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University of North Texas, Denton, Texas

Session: Geography and the Medieval City

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

<i>SLIDES</i>	<i>TEMA 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>Higounet bastide map</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 were part of the recovery period afterwards. I call these towns proto-bastides because they have aspects central to the contemporary definition of bastides, yet none of them were called bastides when they were founded. Many of them, however, were re-chartered as bastides at a later date.</p> <p>A quick note on bastides, which form a significant sector of medieval urban history. A simplified definition is that bastides are new towns established in the southwest of France between 1250 and 1350. There is much more to the story, and the development models for the bastides are an important part of it, and that is my topic today. Many of these models were settlements and chartered towns in the territory controlled by the counts of Toulouse beginning in the eleventh century. With the goal of showing that bastide</p>

	<p>towns were just one late manifestation of an impressive rural and urban development movement in the Garonne River Basin, this paper explores the charters of some of these proto-bastides for evidence of new relationships between lords and the people living in the lands under their control. The provision for houses and lots of equal dimensions; for a body of consuls, sometimes elected by town citizens; and an emphasis on commercial activity are key attributes of these charters. The persistent presence of these elements in the charters of towns founded or re-chartered between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth century suggests that rather than erupting as a new phenomenon about 1275, the bastides followed on the heels of well-established relationships and experiments in residential development and in a monetary economy.</p>
<p><i>Snidley</i></p> <p><i>Charter of Cordes</i></p>	<p>All of these defining elements had roots in long-standing land-holding patterns and by the unique political situation under the counts of Toulouse. Many of the people of Languedoc had been land-owners from the time of Roman occupation in the first century, as Roman law enabled all children to inherit property, including women. Alods, or free-holdings, were dominant until the early-twelfth century, when a high percentage of land began to pass into fief-holdings.¹ There was a flood of freemen “borrowing on their home equity” for several decades, and it wasn’t until after the Albigensian Crusade in the early-thirteenth century that this pattern reversed itself as new towns were founded with very attractive terms of land ownership. These new opportunities to have control over one’s property must have been very welcome.</p> <p>We also find that women are very present in the charters of these towns. In almost all of them, whether in Latin or in Occitan, the salutations are addressed to both men and women (<i>hominibus et mulieribus</i> or <i>totz hom et tota femna</i>, for example). The items concerning alienation and inheritance repeat this formula, as do most other items in the charters. And one of the charters—that for Puybegon—was issued by the mother of Sicard Alaman as the town had been part of her dowry.</p>

<p><i>Count leaves</i></p> <p><i>Map of Toulouse</i></p>	<p>The municipal self-governance that marks the charters of these proto-bastides was related to the <i>laissez faire</i> politics of the counts of Toulouse and their priorities in the late-eleventh century. After Count Raymond IV left Toulouse for his castle at Beaucaire in preparation for the First Crusade, the “Good Men,” or consuls, of Toulouse began to govern municipal affairs there. When Raymond’s son Alphonse-Jourdain became count in 1114 he was forced to concede much power to these consuls. 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.² 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. Many of these charters include provisions for similar consular bodies, who were often officials elected by townspeople.</p>
<p><i>Higounet sauvetés</i></p>	<p>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.³ 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.”⁴ <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 activity.⁵ 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.⁶</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>).⁷</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.⁸ 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>sétérees</i> (<i>IV sectairatis</i>), or about 5 hectares (roughly 10 acres), and all of it to be marked at the limits by crosses.⁹ 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</i> <i>Map of Montauban</i> <i>Photos</i></p> <p><i>Map of confluence</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 and 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 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²</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 relative to the town size 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,” building materials or houses, and modular garden plots and fields.¹³ Although not mentioned in the charters, water and waste management were early concerns as well. Narrow passages called <i>entremis</i> were placed between house walls to allow for downspouts draining water and also as a means of fireproofing. In Aurillac one abbot acted as a mirco-manager of public facades and utilities,</p>

	<p>setting out rules for roof alignment, water drainage, and even window and door configurations.¹⁴</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.¹⁵ They all had large market places and their charters anticipated market activity, with detailed lists of associated fees and fines. Some were 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 protect it from the French, yet its charter emphasized commerce, and its location at an important crossroads ensured its success in the next 100 years.</p>
<i>Map of Lisle</i>	<p>Raymond VII fought the King of France 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.¹⁶ Some have linked the grid plan and open form of the town of Lisle-sur-Tarn, located just a few miles from Cordes, to this requirement, and it is unfortunate that we don't have the early charters, because Lisle is now considered the "first" bastide, despite lack of evidence for the term. The only surviving medieval charter of 1462 persists in calling it a <i>locum</i>. Its identity as a bastide is due to its fairly rigorous grid and the significant size of its market place, which is almost a dead ringer for that in Montauban. Alas Lisle never grew to</p>

	<p>prosper like Montauban, but the huge market place remains a testament to the count's ambition to follow in his great-grandfather's footsteps.</p>
<p><i>Chart from St. B</i></p> <p><i>Quote in Latin</i></p>	<p>The count was not about to stop with Lisle-sur-Tarn. Between 1229 and 1249, Raymond VII and his lieutenant Sicard Alaman chartered or founded about 32 towns altogether in an area of about a 50 km diameter south of the Aveyron River and in the Tarn and Agout drainage basins.¹⁷ Most of these towns are now listed as bastides, which means that they were re-chartered by Alphonse de Poitiers after 1271. Raymond never used the term bastide in his charters, but his lieutenant did. It seems clear that for Alaman the word "bastide" denoted a new town. In both the charters for Bouloc and Montastruc we find a phrase that describes other new towns founded by the count of Alaman as bastides, and makes it clear that people moving to the town in the charter from one of those bastides will be penalized. In other words, Alaman wants a guarantee that, once founded, his new bastides will stay populated. This is curious because in fact Raymond's towns pre-figured the bastide model more closely than did Alaman's in that their charter terms are generally more generous to inhabitants.</p>
<p><i>Cad plans of Bouloc, Montastruc, and Lauzerte</i></p>	<p>The prime focus of this study has been a comparison of the description of equally-sized lot and building allotments, and given the persistence of these descriptions, it is surprising that none of these towns have a definite grid plan. There are several possible reasons for their irregular shapes, however. The first is that most of them were established where people were already living and working. The charter of Buzet in particular makes it clear that there was an existing settlement. The second is that, even though Raymond VII may have been more cavalier in his land acquisition policies than his successor, he was still constrained by property boundaries already in place. Again, the charter of Buzet describes the boundaries of the town and shows how they related to existing monuments and adjacent property boundaries. Much of the area in which Raymond VII and Alaman were developing their towns had been already exploited, whereas the famous grid-like bastides established by Edward I in Aquitaine were placed in areas that were not so well developed.¹⁸ The third reason is that, although it may have been ideal</p>

	<p>for the notaries of the count and his lieutenant to collect taxes in a tidy manner from a given number of equally-sized properties, in reality people quickly bought and sold property and their property boundaries shifted accordingly.</p>
<p><i>Map with their locations</i></p>	<p>I will finish by briefly describing sections from the charters of two of the nine towns I have analyzed: Buzet and Castlenau-de-Lévis. Buzet was “founded” by Raymond VII and Castlenau-de-Lévis by Alaman. 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 these new or newly-reorganized towns.</p>
<p><i>Map and photos</i></p>	<p>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 ½ acre) for growing vines for three pennies—but everyone could have 1 <i>sexteriatum</i> (1/6 of an arpent or about 8920 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><i>Map and 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</p>

	<p>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 <i>barri</i>, you were a <i>barrian</i>. This charter specified a body of consuls (<i>cozzols</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.</p>

Indeed we find that disputes about property size and use around the marketplace become increasingly common in the later fourteenth century.

	Bibliography
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Endnotes

¹ Cheyette, *Ermengard*: 220-32; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1994), 260; Philippe Ruiz, "Un 'grand domaine' en Pays Toulousain au milieu du Xe siècle, d'après le testament d'Isarn d'Escatalens," *Annales du Midi* 109(1997).

² De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 7, 218, 28. Raymond V spent most of his time 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.

³ Benoît Cursente, *Des maisons et des hommes: La Gascogne médiévale XIème-XVème siècles* (Toulouse: Presses Université de Mirail, 1998), 188-91.

⁴ (*ob remedium animarum nostrarum et ablutione peccaminum nostrarum*). 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.

⁵ 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).

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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).

⁹ 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 *sétérees* (*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 *sétéree* 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.

¹⁰ *ad villam edificandum, ut prefatus Abbas et monachi, sicut voluerint, ibi editicent.*

¹¹ 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).

¹² Devals, *Histoire de Montauban* (Montauban: Imprimerie de Forestié Neveu et Compagnie, 1855), 11, 253 Vol. I.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ 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).

¹⁶ (*Villas tamen non inforciatas bene poterimus facere in terra, que dimittitur nobis, si voluerimus*). De Vic and Vaissète, *HGL*, Vol. 8, col. 889.

¹⁷ This from St. Blanquat's list.

¹⁸ Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages; Town Plantation in England, Wales, and Gascony*: 369.