domains conceded by the sovereign to the prelate's predecessor in Narbonne, Pierre Amiel (who had participated in the capture of Valencia

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[10] The names of these two viscounts recall that of the epic hero, Aymeri of Narbonne, one of the paladins of Charlemagne. See F. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca–London, 2001), 1, 23, and notes 21–22.

[11] See no. X: "Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne (1127/29–1196/97), a Great Female Figure of the Aristocracy of the Midi". See also F. Cheyette, *Ermengard, passim.*

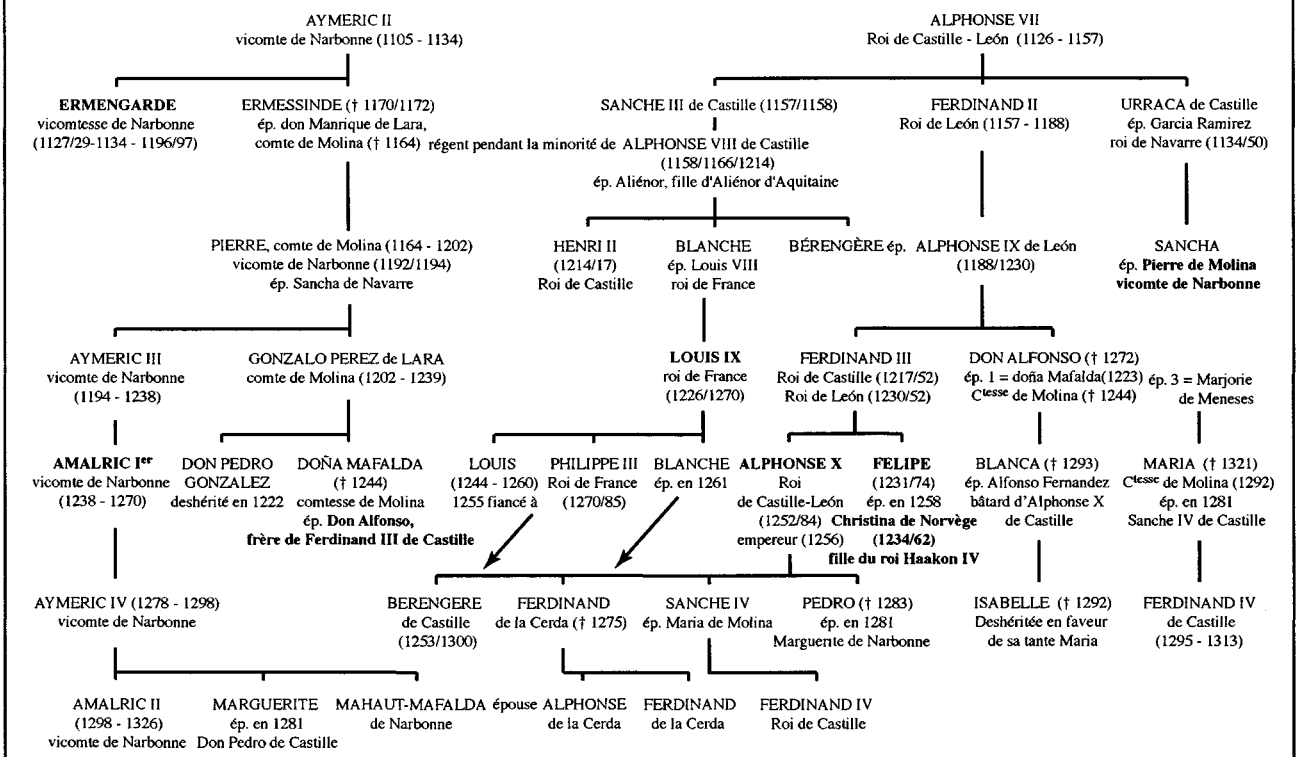
[12] See no. XI of this volume: "Une idylle entre la vicomtesse Ermengarde de Narbonne et le prince Rognvald Kali des Orcades au milieu du XIIe siècle", following an Islandic saga of the end of the twelfth century, reworked and completed in 1234–1235.

[13] J. Caille, "Une ligue entre les Montpelliérains et le vicomte de Narbonne contre le roi d'Aragon, seigneur de Montpellier (milieu XIIIe siècle)", *Montpellier, la couronne d'Aragon et les pays de langue d'oc (1204–1349), Actes du XIIe Congrès d'histoire de la couronne d'Aragon* (Montpellier, 1985), *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier* XV (Montpellier, 1987), 65–73.

[14] Caille, "Les Vikings et Narbonne", 56–7 and 59: "L'étape narbonnaise de Christina de Norvège", daughter of King Haakon IV Haakonsson.

[15] Caille, "Une ligue", 68 and notes 22–23.

VICOMTES DE NARBONNE ET FAMILLE ROYALE DE CASTILLE



in Spain with a troop of warriors, as before him Arnaud-Amalric had fought at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 at the side of Peter II). Thus, it is not surprising that during the course of the thirteenth century there were reborn several disagreements at the heart of the double lordship between the viscount and the metropolitan; the latter continued to develop his temporal power, without neglecting the religious duties of his office, and had been elevated to the honorific dignity of primate in compensation for the loss of Iberian suffragans at the end of the eleventh century. From the mid-twelfth century and through the whole of the following century, the archbishops, among them Guy Foulques (1259–1263), the future pope Clement IV, combated Catharism and Waldensianism. It is true that these had little effect on Narbonne, but the town was soon to be agitated instead (late thirteenth – early fourteenth century) by the condemnation of the Spiritual Franciscans and their disciples, the Beguins and Beguines.[16]

A "bourgeois" and "consular" town

To go back a bit in time, while the feudal and seigneurial organization of Narbonne was in formation, the town experienced great economic expansion in this "springtime of Europe". The agglomeration grew; outside the walls of the city of antiquity, two suburbs appeared on the left bank of the Aude (Coyran-Belvèze upstream, Villeneuve downstream) while a third, called simply the "*Bourg*", developed on the right bank. The population multiplied and diversified. In the course of the twelfth century, the two co-seigneurs made a place in the administration of the town for the active elements of the population, urban knights and members of the elite of wealth and education, the *probi homines*. Although the lords and the "people" (*populus*) of Narbonne had been represented by individuals called *consuls* since 1132 in Genoa and 1148 at Tortosa, it was only in 1205 that eight consuls (four for the "*Cité*" and four for the "*Bourg*") began to participate in Narbonne's municipal government. Thus were born at the beginning of the thirteenth century the "consulate of the *Cité*" and the "consulate of the *Bourg*".[17]

Throughout the thirteenth century, the two consulates[18] developed, both attaining maturity at the end of the century; endowed with police

[16] The Franciscan convent of Narbonne, where the famous Peter John Olivi resided, was at the heart of the struggle. See *Dictionnaire du Moyen Age*, directed by C. Gauvard, A. de Libéra, and M. Zink (Paris, 2002), 1018–19 *ad verbum* "Olivi".

[17] See no. VII: "Le consulat de Narbonne: problème des origines".

[18] J. Caille, *Dictionnaire du Moyen Age*, 337–8, *ad verbum* "consul".

power and rights over justice as well as financial and economic prerogatives, they enjoyed a real authority that was nonetheless restrained by the viscount and the archbishop who retained rights of high justice and the most remunerative privileges, notably the right to mint money.[19] Managers of the economic life of the town, they supervised the trades as well as commercial exchange. The responsibility for public works fell on them: upkeep of the streets; maintenance and construction of the bridges in the town as well as in its territory;[20] and surveillance of the flow of the River Aude by regulating its use by mills and by artisans who employed water in their industrial activities (dyers, fullers, tanners, butchers and the like). Also within their purview were matters of public charity and education, two domains where they occupied a growing role alongside ecclesiastical authorities. With regard to hospitals and charitable institutions, the town experienced a progressive municipalization, along with laicization.[21] Education remained a monopoly of the church, although the *studium generale* of Narbonne, which had received privileges and recognition from Pope Innocent IV in the years 1243–1245, had fallen into decline by the second half of the thirteenth century.[22] It was only in the fourteenth century, it seems, that the consuls took the initiative to create public schools (two are known by the end of the century).

From the last third of the thirteenth century, the consuls found it useful to appeal to royal protection against the archbishop and the viscount. Preferring a master they imagined more distant over these local lords, the consuls made an effort to attach themselves directly to the Capetian ruler, on the basis of the oath of fidelity that they pledged to him as all subjects to their sovereign. In 1338, the union of the two consulates was proclaimed with the approval of the king and in spite of the opposition of the lords.

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[19] The consuls of Narbonne would never attain the autonomy and the power of those of Montpellier. See no. II: "Urban Expansion in the Region of Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: the Examples of Narbonne and Montpellier", especially 67–8.

[20] J. Caille, "Les nouveaux ponts de Narbonne (fin XIIIe – milieu XIVe siècle). Problèmes topographiques et économiques", *Etudes médiévales languedociennes (Hommage à André Dupont)* (Montpellier, 1974), 25–38.

[21] See nos. XII and XIII: "Hospices et assistance à Narbonne (XIIe–XIVe siècles)", and "Hospitals, Charity, and Urban Life in the Middle Ages: The Case of Narbonne 'Revisited'", as well as J. Caille, *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au Moyen Age (fin XIe–fin XVe siècle)* (Toulouse, 1978).

[22] See no. XIV: "Le studium de Narbonne", and on the existence of legal education at Narbonne, A. Gouron, "Canonistes et civilistes des écoles de Narbonne et de Béziers", *La Science du droit dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Age* (London, Variorum Reprints, 1984), no. VI, 523–36.

Henceforth, Narbonne had only one administration for the whole of the town on which royal control weighed heavily, as the king interfered more and more in municipal management. There opened thus a new stage in the history of the town with the progressive disappearance, first of seigneurial power, then of consular power (in spite of a brief resurgence of the latter at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries).

A "*bonne ville*" of the kingdom of France

It was in the person of Louis VII that the Capetians, with little power in the Midi at the moment of their accession to royal power in 987, made contact with Narbonne. On his return trip from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella (1154–1155), Louis is thought to have passed through Narbonne. Thereafter he had a sustained correspondence with the archbishop on the one hand and, on the other, with the viscountess Ermengarde, in favour of whom he took sides in a lawsuit that opposed her to one of her vassals who was supported by the count of Toulouse, brother-in-law of the sovereign.[23]

But it was with the Albigensian Crusade that the monarchy came to play a leading role in the Midi in general and at Narbonne in particular. In the treaty of Paris-Meaux (1229), the title of duke of Narbonne was removed definitively from the count of Toulouse and conferred on the king of France. The count of Toulouse had been compelled as early as 1215 to cede the title to Simon de Montfort, after a brief dispute with the leader of the papal crusade, Arnaud-Amalric, former abbot of Cîteaux, then archbishop of Narbonne. The town was thus integrated into the *sénéchaussée* of Carcassonne-Béziers with royal power represented by a simple bailiff ("*bayle*" or "*bajulus*"), then by a "*viguier*" from 1368 (the end result of a decision taken in 1347). In the interim, Philip the Fair and Amalric II, both possessing rights over the *Cité*, had attempted to conclude in 1309 an act of pariage to manage them together with the aid of a common court. But, in the face of the opposition of both the consuls and the archbishop, the accord was finally broken in 1322. The centralizing mission of the monarchy continued nonetheless.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Capetians, then the Valois, considered Narbonne as one of the "*bonnes villes*" of the kingdom of France, following the example of its rival Montpellier, the highest category

[23] See no. X: "Ermengarde, viscountess", note 75, as well as F. Cheyette, *Ermengard*, 214–19, 268–9, 288.

of urban status.[24] When in 1342 the consuls began efforts to convince the king that Narbonne become the seat of a *viguerie*, separate from that of Béziers, they justified their request by the fact that their town was "the oldest, the most noteworthy, the largest, and the most populated... of the *sénéchaussée* of Carcassonne".[25] This opinion was confirmed, in 1355, by the more impartial testimony of John of Wingfield, counsellor of the prince of Wales, who affirmed that Narbonne was "*poi meyndre de Loundres*" ("a little smaller than London"), the principal city of England which had a population estimated at between 40,000 and 80,000, or maybe even 100,000, inhabitants at its medieval peak.[26]

During the last two centuries of the Middle Ages (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries), the history of Narbonne merged more and more with that of the kingdom of France with which it shared successes and concerns. The town furnished men of arms for the crusade against Aragon (1285), the wars of Gascony (1295 and 1297), and even that of Flanders (early fourteenth century). From 1337 Narbonne participated like the rest of the kingdom in the Hundred Years War, even if the battles themselves did not really have a direct impact on the town, except when the troops of the son of Edward III of England, the prince of Wales (whom history calls the Black Prince), besieged it during the great march, undertaken in 1355, across Languedoc. In the fifteenth century, when civil war broke out, Narbonne rallied definitively to the Armagnacs and the "little king of Bourges", the future Charles VII, after a moment of hesitation in favour of the Burgundians. Narbonnais knights served in the royal armies and shared the suffering (payment of ransoms, even death). The viscounts themselves suffered: Aymeric VI was made prisoner twice (1345, and 1356 at the famous battle of Poitiers); Charles V recompensed him for his services by naming him admiral of France. Guillaume II, present at Azincourt in 1415, died at the battle of Verneuil in 1424.

Close to the kings of France, the viscounts also entertained relationships of a political and familial nature with the Iberian peninsula, papal Avignon,

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[24] See no. II, "Urban Expansion", 68 and note 23. These two appeared in the records of "*bonnes villes*" of 1314, 1317, and 1324. The designation was for the "most notable of the notable towns", according to Th. Dutour, *La ville médiévale* (Paris, 2003), 63.

[25] Note that Montpellier, less old, it is true, than Narbonne, was located in the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire-Nîmes.

[26] J. Caille, "Narbonne au XIVe siècle: une histoire pleine de contrastes", *Le Grand retable de Narbonne, Actes du 1er colloque d'histoire de l'art méridional au Moyen Age* (Narbonne, Palais des archevêques, 1988), *Connaissance de Narbonne*, no. 2 (Narbonne 1990), 15–22, especially 17, notes 20–21. David Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100–1700* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2003), 13, gives London a population of about 80,000.

and Italy. As a good example, Guillaume II went campaigning in Sardinia at the beginning of the fifteenth century to claim the inheritance of the nephew of the fourth spouse of Aymeric VI, Béatrix, the oldest daughter of the "judge" of Arborée.[27] Zealous servants of the realm like the viscounts, the archbishops of the fourteenth century were also closely tied to the pontifical court of Avignon, some of them even related to the popes (Bernard de Fargues, nephew of Clement V, Pierre de la Jugie, nephew of Clement VI, as was Jean I Roger, who was also the brother of Gregory XI). Narbonne emerges thus as a crossroads of influences, particularly in the religious and cultural domains.[28]

In the fifteenth century a decline set in.[29] It is true that members of the high nobility of the realm occupied the episcopal see – Louis d'Harcourt (1436–1452), Renault de Bourbon (1472–1482), and Georges d'Amboise (1492–1494) – but they were often absentee prelates. On the other hand, in 1415 the town was the setting for several weeks (from mid-August to mid-December) of important deliberations that would result in the composition of articles of the "capitulation of Narbonne", signed on 13 December in the new chapter hall of the cathedral chapter in the presence of Archbishop François de Conzié. This act restored "the peace of the sainted union of the Church",[30] in detaching the last partisans of Benedict XIII, and essentially brought to an end the Great Schism of the West. On this occasion Sigismond of Luxembourg, king of the Romans, made two stays in the town (15 August/18 September, then 7 November/ 17 December). Present there at the same time, in addition to the counsellors of the future emperor, were ambassadors of the council of Constance, who accompanied Sigismond, as well as the ambassador of the king of France (the archbishop of Reims), representatives of the kings of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, envoys of the counts of Foix and Armagnac, to mention only the most important. Also passing through were ambassadors of the king of France to the king of Castille or to the king of Aragon. In all, there was a great deal of

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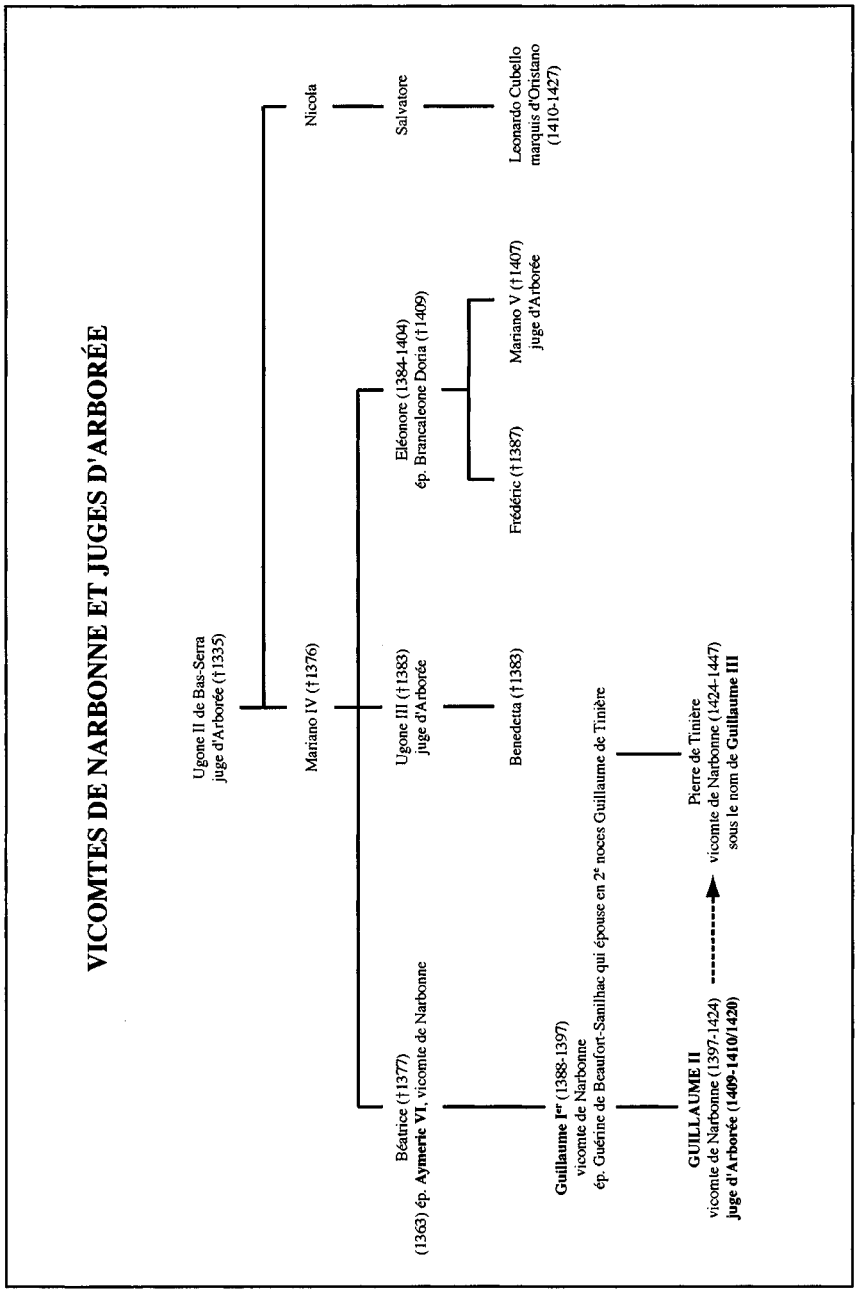
[27] Viscount of Narbonne from 1397 to 1424, he held the title of judge of Arborée (province of Oristano) from 1409 to 1420. He led several expeditions to Sardinia, among them that of 1416–1417. See L. Gallinari, "Guglielmo III (*sic*) di Narbona, ultimo sovrano di Arborea e la guerra dei Cent'Anni", *Medioevo. Saggie e rassegne* 18 (Cagliari, 1993), 91–121.

[28] Caille, "Narbonne au XIVe siècle", 19–21.

[29] See no. XV: "Narbonne au début du XVe siècle…", 81 and note 56.

[30] According to the expression employed in the book of the "*clavaire*" of 1415 (A. M. Narbonne, CC 2424) a "*criée*" was made in the *Cité* and the *Bourg* to announce the good news. See J. Caille, "La conclusion des accords de Narbonne", *Le Midi et le Grand Schisme d'Occident, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 39 (Toulouse, 2004), 487–516.


VICOMTES DE NARBONNE ET JUGES D'ARBORÉE
Ugone II de Bas-Serra
juge d'Arborée († 1335)
Mariano IV († 1376)
Nicola
Salvatore
Leonardo Cubello
marquis d'Oristano
(1410-1427)
Béatrice († 1377)
(1363) ép. Aymerie VI, vicomte de Narbonne
Ugone III († 1383)
juge d'Arborée
Eléonore (1384-1404)
ép. Brancaleone Doria († 1409)
Benedetta († 1383)
Frédéric († 1387)
Mariano V († 1407)
juge d'Arborée
Guillaume Ier (1388-1397)
vicomte de Narbonne
ép. Guérine de Beaufort-Sanilhac qui épouse en 2e noces Guillaume de Tinière
GUILLAUME II
vicomte de Narbonne (1397-1424)
juge d'Arborée (1409-1410/1420)
Pierre de Tinière
vicomte de Narbonne (1424-1447)
sous le nom de Guillaume III