SLIDES	CMRS MEDIEVAL FAIR LECTURE OCT 2014
	The Cathar Heresy in the Sculpture of Fourteenth-Century Cordes
Aerial view *CB photo* *Blanc photo* *Market photo* *Sculptures*	Words of praise and wonder from a diverse group of writers have described the medieval *castrum* of Cordes. Pierre Lavedan, a twentieth-century urban historian, called Cordes "a jewel of medieval urbanism" in his discussion of bastides.[1] Other visitors included the existentialist Albert Camus and the British army officer T. E. Lawrence. Camus wrote of Cordes as "... a hull encrusted with old and precious shells…at the edge of another universe..."and Lawrence considered it "…indescribable…without parallel…the town of a dream with a touch of nightmare."[2] Nineteenth-century architects went so far as to call Cordes "the Versailles of Languedoc."[3] These descriptions and others have contributed to a mythology which is rich with legends about its founder, Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1197-1249), about the Albigensian heresy and the Dominican inquisitors, about its numerous medieval mansions and their sculptures, and about bastides. This mythology informs the way contemporary inhabitants think of Cordes. Many of them, whether they were born there or came from other places, are proud of what they consider the special character of Cordes, which they define as "international." Because legend has it that Raymond VII created Cordes as a haven for Cathars and other outcasts of the post-Crusade south, Cordes is seen as a place where anyone is welcome. Every summer the heroic stature of the count is reinforced with a courtly procession and a re-enactment of the founding of the town. Inhabitants often compare Cordes with pride to other towns in the region which are also on the "Circuit of Bastides" that tourists visit. Cordes is undeniably rich with a mix of inhabitants who were born there and who have moved there from all parts of the world. Words make it so. These mythologies have forged the identity of the town as much as have its recorded history and its physical reality, and together with the undeniable drama and beauty of the site and buildings intimidate the writer who wishes to construct a history of Cordes. Yet mythology is critical to this portrait of Cordes and the Languedoc of which it was a part. That is because one of the most puzzling and unique aspects of Cordes is found in its numerous architectural sculptures—there are over 200—which adorn the facades of the medieval mansions. Their gestures and gazes hearken to the work of the southern troubadours and the themes they incorporated into their verses, as well as to works of prose that concerned myths of creation. They form one of the rare extant examples of secular sculptural

	patronage of their time, and whereas other features of the buildings of Cordes fit into an existing urban and architectural lexicon, these sculptures remain secretive and mutable in their meanings; they are lithic myths.
	Tonight I am going to tell you my story of the sculptures of Cordes, but I am also going to give you a little background on the region and the people that made Cordes possible.
Seal of RVII	Many of you, as medievalists, probably already know something about the Cathars of Languedoc. Theirs is a long and complicated story that I leave to others, and you will find references on the annotated bibliography that I've handed out. I will, however, give you a brief summary of their beliefs and their role in the culture of the south of France in the twelfth century, of the high points of the Albigensian Crusade against them, and of the role of Count Raymond VII in protecting them. This background will serve as the foundation for the central focus or "edifice" if you will, of my paper, which is the remarkable architecture and sculpture of the town of Cordes, founded in 1222 by the hero of our story, the above-mentioned count Raymond VII of Toulouse.
Dunbabin map of France	In fact, however, I must back up a little further, to begin with *terra firma*, and a description of the area about which I will speak, because geography and early history are very important to this story. First, here is a map of France, showing you the locations ofToulouse and Cordes with respect to that of Paris, a city which you recognize. Now to a little geography and ancient history. This map from an "aerial atlas" shows how the Garonne River, which flows through Toulouse, served as a super-highway for commerce from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. Beginning with the Greeks in the sixth century BC, who established ports along this southern coastline, the Garonne River served as an effective conduit of people and goods. The Romans exploited it to move goods back and forth from the lands surrounding the Mediterranean Basin to the British Isles, and after the lull following the demise of the Empire, it proved its use again in the twelfth century when the wine trade began to prosper.
United colors of Benetton	What happens in areas where commerce is king? The population is generally very diverse, and people are generally exchanging more than money and goods. They exchange ideas as well, so that these areas become sites of experimentation. And sometimes, the diversity that marks centers of trade makes it difficult for centralized

Ceres and deed	governments or religions to exert control, and that is exactly what happened in Languedoc. Commerce and the Roman occupation, which left the legacy of Roman law, which frustrated central control in two major ways. **First**, it enabled partitive inheritance. All children, whether male or female, could inherit and alienate, or give away, property. This rule and the general prosperity of the south meant that many, many people in this part of the world, as compared to northern France, owned land free and clear; this is called holding land "in alod." They were not about to pay taxes on it or be told what to do with it by anyone else. Incidentally, this inheritance
Carcassonne	practice led to castles often having ten, twenty, even as many as fifty different owners! This was in fact the case at Carcassonne in 1126, where there were sixteen different owners of the towers in the curtain wall.[4] Think of time-share condominiums and the associated problems of maintenance. The **second** problem that Roman law caused was that for powerful, ruling families, the partitive inheritance divided their domain and weakened their power. Compare the practice of primogeniture used in the North: lands amassed by the conquests of one man and their associated privileges—such as the requirement of the vassals on that land to fight for their lord whenever needed—passed to the oldest son intact. In the South, not only was the property divided amongst all children, but their vassals were more independent and could not be depended on to form an army when needed. The counts of Toulouse were one of the few noble families that practiced primogeniture, although they still faced the difficulty of managing their vassals'
Cordes cover	loyalties. All this by way of saying that the southerners of Languedoc were an independent and mercenary lot who considered themselves good Christians and Catholics but resisted the authority of the Church, and this is reflected in their tolerance of religions that were not quite up to snuff with local bishops and abbots and
Language slide	with the Pope in Rome. Let me clarify what I mean by Languedoc; it's easy. Basically the word reflects the language used to say the word "yes." In the northern half of France the word was "oeil," and it is primarily from this language of the Frankish tribes that we have our modern-day French. In the southern half of France the word was "oc," and the language used was Occitan, a language that retains more of its Latin roots than that of the north. The kingdom of France was quite small at the time of the

	Albigensian Crusade in the early thirteenth century. It consisted of an administrative center and court at Paris and several loyal dukedoms nearby. The counts of Toulouse, the most widespread and powerful noble family of the south, were considered by some to be equally powerful as the French king, and although the counts swore fealty to the king, laws, language, and habits were so different between the north and the south that they were effectively different countries. The unification of France under its king did not really occur until after 1270 and was in part the result of the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars.
Cartoon of hats for sale *Hell mouth showing cat* *St. Francis with cat* *Fall of angels*	The Cathar heresy that we are concerned with was one of several heretical sects that developed beginning in the eleventh century in western Europe, a development that has been linked to the Gregorian Reform of the Church.[5] Pope Gregory VII's (1050-1080) desire to cleanse his church of nepotism and simony—the practice of purchasing religious office—resulted in new rules that were far too idealistic to be realized. And one of the problems of the Church was that it had no established methodologies for preaching—this would come later in the early-thirteenth century (1216 for Dominic). The Church was big on bureauocracy but not big on reaching out to the masses. This is where the heretical movements stepped in; they were always concerned with preaching. At first their preachers were severe ascetics; dramatic personalities preaching isolation to their followers, but the momentum of the Cathar heresy, which grew at a fantastic rate in the latter half of the twelfth century, was based on working within communities and on providing community services as well as on leading lives of purity.[6] It is important to realize that the Cathars themselves did not call themselves "Cathars." They considered themselves "Good Christians," or *Bons Chrétiens*. The term Cathar came from Germany, where it was originally used, about 1163, as a Greek term meaning "pure ones." In fact, the popular spread of the word was a pejorative one in that the association was also made with cats. Heretics were suspected of kissing cat butts, and cats were often associated with Lucifer. Cats, for the Cathars, would have counted as valuable living beings just as any other animal was. They accorded a great deal of respect to all animals, and some believed that their souls would migrate through those of animals until they could reach a state of purity, similarly to eastern beliefs in reincarnation. The core beliefs of the Cathars are best summarized in a quote from Janet Shirley's book on the Albigensian Crusade: "Cathars believed in the existence not of

Cartoon with perfect and believers *Map showing lox of bishops*	one supreme God but of two gods who were equally powerful, one good and one evil; that 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 produced by sexual intercourse. (incidentally, fish were OK because they were thought to be the product of water) They also held that the Roman Church had been founded by the evil god to frustrate the work of Christ, and that Christ did not really die on the cross and therefore did not need to rise from the dead. 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."[7] One became a perfect through the *consolamentum*, a ceremony that followed a year's probation, after which the perfect—men and women—wore a simple black robe. Believers hoped to be "consoled" on their deathbeds, just as Catholics depended on the sacrament of Extreme Unction to wipe out their sins and send them on their way to heaven. Since this religion was all about avoiding material objects and unnecessary bureaucracy, meetings usually took place outside or in the houses of believers. Books were scorned, although the perfects did teach from parts of the Bible, and the Pater Noster, or Lord's Prayer, was important. There were bishops and deacons. The largest part of the Cathar population were believers, of course, and although many Cathars came from the rural nobility, many others had to work for a living. They often took jobs as weavers—in fact the term *texerant* was used to describe them—and as shoemakers. These jobs were desirable because they could be itinerant, and follow the preachings of the perfects. The Cathar heresy spread very quickly in Languedoc for several reasons. We have seen that this region was very diverse, and that a variety of beliefs were tolerated because of the legacy of the merchants and traders who constantly moved through. We have seen that people were very independent in this area because of the legacy of Roman law. There was a strong current of resistance to control by the Church and a distaste for its display of excess. In addition, this religion (I prefer this word to heresy, really) had an especially strong attraction for females in noble, rural families, perhaps because they found they had more control over their lives in their roles as perfects than they had had otherwise; perhaps as a rejection of a civil society that was every bit as flamboyant as the society of priests and monks of the time. And as women could own property here, many Cathar women opened up community houses to take

	care of widows and single women who were poor. Their hospitality was good press for the Cathars.
St. Bernard	There was much to recommend this religion, especially if one was satisfied with being a believer. However, we know that this happy picture I've painted of life in Languedoc was not to last. Preaching campaigns against the southern heresies began in the mid-twelfth century. The powerful abbot Bernard of Citeaux traveled to Toulouse with three others only to be ridiculed by townspeople at the city gates. Subsequent delegations were equally unsuccessful. Raymond VI was definitely *persona non grata* with Pope Innocent III when the Pope's legate was murdered on January 14, 1208 by one of the count's officials. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. With twelve of his cardinals and the new Bishop and Abbot of Citeaux, Arnald Amaury, gathered around him, Pope Innocent III extinguished a lit candle to signify that Count Raymond VI was excommunicated from the Church—not for the first time, however! The Pope called northern knights and abbots to lead the Albigensian Crusade—so called after the town of Albi which was considered the seat of the heresy—to exterminate the heretics and appropriate their property.
Dunbabin Map *Roquebert map*	In June of 1209 an army of crusaders met at Lyon on the Rhone River. They were led by Bishop Amaury since the King of France was busy fighting the English, and they numbered around 20,000, half of which were not fighting men but rather curious tradespeople, wives, and clerics who hoped to gain indulgences for the sins and perhaps some booty. The Crusade would continue for nine long years, and we obviously don't have time tonight for the complete story, but I will note some highlights that bear on things I will describe later. One highlight, or rather low light, occurred immediately. As the Crusaders rode southwards, southern knights and lords rode to meet them; some to surrender in advance, some to negotiate. Raymond-Roger Trencavel was one of them, and he controlled two important towns of the south: Carcassonne and Béziers. Understanding that Béziers was the first in line in the Crusaders' fire, he

begged the Bishop for forgiveness, but Amaury would not listen. Trencavel then rode like the devil to warn the people of his towns. At Beziers the inhabitants were sure they could defend their city, so the young count rode on to Carcassonne, but he insisted on taking the entire Jewish population with him, as they were the chief administrators of his kingdom.

Beziers

The inhabitants of Beziers could probably have defeated the Crusaders by holding out with the supplies they had within the walls of their city, but they made a fatal error, and that was to leave the city to harass the Bishop and some of the Crusaders who had come to parley before beginning the siege. Seeing their companions injured by arrows, the Crusader crowd went wild and stormed the city. The walls had not yet been manned, and so the Crusaders quickly entered the city. They were rabid. They killed everyone they came across: men, women, and children, and they set fire to everything they could. Hundreds of people had fled to the cathedral, which was torched and became a funeral pyre. Legend has it that when the Bishop Amaury was asked during this mayhem how the Crusaders would recognize the Christians, he responded, "Kill them all; God will recognize his own!"

Butcher scene

The horror of this event spread quickly and as the Crusaders continued their march they found many deserted towns and villages.

There would be many more scenes of carnage during the Crusade, and sites where hundreds of Cathars were burned as a lesson and as a spectacle. The Crusade was a force that disrupted the culture of Languedoc through violence, and the subsequent inquisitional period was almost worse as it encouraged spying and betrayal. An example of how difficult this period must have been for the people of Languedoc who considered themselves religious—whether Catholic, Jewish, or Cathar—is the quote from a southern knight, Pons Adhémar de Roudeille, who was asked by Bishop Fulques of Toulouse why he did not actively expel heretics from his lands. "We cannot," replied Pons, "we were brought up with them, there are many of our relatives amongst them, and we can see that their way of life is a virtuous one."[8]

Let us now turn to a ray of hope in this depressing prospect.

Joan's seal *Richard gisant Fontevrauld Abbey and gisants*	Count Raymond VI of Toulouse was a problematic leader. He was known more for his wild parties, multiple wives and mistresses, and vascillating politics. One of his wives was a daughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Her name was Joan, and she was first married to the King of Sicily, who died in 1189. She married Raymond in 1196, and their son Raymond was born in 1197. Joan seems to have been a remarkable woman, and I would love to be able to tell you more about her, but suffice it here to say that three years after the birth of her son she left the count, pregnant with her second child, to find refuge in the north with her brother Richard the Lionheart. Unfortunately Richard had just died from arrow wounds, and so Joan traveled to Fontvrauld Abbey, where he was buried and where she would end her days shortly thereafter. She requested permission to be entered in the order of nuns there, which was granted, and then, during childbirth, both she and the baby died.
Chanson Muret *Chanson Lateran*	Back at the ranch in Languedoc, the young Raymond VII was rapidly growing into a strong and handsome lad. Everyone remarked on his courage and good looks, and were probably anxiously anticipating the day when he would succeed his dad. Before the Crusade, he was brought up to accept the Cathars like everyone else and undoubtedly formed close relationships with Cathar members of the nobility. In 1213 he witnessed the Battle of Muret, which was a disastrous and bloody loss for the southern cause, in part because Peire II, the King of Aragon, normally a fierce opponent, had a severe sexual hangover. The fact that young Raymond was not allowed to fight because of his age probably hardened his hate for the Crusaders. Then he was sent away to England to live with his Plantagenet relatives for a while, and the Crusade continued. The southerners never quite recovered from the heavy losses at Muret, and the leader of the Crusaders, Simon de Montfort, was "elected" the new count of Toulouse. Finally in 1215 Pope Innocent III called delegations from both sides of the battle to Rome to settle the issue of property and leadership. The young Raymond was brought back from England—in disguise—to serve as the ace up the sleeve of the southerners. Faced with the loss of tremendous areas of land, they thought that presenting young Raymond as the official count would secure their claims to keep their lands. The boy had never been accused of heresy as had his father. The ploy did not entirely succeed, for Raymond VI was stripped of his lands and title. The boy, however, was praised for his "good blood," and given the lands he had inherited from his mother, which lay mostly in the east, in Provence. The Pope

	said that if the boy "truly loved God and his mother the Church God would give Toulouse back to him." He also said that "if the boy is valiant, he will know very well what to do, for the count of Montfort is never going to befriend him."
Chanson Beaucaire	The boy knew very well what to do. He left Rome and headed straight for the counts' castle at Beaucaire, which was occupied by Crusader troops. Raymond engineered a brilliant siege and attack, and secured his status as a hero for the south. The troubadours, constant companions of the counts, compared him to Christ, to springtime, and to the sun. They called him the "Ray of the world/monde." Raymond had other successes in taking back land from the Crusaders, and in 1216 was back in Toulouse with his father to help defend that city from Simon de Montfort. The siege of Toulouse was a long one, and the end of it and of the Crusade was anti-climactic. Simon was killed by a stone thrown by a woman from the battlements. Go, girl!
Chanson Marmande	Simon's son was weak and ineffectual as a leader so the French forces soon disintegrated and many towns that had been taken by the French happily renewed their loyalty to the counts of Toulouse. The city of Toulouse was compared to a wild animal that "neither the Church nor anything else can tame." But the French were not about to give up, and when King Louis VIII finally turned his attention to the south he managed to slaughter every man, woman, and child in Marmande in 1219. Skirmishes would continue for another ten years, until 1229, when 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 it 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.[9]
	Now I must backtrack just a little as I introduce the focus of my story, the town of Cordes. In August of 1222 Raymond VI died, and his son, our hero, became count. He would be the last count in the bloodline. Just a few months later he issued the charter for his first and only new town foundation: that of Cordes.
Views of Cordes from distance	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

Views from ramparts	limestone butte in the valley of the Cérou River, which is located about 60 miles north of Toulouse. This butte, the *puech* of Mordagne, was situated at an important crossroads and near a navigable river. The topography of this region is such that from every approach except that of the north, the full impact of Cordes is hidden until the last minute. In contrast, from the top of the puech, one has views for miles in all directions. It was the perfect defensible site. The count, however, was not only interested in defense. Before the Crusade had erupted, the counts of Toulouse had begun to establish new market towns along the Garonne River corridor as a very profitable venture. Montauban is one of the more famous of these. Raymond VII followed in his great-grandfather's footsteps, and after founding Cordes, issued many charters for small, existing settlements that encouraged them to grow. For Cordes, he issued a charter that established the town as a *castrum*, a term that was commonly used for a fortified towns. His charter offered new residents the rights to use his quarries and woods for building materials and freedom from taxes on the houses they would build there. Half of the twelve charter articles were commercial in nature, with special emphasis on textile merchants. This emphasis on commerce and on a monetary relationship, rather than one of service, 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.
Charter	
View of gates *Plan* *Linear illus*	To protect Cordes, Raymond VII had a sophisticated system of fortifications built to resist the French, but also to express 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.[10] Despite the agressive 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.[11] 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 large bourgeois mansions were built.
	Legend has it that Raymond founded Cordes to house the people that had been chased out of a nearby town, St. Marcel, by Simon de Montfort during the Crusade. There is no question that a new town with stout fortifications and freedom from taxes would be attractive to families that had been displaced by the Crusade, but

	the residents of St. Marcel were of modest means as were most residents of small towns in this region, and the houses that we will look at tonight were built by very wealthy people.
Mansions	When I first visited Cordes in 2001 I had already seen and studied many towns in this area, and I was astounded at the size and beauty of the medieval mansions of Cordes. Yes, some of them are neglected, and some have been disfigured by remodeling, but taken as an ensemble as one walks along the long main street of Cordes, they are remarkable. The answer to the mystery of their origin lies in two elements. One is that by the time these houses were built, beginning about 1250, the inquisition was in full swing, and many wealthy families were seeing their property seized because of their connections with heresy. This was certainly the case in Toulouse, and I believe that some of these wealthy nobility built houses in Cordes to protect themselves.
Map	The second reason is that Cordes rapidly became wealthy. The security provided by the site and fortifications attracted a diverse population that lived and worked in Cordes just as they had in Toulouse and many other towns before the Crusade. 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.[12] 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.[13] What Cordes did *not* have was an important religious institution such as a monastery or a cathedral complex, and in fact its largest church was allowed to fall 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.[14] The entire town had been excommunicated from the Catholic Church almost continuously since its foundation, either because of the count's actions or because of those taken by the consuls of Cordes. Since 1224 there was documentation of a weaving workshop at Cordes that employed Cathars. Between 1280 and the early 1300s the consuls of Cordes repeatedly protested against the inquisitional abuses of the Dominican Bishop of Albi,

	Bernard de Castanet, and it was probably in this time period that the legend developed that three inquisitors had been murdered and thrown in the deep well of Cordes.
Bldgs	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 commerical 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 *magnae aulae*, or "great rooms" that often served public functions.[15] 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. Cordes is all about drama; a drama that begin with the view from the distance, is enhanced by the steep and winding approach roads and the massive entry gates, and is finally realized in the relationship of the massive facades and their sculptures to the public open spaces of the town. It is as though the entire length of the main street of Cordes is a play, with each façade offering a different act to the spectators who crowded the streets below. From east to west, the narrative proceeds from opening acts of amusement and jollity, to warnings and lessons about persecution and greed, to a final ending of ambiguity—just as in many French movies!
Sculptures	With the sculptures of Cordes we return to the land of myth, and recall the haunting and poetic descriptions of visitors such as Camus and Lawrence. These sculptures are the "precious shells" on Camus' upturned hull; they are the "touch of nightmare" in Lawrence's dream.[16] Like shells, they encrust the prominent facades of the mansions of Cordes. Like nightmares, they remind us of the power of our imaginations. Just as Dobby in Harry Potter or Greedo from Star Wars simultaneously frighten us and arouse our curiosity, because they have human characteristics but are also physically distorted, the hybrid figures of Cordes probably prompted fear and wonder in the medieval inhabitants and visitors of that town. We must remember that the medieval mind of Languedoc saw a world of symbols, with meanings derived from many sources: Celtic myths, the Bible, the Jewish Talmud, Bestiaries are some examples. Trees were never just trees, a horse was never just a horse. Now many of these figures are stock characters, and they are found primarily on churches. Art historians have analyzed them in a religious context, and they are

	sometimes called "marginal" figures because they represent the margins of society: disfigured people and monstrous animals; and because of their locations in and on church buildings. Generally they are placed under eave lives so they are barely visible from the street below. And generally they do not interact with one another. At Cordes they took on new meaning. First, although their figures may suggest they are "marginal," their placement is anything but. They are carefully arranged to align with or to complement window openings, and to emphasize organizing axes of the facades, and the facades in turn on which we find them are facing public spaces. In addition to acting as these delimiters of space, they also complement each other with their interlocking gestures and gazes. Finally, and this is very important, unlike the church sculptures, these sculptures would have been intimately visible from inside the buildings.
	Let us make a tour of Cordes and see what these sculptures may be saying about life in Languedoc in the years following the Crusade.
Map *Bldg view* *Façade drawing* *Window* *Sculptures* *Dogs* *Dogs and humans*	The first group of sculptures that most medieval visitors to Cordes would probably have encountered are located on three houses which face the center of town; the large public market and the courthourse. These are the Maisons Carrié-Boyer, Prunet, and Grand Fauconnier. [17] The sculptures on these facades are for the most part amused and amusing. The facade of the Grand Fauconnier is arguably the most elaborate in Cordes primarily because of its window design, but it also contains thirty-six sculptures, most of which are original. All but two are animal or fantastic forms. The birds of prey, which are usually associated with positive, noble qualities, were all along the top of the façade at each arch-head, and here they turn to face inward, as though keeping watch on the monsters and goats that inhabit internal imposts. [18] Other sculptures nearby are stand-ins for their human patrons: this monkey gapes down at the crowd in the street just as the person standing in the window may have done. From above, one sees dog heads below craning their necks to look upward or leaning out to look down. Amongst the dogs that dominate the first floor is one that smiles goofily, and another that leans pensively on its forepaws as if studying street life. Even the humans here take on dog-like qualities. This one leans on his forearms as though begging for a bone. Dogs were important because they made Cordes wealthy. Dog skin from Cordes—the *can de Cordoa*—was sold for leather.[19] Dogs were also

	associated with the Dominicans—the *domini-canes*—and the people of Cordes had a very antagonistic relationship with the nearby Dominicans from Albi.[20] The façade is thus organized so that birds of prey rule the upper, spiritual zone, and frame the misbehaving world of simians, goats, and monsters. Dogs rule the 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.
map *house* *house closer* *Façade drawing* *sculptures* *drawing* *hunter* *archer boar and stag* *piper* *hare*	Continuing westward, the next façade with a significant number of sculptures faces the place of the church of Saint-Michel, and this is where we find the most obvious connections to the Crusade. This is the Maison du Grand Veneur, a house owned by the Rabastens, a noble family containing Cathars. When the house was built, the church of St. Michel was "in ruins" and although it was rebuilt, it may have been that the owner took advantage of a time when his façade would be unles less scrutiny than usual to put the sculptures in place. 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 it is here that we see the horrors of the persecuted Cathars: 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.[21] The middle zone contains a "hunt scene" that runs across the second story wall, with, from left to right, a man on horseback, a boar followed by a dog and a "withered" tree, an archer, a hungry dog, a stag, a piper followed by another hungry dog, a fourth hungry dog chasing a fat rabbit, and finally a tree full of fruit. Before describing my interpretation, let us look at the figures for their typical medieval associations. The noble hunter is often linked to the *milites Christi*—the soldiers of Christ. The archer is also a hunter, but not as noble as the mounted man, and his clothing reinforces this lower status. The piper is a common man, but his piping may be very attractive to the stag as stags were thought to love music. Both the boar and the hare that frame the hunt were associated with greed and lust, I will argue that the dogs seen here are Dominicans. The stag is a positive figure, often representing Christ or "a good friend" because stags were known to support each other as they crossed rivers in herds. The window arches that separate the figures are all crowned with

	eagles, who represent noble, positive qualities. The only sculpture on the first floor wall, located on a center-line that aligns with the stag, is a Janus-head. These figures were often used to represent the month of January, or the changing of the year, but they could also symbolize concepts of duality.
diagram *Stag and j head* *Stag and piper* *Dogs at ends*	This is a complex arrangement, and could be interpreted in many ways, and in fact may have been designed to offer an ambiguous reading, but I will offer one idea that seems to suit the nature of Cordes as a place resistant to the persecution of Cathars. My reading depends on a focal point along a vertical center line more than it does on a traditional reading from left to right, a reading reinforced by the sculptural arrangement on one other building in Cordes. This center line contains the stag, the positive symbol of Christianity/purity/friendship, which I will interpret here as the Christianity of the Cathars, and the Janus-head, which in this case I suggest to be the dualistic nature of Cathar belief. I find that to either side of the "spiritual center" there are transgressions, which are framed at either end of the scene by symbols of "good." The stag runs from the archer and towards the piper, and is pursued by a hungry dog, just as is the piper. Both pursuing dogs are on higher ground lines than their prey—a traditional art-historical reading would be that they are further away from us the viewers—and so I think they have lost the scent—they have no concept of the nature of purity or of true Christian beliefs. I think that all the dogs in this scene are Dominicans. The Dominicans of Albi were notorious for their wealth derived from the seizure of Cathar property, and they were criticized for their worldly excess as well. [22] This idea is reflected in the figures of the dogs close on the heels of greed and lust—the boar and hare—and here the dogs are very close to their targets indeed! To the right, the rabbit runs for the fertile tree, which will soon become withered as the tree on the left became after the greedy Dominican swept through. Our rider figure is important. He sits pensively and calmly at the edge and resists the boar with his presence. I think he represents the count, who will force the Dominicans to turn back from Cordes. Indeed the boar is stopped in his tracks as he looks back at his pursuer.

diagram	In the lowest zone of this facade, we find dogs again, but their expressions are benign and bemused similarly to those of the Grand Fauconnier, and they accompany other characters that would be comfortable in a medieval parade such as bears, and hybrid characters. In sum, the upper-most zone represents the horrors of the Albigensian Crusade, graphic descriptions of people who may have died and "gone to heaven in the sky." Although far from the street, they are the most dramatically carved, making their message clear. The middle zone with the hunt scene is given the authority of the eagles on the arch heads, who support the strength of the spiritual message by their associations with God. They and the hunter, the stag, the piper, and the Janus head defy the greed and base nature of the Dominican dogs. The lowest zone near the street is inhabited by characters who can easily identify with the crowds, an ever-changing stream of animals and humanity.
Map *Street views*	The third façade that I would like to show you is found at the edge of town, at the "margin" as it were, and indeed this façade contains more "marginal" figures than any other. Whereas the previous façade, that of the Maison du Grand Veneur, contained figures that seem to express ideas about the Crusade and the abuses of the Dominicans, the façade of the Maison du Grand Ecuyer is more ambiguous and much more somber in its expression. Perhaps it is the dark grey limestone, perhaps it is the lack of exuberant Gothic decoration on the windows, perhaps the height of the windows from the street, perhaps the expressions on the sculptures; but the summary experience is unsettling and provocative and suggests a debate between the forces of good and evil. Whoever the owner, they spent a lot of money on this façade. The moldings and the sculptures are among the most finely-carved in Cordes, and there are more of them than anywhere else. There are seventeen large façade sculptures and over forty small figures carved into the window jambs and moldings.
Eve, Fighter, Hybrid	How are these sculptures "marginal?" Their most obvious association with marginality is that several of them are animal or human hybrids, enigmatic figures which were often associated with evil and with heresy simply because of their muddy identities. But they were also of interest in an increasingly secular world that was interested in science and magic. Were fish really born spontaneously out of water? Perhaps they were the result of eels mating with elephants. Bestiaries, medieval books about animals, their habits and symbolism, depended greatly on the natural historians

Jamb figures	of Antiquity like Pliny, but experiment and experimentation was the order of the day. Reproductive processes and shape-shifting were of special interest—interpretations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and secular novels in which people changed shape or became werewolves were increasingly popular.[23] The late-thirteenth century was also a time when book production really took off, so that contemporary ideas about these issues were more widespread than before, when books were rarely found outside of monasteries. And, although I will focus on the seventeen façade sculptures this evening, I want to note that the forty plus figures which are carved into the window jambs are equally interesting—one might compare them to the marginal commentaries in medieval texts. They inhabit the window jambs like whispers, many of them facing inwards to address the building's inhabitants. And most of them wear stern or anxious expressions.
Façade diagram *Sirens* *Siren*	The sculptures here, as everywhere else, order the façade. They occur along regulating lines at the edges and center. I think that the sculptural "program" or narrative, is organized around a central figure; a siren. She is found not only on the vertical center line of the façade, but roughly at the geometrical center as well. In medieval magic circles, the power resided at the center, and if this siren is like most medieval sirens, she is evil, as are these sirens behaving badly by luring sailors to their doom. And like most sirens, her formal attributes are ambiguous. She has the long, flowing hair of a young woman under a respectable enough wimple, but her face is haggard. Her facial features are crude, and her wide eyes reflects the greed with which she bites into the fruit she is holding. She is nonchalant: her "legs" are spread, and her left arm is crooked aggressively to rest on her massive tail. The sculpting of the serpent tail is really quite beautiful compared to the rough carving of her face. Her gaze is aimed at us, the passers-by in the street.
Façade diagram *Eagle and bagpipe with siren*	Her centrality is emphasized by all of the figures on the façade. Those inhabiting the same string course both face her, and although their curving forms, which echo each other, are natural to their activities, they also suggest deference. The barefoot bagpipe player has carefully sculpted toes which make his position seem even more precarious than it is. He is one of two musicians on the façade who both appear to be playing to the siren. To the east, an eagle has a hare in its talons. Hares or rabbits are generally symbols of lust, so we might conclude that the noble force of the eagle has conquered lust. Perhaps the evil of the siren is neutralized by these

"framing" sculptures, but as we look at the other figures, we will see that her power is also reinforced in several ways.

Lion

The other sculptures on the central vertical axis also seem to relate to the siren. Just above her is a howling lion, stretching out and upwards away from the siren as though reacting personally to her evil aura. Lions are almost always associated with noble and good qualities, and this one seems to be no exception. Perhaps he calls to the figure above him for help. After all, he is "enclosed" by two harpies (half-women, half-dragon/birds) who inhabit the ends of his string course.

Lion with harpies
Back to diagram

Vieille player

This figure, which I think is a woman, would be the only fully human woman on the façade, a respectably-dressed bourgeois playing a vieille. She is one of the largest sculptures, and she bends on one knee to play her instrument, leaning towards the siren, again a sign of deference to the power of evil. Music can be used to seduce sailors, as we have seen, but it can also be used to calm turbulent spirits. In the twelfth-century creation myth *Cosmographia*, Silva, "the Platonic equivalent of original sin, who held all the animal, plants and humans of the world in chaos," is calmed by refinement and the "harmonious bonds of music."[24]

Silva was a complicated figure containing both good and evil qualities, and it may be that our siren is not as evil as she seems. She may be the creative force of nature that was so problematic for Christian thologians. She may refer to the Hermetic text of Asclepius, which Cathars used as a source of authority for the idea that human beings were assisted by demons, who were half-human, to perform their worldly duties such as cultivation of the earth, animal husbandry, and human procreation.[25] She may be the expression of the internal conflict of understanding male and female forces, another theme of the creation myths.[26] Over and over again these goddess figures debated the medieval normative, much as we debate the legality of same-sex marriage.

Fool

The lowest figure on the center line, the one who engages most intimately with us, may be the figure of resolution to this entire dilemma. She or he is suspect as a hybrid—and may also be a fool figure. But if the eyes are lowered, as they seem to be because no drill holes are apparent as in other sculptures, this fool's expression is one of thoughtfulness. The head is tilted as though listening to the debate above, and

	the smile is Mona-Lisa-like, mysterious and perhaps a little rueful. The expression seems so wise and benign to me that it defies the normal negative associations.
Diagram with arrows *East and west dogs*	The figures that share the string course with this fool both engage with our gaze as we approach from either end of the façade, and direct our gaze to the vertical center line with their postures. They seem to be questioning the world order of the façade. On our left, a plump hybrid that appears as a dog/dragon—based on other dog faces in Cordes—faces center but looks back at approaching passers-by with raised eyebrows. To the west, a hungry dog with a bone in its mouth is also looking back over his shoulder towards the street. Is this a Dominican hungry for prey who has had no success at Cordes? If the commentary on the Maison du Grand Veneur, already in place when this sculptures were carved, was a model we might say yes.
Diagram *Top figures* *Swordsman*	The figures that complete this ensemble are four false gargoyles carefully placed just under the eaveline. They are the largest sculptures by far and their position defines—or reflects—the centerlines of the windows.[27] Their shared attributes encourage us to group them, and their gazes and gestures connect them to the sculptures below. All four figures sit on their haunches, but the three animals are clearly differentiated from the swordsman by their calm demeanors and their reconizable species; they are carved with enough detail to differentiate the cloven hooves of the bull from the paws of the lion and the hooves of the horse. They are noble simply by being fully themselves, but also in their common associations.[28] The lion was the king of beasts, the first to be described in bestiaries, almost always associated with honor, courage, and ferocity in the face of evil, and a model for human behavior.[29] Both the horse and bull were domestic animals valued for their service, and the horse was associated with wealth and military prowess. [30] In contrast to this stately trio, the hybrid swordsman surges forward and twists himself to the left to pull his sword from behind its small round shield with his right hand.[31] He is wearing a hood and cape, but his legs are the haunches of a large quadraped, and his feet are webbed and clawed. He has a broad face with a flattened nose, his brow is furrowed, and his thick-lipped mouth is open to cry or scream. Everything about him suggests savagry: his hybrid form, his agressive posture with his sword, and his rough features, which recall those used by Marco Polo to describe the “savage” and “devilish” men of Zanzibar.[32] Yet this figure also wears a hood and cape that might be seen on many medieval men, including the Dominican preachers, who entered Cordes from the direction he faces. Perhaps his scream is a rebuttal to the

Diagram of good and evil *Figures* *Final slide*	inquisitiors from Albi. A reading of these four figures by themselves suggests 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.[33] If we look at them in combination with the others, they might be part of a border of "goodness" that frames the most evil figures. Some evil does escape—in the form of the fighter, the dragons on Line 2, and the hybrids and possibly the dog at the edges of the bottom line and the hybrid fool at the center closest to the street—but that figure gives us pause. Her wry smile seems to sum up the struggle. She acknowledges that everyone can change character under certain circumstances. Human beings can become savage animals and animals can become thoughtful, noble creatures. Just as the Cathars questioned and puzzled over the simultaneous existence of good and evil, just as the myths spun out verse after verse debating the ambiguity of gender, these sculptures mediate between two worlds. I argue that they offer us more than a marginal commentary on a text, and more than a didactic moral lesson. They offer us a profound puzzling over the nature of humanity, a puzzling which had been debated in the courts of the counts by the troubadours, which was being debated in many contemporary texts, and which was central to the doctrines of the Cathars.[34] These debates were possible in a region whose rulers had encouraged artistic expression and who had been tolerant of religions considered heretical by Rome, and they continued to be possible in the town of Cordes which, lacking a dominating religious insitutution, had by and large allowed that liberal culture to continue. Thank you.

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Endnotes

[1] Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire De L'urbanisme, Antiquité - Moyen Age* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1926), 315.

[2] Camus wrote:(*...cette carène, incrusteé de vieux et précieux coquillages, s'est échouée tout au bout du monde, à la frontière d'un autre univers..).* "Ils Ont Écrit Cordes...Voyageurs, Historiens, Romanciers, Poètes: Exposition Du 2 Octobre Au 2 Décembre 2004," ed. Cordes-sur-ciel (Gaillac: L'imprimerie Rhode, 2004), 46. The Lawrence quote is from page 32 of the same catalog. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[3] Verdier and Cattois wrote: "Its position at the summit of a mountain, isolated from all sides, is perhaps unique in France. From any point of the horizon that one sees it, it rises towards the sky with its two or three remaining towers, and looks very much from the distance like one of these capitals of the little republics of Italy so well-placed in the Apennines…one can think of it as the Versailles…of Languedoc." (*Sa position au sommet d'une montagne isolée de toutes parts est peut-être unique en France. De quelque point de l'horizon qu'on l'aperçoive, elle se dresse vers le ciel avec ses deux ou trois tours subsistantes, et présente bien dans le lointain l'image d'une de ces capitales des petites républiques d'Italie si bien posées dans les Apennins...on peut considérer Cordes comme le Versailles ou le Saint-Germain du Languedoc au moyen âge*.) Aymar Verdier and François Cattois, *Architecture Civile Et Domestique Au Moyen Âge Et À La Renaissance: Dessinée Et Décrite*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librarie archéologique de V. Didron, 1855-1857), Vol. II, 161, 207-08.

[4] Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London ; Boston: Faber, 1978), 21.

[5] Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy : Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2002), 44.

[6] In 1022 a dozen monks, including the personal confessor for the queen, were burned alive in Orleans by order of the King of France, Robert the Pious. One can't help but speculate on blackmail.

[7] 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).

[8] 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), 25.

[9] For an English translation of the Treaty, see ibid., Appendix C, 138-44., For a brief summary in English, see Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 127-29., 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. Vaissete* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1872), Vol. 8, cols. 883-93., Roquebert has provided Latin texts of both the prelimiary draft from Meaux and the final treaty for comparison, as well as translations in French. Michel Roquebert, *L'épopée Cathare. Iii, Le Lys Et La Croix, 1216-1229* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), 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.

[10] 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, *Hgl*, Vol. 8, col. 891.

[11] 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.

[12] 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.

[13] 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 juraverunt*). 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 (1984) ed. (Toulouse: Société des Amis du Vieux Cordes, Privat, 1902), 249 and following; Rossignol, *Cantons De Cordes*, 56-62.

[14] 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.

[15] 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 *Demeures Médiévales, Coeur De La Cité* (Paris: Rempart, 1999), 35, 59. There are also references to Italian civil buildings in Verdier and Cattois, *Architecture Civile*, 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 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.

[16] Camus wrote:(*...cette carène, incrusteé de vieux et précieux coquillages, s'est échouée tout au bout du monde, à la frontière d'un autre univers..).* "Ils Ont Écrit Cordes," 46. The Lawrence quote is from page 32 of the same catalog. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[17] 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. *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. Christelle Lazarro, "Cordes Au Moyen Age: Recherches Sur Les Maisons Médiévales Du Xiiie Et Xive Siècles" (Mémoire de Mâitrise, Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, 1998), 111-15.

[18] The birds that sat at the heads of the arches have been removed, and there are three at the *Musée Charles Portal*.

[19] Portal, *Cordes*, 495. The leather industry was sufficiently prosperous in the mid-fourteenth century that it drove the decision to rebuild the market *Halle*.

[20] 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, 65, and 66.

[21] 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. Kenaan-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 Kenaan-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 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): 136-37.

[22] 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).

[23] Bynum 104, Benton Gargoyles 156-60, Bovey 19, Randall 131.

[24] Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 73-75.

[25] Fraser 131.

[26] Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Newman, 43-47. Texts: Cosmographia, De Planctu Natura.

[27] There is only one fourteenth-century building with a comparable type of projecting sculpture in the region, and that is the Maison des Loups in Caylus, a few kilometers north of Saint-Antonin. The Maison des Loups is a much smaller building than the Maison du Grand Ecuyer, about half the size of the Grand Ecuyer. It has projecting "false gargoyles" at the edges of the façade and at other locations, symmetrically arranged for the most part. The sculptures are quite eroded and it is difficult to say that they are indeed wolves, but they are all some type of animal. They lack the complexity and finesse of execution of those at the Grand Ecuyer, and may have been an attempt to mimic the design at Cordes. For discussions of this building, see B. Loncan, "Des Maisons Du Xiiie Au Xvie Siècle À Caylus Et À Saint-Antonin," in *Caylus & Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1993), 230-31; Pradalier-Schlumberger, *Toulouse*, 189.

[28] Whether in an animal or a human, any sign of a "dual or conflicting" nature was generally suspect, and gargoyles were generally depicted as hybrids or grotesques, which makes these figures unusual. Nona C. Flores, "Introduction," in *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Nona C. Flores (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 152; Janetta Rebold Benton, "Gargoyles: Animal Imagery and Artistic Individuality in Medieval Art," ibid.

[29] Joyce Salisbury, "Human Animals of Medieval Fables," ibid., 49; Wilma George and Brunsdon Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (Duckworth, 1991), 46-49; Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1971), 451, 53, et alia. Lions displaying their ferocity were often depicted with straight manes and furrowed brows, but the posture, curly mane and smooth brow of this one suggests he rests in a peaceful, watchful state. Janetta Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie* (New York: The Abbeville Press, 1992), 85-86. These lions may also have been references to the heraldic devices used by the Angevins. Klingender, *Animals*, 451.

[30] 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. Stock, *Myth*, 73-75.

[31] His armaments are commonly found depicted in a variety of manuscripts. Jack Lindsay, *The Troubadours and Their World of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London: Frederick Muller, 1976), 87, 253; Randall, *Images*. "Tower Manuscript" (Royal MS 14E iii) which is a treatise on martial arts.

[32] His facial features suggest the depiction of a black African. Medieval descriptions of Ethiopians and of the inhabitants of Zanzibar –the latter by Marco Polo (1254-1324)—associated them with savagery, laziness, and stupidity, and in the extreme, they were compared to devils. Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 85-86.

[33] 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. Stock, *Myth*, 73-75.

[34] Examples include Robert Grosseteste's "Chateau d'Amour"—stress on argument over accord (c. 1253) (Newman 44), the debate of the gender of Christ by the Spanish Jews in 1221 (Newman 48), and the exploration of the gap between a literal biblical interpretation and the work of natural science (52).