

SLIDES	ZOO 2011
Title sheet	Angevin Fortification Design and the Castrum of Cordes
<i>Seals of RVII</i> <i>Seal of Joan</i>	The words “Angevin” and “War” typically evoke images of Henry II and his sons and their power struggles with the French kings. A man about whom much less is known, however, and who had as much at stake on the continent as the English kings was Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse. He too was an Angevin in that he was the son of Joan, Queen of Sicily, who was the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II of England. ¹ Raymond VII’s relationship with the French kings echoed that of his English relatives in its tensions and ambiguity, and the young count was a key figure in fighting the French presence in the south through the Albigensian Crusade, the religious war against heresy called by Pope Innocent III in 1209. ² He continued to fight

¹ Joan was born in 1165, the seventh of the eight children of Henry and Eleanor. She was betrothed to William II in 1177 at the age of twelve. William died in 1189, and left a substantial dowry to Joan that was appropriated by William’s aunt Constance and his bastard nephew Tancred, who kept Joan in confinement. Richard I and King Philip Augustus arrived in Messina in September of 1190 on their way to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Richard began negotiations with Tancred to release Joan and her dowry, and it is said that Philip Augustus was taken with Joan’s beauty and even talked of marriage, but Richard discouraged it. See William Stubbs, ed. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (London: Longman & Co., 1871), Part 3, 56; Jean Flori, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Le roi-chevalier* (Paris: Biographie Payot, 1999), 115. After this, Joan joined company with Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, who had been brought east by Queen Eleanor as Richard’s bride. The two women journeyed in the east during the crusading activity, and in October of 1191 Richard I offered his sister in marriage to King Saladin in exchange for land around Palestine. Joan would have none of it. Flori, *Richard*, 167. Later that year Richard sent the two women home accompanied by the Princess of Cyprus, Bourguigne. They traveled via Rome and the Mediterranean coast, and arrived in Provence in the spring of 1193, where they were met by Count Raymond V and his son Raymond VI. The younger Raymond was attracted to Bourguigne and quickly divorced his second wife to marry her. Three years later, in October of 1196, he divorced Bourguigne and married Joan.

Joan was a remarkable woman, based on the few accounts we have of her actions. Guillaume de Puylaurens wrote of her character and experiences in the years following Raymond’s birth, telling how she took the initiative to lead a siege by herself, how the siege failed and Joan’s tent was burned in a fire, and how she retreated to look for her brother Richard, only to find out that he had died. She then went to Fontevrault, where she herself died in childbirth. 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), 18-19.

²²²²² 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
Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<p><i>View of Cordes</i></p>	<p>for his territory after the end of the Crusade in 1218, and even though he was forced to compromise his inheritance after the Treaty of Paris of 1229, he worked until his death in 1249 to evade the terms of that treaty and to maintain his control in the land that would ultimately be annexed to the French monarchy after his death.</p> <p>Proven as an able warrior in many decisive battles against the Crusaders, contemporary chronicles also suggest that Raymond VII was involved in directing the construction of effective fortifications. This skill was especially evident at one location, the <i>castrum</i> of Cordes, which he founded in November of 1222. There, the count chose a site that was close to a commercial crossroads in order to ensure economic success, but he also built an imposing complex of fortifications modeled on Angevin designs. The site</p>
------------------------------	--

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).

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<p><i>Map of France</i></p> <p><i>Map from HGL</i></p>	<p>repelled the French governor Humbert de Beaujeu in 1227, and Cordes was singled out in the Treaty of Paris as too valuable a defensive site to be destroyed. This map shows its location in the context of France and this shows more detail, with Toulouse and Montauban highlighted as well.</p> <p>Raymond VII's relationship with the Angevins has been studied by Nicolas Vincent, and his desire to associate himself with his royal bloodline by Laurent Macé through the study of seals, titles, and chronicles. I offer the imposing scale and defensive details of Cordes as a physical example of the resistance of Raymond VII to the French monarchy and as a demonstration of his connection to his Angevin ancestors.</p> <p>Today I will present some background on the life of Raymond VII and the relations between the counts and the Angevins, explain how Cordes was sited and why it is unusual, and describe the Angevin details of the fortifications.</p>
<p><i>Genealogy</i></p>	<p><i>Life of Raymond VII</i></p> <p>Raymond VII was born in July 1197 at the castle of Beaucaire on the Rhone delta to Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and Queen Joan of Sicily. The marriage was part of a political pact between Raymond VI and King Richard I, described by William of Newburgh as ending the Toulousain War which had been a great preoccupation for the “illustrious King Henry and of his son Richard and which, during forty years, had led to the loss of a great number of men.”³ The property rights that had once been part of Eleanor of Aquitaine's dowry were involved—Richard gave up his pretensions to Toulouse, and Joan brought as dowry to the marriage the</p>

³ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Richard Howlett, Part 2, 491. *Bellum quoque Tolosanum, quod illustri Anglorum regi Henrico et filio ejus Ricardo res summi negotii fuerat, et per annos quadraginta vires multorum attriverat populorum, eodem tempore, Deo propitio, expiravit.* For a discussion of the war and negotiations between Richard I and Philip Augustus and Richard I and Raymond VI about Joan, see Flori, *Richard*, 222-223; 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. 6, 146; Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 330.

<i>Image of mural</i>	Agenais and Quercy regions, a dowry that would play an important role in the urban development of this area in the late-thirteenth century. ⁴ Joan's royal lineage greatly enhanced the status of the counts of Toulouse, even though her union with the count was shortlived, for she left him in 1199. ⁵ Her son used her name as part of his formulaic title after he became count in 1222, and he named his only child "Joan." ⁶ His will stipulated that he be buried at the abbey of Fontevrault at his mother's feet, and you may see a mural there today that has been associated with his burial place. ⁷
	<p><i>Angevin and Comptal Relations</i></p> <p>Raymond VII's father was notoriously ambivalent in his political alliances, but he made use of Angevin interest in Languedoc after the tide turned against him in the Albigensian Crusade to solicit support and refuge.⁸ Raymond VII was more constant in his alliances with the Angevins, at least until the 1229 Treaty of Paris,</p>

⁴ Joan's dowry definitively returned to the French crown when her grand-daughter Joan, who had married Alphonse de Poitiers in 1236 (they were both 16 at this time), died in 1272. In 1279, the land in the Agenais was claimed by Edward I of England, and after eight years of negotiation with Philip IV, Edward secured it and began to build several *bastide* towns in this region. Edward was responsible for the founding of several new towns in England and Wales, but only the towns in Gascony carried the title "bastide." M. W. Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages; Town Plantation in England, Wales, and Gascony* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 8.

⁵ Joan ultimately left him after directing a disastrous siege in his absence. In 1199 she went north to find Richard only to discover that he had recently died, and at the advice of Eleanor, she continued on to Rouen to request a living allowance from King John. Joan died shortly after at Fontevrault during childbirth. Kelly, *Eleanor*. Who refers to HGL, which I don't have easy access to anymore. Damn!

⁶ References are found in all three Crusade chronicles, discussed below, and in several official acts of both Raymond VI and Raymond VII (*R. dei gratia dux Narbone, comes Tolose, marchio Provincie, filius domine regine Johanne*). Joan's role in enhancing the status of the counts is discussed extensively in Laurent Macé, "Raymond VII of Toulouse: The Son of Queen Joanna, 'Young Count' and Light of the World," in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005). Among the three Crusade chroniclers, only Pierre de Vaux-des-Cernay presents the marriage in a negative light, an example of Raymond VI's depravity in contracting a marriage of the third degree. The common ancestor was Pons, Count of Toulouse. W.A. Sibly and M.D. Sibly, trans., eds., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 24, note 49.

⁷ *In primis sepulturam nostram eligimus apud monasterium Fontisebraudi, ubi jacet rex Henricus Anglie avus noster, & rex Richardus avunculus noster, & regina Johanna mater nostra, ad pedes scilicet ejusdem matris nostre.* (We select the monastery of Fontevrault for our burial, where lies our ancestor Henry of England and our uncle King Richard and our mother Queen Joan, [to be] certainly at the feet of that same, our mother). De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 1255.

⁸ After 1204, however, the Angevins became increasingly interested in maintaining positive relations with the counts of Toulouse because of their losses in the north to King Philip Augustus. In one incident, the count and his son sought refuge in England in 1214, and returned to Languedoc with money and soldiers. Nicolas Vincent, "England and the Albigensian Crusade," in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, ed. Bjorn K.U. Weiler and Ifor Rowlands (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 75.

<i>Chanson Lateran</i>	<p>when he surrendered his only child to the Capetians in exchange for temporary control of the territory that he lost after the Crusade.⁹</p> <p>Most of Raymond VII's life was concerned with tensions related to heresy. His first exposure to war was at the age of sixteen when he witnessed the Battle of Muret from a nearby hill.¹⁰ The disastrous outcome of this scene may have created a resolve to excel in battle.¹¹ Later he was sent to England for safe-keeping, and when he was eighteen, brought back to Rome to help the southern lords plead their case to Pope Innocent III. In the debate over whether or not Simon de Montfort should be awarded the title of count of Toulouse and the lands he had conquered, the young Raymond was presented as deserving of inheriting his father's territory because of his innocence from heresy.¹² The plea failed, and the pope told Raymond VI that "he was excluded forever from his rights of dominion, which he has exercised so badly."¹³</p>
------------------------	--

⁹ This treaty has been called "a major rebuff" to Henry III, but in fact Raymond VII continually worked to evade its terms, and ultimately he even reunited with Henry in opposition to the French Vincent, "England and the Albigensian Crusade," 80.

¹⁰ This battle was the climax of a new, intense phase of the Crusade in which King Peire II of Aragon and Pope Innocent III played major roles. Peire had been occupied with his battles for the Reconquest of Spain at Las Navas de Tolosa, but after his victory, turned his attention back to his interests in Languedoc, where he found his domains threatened by Simon de Montfort. He appealed to the pope, and Simon was reprimanded for the first time for his greed and excess (provide reprimand). The southern bishops, supporting the Crusaders, hastened to send their own ambassadors to the pope, who then recanted and criticized Peire for lying to him about the state of heresy in the south. Peire II began negotiations with the pope on behalf of Raymond VI, and defying the pope's orders to avoid involvement in the Crusade, brought his forces to the town of Muret in September of 1213, where he was killed. This battle was tragic in that all the odds were in the favor of the southerners, but their disorganization, the arrogance of the lords, and Pierre's sexual hangover caused an early and ignominious defeat. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 156-170.

The description of the event: *Et adverso autem, sicut audivi referentem dominum Raymundum ultimum Tholose comitem, qui tunc tanquam etate inhabilis ad pugnandum eductus fuit de castris in equo libero ad locum eminentem, unde commissionem videre poterat...* (On the other side, as I heard related by the lord Raymond, the last Count of Toulouse, who, being unfitted for fighting because of his age had been led from the camp on an unarmoured horse to high ground from which he could see the contest). Jean Duvernoy, ed. *Guillaume de Puylaurens Chronique: Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii* (Paris: CNRS, 1976), 82-84; Sibly and Sibly, *Chronicle*, 48. There is no description of why Raymond was excluded from the battle, although this exclusion suggests that his life was valued very highly. He had reached the age of majority, which was fourteen.

¹¹ These mistakes were primarily related to lack of co-ordination. Even though the counts employed mercenaries who were professional fighters, the counts themselves were not necessarily adept in war strategies and often their egos prevented them from making wise decisions. This is one way in which Raymond VII distinguished himself from his father, among others. See Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 170; Wakefield, *Heresy*, 109; Michel Roquebert, *Histoire des Cathares: Hérésie, Croisade, Inquisition du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Perrin, 1999), 226-227.

¹² The title of Count of Toulouse was left in question, and later Raymond VII and Amaury de Montfort, Simon's son, would repeatedly petition the French kings for a formal recognition.

¹³ (*ab ejus dominio quod utique prave ejessit perpetuo sit exclusus*) From the Bulle of Innocent III dated 14 December, 1215. De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 681; Sibly and Sibly, eds., *Historia*, 311.

<p><i>Map of territory</i> Click 2x</p>	<p>The old count was given an annual allowance of 400 marks, and his wife was allowed to retain her dowry, which included Beaucaire and other property in the east. Territory not yet occupied by the Crusaders was to be reserved for the inheritance of the young count.¹⁴</p> <p style="text-align: center;">This slide shows the extent of the counts' territory before and after 1215.</p>
<p><i>Chanson Beaucaire</i></p> <p><i>Marvin plan</i></p>	<p>Shortly after this event, Raymond Junior proved his mettle as an able warrior. The "Song of the Cathar Wars," one of the three major contemporary chronicles of the Albigensian Crusade, dedicated over 1000 lines to the description of the defeat of Simon de Montfort and his Crusaders at Beaucaire in the spring of 1216—it was the first major defeat they had suffered. Young Raymond first routed Simon's garrison to the Redoubt north of the castle, and then "planted stakes and palings to make barricades" to isolate the town from them.¹⁵ Next, the southerners attacked and destroyed the Redoubt, and the Crusaders fled to the castle. Then, the town was summoned to build a drystone wall with hoarding and balconies from which to launch attack on the castle. Sir Arbert, the chaplain of Sainte Paque, told them that those who helped build this wall would be "richly rewarded by God and by the count." And "never were such distinguished stonemasons seen at any work! Knights and ladies carried the infill material, noble girls and youngsters the timber and dressed stone, each sang a ballad or verses or a song, and they worked so hard that very soon they had no need to fear French or Burgundian."¹⁶ Simon, who had been absent during the</p>

¹⁴ Sibly and Sibly, eds., *Historia*, Appendix F v, 311. Beaucaire, however, had been given to Simon by the Archbishop of Arles in January of 1215, and Simon had a garrison there at this time.

¹⁵ *E lo coms fai barreiras de lhisssas e de paus...* Eugène Martin-Chabot, ed. *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931-1961), II, laisse 156, page 112.

The *Chanson* devotes 1,049 lines to the siege at Beaucaire. The detailed descriptions of preparations by Raymond's men and by the townspeople, such as the building of walls and earthworks, and the battle scenes and negotiations suggest that the author was present during this siege. Laisse 158 is a vivid description of the action: "Never were such distinguished stonemasons seen at any work! Knights and ladies carried the infill material, noble girls and youngsters the timbers and dressed stone, each sang a ballad or verses or a song, and they worked so hard that very soon they had no need to fear French or Burgundian." Shirley, *The Song* 89. In Occitan: *E anc en nulha obra no vis tan ric masso:/Que cavaer e donas aportan lo reblo/E donzels e donzelas lo pertrait e-l cairo,/Que cascus ditz balada o verset o canso./E fero tanta d'obra en petit de sazo/Que mais no-ls cal temer Frances ni Bergonho.* Martin-Chabot, ed. *Chanson*, Vol. II, 118, Laisse 158.

¹⁶ *E anc en hulha obra no vis tan ric masso:/Que cavaer e donas aportan lo reblo/Edonzels e donzelas lo pertrait e-l cairo,/Que cascus ditz balada o verset o canso./E fero tanto d'obra en petit de sazo/Que mqis no-ls cal temer Frances ni Bergonho./* Martin-Chabot, ed. *Chanson*, II, Laisse 158, page 118.

	<p>initial attack, arrived later and made several attempts to free his men, but after four months of frustration he capitulated to Raymond.¹⁷ The count emerged a hero for the southern cause.</p>
<p><i>Marmande</i></p>	<p>In 1218, Toulouse was delivered from its enemy as Simon de Montfort was killed by a stone thrown from the city walls.¹⁸ After Simon's death, many towns that had submitted to the French now re-declared their loyalty to the Count of Toulouse.¹⁹ Although the direct threat to Toulouse had now disappeared, other towns were still vulnerable to attack by French forces. Skirmishes continued through 1219 and climaxed with the arrival of Prince Louis VIII and his troops at Marmande. The count's troops were no match for royal forces, and William the Breton reported that over 5,000 inhabitants were killed."²⁰ Luckily for Toulouse this battle occurred at the end of the troops' forty days, and the prince and his army retreated to the north in triumph.</p> <p>In the next two years, Raymond VI and his son worked to issue charters for many towns in their territory to encourage commerce and secure oaths of fidelity.²¹</p>

¹⁷ From this point forward Simon made more and more strategic mistakes and gradually lost control of much that he had gained—perhaps because of decisions made more from pride and anger against his new and powerful antagonist—but certainly not least because no town in Languedoc that had enjoyed representative government wanted to give it up, and Simon tried to place his bishops in control of town government. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 183. Simon also tried to change the laws of Languedoc. At Pamiers in 1212 he convened a 'parliament' which was attended by many southern bishops supporting the Crusade. A committee of twelve men was established, who wrote a new Code of Law. This Statute of Pamiers was approved on December 1, 1212, and included many customs and laws used in the Paris basin. Certain of the rules were bound to cause problems, for example the new limitations on the rights to alienate land, and the requirement that all knights be northerners who swore allegiance to Simon. In fact, if these knights died and their widows or daughters inherited, those women were required to marry northerners as well. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 154-155. For a more detailed discussion and the reproduction of the Statute in French, see Pierre Timbal, *Un conflit d'annexion au Moyen Age, l'application de la Coutume de Paris au pays d'Albigeois* (Toulouse: Privat, 1949). For the Statutes in English, see Sibly and Sibly, eds., *Historia*, Appendix H, 321.

¹⁸ Built by carpenters who had been working on Saint-Sernin, it was worked by "noblewomen, little girls, and men's wives" (*la donas e tozas e molhers*), who placed stones in the sling and sent them out towards the Crusaders. Martin-Chabot, ed. *Chanson*, Vol. III, Laisse 205, page 206.

¹⁹ Amaury's mother Alice and some bishops went to Paris in early August to solicit support from King Philip Augustus and his son Louis, but the king was not much interested in their plights at this time. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 200-201.

²⁰ Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, 204. William the Breton reported that over 5,000 were killed, and although medieval chroniclers are often prone to exaggeration, in this case it seems his figures are believable. Roquebert, *Histoire*, 267.

²¹ Throughout 1220 Raymond VII campaigned with his father to regain the sites in the south where French garrisons remained, and in the winter of 1221 he laid siege to Caracassonne, where Amaury de Montfort was headquartered. The remainder of 1221 was spent collecting support amongst the southerners. Still no man carried the title of the Count of Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

By March 1222 only Penne and Verdun had French garrisons in them.²² Then, in August Raymond VI died, and his son was named as the new count. The foundation charter of the new *castrum* of Cordes was issued shortly after, on November 1222.

A Castrum Among Castra

Ring with names

Before the Crusade, the counts had controlled a ring of fortified sites in this northern corner of their principality. Some of these sites contained little more than a castle in the early-thirteenth century, and others had developed into towns. The fortifications at these sites, of which unfortunately little evidence remains, was typical of defensive design throughout the south. The castles had crenellated curtain walls with ditches, and defensive gateways usually located directly within a prominent tower; or sometimes between two towers.²³ The outline of the curtain wall was usually polygonal, and the towers were square or rectangular and without arrow slits.²⁴ The towns grew adjacent to the castles where they could fit on the land.²⁵

*Diagram of sites
of Cordes*

Toulouse, and both Amaury and Raymond wrote to King Philip in the spring of 1222 asking for recognition, with no reply.

²² Pope Honorius tried to intervene by appealing to Philip Augustus and by appointing a new legate, but neither move had much affect. During May and June of 1222 both Amaury de Montfort and the young Raymond wrote the king asking him to recognize each of them as the Count of Toulouse, but Philip ignored both requests. Roquebert, *Histoire*, 271-274.

²³ Héliot, a French architectural historian who has written extensively on medieval fortifications, thought it curious that it took so long—until the late-twelfth century—to develop active defensive systems at the entry points, and this development is exactly what we see at Cordes. Even in France, where King Philip Augustus was building new castles, it was not until 1200 that deep, complex entries were used; at Yèvre-le-Châtel in, 1200 and at Montreuil-sur-Mer and Dourdan in 1210. Pierre Héliot, "L'âge du château de Carcassonne," *Annales du Midi* 78, no. 76 (1966): 11-12.

²⁴ This is a conjectural and composite description based on what little evidence is in place from the early-thirteenth century at these sites and on analysis of typical defensive sites of this region and period. Jean Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale: de la défense à la résidence*, vol. I: Les organes de la défense (Paris: Picard, 1991). Also, several of these sites were significantly altered by Alphonse de Poitiers after he took control of Languedoc in the mid-thirteenth century. His alternations included the construction of towers, beaked towers, new walls, the insertion of arrow-slits in walls and towers, and complex gate systems.

²⁵ Mesqui described a typology of development for castles and their dependencies, including villages. He listed three: the "pincer" scheme (*en tenailles*), rectangular extension (*à emboîtement rectangulaire*), and concentric extensions, which were rare. Most of the examples discussed in this chapter would fall into the category of rectangular extensions. Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 29-30.

<i>Site with roads</i>	<p>Cordes developed quite differently than these other <i>castra</i> for several reasons. Its foundation in 1222 was one of the earliest and most important acts for a man who was arguably the most powerful prince in Languedoc. To ensure that Cordes would prosper, Raymond VII 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 near a major crossroads, about 60 miles north of Toulouse. The count's charter offered new residents unusually liberal terms, such as the right to alienate property and freedom from taxes and service. Half of the articles were commercial in nature, similarly to the charter that his ancestor, Alphonse-Jourdain, had drawn up for the new town of Montauban in 1144.²⁶ 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>
<i>Charter</i>	<p>Yet unlike Montauban in 1144, Cordes in 1222 was surrounded by hostile or competitive forces. The prosperous town of Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val to the northwest was controlled by Guy de Montfort, and he would hand it over to King Louis IX in 1226.²⁷ Albi in the east was controlled by a Bishop and the Trencavel family, who had always been a threat to the counts of Toulouse, and who also controlled much land south of the Tarn River.²⁸ The post-Crusade atmosphere was tense and many of the wealthy families that counted Cathars amongst their members felt threatened. Cordes needed effective fortifications to protect the diverse and wealthy population that would ensure financial success for Raymond VII.</p>
<i>Map with arrows</i> <i>Click 2x</i>	

²⁶ 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).

²⁷ It had been given by Raymond VI to his brother in the spring of 1212, and Baudouin then joined forces with the Crusaders. Raymond VII thereafter tried unsuccessfully to convince Louis IX to return Saint-Antonin to him. The last lord of Saint-Antonin was Hughes Bernard, who definitively ceded his right to the French King in 1244. Pierre Malrieu and Jean Malrieu, *Penne d'Albigeois à travers l'histoire* (Honfleur: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1969), 168.

²⁸ All the Trencavel lands became subject to the French king in 1229 under the Treaty of Paris. Raymond II had regained Carcassonne in 1224 and held it for two years until he submitted to Louis IX in 1226. Elaine Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2005), 167. Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<i>Scene from Treaty with text</i>	<p>Seven years after the foundation charter was issued, Cordes was distinguished by its physical defenses in the 1229 Treaty of Paris, singled out as a site to be preserved for the King's use, whereas thirty other castles owned by the count were to be destroyed, and any new towns that he built were to be without walls.²⁹</p>
<i>Mesqui diagrams</i>	<p>These fortifications were built at a time when both the English and French monarchs were experimenting with defensive design. The Angevins in particular were active in this regard.³⁰ In contrast, the defensive works built by Philip Augustus (1180-1223) are marked by their conservative nature, at least in the early period of his reign.³¹ The innovations used by the Angevins included flanking, rounded towers at entry gates, polygonal or rounded towers along the curtain wall, beaked towers, scalloped walls and machicolations, talus slopes at tower and wall bases, and a wide variety of arrow slits. Most of these details are found at Cordes.</p>
<i>Stonework at Planhol</i>	<p>Building materials, workmanship, and details combine to suggest the extent</p>

²⁹ De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 889. Sibly and Sibly, *Chronicle*, 143-144. *Item trademus ei pro securitate Ecclesie & sua, in manibus suis, caput Castrinovi, caput castrum de Montecucco, Pennam de Agenesio, castrum Cordue, Ruppen-Perucie, castrum de Verduno, castrum de Villamuro, & usque ad decennium tenebit ea, ita quod primus V annis solvemus ei pro expensis custodum quolibet anno M D libras Turonensium, non computatis in iis sex millibus marcarum predictis; in aliis V annis, si voluerit tenere, faciet propriis expensis custodiri dominus rex; tamen poterit, si placet Ecclesie & sibi, diruere IV castra de predictis, scilicet caput Castrinovi, caput castrum Vauri, Villamurum & Verdunum, & propter hoc non diminuetur predicta summa M D librarum Turonensium. Redditus & proventus castrorum & omnia, que jure dominii percipiuntur, erunt nostra, & ipse ad sumptus suos tenebit capita ipsorum castrorum & Corduam, & nos habebimus ibi ballivos nostros non suspectos Ecclesie & domino regi, qui facient justitiam hominibus & recipient redditus & proventus predictos. Post decennium antem restituet nobis dominus rex capita castrorum dictorum & Corduam libere, salvis conditionibus supradictis, & si predicta omnia quantum ad Ecclesiam & cominum regem fuerint observata.* De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 891.

³⁰ André Débord, "La politique de fortification des Plantagenêt dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle" (paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994).

³¹ Jean Mesqui, "En guise d'introduction: question d'identités" (paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994); Philippe Durand, "En guise de conclusion. L'architecture militaire dans les domaines Plantagenêt: une identité" (paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994). An example of the conservative nature of Philippe-Auguste's work is seen in the use of arrow slits. Whereas the Angevins would use long slits in both towers and curtain walls with a variety of niched openings in the interior and various details on the exterior—the stirrup-shaped foot, rounded feet, or crossbow slits, all of which allowed for more freedom of movement for the archer, the early Capetian arrow slits were only found in towers, were often short, without variety in the interior niches, or lacking them entirely. Louis IX began to use more of the Angevin forms during his long reign (1226-1270). These details from Mesqui's paper were summarized in Durand, "Conclusion", 134-135.

<i>Portal map</i>	of the first construction campaign at Cordes, although there has been debate about the extent of the wall system and some of the details within the gates. ³² The defensive system includes four concentric enceintes, two of which were put in place by the count, a barbican, a complex system of gates in the upper enceintes, and a deep well in the center of town. It is primarily in the entry systems of the upper enceintes that we find Angevin details, although the scale and extent of the walls and the well also suggest that Raymond VII was trying to build his own version of his uncle's masterpiece on the Seine.
	<p>Walls</p> <p>The walls at Cordes have been cited as unique for their monumentality and their number.³³ It is difficult to trace their extent in the early-thirteenth century</p>

³² The white limestone can be seen in its raw state along the north face of the Rue Chaude. This was quarried from the south side of the butte itself (and possibly from elsewhere) and cut into large rectangular blocks—a typical size is 24 cm deep by 50 cm long by 33 cm high (9.3 by 19.5 by 12.8 inches), although the shapes are quite varied at corners and around the arches of openings. It hardens with exposure to air, but is also subject to erosion from weather. The hard, dark limestone came from the valley to the west and north. This is the material that Portal called the *Pierre schisteuse de la vallée*. 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), 510. The mason Pascal Waringo calls it *dolomie* or the *Pierre de Garrissou* referring both to its composition as a dolomitic limestone and its source in the valley. Pascal Waringo, *De la carrière au rempart: la pierre au Moyen Age* (ND). Gilles Séraphin calls it *calcaire froid* (cold limestone), referring to its hardness and the fact that it does not sweat as do other types of limestone. Gilles Séraphin, "L'Enceinte de Cordes," *121e Congrès nat. soc. hist. scient.* (1996): 60.

³³ Opinions have differed on the dating of the enceintes, and further research is needed. Portal dates the two upper enceintes from "the time of Raymond VII," and uses the reference cited above regarding the inhabitants of Mouzieys as his support. He dates the third enceinte from the 1280s, as the first textual reference he found to the Planol, the area to the south that it encloses, was from 1286. The fourth wall is mentioned in 1352 as being under construction at that time. Portal, *Cordes*, 507-515. Gilles Séraphin, the only other author who has addressed the walls in detail, thinks that there is enough evidence to suggest that the walls and gates were started by 1229, but that they were finished under Alphonse de Poitiers after 1251. His detailed study of segments of the upper enceinte intersecting with houses on the south slope near the eastern gate showed that the wall here was built on house foundations that pre-dated it. Séraphin, "L'Enceinte," 67.

Séraphin concluded that because of the isolation of the wall segments the wall may have been the result of individual enterprise rather than a public work. A close examination of house walls and foundations on the north side near the Porte de Roux showed that house walls had been used as foundations for the enceinte, suggesting that houses were in place before the wall. Séraphin, "L'Enceinte." Because it is known that some towns of this period were expected to build their walls at the consuls' or the individual landowner's expense, it is entirely possible that whereas Raymond VII may have paid for the design and construction of the gates and barbican, the walls were created over time by a co-operative effort by people who filled in the gaps between the gates with their buildings. The charter of Cordes allowed residents to access the quarries (*lepidinas*) belonging to the count to build their houses, and it could be inferred that they were to build walls as well. The practice of lords allowing or even requiring residents of towns to erect their own walls is documented from the twelfth century. For descriptions of this practice see Lauret, Malebranche, and Séraphin, *Bastides*, 133; Odon de Lingua De Saint-Blanquat, *La fondation des bastides royales dans la sénéchaussée de Toulouse aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Toulouse: Centre national de documentation pédagogique, Centre régional de documentation pédagogique de Toulouse, 1985), 124. Saint-Blanquat referred to August Molinier's study of administrative practices in Languedoc, found in the *HGL*. Examples listed there of town consuls and inhabitants paying for walls included a charter

because they have been re-worked so frequently and because they disappear into houses in many cases.³⁴ Yet wall segments suggest that there was at least a partial

for Castres from 1160, and an act from Caylar from 1158. De Vic and Vaissète, eds., *HGL*, Vol. 7, 164-165. Séraphin also refers to the towns of Lauzerte and Tournon d'Agenais where this practice was in place: Séraphin, "L'Enceinte," 65. Curie-Seimbres offers examples of both practices, suggesting that in many of the early bastides—in which he believed military functions predominated—it was often the practice for the lord to pay for the walls. He provides several examples. The best that one can say is that the practice must be studied on a case by case basis. Alcide Curie-Seimbres, *Essai sur les villes fondées dans le sud-ouest de la France, aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles sous le nom générique de bastides* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1880), 181-182. Mesqui also notes that it was frequently the case that walls of villages associated with castles (or not) were built over time due to their expense and that it was the entry way that served best as the symbolic defensive gesture for the castle or the town. Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 57, 342.

The upper oval has a perimeter of about 950 meters (3,040 feet). Its east-west axis is about 340 meters long (1,088 feet) and 40 meters wide (128 feet) at the ends and 80 meters wide (256 feet) at the widest point, which is where the cross-axis gates occur. This creates an area of about 2 hectares or 4.2 acres. The second enceinte has a perimeter of about 1,600 meters (5,120 feet), is about 70 meters wide (224 feet) at the ends and 150 meters wide (480 feet) at the widest point. This creates an area of about 16 hectares or 38.4 acres.

³⁴ Portal has listed numerous references to archival evidence related to the walls and their maintenance beginning in the late-fourteenth century. By 1416 we know that the houses made up parts of the upper walls; Portal, *Cordes*, 507-508.

The argument of continuity can be made, however. It has been shown that it would have been physically possible to build the double walled defensive system in the seven years between 1222 and 1229 using a workforce of 274 people. Pascal Waringo, a mason who has worked extensively on the gates and on several houses in Cordes, recently presented a paper outlining the labor and materials required for this endeavor. The 274 workers would have included thirty-five masons and five masters, thirty-five stone-cutters and five masters, fifty laborers and masters, fifteen blacksmiths and heavy equipment men and three masters, thirty mixed laborers including carpenters, plasterers, glass workers and mural painters and five masters, seventy transport laborers, and sixteen management staff including one master of the works, six "measurers"—those who lay out plans for others, two translators and seven clerks. Waringo thinks that the highest two walls were continuous, running along a perimeter of 950 linear meters (3,040 feet), 2 meters thick (6.4 feet), and reaching 20 meters (64 feet) in height. For comparison, Richard I used 1,700 people to build Château Gaillard in eighteen months, but that was a much more ambitious project. Pascal Waringo, "La Construction des Fortifications de Cordes," in *Recherche-Conseil-Pédagogie en Techniques Médiévales de Construction* (Mailhoc, France 2005). Physical evidence also supports continuity in some cases. Traces of a wall with consistent characteristics—about 1.35 meters thick (4 feet) made of the large blocks of blond limestone—have also been found here and there within the property parcels on both the north and south sides. I have seen examples of this in houses, and Séraphin has noted them in his article. Séraphin, "L'Enceinte."

The longest continuous section of medieval wall visible from a distance occurs on the south side and follows the perimeter of the second enceinte along the Planol, the southern equivalent of the *lices* of the northern enceintes. However, in following the path of the streets just below what would have been the first enceinte (along Rue St. Grégoire and Rue de la Jane), one sees long sections of a high wall formed by the dolomitic limestone, and evidence of towers that once adjoined this wall. The appearance of continuity is reinforced by the line of tall houses that form the wall of the first enceinte and by the fact that more of the large blocks of blond limestone were used on this side than on the north side, making it appear larger and lighter. Topography may have had a hand as well, since the contours of the south slope are more evenly spaced and would have been easier to build on. On the north side there are long segments of a tall wall made of the dolomitic limestone, but based on the segments of blond limestone that are found on the north side as well, the sections using the dolomitic limestone may have been built later in the thirteenth century. The extensive use of dolomitic limestone for the Church of Saint-Michel supports this idea.

Portal wrote that double enceintes were typical of the time, but I believe he was referring to the use of ditches because in fact there are no comparable contemporary regional examples on the same scale of which I am aware. Portal, *Cordes*, 506. *A l'origine, la place fut protégée par deux chemises de remparts, tel était l'usage un peu partout*; ("In the beginning, the place was protected by two enceintes, as was typical almost everywhere"). However, Portal does not

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

	stone enceinte as part of the first building campaign, and even if this stone wall was not complete, the gate system alone, linked to a wooden palisade, would have been enough to deter attacks and distinguish the site. ³⁵
<i>Eastern sequence plans</i>	<p><i>Upper gates and alignment</i></p> <p>Although the gates of the upper enceinte are neatly aligned with the cardinal points of the compass and their axes cross roughly in the center of town, the approaches to these gates are quite complex, and represent a skilled exploitation of the site.³⁶ At Cordes the design presented a significant challenge to the approach, especially on the east, where there is a sequence of three control points. The lowest is</p>

offer any specific examples of other sites with double enceintes. He may have been referring to sites where castles were walled and village development followed with its own wall, or sites where castles walls had double ditches surrounding them. A recent, comprehensive study of castles and walls in medieval France offers no comparable examples either: Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*. Sidney Toy, a British architectural historian whose work on fortifications is still a valuable reference, wrote that the double curtain system of defense was first seen in the Middle Ages at Krak de Chevaliers in the east, and used to advantage at Carcassonne after the weakness of the single wall was demonstrated in the Albigensian Crusade, but the second wall at Carcassonne was begun in 1228 and completed under the direction of the seneschal of King Louis IX, Guillaume des Ormes, after 1240. Joseph Poux, *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description: L'Epanouissement (1067-1466)*, vol. I (Toulouse: Privat, 1931), 95; Sidney Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, Second ed. (Toronto, Canada: Dover, 1939), 139. The thirteenth-century chronicles offer us some descriptions of walls as they related to sieges made by the Albigensian Crusaders, and although some, like Moissac, had double ditches, double enceintes as they are found at Cordes seem to have been rare if they existed. The *Historia Albigensis* of Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay offers detailed descriptions of the Crusaders' sieges in the area around Cordes and tells us about the walls at Penne d'Albigeois, Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, and Moissac, among other sites. We read of double ditches, but not of double walls. At Penne we know there were dwellings within walls because the siege engines destroyed *omnesque domos et refugia in ea erant* (all the houses and refuges that were within) Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, eds., *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926). Sibly and Sibly, eds., *Historia*, II, 32. At Saint-Antonin, we hear about three barbicans (*barbicanas*) in the wall, which, once taken by the Crusaders, insured their capture of the town (*Historia* II, 15). Sibly and Sibly, eds., *Historia*, 152-162.

³⁵ This is the opinion of Jean Mesqui. Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 342. These two upper enceintes, which are separated by a horizontal distance of 20 meters (64 feet) on average, would have had a ditch between them in the first phases of construction. The second and third walls are separated by a passageway known as the *lices* (lists) on the north and the *planol* on the south, but in 1229 these passageways may have still been defensive ditches. The third wall became known as the *braie*, or *braga* in Occitan, meaning a retaining wall that served as an additional line of defense. Portal noted the use of the word in the Cordes archives in 1381. Portal, *Cordes*, 503. The western entry sequence is less constricted than that of the east, perhaps because construction materials were brought in from the west and most of the quarry sites and woods were in that direction. It may also be that Raymond VII desired a more aggressive gesture facing the east because of long-standing political tensions with the bishops of Albi and the Trencavel family. Portal wrote that an inquiry of 1292 recorded that the inhabitants of Mouzieys had been required to repair and maintain the walls at Cordes for seventy years. Portal, *Cordes*, 507. The woods and quarries referred to in texts are all on this side.

³⁶ The gates at either end of the crossing axis were called *portanels*, and share dimensions also. The southern *portanel* has been eradicated, but its location is marked by its attachment to the wall of a tower there, the *Tour de Colon*, and the northern gate still exists, albeit in a remodeled state. Portal, *Cordes*, 511.

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<p><i>Photo sequence</i></p> <p><i>CB diagram of west</i></p> <p><i>Photo sequence</i></p>	<p>the barbican, where one is directed to the north—to one's right—and then abruptly back to the south. Immediately thereafter another abrupt turn back to the north is required to enter the Porte de Planhol, and then there is a protracted uphill section that curves around to the south again to finally face the highest gate, the Porte de Roux.</p> <p>Here is the photo sequence.</p> <p>The western sequence differs in that it depends more on the use of projecting, flanking towers than on topography and abrupt turns for defense. The main gate in the lower enceinte, the Porte de la Jane, was approached along an east-west path that made a turn south—to the left—and then, having passed through the gate, turned again to the west and back to the east to approach the final, highest gate, the Porte des Ormeaux.</p> <p>Here is the photo sequence.³⁷</p>
<p><i>Plans Portal and Seraphin</i></p>	<p>The large gates of the upper enceinte have almost identical internal design.³⁸ Both passages are about 7 meters deep, 3 meters wide on their exterior faces and about 4 meters wide on their interior faces. Their exterior faces were at least 15 meters high based on the height of their openings and the necessity to raise a portcullis of approximately 6 meters in height.³⁹ Within their passageways they have two portcullises on either side of a double wooden door, and murder holes next to the</p>

³⁷

³⁸ Although projecting twin flanking towers at gates were used frequently at the entries to towns during Roman occupation of Languedoc, this configuration was rarely found until after 1160, when Henry II installed rectangular flanking towers at Dover. Richard I used rounded towers almost exclusively in his works, and by 1200, they were clearly more popular than square or rectangular towers, and became another identifier of *l'architecture philippienne*. This preference has been attributed to the elimination of the "dead angle" created by projecting rectangular towers, but it may also have related to stylistic preferences. There were merits to both, and it is also known that the engineers working for Henry II debated the choice. Square or rectangular towers were more efficient for internal functions and easier to build, but round towers deflected fire better. Héliot, "L'âge du château de Carcassonne," 36-37.

³⁹ The Porte des Ormeaux is 15 meters lower than the Porte de Roux. On the east, at the Porte de Roux, the outer-most arch has voussoirs of alternating depths (the wall thickness being about 2 meters the interior face is built up of bricks), but of consistent heights, a height that just exceeds the width. The inner arch, just behind the outer portcullis, has voussoirs of alternating heights one stone thick, about 33 cm (12-13 inches). On the west, at the Porte des Ormeaux, the outer-most arch is also made up of consistently sized voussoirs, but above this projects another arch one stone thick which merges with an upper wall. The voussoirs of the first inner arch are of consistent heights, very tall and narrow, about 85 cm (33 inches). 20 meters is the height that Waringo used for the walls of the upper two enceintes in his study to calculate the construction period. Waringo, "La Construction des Fortifications de Cordes." For comparison, the Porte Narbonnaise at Carcassonne, remodeled after 1251, was 25 meters high. Joseph Poux, *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description: L'Epanouissement (1067-1466)*, vol. II (Toulouse: Privat, 1931), 122.

<p><i>Details of stirrup footed arrowloops</i> (2)</p>	<p>portcullis slit. This sequence of active and passive elements was unusual in having a second portcullis.⁴⁰ The murder hole is indicated by a stirrup-footed arrow slit just behind the outer portcullis, another Angevin innovation.⁴¹ A similar arrow slit is on the south face of this gate tower. The French architect Gilles Séraphin has argued that these stirrup-footed arrowslits were added after Raymond's death, but I believe that further examination is required for dating. Other Angevin details seen in the two upper gates include the use of arrow slits along the entry passages, and the talus slopes at the exterior of the Porte des Ormeaux, also distinctive at the barbican.⁴²</p>
<p><i>Chateau Gaillard</i></p>	<p>Scallops</p> <p>One of the most interesting defensive details on the gate towers is a scalloped section of wall, probably designed to support machicolations.⁴³ This detail recalls the immense scallops at Château Gaillard, even though the work at Cordes is a mere whisper of what was there—still, the radii are similar.⁴⁴ The concept of spanning</p>

⁴⁰ The combination H/A/V, where a single portcullis was used, was predominant in *l'architecture philippienne* by the late-twelfth century. Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 326.

⁴¹ Jean Mesqui, "Les tours à archères dans le domaine Plantagenêt français 1160-1205" (paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994), 83. Séraphin noted that similar stirrup-footed arrow slits were used by Alphonse-de-Poitiers at Penne, Puycelci, and Najac after 1250, and also at Carcassonne, where work was carried out after 1240 by the seneschals of King Louis IX (Alphonse de Poitiers was the king's brother). Yet since these details existed before 1222, it is possible that they were copied from Cordes. Séraphin, "L'Enceinte," 62.

⁴² The Angevins would use numerous arrow loops, both in towers and in curtain walls, and these often had "stirrup" bases that allowed the bow more lateral movement. There were often niches provided within the wall that allowed the archer freedom of position. Works undertaken for Philippe Auguste, in contrast, use fewer arrow loops, never in curtain walls. The arrow loops were narrower and not provided with niches or stirrups. Durand, "Conclusion", 134-135. The use of talus was not seen much in the west before the thirteenth century (Gisors in the north is an isolated example), although Krak des Chevaliers in the Middle East made extensive use of talus slopes. The advantages in the Middle East were as much associated with providing stability in a region prone to earthquakes as with enabling projectiles thrown from above to ricochet off their slopes and gather increased force. The Angevins perfected a distinctive design that brought attention to the general concept by creating a rectangular base of talus for circular towers. This design can be seen at Château Gaillard and at Chinon. Christian Corvisier, "Château Gaillard et son donjon. Une oeuvre expérimentale de Richard Coeur de Lion" (paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994), 49; Mesqui, "Les tours à archères", 81.

⁴³ The use of machicolations spanning over buttresses was first seen in the Middle East, and then applied in the west by Richard I at Château Gaillard to the scalloped walls there—this seems to have been the first example in the west. Marie-Pierre Baudry, "Le château des Plantagenêt à Niort" (paper presented at the "Les fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt", Poitiers, 1994), 34.

⁴⁴ The use of generic machicolations is found much earlier. A machicolation is any protected projection beyond a castle tower or wall or between towers at gateways. Earlier examples were frequently built of wooden "hoarding" on stone corbels or on wooden beams that could be removed when not needed. A good description of them is found in Sidney Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, Second ed. (Dover, 1985 (1939)), 85. The discussions about Château Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<p><i>Scallops at B Porte de P Porte des O Porte de Roux</i></p>	<p>buttresses with a platform that enabled archers to fire from a protected position was used by the Angevins at Niort sometime before 1222, although there the walls were not scalloped.⁴⁵ The scallops at Cordes can still be seen clearly in three locations, and there are hints that they existed at a fourth. They occur at the barbican, the Porte du Planol, the Porte des Ormeaux, and there is also a hint of a scalloped wall on the south face of the Porte de Roux.⁴⁶</p>
<p><i>Loches Coudray Porte de Planhol</i></p>	<p><i>Beaked towers</i></p> <p>Another detail associated with the Angevins is the use of <i>tours en amande</i>, or “almond-shaped” or “beaked” towers, that are formed by two segmental arcs.⁴⁷ Examples include the beaked towers at Loches, built under Henry II between 1150 and 1180, and at Coudray-Salbart, built under the Angevins and the lords of Parthenay in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ At Cordes, there is one example of a modified beaked tower, at the southeastern corner of the Porte de Planhol, where the stones are carefully cut so that they interlock in each course with the long faces alternating.</p>
	<p><i>Barbican and well</i></p> <p>Two additional elements are not necessarily Angevin, but they demonstrate the scale of Raymond’s ambition, and these are the barbican and the well.</p>

Gaillard are found, among other places, in Corvisier, "Château Gaillard", Vol. III, 84, Vol. IV, 263, Vol. V, 69; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris: A. Morel, 1875); Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 224-232.

⁴⁵ The Angevin use of machicolations over arches was discussed in two of the conference papers mentioned above: Baudry, "Château Gaillard", 34; Corvisier, "Château Gaillard", 48.

⁴⁶ At the barbican there is at least one example of a single stone that was cut to span the indentation of the scallop, further evidence that the scallop design was part of the original construction. The radii of the curves found here are similar to those at Château Gaillard, even if the extent is much diminished.

⁴⁷ Beaked towers were rare. The beaked towers at the castle at Gisors (1160-1177), built by Henry II, seem to be the first examples. Other examples of beaked towers, which are infrequently found, include: the château du Talmont in Vendée (Richard I), Château Gaillard in Eure (Richard I), Issoudun in Indre (Philippe Auguste), and La Roche-Guyon in Val d’Oise (Gui de la Roche or Philippe Auguste). André Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile de France du XIeme au XIIIeme siècle* (Millau: Créer, 1983), 279-280. Other examples besides those mentioned above include Issoudun (Indre) and la Roche-Guyon built by Philippe-Auguste about 1197 and 1200 respectively. Châtelain, *Châteaux forts*, 279.

⁴⁸ Plan measurements of a part of the barbican were made by the author in the fall of 2006. The figures show both the measured section of the barbican and the cadastral plan that shows its outline more completely. Séraphin has suggested that a beaked tower occurs here. Séraphin, "L'Enceinte," 63.

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 12:28 PM Barrett Zoo 2011

<p><i>Barbican diagram</i></p> <p><i>Photos</i></p> <p><i>Comp drawings of Carcassonne and Cordes</i>⁴⁹</p>	<p>The barbican at Cordes is important as being perhaps the first of its kind in this area, and has a distinctive rounded form—a wide “U” shape, that may have been in fact a double “U”. This tower is similar in size to the smallest of the barbicans at Carcassonne.⁵⁰ The talus base is built around the living rock, and there is a comfortably sized passageway carved within the rock that leads southwards from beneath the structure and connects with a system of underground passageways that has only been partially explored.⁵¹ The barbicans at Carcassonne and that at Cordes stand out as being the only existing examples of these semi-circular defensive structures in this area from the early-thirteenth century.⁵²</p>
<p><i>Well section and photo</i></p>	<p><i>The Well</i></p> <p>The well, located in what is now the market <i>halle</i>, is 113 meters deep (363 feet) and the lower 80 meters is a circular shaft about 2 meters in diameter cased with large blocks of blond limestone of similar dimensions and workmanship to the gates.⁵³ Based on the well capacity—only about 33 cubic meters of water—and the</p>

⁴⁹

⁵⁰ That is the Barbican Crémade on the south side.

⁵¹ At the time I explored this area I did not have time to make extensive measurements, but with further study of the base of the barbican and this passage one might be able to more accurately date its construction.

⁵² At Carcassonne, there are four altogether, and they are much larger and more refined in their construction than that at Cordes, but they could have been modeled on what was built at Cordes. Viollet le Duc noted that Louis IX not only authorized four barbicans built at Carcassonne, but he also had one built of earthwork at a tributary of the Nile River when he in the east on Crusade. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, Vol. II, 113. For a detailed description of the barbicans at Carcassonne, see Poux, *Carcassonne*, 277-296. Jean Mesqui has suggested that the first stone barbican built for a purely defensive purpose at a town site was at Carcassonne after 1228. Mesqui, *Châteaux et enceintes*, 353. Also, in his detailed study of castles in the Rouergue area, to the northeast of Cordes, the French fortification scholar Miquel stated that barbicans were generally quite small, like the one found at Najac. The word itself is of Arabic origin, and referred to defensive construction built in front of gates or posterns from at least the sixth century. Early examples from the east are those from the sixth century at Timgad and the massive eighth century barbicans (150 feet wide by 82 feet deep) at the city of Khorsabad. These and later examples from Great Britain (Exeter 1070, Launceston 1160) are made up of straight walls that project outward from the castle or town gates. Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, 10, 48, 103, 106. For other definitions of barbicans, see Poux, *Carcassonne*, 131; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, Vol. II, 111. Jacques Miquel, another French historian of fortifications, noted in his monograph on the military architecture of the Rouergue region (northeast of Cordes) that most barbicans were small in size, and not common until the fourteenth century. Jacques Miquel, *L'architecture militaire dans le Rouergue au Moyen-Age et l'organisation de la défense* (Editions Française d'Arts Graphiques, 1981), 265-266.

⁵³ The top 30 meters is cut from living rock.

	<p>difficulty involved in extracting water, it seems that it would only have been used in times of siege.⁵⁴ Yet this well can only be compared with two other contemporary examples to my knowledge: that of the fortress Krak de Chevaliers in the Levant, and one at the Château de Fénélon in the Dordogne, which is 98 meters deep.⁵⁵</p>
<p><i>Cordes in fog</i></p>	<p>Conclusion</p> <p>In conclusion, when Raymond VII became the count of Toulouse in the summer of 1222 he was surrounded by military and economic pressures and missing important fortified sites. He would have wanted to benefit from the economic opportunities provided by trends in urban growth that had begun before the war, and so he needed a town that could harbor the most advantageous population possible—one that included the types of wealthy bourgeois whose families were riddled with heresy.⁵⁶ He was also a young man just named Count with an uncle famous for his military exploits and for his success in building castles. The system of fortifications built at Cordes not only protected the inhabitants in a literal sense, but dramatically expressed Raymond's resistance to the French monarchy and his connections to his royal Angevin relatives.^{57 58}</p>

⁵⁴ The only two comparably deep wells from this period are that of the fortress Krak de Chevaliers in the Levant, and one at the Château de Fénélon in the Dordogne, which is 98 meters deep. These comparisons and a report on the construction of the well were made as part of an exploration of the well by speleologists between 1955 and 1961. The well was emptied and monitored for one year to determine its capacity, which was about 33 cubic meters, not nearly enough—as the author noted—to support the supposed population of Cordes in 1300. Portal, *Cordes*, Appendix, 664-671; Waringo, "La Construction des Fortifications de Cordes." For comparison, the cistern within the château at Najac could hold 750 cubic meters of water. Alain Peyrefitte, *Najac son histoire* (Paris: L'imprimerie Hemmerlé, 2001), 18.

⁵⁵ These comparisons and a report on the construction of the well were made as part of an exploration of the well by speleologists between 1955 and 1961. The well was emptied and monitored for one year to determine its capacity, which was about 33 cubic meters, not nearly enough—as the author noted—to support the supposed population of Cordes in 1300. Portal, *Cordes*, Appendix, 664-671; Waringo, "La Construction des Fortifications de Cordes." For comparison, the cistern within the château at Najac could hold 750 cubic meters of water. Peyrefitte, *Najac son histoire*, 18.

⁵⁶

⁵⁷ It has been said that the design is rather one of ego than of efficiency. Corvisier, "Château Gaillard", 52. Whether it is an egotistical statement or an effective defensive castle, it is without doubt a fine sculptural monument.

⁵⁸

Bibliography

- Baudry, Marie-Pierre. "Le château des Plantagenêt à Niort." Paper presented at the "Les fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt", Poitiers, 1994.
- Beresford, M. W. *New towns of the Middle Ages; Town Plantation in England, Wales, and Gascony*. New York: Praeger, 1967.
- Berthe, Maurice. "Quelle à été la première des bastides?" *Les Cahiers du C.E.B.*, no. 7 (2004).
- Châtelain, André. *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile de France du XIeme au XIIIeme siècle*. Millau: Créer, 1983.
- Cheyette, Fredric L. *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Corvisier, Christian. "Château Gaillard et son donjon. Une oeuvre expérimentale de Richard Coeur de Lion." Paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994.
- Curie-Seimbres, Alcide. *Essai sur les villes fondées dans le sud-ouest de la France, aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles sous le nom générique de bastides*. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1880.
- De Saint-Blanquat, Odon de Lingua *La fondation des bastides royales dans la sénéchaussee de Toulouse aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Toulouse: Centre national de documentation pédagogique, Centre régional de documentation pédagogique de Toulouse, 1985.
- De Vic, Claude, and J. Vaissète, eds. *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives par dom Cl. Devic & dom J. Vaissete*. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1872.
- Débord, André. "La politique de fortification des Plantagenêt dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle." Paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994.
- Durand, Philippe. "En guise de conclusion. L'architecture militaire dans les domaines Plantagenêt: une identité." Paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994.
- Duvernoy, Jean, ed. *Guillaume de Puylaurens Chronique: Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*. Paris: CNRS, 1976.
- Flori, Jean. *Richard Coeur de Lion: Le roi-chevalier*. Paris: Biographie Payot, 1999.
- Graham-Leigh, Elaine. *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Guébin, Pascal, and Ernest Lyon, eds. *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926.
- Hamilton, Bernard. *The Albigensian Crusade*. London: The Historical Association, 1974.
- Héliot, Pierre. "L'âge du château de Carcassonne." *Annales du Midi* 78, no. 76

- (1966): 5-21.
- Jordan, William Chester. *Europe in the High Middle Ages*: Viking, 2001.
- Kelly, Amy. *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- . *Medieval Heresy : Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2002.
- Lauret, Alain, Raymond Malebranche, and Gilles Séraphin. *Bastides, Villes Nouvelles du Moyen Age*: Editions Milan, 1988.
- Macé, Laurent. "Raymond VII of Toulouse: The Son of Queen Joanna, 'Young Count' and Light of the World." In *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, edited by Marcus Bull and Catherine LÉglu. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005.
- Malrieu, Pierre, and Jean Malrieu. *Penne d'Albigeois à travers l'histoire*. Honfleur: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1969.
- Martin-Chabot, Eugène, ed. *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931-1961.
- Marvin, Laurence W. *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Mesqui, Jean. *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale: de la défense à la résidence*. Vol. I: Les organes de la défense. Paris: Picard, 1991.
- . "En guise d'introduction: question d'identités." Paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994.
- . "Les tours à archères dans le domaine Plantagenêt français 1160-1205." Paper presented at the conference "Fortifications dans les domaines Plantagenêt XIIIe-XIVe siècles: Actes du Colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 11 au 13 novembre 1994", Poitiers, 1994.
- Miquel, Jacques. *L'architecture militaire dans le Rouergue au Moyen-Age et l'organisation de la défense*: Editions Française d'Arts Graphiques, 1981.
- Newburgh, William of. *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*. Edited by Richard Howlett.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. *The Corruption of Angels, The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- . *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Peyrefitte, Alain. *Najac son histoire*. Paris: L'imprimerie Hemmerlé, 2001.
- Portal, Charles. *Histoire de la ville de Cordes en Albigeois (1222-1799)*. Third ed. Toulouse: Société des Amis du Vieux Cordes, Privat, 1984 Reprint, 1902.
- Poux, Joseph. *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description: L'Epanouissement (1067-1466)*. Vol. I. Toulouse: Privat, 1931.
- . *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description: L'Epanouissement (1067-1466)*. Vol. II. Toulouse: Privat, 1931.
- Roquebert, Michel. *Histoire des Cathares: Hérésie, Croisade, Inquisition du XIe au XIVe siècle*: Perrin, 1999.
- . *L'épopée cathare. III, Le lys et la croix, 1216-1229*. Paris: Perrin, 2007.

- S raphin, Gilles. "L'Enceinte de Cordes." *121e Congr s nat. soc. hist. scient.* (1996): 53-72.
- Shirley, Janet. *The Song of the Cathar Wars, A History of the Albigensian Crusade by William of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor*. Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996.
- Sibly, W. A., and M. D. Sibly. *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens : The Albigensian Crusade and Its Aftermath*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003.
- Sibly, W.A., and M.D. Sibly, trans., eds. *The History of the Albigensian Crusade, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998.
- Stubbs, William ed. *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*. London: Longman & Co., 1871.
- Sumption, Jonathan. *The Albigensian Crusade*. London ; Boston: Faber, 1978.
- Timbal, Pierre. *Un conflit d'annexion au Moyen Age, l'application de la Coutume de Paris au pays d'Albigeois*. Toulouse: Privat, 1949.
- Toy, Sidney. *Castles: Their Construction and History*. Second ed. Toronto, Canada: Dover, 1939.
- . *Castles: Their Construction and History*. Second ed: Dover, 1985 (1939).
- Veyries, G rard. *Histoire d'une Bastide: Lisle-sur-Tarn*: Mairie de Lisle-sur-Tarn, 1998.
- Vincent, Nicolas. "England and the Albigensian Crusade." In *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, edited by Bjorn K.U. Weiler and Ifor Rowlands. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Viollet-le-Duc, Eug ne-Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire raisonn  de l'architecture fran aise du XIe au XVIe si cle*. 10 vols. Paris: A. Morel, 1875.
- Wakefield, Walter L. *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Waringo, Pascal. *De la carri re au rempart: la pierre au Moyen Age*ND.
- . "La Construction des Fortifications de Cordes." In *Recherche-Conseil-P dagogie en Techniques M di vales de Construction*. Mailhoc, France, 2005.

Endnotes