

Society of Architectural Historians Annual Conference April 2014 Austin, Texas

Vetted Paper for:

Session: Can We Call It Medieval Urban Planning?

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Title: Medieval Zoning Codes and the Proto-Bastides of Languedoc

Note: I was invited to talk on this topic at the Texas Medieval Association Conference in Denton, Texas in October of 2014 as well.

<i>SLIDES</i>	<i>SAH 2014</i>
<p><i>Title slide</i></p> <p><i>Map of Languedoc</i></p> <p><i>Point out</i></p> <p><i>Lady Gaga and cardinals</i></p>	<p>If by “urban planning” we mean the conscious arrangement of space in towns and cities, then I argue that urban planning existed in the Middle Ages in Languedoc, and that it began along the Garonne River corridor. It would be disingenuous to say that planning “began” anywhere, although undoubtedly as towns like Narbonne and Toulouse in this region grew and developed <i>bourgs</i> at their peripheries there was some conscious thought of zoning. Tanning, fulling, and milling were all activities which needed to be near water and tanning in particular isolated from habitation because of the use of lye. No one wanted their children to see the prostitutes, or to have a butcher’s refuse pile next to the street used for consular processions, and access to the marketplace had to accommodate the Model Ts of the thirteenth century.</p>
<p><i>Map of proto-bastides</i></p> <p><i>Table of towns</i></p>	<p>Today I want to examine this question of planning in more detail, in the new town foundations of this area that preceded the Albigensian Crusade of 1209 and in what I call the proto-bastides of Raymond VII, through the charters that either defined these towns as new or gave them new relationships with the count. My proto-bastides are towns that Raymond and his lieutenant Sicard Alaman founded or chartered in the years immediately following the Crusade and up to the time of Raymond’s death in 1249. From that point forward his titular successor Alphonse de Poitiers made it a priority to charter many of the towns in this area as bastides.</p>
<p><i>Atlas Aérienne</i></p>	<p>Although the stories of the bastides and their historiography are fascinating and I could tell you much about them, this paper is about their predecessors. In Languedoc, these predecessors were characterized by increasing control of town affairs by consular bodies, regular lot or house allotments and an emphasis on</p>

	commerce.
	The relative independence of these towns was the result of long-standing land-holding patterns and by the unique political situation under the counts of Toulouse. Languedoc contained a large number of allodial land-holdings from the fourth century thanks to the economy, the political structure, and the persistence of Roman law. Although a good deal of this land passed into fief-holdings beginning in the twelfth century, the memory of independence was strong. When Count Raymond IV left Toulouse in the late eleventh century to develop his castle at Beaucaire in order to help support travel to the Holy Land for the First Crusade, he set the process of the recovery of this latent independence in motion.
<i>Map of Toulouse</i>	Toulouse was “left” to fend for itself, and when Raymond’s son Alphonse-Jourdain became count in 1114 he was forced to concede much power to the “Good Men,” or consuls, of Toulouse, who began to direct municipal affairs at the end of the eleventh century. In 1152 when Raymond V took power, he too was forced to confirm regulations proposed by the Common Council (<i>commune consilium</i>) of the <i>ville</i> (the city) and of the <i>faubourg</i> (the bourg) of Toulouse ¹ An important shift had occurred, both in power structure and in physical identity. This reversal of power provided a model that became the norm for many newly drafted town charters beginning in the early thirteenth century.
<i>Higounet sauvetés</i>	The formal aspects of these proto-bastides, especially their grid-like forms, derived from another germ of “town planning” specific to Languedoc: the establishment of the <i>sauvetés</i> of the eleventh century. The <i>sauvetés</i> , or <i>salvetats</i> , were settlements established by religious houses in the eleventh century on their land at first as a response to the depredations by the <i>milites</i> (soldiers or men employed as fighters), and later with the goal of putting land into production. ² The land used for these developments had often been donated by individuals or families for the “salvation of their souls and remission of their sins.” ³ <i>Sauvetés</i> have been considered the ancestors of later <i>bastides</i> because they were often new foundations and their charters specified boundaries and equal lot divisions, although usually they did not include provisions for markets or commercial

	<p>activity.⁴ The special character of <i>sauvetés</i> is also highlighted by the practice of marking their boundaries with crosses at the corners of what was often an orthogonal parcel of land, as a sign that intruders risked excommunication from the Church as punishment for trespass.⁵</p>
<p><i>Higounet map showing Belmont</i></p>	<p>The <i>salvetat</i> of Belmont is one example. It was the first recorded creation of a <i>salvetat</i> under the protection of the abbey of Moissac and it was made by a layperson, At Inard of Villenur, sometime between 1059 and 1071. The <i>salvetat</i> was to be built on allodial land that he gave to the abbey and was to include thirteen lots, or <i>casals</i>. This donation is unusual in that the lord, instead of the monastery, was responsible for laying out the settlement “with the counsel of the vicars” (<i>cum consilio vicariorum</i>)... “so that the streets would descend towards a fountain,” (<i>sicut carreiras descendunt versus fontem</i>).⁶</p>
<p><i>Escudier map of Fronton</i></p>	<p>The Cistercians and the military orders also played an important role in establishing settlements, and especially in the clearing of forests and in developing land for agricultural use.⁷ The Hospitallers and the Knights Templars take first prize for clearing land and putting it into production through their sponsorship of villages and farms. About 1120 a large tract of land—1,500 hectares or 3,705 acres—was given to the Templar commandary at Fronton, located 30 kilometers south of Moissac, with the condition that a new population center be established. The donation specified that 300 <i>casals</i> were to be established for a <i>sauveté</i>, each of them measuring 4 <i>sétérées</i> (<i>IV sectairatis</i>), or about 5 hectares (roughly 10 acres), and all of it to be marked at the limits by crosses.⁸ Although later the word <i>casal</i> would always indicate a house plot, here the <i>casal</i> included space for gardens and fields.</p>
<p><i>Map of area Map of Montauban Photos</i></p> <p><i>Map of</i></p>	<p>Twenty-four years later Montauban was founded as a new town with house lots arranged around a square, central market place. The story of its foundation is high drama starring the Abbot Albert II of St. Théodard and Count Alphonse-Jourdain of Toulouse. Both were celebrated transgressors of the law. The abbot has been criticized for heavy taxation as well as for his exploitation of women, and the count had been excommunicated first in 1122 and secondly in 1141. The abbot controlled the town of Montauriol on a plateau above the confluence of</p>

<p><i>confluence</i></p>	<p>two important tributaries of the Garonne; the Tarn and the Aveyron. This position guaranteed considerable financial profit to whoever controlled the passage of boats through this area.</p> <p>On the 6 of October, 1144, Alphonse-Jourdain went to Montauriol with his son Raymond ostensibly to make a pious donation to the Abbot of land situated at this confluence.⁹ Three days later, in Toulouse, the count wrote a charter establishing his own town of Montauban at the same place—and his charter promised what has been called a “fiscal paradise” by some.¹⁰ It was written (in the sixteenth century) that the “vassals of St. Théodard abandoned the town of Montauriol in one night to move to the adjoining land chartered by the count. Naturally Abbot Albert retaliated—he gathered forces to destroy the efforts at new construction—but the military forces of the count overwhelmed him.¹¹</p>
<p><i>Map of Montauban</i></p>	<p>What might constitute a “fiscal paradise”? There are three elements that suggest this “fiscal paradise”: first there is the marketplace, which, based on its size—and also on the number of details in the charter related to commerce—anticipated a good return on the count’s investment and enterprising townspeople. It was the first of its size in a new town and the first with clearly defined lots for living set out around it. Secondly there is the common lot size, which would have promised equality in ownership, at least in theory. The first item of the 1144 charter states what the inhabitants of Montauban will pay the count for their lots. “For each lot of six <i>estadios</i> of width and twelve <i>estadios</i> of length (about 20 by 40 feet), the count shall collect 12 deniers (pennies) up front and 12 deniers tax each year. The third item is an additional concession made by the count allowing all inhabitants, without exception, the right to take wood from his forest and to hunt there.</p>
<p><i>CB drawing</i></p>	<p>New settlements such as Montauban of the mid-twelfth century and later often are distinguished by provisions in their charters that specify similar lot sizes for inhabitants to “have, hold and possess” (<i>habere, tenere, et possidere</i>) building materials or houses, and modular garden plots and fields.¹² Although not mentioned in the charters, water and waste management were early concerns, too. If house gables faced the street, narrow passages were provided between</p>

	<p>house walls for fire protection and also for downspouts or roof run-off. In cases where the the ridgelines ran parallel to the street, there must have been some coordination amongst neighbors. In fact in Aurillac one abbot acted as a mirco-manager of public facades and utilities, setting out rules for roof alignment, water drainage, and even window and door configuration. ¹³.</p>
<i>Map with market towns</i>	<p>Although Montauban remained the most successful town on the northern Garonne, several other market towns were founded in this area near the river in the years before the Crusade. ¹⁴ They all had large market places and their charters anticipated market activity, with detailed lists of associated fees and fines. They were also often laid out in regular patterns that contained modular building lots, in similar fashion to the <i>sauvetés</i>, not surprising given that both these types of settlements were located in flat, previously undeveloped areas.</p>
<i>View of Cordes and plan</i>	<p>Political tensions and the resulting Albigensian Crusade interrupted town development for the counts beginning in the late twelfth century. The next wave of town development occurred immediately after the death of Simon de Montfort in 1218, when Raymond VI and his son worked to issue charters for many towns in their territory primarily to secure oaths of fidelity, but also to encourage commerce. Cordes was the first new town established after the war. Founded by Raymond VII in 1222 right after his father's death, it clearly reflects the contradictory desires of the young count. It was established on one of the best defensive sites in the region in order to discourage the King's forces, yet its charter emphasized commerce, and was the first to mention a consular body and to establish a purely monetary relationship between citizens and the count.</p>
	<p>Raymond VII fought the King until 1229, when he was forced to cede his territory to the monarch in the Treaty of Paris, and agree that any new towns he built would be without walls. ¹⁵ Some have credited this document for the characteristic grid form of the bastides, although that seems simplistic given the practical nature of the grid for market activity.</p>
<i>Map of towns chartered by SA and RVII</i>	<p>Between 1229 and 1249, Count Raymond VII and his lieutenant Sicard Alaman chartered or founded about 32 towns altogether in an area of about a 50 km</p>

<i>Table of towns</i>	diameter south of the Aveyron River and in the Tarn and Agout drainage basins. ¹⁶ Most of these towns are now listed as bastides, which means that either they were re-chartered by Alphonse de Poitiers after 1271 as such or that they were chartered by Sicard Alaman. Raymond VII never seems to have used the term bastide in his charters.
<i>Map of Lisle</i>	Lisle-sur-Tarn is one of the first new towns that Raymond founded, and it's unfortunate that we don't have the charter, because it is now considered the "first" bastide, despite the absence of a charter with the associated term. This is mostly because of its grid and the significant size of its market place, which is almost a dead ringer for that in Montauban. Based on the count's architectural ambitions seen in the fortifications of his town of Cordes it seems that he had every intention of following in his ancestor's footsteps in establishing a profitable town in Lisle. Alas Lisle never grew to prosper like Montauban, but the huge market place remains a testament to the count's ambition.
<i>Map with their locations</i>	Buzet and Castlenau-de-Lévis are two of these proto-bastides which <i>do</i> have charters. In both, lot sizes and associated taxes are found in the first part of the documents, suggesting that these were crucial elements for attracting inhabitants to the new or newly-reorganized towns.
<i>Need slide</i>	Buzet was a town which came into existence as a <i>castrum</i> between the years of 1237 and 1241, as Raymond VII gradually bought up property on either side of the Tarn River. In 1241 he chartered Buzet as <i>castri nostri</i> (our <i>castrum</i>) with a list of 43 items. The first ten items of the charter are about property, taxes, and land use. House sizes (Item No. 2) are specified rather than lot sizes: six <i>brachiarum</i> in length and four in width (about 18 x 12 feet in size). However, inhabitants already owning smaller or larger homes could keep them and pay accordingly—this charter item tells us that there was an existing settlement of some kind. Anyone living outside the town boundaries, whether <i>in villa seu in boria</i> , would pay less for their property: 3 denari (pennies) vs. 6. New inhabitants would receive 1 <i>pugneratam</i> in local measure (or .25 acres) for one penny, and 1 <i>quartenatam</i> of land (1/3 to 1/2 acre) for growing vines for three pennies—but everyone could have 1 <i>saxteriatum</i> (1/6 of an arpent or about 8920

<p><i>Latin</i></p> <p><i>Latin</i></p>	<p>SF) for free. Skipping down to the middle of the charter (Item 28), we find that inhabitants can also build dovecotes and rabbit houses on their property.</p> <p>We find a detail in Item 8 that may relate to Raymond VII’s tensions with the Church. Here, no one could mortgage or sell property to <i>milites</i> or their sons, or <i>clerici</i> (whether or not from a religious house).</p> <p>Item 9 states that the count will keep his oven here, and Item 10 states that no one will build a new mill—both items again indicating the presence of an existing tax-generating establishment.</p> <p>Item 37 describes the boundaries of the castrum, using familiar landmarks; both natural and manmade such as rivers, trees, fountains, gates (<i>portum</i>), hills, rivers, ovens, and mills.</p> <p>And finally, Item 38 says that the market will be every Wednesday “wherever you will.” Earlier, in Item 23, lodged within the section on justice, it is said that healthy meat can be sold anywhere (<i>qualibit</i>).</p>
<p><i>Map</i></p> <p><i>Photos</i></p>	<p>Castelnau-de-Levis, developed by Sicard Alaman, is interesting for its social zoning. The <i>puy</i>, or prominent outcropping on which this town was built, was given to Alaman by Raymond VII in 1235, probably in an effort to evade the terms of the Treaty of Paris and keep a fortified site close to the borders of Albi, an important town which had always been controlled by a rival family, the Trencavels. Perhaps it was the importance of this role as a frontier town that ensured the social hierarchy which was encoded in the charter.</p> <p>The charter from 1256 is not the first, but it is the most detailed, and in it Sicard Alaman promotes the town as though it were new, and invites people to settle here in exchange for the typical amenities. From the beginning, the site is divided into the <i>cap del castel</i> and the <i>barri del castel</i>. The <i>cap</i> includes the castle and several existing houses, which would not be taxed, and the <i>barri</i>, the suburbs surrounding the hilltop, will be the location for the new house lots, which would be taxed. There, people can have an <i>airal</i> of 4 <i>cannas</i> wide and 6 <i>cannas</i> long for their house (about 7 x 10 meters or 22 x 32 feet). New inhabitants are not allowed to build in the <i>cap del castel</i>. If you lived in the <i>cap</i>, or “head” of town, you were considered a <i>cavallier</i>, and if you lived in the</p>

	<p><i>barri</i>, you were a <i>barrian</i>. This charter specified a body of consuls (<i>coossols</i>), 4 from the <i>barris</i> and 2 from the <i>castel</i>.</p>
<i>Cordes charter</i>	<p>Conclusion</p> <p>Over and over again we find these headlines in the charters of the proto-bastides which address common lot sizes and related taxes or tax relief. At a time when many small towns had been disrupted and many industries were reeling with the events of the Crusade these clear-cut and generous offers from lords anxious to stabilize their subject populations must have had their intended effect. Although a cursory glimpse into what we would call “planning,” these charter items offer us some useful indicators of small town life in this region. I suggest that the standardized settlement allotments reflect a desire to homogenize regional populations, yet it is clear that in some locations it was important to maintain the older social strata. This rural aristocracy was becoming increasingly threatened as the middle class grew, an inevitable result of the economic growth of this time. The charters may seem as though they are leveling the field, but the high number of their items which deal with commerce indicate that the marketplace and its concomitant diverse and transient population inevitably led to conflict. Indeed we find that disputes about property size and use around the marketplace become increasingly common in the later fourteenth century.</p>
	<p>Finis</p>

	<p><i>Bibliography</i></p> <p>Biget, Jean-Louis. "La Sauveté De Vieux-En-Albigeois: Reconsidérations." <i>Annales du Midi</i> 102 (1990): 19-27.</p> <p>Cénac-Moncaut, M. <i>Les Anciens Comtés D'astarac Et De Pardiac</i>. 1993 ed. Paris: Res Universis, 1856.</p> <p>Cheyette, Fredric L. <i>Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.</p> <p>Cursente, Benoît. <i>Des Maisons Et Des Hommes: La Gascogne Médiévale Xième-Xvème Siècles</i>. Toulouse: Presses Université de Mirail, 1998.</p> <p>De Vic, Claude, and J. Vaissète, eds. <i>Histoire Générale De Languedoc Avec Des Notes Et Les Pièces Justificatives Par Dom Cl. Devic & Dom J. Vaissete</i>. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1872.</p> <p>Devals. <i>Histoire De Montauban</i>. Montauban: Imprimerie de Forestié Neveu et Compagnie, 1855.</p> <p>Escudier, Adrien. <i>Histoire De Fronton Et Du Frontonnais</i>. Toulouse: Imprimerie Doulacoure-Privat, 1905.</p> <p>Fau, Jean-François, and Jean-Claude Fau. "Montauban." In <i>Atlas Historique Des Villes De France</i>, edited by Charles Higounet, J.B. Marquette and Philippe Wolff. Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1982.</p> <p>Garrigou Grandchamp, Pierre. "Les Maisons Urbaines Du Xe Au Milieu Du Xiiie Siècle: État De La Question." In <i>La Maison Au Moyen Age Dans Le Midi De La France</i>. Toulouse: Imprimerie Moderne, 2001.</p> <p>Hautefeuille, Florent. "La Fondation De Villes Neuves Dans Le Sud Ouest De La France Au Xiie Siècle: Du Bourg Central Au Bourg 'Mercadier'." <i>Revue de l'Agenais</i> 131, no. 1 (2004).</p> <p>Higounet, Charles. "Cisterciens Et Bastides." In <i>Paysages Et Villages Neufs Du Moyen Age : Recueil D'articles</i>, 265-74. Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975.</p> <p>———. "La Plus Ancienne Sauveté De L'abbaye De Moissac: La Salvetat De Belmont." In <i>Paysages Et Villages Neufs Du Moyen Age : Recueil D'articles</i>, 215-20. Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975.</p> <p>———. "Nouvelle Approche Sur Les Bastides Du Sud-Ouest Aquitain." In <i>Paysages Et Villages Neufs Du Moyen Age</i>. Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975.</p> <p>Mundy, John Hine. <i>Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230</i>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.</p> <p>Rykwert, Joseph. <i>The Idea of a Town : The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World</i>. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.</p>
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Endnotes

¹ 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. 7, 218. Raymond V spent most of his time and energy in the east, at the counts' castle of Beaucaire on the Rhone River. "Until the 1180s...his assistance to Toulouse was remarkable only in its insufficiency and tardiness." John Hine

Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 52. For other criticisms of the political policies of Raymond V, see Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), Chapter 15. De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 7, 228., This act, which described the judicial system and two separate courts – that of the count and that of the Common Council (*commune consilium Tolose*) – was signed by six *capitularii*, four *constituti iudices*, and two *advocati*. Members of this group seem to have been from a mixed background – some from noble families, others from the rising merchant class.

² Benoît Cursente, *Des maisons et des hommes: La Gascogne médiévale XIème-XVème siècles* (Toulouse: Presses Université de Mirail, 1998), 188-91.

³ (*ob remedium animarum nostrarum et ablutione peccaminum nostrorum*). A good example of this process is the *bastide* of Mirande (located about 80 kilometers west of Toulouse), which had its genesis in a land donation of 1135 to Abbot Vaucher of Sainte-Marie-de-Morimund to found a monastery at the *casal* of Berdoues by Bernard II the Count of Astarac and his son Sanche. About 100 years later, The Count of Astarac decided to found a town of his own to compete for revenue. He and the abbot met in front of the king's representative in Toulouse in 1282 to negotiate the terms of this new *bastide*, which was called Lézian for a short time before its name was changed to Mirande (“Admirable”) to advertise its success (or anticipated success) to prospective inhabitants. M. Cénac-Moncaut, *Les anciens comtés d'Astarac et de Pardiac*, 1993 ed. (Paris: Res Universis, 1856), 23-31.

⁴ Many of them were re-chartered as *bastides* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and these later charters invariably included provisions for commercial activity. The explosion of town foundations called *bastides* (often defined as “new towns,” but only some of which were truly “new”) did not occur until the late thirteenth century. See Introduction. Also see Charles Higounet, “Nouvelle approche sur les bastides du sud-ouest Aquitain,” in *Paysages et villages neufs du Moyen Age* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975). Also from this collection of essays: “Les chemins de Saint-Jacques et les sauvetés de Gascogne” (207-214), “La plus ancienne sauveté de l'abbaye de Moissac : La salvetat de Belmont” (215-220), and “Les sauvetés de Moissac” (221-228).

⁵ One example of this practice occurs at Vieux, a *sauveté* that was founded around 1040 by a Bishop Amiel and an Abbot Adelard. The count Pons of Toulouse, who donated the land and church to the monastery, wrote that he himself would plant the crosses: *Ita ut si aliquis infra cruces et signa, quae ego defixi, aliquid mali fecerit, aut per ullum malefactum aliquem vel aliquid invaserit, nisi episcopus, aut abbas, vel praepositus pro justitia aut rem suam vel alienam alicui tulerit...* Jean-Louis Biget, “La sauveté de Vieux-en-Albigeois: Reconsidérations,” *Annales du Midi* 102(1990): 21; De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 5, cols. 304-06. In Roman towns, *pomoeria* were trenches created for the boundary walls that were associated with sacred rites, and this practice may have present in Languedoc as a precedent for the *sauveté* boundaries, but no connection has as yet been made. For a discussion of the *pomoeria* of Roman towns, see Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of A Town : The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and The Ancient World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 29, 126-27.

⁶ Charles Higounet, “La plus ancienne sauveté de l'abbaye de Moissac: La Salvetat de Belmont,” in *Paysages et villages neufs du Moyen Age : recueil d'articles* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975). Another example from this source is the *villa* of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, which was established on 10 hectares (24 acres) just southwest of Moissac in 1135 as one of the first partnerships, or *paréage*—this one between the monastery and Saxet, the viscount of Lomagne and Auvillar. These *paréages* became a defining element of the *bastides* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

⁷ The Cistercians entered this area in the early-twelfth century, and set up their monasteries where they found land yet undeveloped. Many of the Cistercian granges became *bastides* in the thirteenth century. ———, “Cisterciens et bastides,” in *Paysages et villages neufs du Moyen Age : recueil d'articles* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1975).

⁸ This was one of thirty-seven donations made to the commandery at Fronton between the years of 1120 and 1270. The donation specified that 300 *casals* were to be established for a *sauveté*, each of them measuring 4 *sétérées* (*IV sectairatis*), or about 5 hectares, and all of it to be marked at the limits by crosses. Wood could be taken from a nearby forest, fishing rights were allowed, and it was expected that the new inhabitants would grow vines or wheat, as taxes on those two crops were specified. The spelling as well as the size of *casales* (or *casals*, etc.) is quite variable. In some settlements they were meant to be small building lots just large enough for a house and a garden. Here they obviously were expected to contain a small farming plot. The word *sétérée* was used as a term of land measurement related to the unit of grain measure, the *setier*, being the amount of land that could be sown with one setier of grain = about 2 acres. Adrien Escudier, *Histoire de Fronton et du Frontonnais* (Toulouse: Imprimerie Doulacoure-Privat, 1905), 17-31.

⁹ *ad villam edificandum, ut prefatus Abbas et monachi, sicut voluerint, ibi editicent.*

¹⁰ Jean-François Fau and Jean-Claude Fau, "Montauban," in *Atlas Historique des Villes de France*, ed. Charles Higounet, J.B. Marquette, and Philippe Wolff (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1982).

¹¹ Devals, *Histoire de Montauban* (Montauban: Imprimerie de Forestié Neveu et Compagnie, 1855), 11, 253 Vol. I.

¹² Most houses were built of wood, and access to wood in the landholder's forests "for the purpose of building" (*ad faciendum & hedificandum ibi domos*) was often specified in the charters, although none of these wooden structures have survived from before the fourteenth century. This phrase, used commonly, is from the charter of Montastruc, a town about 60 km to the southwest of Cordes. The charter was issued in 1242 by Sicard Alaman. De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 1081.

¹³ This connection is based on an example mentioned by Garrigou-Grandchamp from the monastery village of Aurillac, where the abbot kept close watch on matters such as this as well as aesthetic issues. There is evidence that he regulated façade alignment, the shape and size of window openings, party wall construction, and wastewater treatment. 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), 91.

¹⁴ These towns include: Montech (1134), Villemade (1144), Lavilledieu (1150), L'Isle Jourdain (1150), Grisolles (1155), Castelsarrasin (before 1176), Cayrac (1176), Villemur (1175-1178), and Lauzerte (1170-1180). Florent Hautefeuille, "La fondation de villes neuves dans le Sud Ouest de la France au XIIe siècle: du bourg central au bourg 'mercadier'," *Revue de l'Agenais* 131, no. 1 (2004).

¹⁵ (*Villas tamen non inforciatas bene poterimus facere in terra, que dimittitur nobis, si voluerimus*). De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 889.

¹⁶ This from St. Blanquat's list.