

<b>SLIDES</b>	<b>SAH 2011</b>
<b>Title sheet</b>	<b>Medieval Urban Form as Bourgeois Theater in Cordes</b>
<p><i>Cordes in fog</i></p> <p><i>Map of France</i></p> <p><i>Click to show extent of L</i></p>	<p><b>Introduction</b></p> <p>The thirteenth-century <i>castrum</i> of Cordes in southern France provides a striking example of the power of the growing bourgeoisie to define urban space through civil architecture and sculpture, a power enabled by the town's founder and patron, Count Raymond VII of Toulouse. In many ways Cordes immortalized the lifelong struggle of the count to preserve the commercial, secular, and artistic culture that was flourishing in Languedoc—as this area was called before it was annexed to France—before the interruption of the Albigensian Crusade, the religious war against heresy called by Pope Innocent III in 1209.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Raymond was the last Count of Toulouse in his bloodline. Born in 1197, his mother was Queen Joan of Sicily, the daughter of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and his father was Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. As a youth, he witnessed his first bloody battle in 1213 at Muret, where Simon de Montfort won a decisive victory for the Crusaders.<sup>2</sup> Just two years later the “good-looking” young count returned the favor to de Montfort with a resounding victory over the papal forces at Beaucaire, and henceforth became a hero of the southern cause.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Although this Intra-European Crusade officially ended in 1218, the French and the Pope continued to exert pressure on the south, and in 1229 Raymond VII capitulated and signed the Treaty of Paris, which ultimately provided for the annexation of the south to the French crown. The treaty was in large part an instrument of religious intolerance aimed at encouraging the activity of spies, and guaranteed grief for the count and the people he ruled. Although Raymond had given up his territory on paper, he continued to rebel against this Treaty until his death in 1249, resisting the terms that required him to exterminate heretics from his lands and remove Jewish people from his administration.<sup>4</sup></p>
<i>HGL map</i>	<p>The foundation of Cordes in 1222 was one of the earliest and most important acts of the count. To ensure that Cordes would prosper, he chose a site that was both situated advantageously for commerce and one that could be easily defended; a limestone butte in the valley of the Cérou River, which is located about 60 miles north of Toulouse. The count issued a charter that established the <i>castrum</i> and that offered</p>

<p><i>(Montauban in blue)</i></p>	<p>new residents unusually liberal terms. Half of the twelve charter articles were commercial in nature, similarly to the charter that his ancestor, Alphonse-Jourdain, had drawn up for the new town of Montauban in 1144.<sup>5</sup> This emphasis on commerce and on a monetary relationship between the count and town citizens established a precedent that would become the norm for the numerous bastide towns founded in this area after 1250.</p>
<p><i>View of Roux</i></p> <p><i>Diagram of paths</i></p> <p><i>View of western gates showing scallops, etc.</i></p> <p><i>Plan of Cordes and Carcassonne</i></p>	<p>To protect Cordes, Raymond VII had a sophisticated system of fortifications built which served to express his resistance to the French monarchy and his connections to his Plantagenet relatives. He did this through the use of details that his uncle Richard Lionheart of England had recently employed at his castles, such as earthworks, the use of flanking, rounded towers with talus slopes, beaked towers, scalloped walls with machicolations, and complex arrow-slits.<sup>6</sup> Despite the aggressive nature of these military devices, the axial alignment of the main gates in the upper enceinte, which enabled the core to be easily negotiated, and the absence of a castle marked Cordes as a town foundation, not a castle site.<sup>7</sup> A relatively straight street about 340 meters long and 5 meters wide connected the east and west gates, and became the main street along which the large homes of the bourgeois were built.</p>
<p><i>Aerial of town</i></p> <p><i>Map of consular control</i></p>	<p>The hundred years following the foundation of Cordes proved the value of Raymond's early gestures. The security provided by the site and fortifications attracted people of various religious beliefs and social strata, including the wealthy families that counted Cathars amongst their members. "Cathar" is the term that has most commonly been used for the heretics of the south, although the name was rarely, if ever, used by the heretics themselves.<sup>8</sup> A diverse population was thus able to live in Cordes as they had lived in Toulouse and many other towns throughout the south before the Albigensian Crusade. During these years, Cordes prospered and grew to control a surrounding area of about 100 square miles. By 1357, the town held two weekly markets and three annual fairs.<sup>9</sup> It had grown into an urban center that could be defined as a city by many standards.<sup>10</sup> It offered diversified services, operated as a center of exchange, was governed by an elected body of officials, had a guild of merchants, and collected taxes from subordinate towns.<sup>11</sup></p> <p>What Cordes did <i>not</i> have was an important religious institution such as a monastery or a cathedral complex, and in fact its largest church was allowed to fall</p>

	<p>into disrepair. Unlike other nearby towns, there was no abbot or bishop here to set the tone for the architectural or sculptural motifs used on the civil buildings. Indeed there was a well-established attitude of anti-clericalism in Cordes, and it was not until 1321 that the town was exonerated from papal interdict.<sup>12</sup></p>
<p><i>Plan of town</i></p> <p><i>Street elevation</i></p> <p><i>Views from either entry</i></p>	<p>By 1321, the spatial arrangements of the area within the upper enceinte were well established. The buildings of Cordes followed a formula common to many urban sites in Languedoc: they were mixed-use buildings with commercial or industrial activities on the ground floor and residential functions above. They developed as a “facade” architecture in that they often shared a party wall with a neighbor, they had large continuous arcades all along the street level, and large decorated windows above that advertised their <i>magna aulæ</i>, or “great rooms” that often served public functions.<sup>13</sup> In Cordes, they were built of local limestone, which lends them a monumental aspect missing in the buildings further south that are made with small scale bricks.</p> <p>The thirteenth-century owners of these buildings remain undocumented save for one important example which will be discussed shortly. The list of the names of consuls suggests that these large houses were built by the same sorts of wealthy bourgeois who had inhabited the center of Toulouse from the mid-twelfth century: a mix of military elite, old aristocracy, merchants, and lawyers and notaries—a rapidly growing sector at this time.</p> <p>These buildings are monumental and theatrical. The sense of theater is enhanced by the compelling alignment of the gates and the main street, the orientation of the buildings—most of their ridgelines ran parallel with the street—and the repetitive rhythm of their facades. Their unusual height, some reaching four stories, their large openings, the projecting iron rings that were used to display fabric, and their sculptural embellishments are all elements that contribute to the sense of drama and display.</p>
<p><i>Examples from St. A. and Figeac</i></p>	<p>By this time facade sculpture had been seen on other imposing homes in Languedoc, most frequently in towns north of Cordes where limestone was abundant, but these sculptures were usually isolated human or hybrid heads with neutral facial expressions, and they were subordinate to the other architectural decoration. A couple of exceptions occur in the towns of Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val and Caylus.</p>

<i>View of V Palace</i>	<p>The twelfth century Viscount's Palace in Saint-Antonin has two monumental sculptures carved into piers on the facade facing the market. This building has been documented by several historians, Viollet-le-Duc among them.<sup>14 15</sup> The southern pillar contains a statue of Justinian holding open a book inscribed with the first fifteen words of his Law Code, and the northern pillar contains statues of Adam and Eve standing on either side of the Tree of Knowledge.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the sculpted capitals of the small colonnettes of this opening are moralizing about vice.<sup>17</sup> The subject matter of these sculptures and the excessive legal language of an 1155 charter are clues to the everyday concerns of this busy pilgrimage town. In Caylus, a town also controlled by the Count of Toulouse, is found another isolated example, the Maison des Loups, with projecting sculptures similar to those in Cordes on the Maison du Grand Ecuyer. Although these sculptures have been dismissed as insignificant, in part because of their deteriorated state, I aim to study them in more detail.</p>
<i>Piers</i>	
<i>Caylus</i>	
<i>View of Veneur</i>	<p>None of these examples however compare with the sculptures and the architecture found at Cordes. I argue that the sculptures here are distinguished both by their number and their linked themes. Although they present subjects that had often appeared elsewhere in Languedoc—mostly in religious settings—here they took on new meaning by virtue of their facial expressions and gestures, their positions on the facades, their relationships to the urban spaces, and their connection to the history of Cordes as it related to the persecution of Cathars.</p>
<i>Detail view of V</i>	
<i>Map of Cordes</i>	<p>The buildings with significant numbers of sculptures are all located on the south side of the main street, opposite the open spaces to the north.<sup>18</sup> Their sculptures are found in many locations on the facades and they are enormously varied in their content.<sup>19</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux's famous quote about the "beautiful deformities" that he saw in monastery cloisters could be a literal catalog of the creatures found at Cordes.<sup>20</sup></p>
<i>Dogs</i>	<p>Of these figures, dogs are the most frequently represented animal, occurring in at least thirty-six locations.<sup>21</sup> One possible reason for their presence is that dogs made Cordes wealthy. Dog skin from Cordes—the <i>can de Cordoa</i>—was sold for leather.<sup>22</sup> Dogs were also associated with the Dominicans, and the people of Cordes had an antagonistic relationship with the nearby Dominicans from Albi.<sup>23</sup> The second most frequently seen figures are birds of prey, placed high on the facades or at the tops of</p>
<i>Birds of prey</i>	



<i>Larger view of windows</i>	lower, commercial, everyday zone—they cap each window arch and sit at the imposts—and the only humans to be found are located near the small “human-scale” entry at the left of the façade.
<p data-bbox="186 426 418 556"><i>Map of Cordes</i></p> <p data-bbox="186 489 386 556"><i>Larger map and street view</i></p> <p data-bbox="186 688 414 724"><i>Persecuted figures</i></p> <p data-bbox="186 1024 389 1060"><i>Diagram of hunt</i></p> <p data-bbox="186 1360 354 1396"><i>Boar and dog</i></p> <p data-bbox="186 1591 300 1627"><i>Diagram</i></p>	<p data-bbox="441 426 535 457"><b>Veneur</b></p> <p data-bbox="441 472 1453 1003">Continuing westward, the next open space is framed by the church of Saint-Michel to the north and the Maison du Grand Veneur to the south, the house owned by the Rabastens, a family known to harbor heretics. The sculptures here can be grouped in three zones. On the highest level they project further than elsewhere to compensate for their distance from the street, and here we see direct references to the persecution of heretics: a screaming woman twists her body out of a ring of flames, and two figures at either end of the string course who are protecting children also express distress. These figures all thrust forth with an unmistakable urgency, and would have been vivid commemorations of people burned at stake by the Crusaders, or of families fleeing their homes to avoid torture.<sup>31</sup> The vigor of the carving and their postures also lend them a sense of proud defiance.</p> <p data-bbox="441 1024 1453 1556">The middle zone contains a “hunt scene” that runs across the second story wall, with a stag, a man on horseback, dogs, and wild animals. Yet there are details that suggest deeper meanings. The boar and the hare that frame the hunt were often associated with greed and lust, and they are pursued by panting and growling dogs. Thirteenth-and-fourteenth-century troubadours often criticized the Dominicans for their worldly excess and for their greed in seizing the property of heretics.<sup>32</sup> Here, the dogs, often a symbol for the Dominicans, or <i>domini-canines</i>, are pursuing greed and lust, just as the Dominicans of nearby Albi exacted unusually high taxes and grew rich on the property of heretics. In the lowest zone, we find dogs again, but their expressions are benign and bemused, and they accompany other characters that would be comfortable in a medieval parade such as bears, and hybrid characters.</p> <p data-bbox="441 1577 1453 1864">Using a vertical axis as well as a horizontal one to organize the entire facade, we can read it as a story of the triumph of spirituality as practiced by both Catholics and Cathars, despite the evil doings of the clergy. The symbols of spirituality—the calm hunter, the stag, the birds of prey, and a Janus-head—are found both along a central vertical axis, and along the horizontal axis of the middle zone, where they dominate by virtue of their placement and size.</p>

<i>Map of Cordes</i>	<b><i>Ecuyer</i></b>
<i>Drawing of elevation</i>	<p>The last building to be described occurs near the western gate. The Maison du Grand Ecuyer does not presently front on an open space, but there are clues that it did in the fourteenth century. The sculptural and architectural work here is more refined than at any other location, suggesting that the owner cared a great deal about the content, placement, and execution of the work, but the openings are relatively small and placed high on the facade so that they do not communicate the desire to take part in the public nature of the street as do the elaborate and large openings in the facades of the other houses. There is an abundance of sculpture here that addresses itself to the person <i>inside</i> the building.</p>
<i>Four sculptures: lion, cow, fighter, and horse</i>	<p>On the other hand, the four sculptures projecting from the uppermost level of the facade are the largest found in Cordes, and their size and postures suggest that they were meant to be seen from below. This makes sense, for as a group they constitute the most public statement of all the sculptures on this building: that man is capable of beastly acts in times of war, and that animals can serve as models of dignity and of the value of service to others.<sup>33</sup></p>
<i>Diagram of circle</i>	<p>If this is their message, it coincides with a reading of this facade in a circular organization, and as a reflection of the themes present in popular creation myths, such as the <i>Cosmographia</i> of Bernard Silvestris.<sup>34</sup> Silva, the mother of the material world, a “bellicose compound...turbid.[and]..ugly...” sits at the center, surrounded by Chaos.<sup>35</sup> Natura plays the viol and tries to calm her, and Noys, closest to the humanity of the street, acts as our interpreter.</p>
<i>View of Silva, Natura, and Noys</i>	<p>The sculptures on this building are large, and positioned so that they could have been clearly read from an open space in front of the building, so that the intention may have been to advertise the owner’s knowledge of contemporary literature. Yet the absence of large tracery windows suggest this inhabitant wanted a different relationship with the public life of the street that the owners of the Maison du Grand Fauconnier, for example. These windows are not demonstrative or pretentious. They do not invite the public to view the life within. The numerous sculptures hidden within the recesses of the window jambs reinforce the idea that the owner wanted a daily communication with expressions of tension that only he or she could see. Yet the public display remains, and offers a testament to a concern about a</p>
<i>Jamb sculptures</i>	
<i>Jamb sculptures</i>	

	<p>world that had recently been disrupted by war, war being the most perfect representation of the eternal earthly struggle between order and chaos described in the <i>Cosmographia</i>.</p>
<p><i>Composite of sculptures</i></p>	<p><b>Conclusion</b></p> <p>Cordes is important because it was a town that developed independently of the influence of a religious power, and in this it represents the historical legacy of Languedoc. Before the Albigensian Crusade and the imposition of northern laws and religious practice on the south, this area was predominantly secular. The geography had enabled powerful trade routes from the second millennium BCE that secured a strong commercial sector, Roman law had encouraged widespread land ownership, and the missionary bishops of Late Antiquity were few and far between here. The sculptures of Cordes reflect this secular emphasis, taking their meaning from their specific urban and historical context. The security of the site enabled the bourgeois citizens to express themselves freely through the sculptures they had placed on their facades, just as the troubadours had been free to voice their opinions in public in the twelfth century. And just as the troubadours relied on their public for response and exchange, these sculptures relied on an intersection with the public, urban context of Cordes for their meaning.</p>

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The subject of the Albigensian Crusade and the medieval heresy associated with Languedoc, most often called “Catharism,” has engendered long and complex discussions. For a brief description of the heresy I use that from Janet Shirley, *The Song of the Cathar Wars, A History of the Albigensian Crusade by William of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), 1. Shirley writes the following: “Cathars believed in the existence not of one supreme God but of two gods who were equally powerful, one good and one evil; that [sic] they regarded everything physical as belonging to the evil god, and therefore to be abstained from wherever possible—no wealth, no sexual intercourse, no eating of meat and as little as possible of any other food. They also held that the ‘Roman Church had been founded by the evil god to frustrate the work of Christ (Bernard Hamilton, *The Albigensian Crusade*), and that Christ did not really die on the cross and therefore did not need to rise from the dead.’ ” The internal quote is from Bernard Hamilton, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London: The Historical Association, 1974). Those who followed the tenets of this religion to the letter were called “perfects,” and those who practiced as best they could living in a married state or in some modified version were called “believers.” The origin and use of the term “Cathar” has been recently examined by Mark Gregory Pegg, who writes that the term was rarely, if ever, used in the south by medieval contemporaries. See Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels, The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 17; Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford University Press, 2008). I will, however, use the term “Cathar” to describe the heretics because I find it less pejorative than “heretic,” and because it is commonly used by contemporary scholars, for example (among others); Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Laurence W. Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

For a brief description of the Albigensian Crusade I turn to William Jordan’s *Europe in the High Middle Ages*: “When, in 1208, one of the pope’s legates [Pope Innocent III] whom Raymond VI detested was assassinated, Innocent’s relative moderation came to an end. Blaming Raymond VI for engineering the murder, a deed the count always denied, the pope excommunicated him, in effect deposing him, and encouraged loyal orthodox Christians to join in a military campaign against him. The material promise was the distribution of his lands to the victors, and the spiritual promise was the bestowal on the soldiers of the same privileges that were granted to militant pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Albigensian Crusade, so-called from the town of Albi, not far from Toulouse, where the Cathars and their supporters were believed to be particularly strong, would be a holy war against Christians, no accident like the one against the Greeks in 1204 to be justified as God’s will after the fact, but authorized deliberately against Christian heretics.” William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (Viking, 2001), 204. There are many texts treating this subject in detail. A good basic summary in English is Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London ; Boston: Faber, 1978). More detailed works in English include: Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy : Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2002); Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974). For detailed descriptions in French, see any of the works by Michel Roquebert, such as Michel Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare. III, Le lys et la croix, 1216-1229* (Paris: Perrin, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Because of his youth Raymond had to watch from a nearby hill on an unarmoured horse, but the witnessing of this disastrous scene may have contributed to the young count’s resolve to excel in battle and to avoid the strategic mistakes that caused defeat at Muret. For a contemporary description of the event, see Jean Thursday, April 21, 2011 3:52 PM Barrett SAH 2011

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Duvernoy, ed. *Guillaume de Puylaurens Chronique: Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii* (Paris: CNRS, 1976), 82-84; W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens : The Albigensian Crusade and Its Aftermath* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), 48.

<sup>3</sup> Northern knights at Carcassonne in 1209 described him as as being “good-looking and very well brought up” (*Li enfans fo mot bels e fo mot gent apris*). Eugène Martin-Chabot, ed. *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931-1961), Vol I, 96, Laisse 38.

<sup>4</sup> For an English translation of the Treaty, see Sibly and Sibly, *Chronicle*, Appendix C, 138-144., For a brief summary in English, see Wakefield, *Heresy*, 127-129., The original Latin text is reproduced in Claude De Vic and J. Vaissète, eds., *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives par dom Cl. Devic & dom J. Vaissète* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1872), Vol. 8, cols. 883-893., Roquebert has provided Latin texts of both the preliminary draft from Meaux and the final treaty for comparison, as well as translations in French. Roquebert, *Le lys*, 387-400. Assessments on the nature of the Treaty vary. Sumption saw it as having “...harshness more apparent than real,” in part because in his opinion much of the land that Raymond lost had been controlled by the Trencavels anyway. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 224. I tend to agree with most French historians, who see it as less of a treaty than a capitulation, and a signal that the county of Toulouse would probably not survive the count. Bonnassie and Pradalié note that whereas the requirements to go on Crusade and to pay war reparations were normal, the terms related to the expulsion of heretics were not. Pierre Bonnassie and G. Pradalié, *La capitulation de Raymond VII et la fondation de l'Université de Toulouse 1229-1979: Un anniversaire en question*. (Toulouse: Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1979), 12.

<sup>5</sup> Montauban seems to have served as a model in the count's mind formally as well. This idea is supported by the foundation of Lisle-sur-Tarn just a few years later by the count. Lisle has a marketplace almost the exact same dimension as that at Montauban, and the church is found in almost the same orientation. The town of Lisle never approached the size of Montauban, although it did become a successful wine-exporting town along the Tarn. For work on Lisle-sur-Tarn, see Maurice Berthe, "Quelle à été la première des bastides?," *Les Cahiers du C.E.B.*, no. 7 (2004); Alain Lauret, Raymond Malebranche, and Gilles Séraphin, *Bastides, Villes Nouvelles du Moyen Age* (Editions Milan, 1988), 268-269 et alia; Gérard Veyries, *Histoire d'une Bastide: Lisle-sur-Tarn* (Mairie de Lisle-sur-Tarn, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> The barbican, flanking towers, switchback entries, scalloped machicolations, arrow loops, and deep well altogether comprised an intimidating array of defensive design elements that insured Cordes' immunity from attack. The effectiveness of this system was recognized in the 1229 Treaty of Paris. Items 26, 27, and 30 of the Treaty are related to castles and towns, and Cordes is singled out in Item 30. Cordes emerges from this paragraph as an important place, separated from the other *castra* twice, first in mentioning the keeps that the king will hold, and second in mentioning those to be returned to Raymond VII after ten years. Of the places mentioned Cordes was the only one that had been recently established and issued a charter by the count. Its strategic site and the design of its fortifications also distinguished it, and the king's counselors recognized its value. De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 891.

<sup>7</sup> The count's ancestors had recognized—or had been forced to acknowledge—the growing demand for independent municipal government, and they were among the first lords of Western Europe to work with municipal administrative bodies and to find ways to turn this relationship to their advantage as well as to establish new towns for commercial purposes. As a result of this legacy, the charter of Cordes was one of the most liberal of the region, promising tax exemptions on property and establishing a purely monetary relationship between the count and the population.

<sup>8</sup> See Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels, The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*, 17.

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<sup>9</sup> Elie Rossignol, *Cantons de Cordes, Vaour et Castelnau-de-Montmirail*, 2003 ed., Monographies Communales ou Etude Statistique, Historique et Monumentale du Département du Tarn (Paris: Le livre d'histoire 1865), 47.

<sup>10</sup> The discussion of what constitutes a “city” or a “town” is a veritable Pandora’s Box of debate. David Nicholas, who has written recently on medieval urbanism, associates city life with commercial capitalism, and writes that “The city developed at the intersection of the supply of and demand for goods, labour, and/or services.” David Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100-1700* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 2, 189. Also see Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped : Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 37-39; Keith D. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages 1000-1450* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 592-593.

<sup>11</sup> Consuls are first mentioned in 1243, when it is noted that they had existed fifteen years before (*in cuijus rei testimonium ad petitionem predictorum, qui omnes a quindecim annis et supra iuraverunt*). According to the charter of 1283, at the end of the consuls’ term, which lasted one year (although often longer), twelve men were chosen by the existing consuls to replace them, four of which were to be nobles. Responsibilities included the hearing of court cases and collecting fines among other things. Portal’s book has four chapters, a total of 139 pages, devoted to descriptions of the consuls and their work, although this includes five centuries of their history—to 1799. Charles Portal, *Histoire de la ville de Cordes en Albigeois (1222-1799)*, Third ed. (Toulouse: Société des Amis du Vieux Cordes, Privat, 1984 reprint, 1902), 249 and following; Elie A. Rossignol, *Cantons de Cordes, Vaour et Castelnau-de-Montmirail*, Monographies Communales ou Etude Statistique, Historique et Monumentale du Département du Tarn (Paris: Le livre d'histoire 2003 (1865)), 56-62.

<sup>12</sup> Throughout the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries the people of Cordes continued to have an adversarial relationship with the Dominicans of nearby Albi, and the town was excommunicated by the bishop of Albi until 1321, when a formal reconciliation ceremony took place. At that time, the consuls of Cordes promised they would build a new chapel dedicated to Saint Louis (King Louis IX) according to the inquisitors’ specifications.

<sup>13</sup> Mixed-used buildings are called *maisons polyvalentes* by French authors. Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp, “Les maisons urbaines du Xe au milieu du XIIIe siècle: état de la question,” in *La Maison au Moyen Age dans le Midi de la France* (Toulouse: Imprimerie Moderne, 2001), 94. Garrigou Grandchamp has compared civil buildings in Languedoc to those elsewhere and concludes that this type is much more consistent in the south. Some of these elements were also present in urban buildings in northern Italy and Germany, but the presence of workshops on the street level was more ubiquitous in Languedoc than it was in other places. For this discussion, see Pierre Garrigou Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales, coeur de la cité* (Paris: Rempart, 1999), 35, 59. There are also references to Italian civil buildings in Aymar Verdier and François Cattois, *Architecture civile et domestique au moyen âge et à la renaissance: dessinée et décrite*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie archéologique de V. Didron, 1855-1857), Vol. I, 57; Vol. II, 141, 208. The largest buildings (some are over 14 meters, or about 49 feet, to their gutter line) are found on the main street, and their volumes were massive rectangular or polygonal forms that often contained courtyards and several floors. They were oriented so that their ridgelines ran parallel with the street, an arrangement that was also frequently found in Italy but rarely in the north of France at this time. Garrigou Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, 64. They had public space at the ground level: workshops and/or stores, which were accessed from the street by large arched openings, sometimes called arcades. I will commonly use the term “arcades” for these openings, following the example of their description found in Michèle Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse et le Languedoc: la sculpture gothique XIII - XIV siècles* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1998). The Thursday, April 21, 2011 3:52 PM Barrett SAH 2011

details and arrangements of these arcades will be discussed in Chapter 5. Private rooms were located in the rear of the upper stories, and access to these areas was often by wooden stairs in a courtyard. Above the workshops on the ground floor on the main street side were meeting and living spaces of a public nature.

<sup>14</sup> Viollet le Duc has no less than twelve references to this building in his *Dictionnaire*. See the Index in Volume X. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris: A. Morel, 1875). Other historians are listed in Marcel Durliat, *Haut-Languedoc Roman* (Zodiaque, 1978), 320-321; Léon Pressouyre, "Lecture d'une inscription du XIIe siècle à Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val," in *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1986); Linda Seidel, "Romanesque Capitals from the Vicinity of Narbonne," *Gesta* 11, no. 1 (1972).

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Scellès, "Une maison du XIIe siècle à Saint-Antonin," in *Caylus & Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1993), 212.

<sup>16</sup> *Imperatorium maiestatem non solum armis decoratam sed etiam legibus oportet esse decoratam ut utrumque tempus...* "Imperial majesty must be embellished not only with arms but with laws" (and following this: in times of war and peace). Scellès, "Une maison," 210.

<sup>17</sup> In addition, a final decorative touch was given to the facades of both the tower and the main wing with the inclusion of fourteen ceramic medallions recessed into the stone. These medallions contain abstract foliate and geometric motifs, and inscriptions in Kufic script: the one still in existence contains the Arab word for "happiness." These medallions were commonly made in southern Spain in the first half of the twelfth century.

<sup>18</sup> The south side was the most desirable place to live because the south facades of houses on this side had an unobstructed view of great distances, and the buildings benefitted from receiving much more light and warmth in winter and air in summer—when cross-ventilation was desirable—than those on the north side of the Rue Droite. They also would have been more private than buildings on the north side of the street, which faced another busy street (the Rue Saint-Michel), and thus considerable commercial traffic. Yet the facades of the south side of the main street speak to the importance of a public presence for their owners. Almost 50% of the length of the street is filled with large houses from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although almost all of them have been remodeled or restored to some degree, they still form an ensemble of remarkable extent. For the history of their remodeling, see "Cordes à la carte, quatre siècles de cartes et de plans: Exposition du 14 octobre au 3 décembre 2006," ed. Cordes-sur-ciel (Puygouzon, France: L'imprimerie Top Offset, 2006); "Dessins d'Architectes XIXe-XXe siècles: monuments historiques de Cordes: Exposition du 6 Octobre au 29 Novembre 2001," ed. Cordes-sur-ciel (Puygouzon: L'imprimerie Top-Offset, 2001); Jean-Gabriel Jonin, *La Cité Philosophale: Cordes-sur-Ciel ou l'Echine du Dragon* (Cordes-sur-Ciel: Les Editions de Mordagne, 1991); Christelle Lazarro, "Cordes au Moyen Age: Recherches sur les Maisons Médiévales du XIIIe et XIVe siècles" (Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1998); Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse*, 190-205.

<sup>19</sup> Their unusual abundance has been noted by several of the writers mentioned here. Garrigou Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, 73; Anne-Laure Napoléone, "Figeac au Moyen Age: les maisons du XIIe au XIVe siècle, Thèse Nouveau Régime" (Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1993), 297; Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse*, 190. Michèle Pradalier-Schlumberger, the art historian who has written most extensively about Cordes, attributed the uniqueness of the architecture of Cordes in part to its sculpture. In distinguishing the houses of Cordes from similar buildings of the region, she wrote: *...l'originalité de la façade cordaise réside dans l'existence de deux aula superposées, le regroupement des fenêtres et leur repartition sur ces deux niveaux, l'importance du décor sculpté, unique dans l'architecture domestique languedocienne.* (The originality of the facades of Cordes lies in the presence of the reception rooms of the upper floors, the position and distribution of the window openings on these two upper floor facades, and the importance of the

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sculptural decoration, unique in the domestic architecture of Languedoc). Further on, in discussing the facade of the Maison du Grand Ecuyer, she wrote: *La fantaisie décorative des sujets s'allie à une facture exceptionnelle, qui permet de comparer cet ensemble aux séries de culots à chimères ou à personnages qui ont été sculptés en grandes séries dans tout le Midi languedocien et avignonnais pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle, et plus particulièrement dans les années 1330-1350.* (The decorative fantasy of the subjects is related to an exceptional style which can be compared to series of corbels with chimeras or of people that were sculpted in great number throughout the south and around Avignon during the first half of the fourteenth century, especially from 1330-1350). Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse*, 192, 197. In describing the sculptures at Figeac, Napoléone noted that sculpture is rarely found on civil buildings outside of the colonnette capitals, and that when it occurs it takes on an archaic form and is usually of mediocre quality. Napoléone, "Figeac au Moyen Age", 297-298. Other examples of sculptures on civil buildings in this period include the *Maison du Miroir* in Dijon, which belonged to the Cistercian abbey, and boasts three life-sized religious figures symmetrically disposed on the first floor, the *Maison des Musiciens* in Reims that also had life-sized musicians on its façade, and another example from Reims, a small tympanum that was placed over a doorway showing a man fighting a bear. Garrigou Grandchamp, *Demeures médiévales*, Maison du Miroir, 38; houses in Reims, 73 and 75. Nearby there is the twelfth-century example at Saint-Antonin of the Viscounts' Palace, and in Caylus (just north of Saint-Antonin), there is the fourteenth-century Maison des Loups, which will be discussed in connection with the Maison du Grand Ecuyer at Cordes.

The execution of the sculptures at Cordes is variable, which is not surprising given the quantity. What is surprising is that in some cases the quality of work of the sculpture is at odds with that of the façade. This is primarily the case at the Maison du Grand Veneur, where the window openings are elaborate and carefully detailed, but the wall work and sculptures are rough. Since in most cases the sculptures are carved integrally with the masonry, it appears that at this site one workshop built the wall and carved the sculpture and another executed the windows. At the other buildings the sculptures are carved in ways more similar to the work of the rest of the façade.

<sup>20</sup> Conrad Rudolph, "Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia as a Description of Cluny, and the Controversy over Monastic Art," *Gesta* 27, no. 1/2 (1988): 127, 131.

<sup>21</sup> There are six on the Maison du Grand Veneur, ten on the Maison du Grand Fauconnier, and more than twenty on the Maison du Grand Ecuyer. Jonin, *Cité Philosophale*, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Portal, *Cordes*, 495. The leather industry was sufficiently prosperous in the mid-fourteenth century that it drove the decision to rebuild the market *Halle*.

<sup>23</sup> Dog images were used to parody the Dominicans, the "domini canes of Christ." For examples, see Lilian M. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), Plates 163, 165, and 166.

<sup>24</sup> The eagle was admired for keen eyesight and the supposed ability to look straight into the sun. This was a model for Christians, who ought to look straight at the light of God. The phoenix was compared to the Resurrection of Christ, as it rose from its own ashes. Michael J. Curley, ed. *Physiologus* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 12-14; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 72-81; T.H. White, *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1954), 105-108, 125-128.

<sup>25</sup> For discussion on hats specifically referring to Jews, see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 105-106.

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<sup>26</sup> The *Bride* is about 16,896 square feet. The term first appears in documents from the fourteenth century, used to refer to the highest open ground in Cordes. With respect to the market place, although 1273 is the earliest date that texts refer to a market in the location where it is found today, the act from this date concerns a tax that was raised to pay for the construction of the *halle*, and mention was made of a market being in this location for twenty years, hence from 1253. Portal, *Cordes*, 518-524. Rossignol, *Cantons de Cordes*, 49. Notice of a communal house is in 1336, when the consuls bought half of this building from King Philip VI. A description of the contents and arrangement of this building included the following. There were two rooms, probably on the ground floor, a storage area for weights and artillery, a basement on the north side accessed by a stair tower, and a garden below. One of the two doors opened onto the *Bride* which was accessed by steps and an iron ramp, suggesting a change of level. The main slaughterhouse was nearby, just below the enceinte in what is now the Rue St. Grégoire. For a long time Cordes was authorized to have the only meat market in its jurisdiction. Portal, *Cordes*, 488, 522-524.

<sup>27</sup> The Maisons Carrié-Boyer and Prunet derive their names from post-medieval owners, and that of the Maison du Grand Fauconnier is from an anonymous source in the nineteenth century, deriving from the sculptures of raptors that were found at the eave line. The Grand Fauconnier is one of the widest buildings in Cordes, and would be amongst the tallest if it had the third floor that some believe it to have had. Michèle Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Cordes-sur-Ciel* (Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2005), 23. This building was the first to be “restored” at the initiative of the town council in 1878. The architect Paul Gout believed that the ground floor arcades had been an open framework (as Merimee), as in the *couverts* of the many bastides of the region, despite the determinations of Viollet-leDuc that they were not. His proposal incorporating this design was not adopted, and the restoration was done. Lazarro, "Cordes", 111-115.

<sup>28</sup> Pradalier-Schlumberger has used stylistic analysis to date the buildings of Cordes, although she also notes the difficulty of giving them exact dates. She has not noted stylistic connections amongst these three buildings. She sees the Maison Carrié-Boyer as one of the earliest buildings, c. 1280, the Maison Prunet c. 1300, and the Maison du Grand Fauconnier c. 1330. Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse*, 190-200; Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Cordes-sur-Ciel*.

<sup>29</sup> They are all original except two which are known to be replacements (at 19 and 20 on the diagram). One is missing (31) and one is so fragmentary (36) that its nature is impossible to determine.

<sup>30</sup> The birds that sat at the heads of the arches have been removed, and there are three at the *Musée Charles Portal*.

<sup>31</sup> There are images with some similarity to the solitary female figure as corbel sculptures of the north wall at the cathedral of Saint-Etienne in Cahors. These include several human heads with grotesque expressions and at least two distressed women with their hands on their heads, but there is nothing comparable to the groups of adults and children seen at Cordes. The dating suggests a very different context. Although a cathedral church would have existed from an early date at the site of Saint-Etienne, the church as we know it today was primarily the work of a major reconstruction authorized in 1109 and dedicated in 1119. The sculptures have been dated c.1140. Maurice Scellès, *Cahors: Ville et architecture civile au Moyen Age* (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine, 1999), 64-65. While it is true that Bernard of Clairvaux had been called to Toulouse to preach against heresy in 1145, persecution and mass burnings did not occur in the south until after 1209. Kanaan-Kedar suggests that the corbel sculptures at Cahors belong to a genre of parody of Church high culture that was found in popular literature. Nurith Kanaan-Kedar, "The Margins of Society in Marginal Romanesque Sculpture," *Gesta* 31, no. 1 (1992): 20. Lucas, the Bishop of Tuy (1239-c.1249), referring to imagery in a religious context, wrote that some sculptures were meant to terrify in order to remind men of the pain of sin

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whereas other images were simply for adornment. Creighton Gilbert, "A Statement of the Aesthetic Attitude Around 1230," *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts* 13, no. 2 (1985): 136-137.

<sup>32</sup> Peire Cardenal is the most famous for this. See Note **Error! Bookmark not defined.** Robert Lafont, *Histoire et anthologie de la littérature Occitane* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 1977); René Lavaud, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1957).

<sup>33</sup> In *Cosmographia*, Silvestris borrowed the idea that the arts of agriculture were important elements of order that distinguished man from animals from the story of the rape of Persephone as told by the Roman author Claudian. Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 73-75.

<sup>34</sup> The *Cosmographia* was written in the mid-twelfth century by Bernard Silvestris, who taught humanities at Tours, as a creation myth. Even though it is difficult to trace medieval literary references to know exactly which other authors were affected by this work, many thirteenth-and-fourteenth-century authors were concerned with similar ideas. C.S. Lewis thought that Silvestris in particular influenced troubadour lyric. Stock, *Myth*, 274-275.

<sup>35</sup> Stock, *Myth*, 69. *Silva regins, informe chaos, concretio pugnax,/discolor usiae vultus, sibi dissona massa !/Turbida temperiem, forman rudis, hispida cultum/Optat et a veteri cupiens exire tumult/Artifices numerous et musica vincla requirit..Debetur nonnullus honos et gratia Silve:/que genitiva tenet gremio diffusa capaci.* Carl Sigmund Barach and Johann Wrobel, eds., *Bernardi Silvestris: de Mundi Universitate* (Frankfurt: Minerva G.M.B.H.,1964), 7.