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The foundation, planning and building of new towns in the 13th and 14th centuries in Europe : an architectural-historical research into urban form and its creation

Boerefijn, W.N.A.

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2 THE BASTIDES OF SOUTHWEST FRANCE

In the 12th to 14th centuries, new towns were founded just about all over Europe. There are, however, regions and periods in which the intensity of foundations is considerably higher than average. Southwestern France is one of the most extreme examples of such a region. (fig. 0.3) Between about 1220 and 1370, at least 350 new towns were founded here, in a relatively small area, by various lords.¹ (fig. 2.1) These new settlements, which are known by the name *bastides*, largely determine the settlement pattern and the cultural-geographic image of southwestern France up to the very present.

While the first chapter of this study concentrated on eleven new towns that were founded in Wales under King Edward I, the present chapter treats the much bigger group of *bastides* broadly, in order to get a general view on the subject. Of course, this implies that the individual town foundations can not be discussed in as detailed a fashion as the Edwardian towns of Wales.

2.1 Introduction: geography and history

The region in Southwest France where these many new towns were founded is best known by the name *Aquitaine*. The Roman provinces *Aquitania Secunda* and *Tertia* evolved into the territorial unity of the duchy *Aquitaine*. This duchy once largely covered the present administrative regions of *Aquitaine* and *Midi-Pyrénées*, but the boundaries changed over time, and the area was reduced in the course of the centuries.

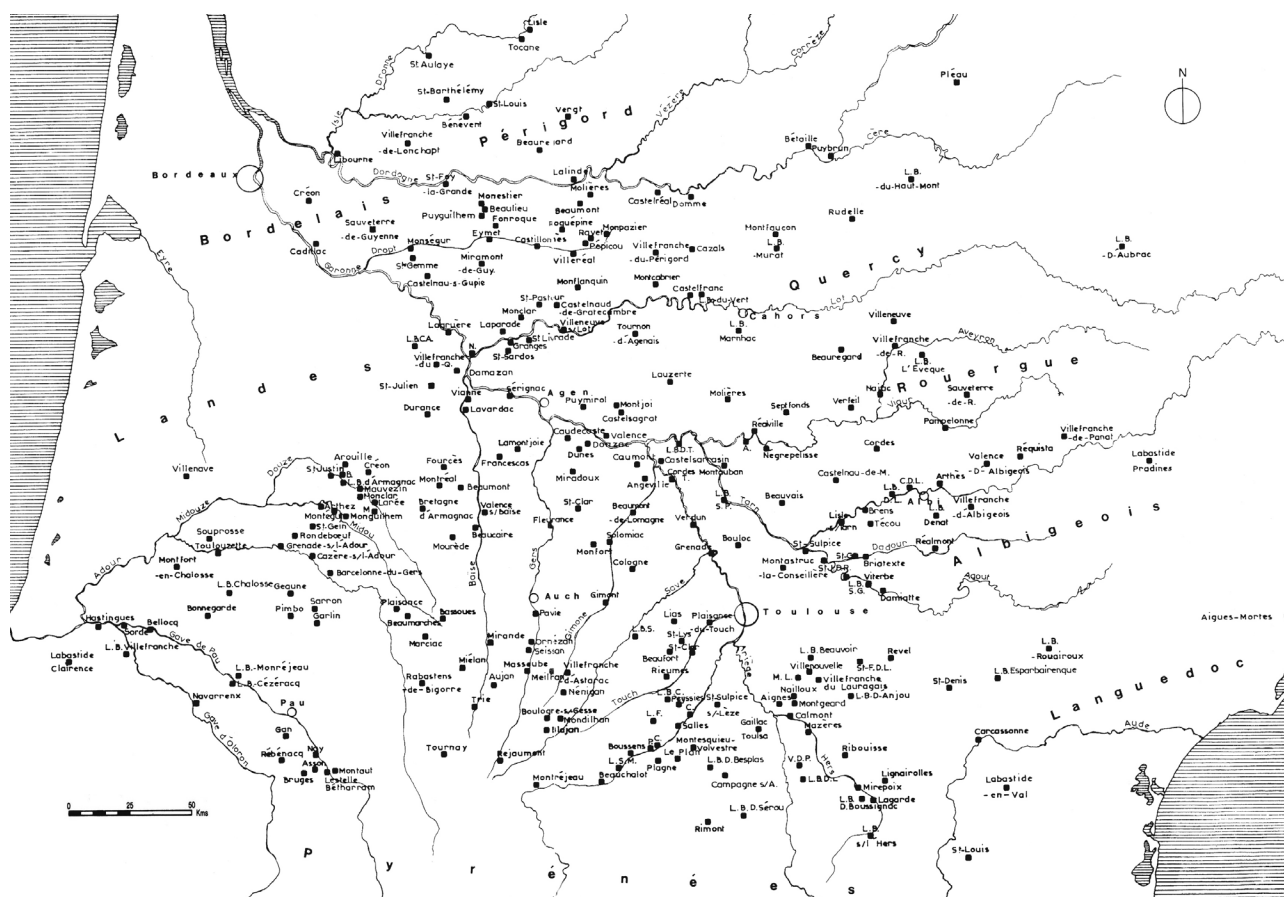


fig. 2.1: Map of Southwest France, showing the locations of bastides that have been clearly identified as such. The open circles are not bastides, but cities of regional importance. (From: Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985) Apart from these bastides, there are many more, which are not indicated because they have not yet been clearly identified, either because they never attracted significant settlement, or because they have (largely) disappeared.

1 There is no consensus about the exact number of new foundations. The most important estimates from the literature on the subject are: Higounet 1975 (1), p.350: c.400; Higounet 1992, p.17: c.300 bastides founded between 1222 (Cordes) and the second half of the 14th century; Weyres 1969, p.57: 400 to 500 between c.1250-1350; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.13: almost 500 between 1222 (Cordes) and 1373 (Labastide-d'Anjou); Erlen 1992: c.350 between 1144 (Montauban) and the late 14th century; Randolph 1994, p.290: almost 700 in the 13th and 14th centuries; Heers 1990, pp.96, 102-107: c.400-500; Bernard 1993, pp.10-11: 589 identified bastides.

In the 12th to 15th centuries, the duchy was in the hands of the Plantagenet kings of England, and it covered roughly the northwestern half of the whole area this chapter is concerned with. In England the duchy was commonly called Gascony and in France it was commonly known as Guyenne. The southeastern half of the area under consideration consisted mainly of the county of Toulouse, but along its southern and its western fringe (partly in between the two greater lordships of the duke and the count) there were a number of small, more or less independent lordships.² (figs. 2.2, 2.3)

The region consists of the drainage basins of the rivers Garonne (which more or less forms its central axis), the Adour in the southwest, and the lower part of the Dordogne in the north. (fig. 2.4) The lowland through which these rivers flow is called the *Bassin Aquitain*. It consists of a hilly landscape with an average height of about 135 m., which is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean in the west, by the Pyrenees in the south and by the *Massif Central* in the east. In the north the boundary is less clear, with a gradual transition to the less fertile sandy soils of the *Limousin*, which can be regarded as a historically separate cultural region.³

Already in the Roman era the region had been important because it formed the connection over land between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe on the one hand, and because of the passage between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean by way of the valleys of the Aude, Hers and Garonne on the other hand.⁴ After the Roman era the region also formed an important crossroads of interregional traffic. The role of traffic over land even grew considerably in the 11th to 13th centuries, as Santiago the Compostela became one of the most important pilgrimage destinations, and the routes to this city in present northwest Spain, which all came from the north, necessarily led through Aquitaine. In the period considered in this study, these routes were of high economic importance to the region.⁵

In the 11th century the area was still largely uncultivated, despite the fact that the soil generally was quite well suited for agriculture. Primeval oak forests and heath covered a large part of the land. The fact that there was a lot of uncultivated ground is, in part, explained by a low population density.⁶ In the following centuries a growing population led to a strong increase in the cultivation of the land and the creation of many new settlements.

2.1.1 Territorial and political history

The region which is presently called southern France could hardly be called by that name before at least the 13th century. The region to the east of the river Rhône was still part of the Holy Roman Empire; and though Languedoc and Aquitaine were theoretically part of the kingdom of France, in practice the king had very little power here. The mighty lords of the house of Saint-Gilles had built a more or less autonomous territory there, having acquired the lordships of various political regions, as viscounts of Beaucaire, marquises of Provence, dukes of Narbonne and, mainly, as counts of Toulouse. With these offices, they probably were more powerful than the king of France himself, who only held actual power in a relatively small area in northern France. The king of Aragon meanwhile, held most of the Mediterranean coastal area between the mouth of the Rhône and the Pyrenees, with its wealthy cities of Montpellier and Perpignan.⁷

The duchy of Aquitaine had come into the hands of Henry II Plantagenet (1133-1189) through his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204) in 1152, before he became king of England in 1154. Subsequently, it remained in the hands of the English crown for three centuries. This was much to the irritation of the king of France, who was formally the overlord of the land, but whose actual authority over it was very limited. In the year 1202, however, the region of Poitou in the northern part of the duchy was confiscated by the French crown.⁸

2 Beresford 1967, pp.348-349; Randolph 1994, p.302, n.70; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.21; Higounet 1975 (2), pp.657-658; Erlen 1992, pp.97-98.

3 Higounet, 1975 (2), p.657; Bernard 1992, p.17; Bernard 1993, p.47; Calmettes 1986, pp.31-32. For a more detailed geographical description of the region, see Pinchemel 1986, pp.21ff, 65ff.

4 Beresford 1967, p.364.

5 Bernard 1993, pp.121-122; Randolph 1994, p.302; Higounet 1975, pp.207-214. The main traffic streams still largely follow the same routes. The connection between the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts still follows the same route from Narbonne via Toulouse to Bordeaux, where rivers (Aude, Hers and Garonne), canal (Canal du Midi), railway and highway follow largely the same path. The importance of the roads through the passes over the Pyrenees has decreased, however, in favour of the coastal routes. (see fig.2.4)

6 Erlen 1992, pp.98-100. The population of Aquitaine must have been about 40% of the total population of present France at the end of the Roman era, but it decreased to only about 10% in the 12th century. (Randolph 1994, p.302) On the reclamation of the region, see Higounet 1975 (2), esp. pp.658-676.

7 Sumption 1978, pp.16-18, 22-23; Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.67; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.21-22; Dubourg 1997, p.44.

8 Beresford 1967, pp.348-351; Randolph 1994, p.303. After Poitou was lost by the Plantagenets in 1202, the duchy was mostly called Gascony instead of Aquitania. (Beresford 1967, p.349) The region presently known as Gascony is only the southwestern part of the much larger area of the then duchy of Gascony.

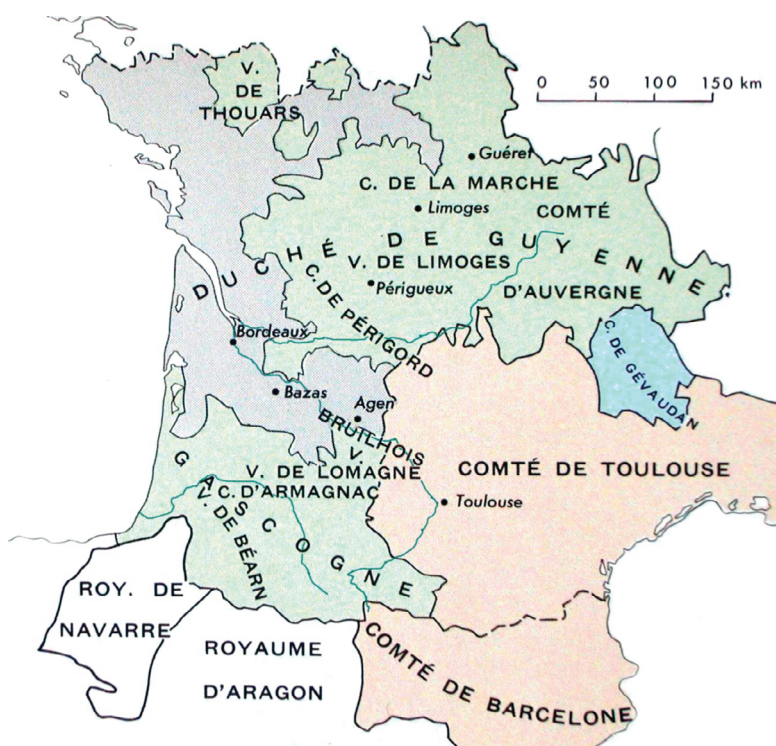


fig. 2.2: Map of Southwest France, showing lordships and dependence of lordships in the second half of the 12th century. (From: Burias 1979, modified by the author) C. signifies comté or county; V. signifies vicomté or viscounty.

The counties (comtés) of Toulouse and Barcelona were in the hands of the house of St. Gilles, while the duchy of Aquitaine (or Guyenne) was in the hands of the house of Plantagenet (from 1152), which also held the English crown (from 1154). The green and light blue areas belonged to the duchy but were enfeoffed to various vassals.



fig. 2.3: Map of Southwest France, with the names of the historical regions indicated. Many of these regions were more or less independent lordships, although most of them were, technically, fiefs. The spatial extension of these lordships changed every now and then, by force or by inheritance, making it very difficult to indicate the exact areas. (From: Calmettes 1986, modified by the author)

Apart from these important and large lordships there were various small and more or less independent lordships in the southwest, between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, such as the lordship Bigorre; the viscounties of Lomagne and Béarn; and the counties Foix, Comminges, Armagnac and Astarac. These smaller lordships managed to profit from their peripheral locations and the rivalry between the greater territorial powers to retain and extend their autonomy.⁹ The possessions of the various lords were sometimes incontiguous, or spread over several areas, which made the region all the more like a mosaic of lordly territories. (see figs. 2.2, 2.3)

9 Higounet 1975 (2), pp.657-658; Sumption 1978, pp.19-22; see also Vale 1990, pp.80-112. From the 13th century on, the autonomy of these small lordships gradually decreased, and eventually they were all brought under the actual rule of the French crown. Particularly Béarn and Foix managed to stay independent for a relatively long period, until 1594 and 1607, respectively.

In the 12th century a popular religious movement had risen in the south of present France, which adhered to ideas which the church of Rome condemned as heretical. The followers of this movement were called Cathars or Albigensians.¹⁰ Under pope Innocent III (1198-1216), the Roman Catholic church tried to restore its influence. The Castilian preacher Dominicus Guzmán (1170-1221, presently known as Saint Dominic) was sent on a mission to the region. His preaching, however, did not convert many Cathars and did not restore the power of the pope.¹¹ After the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau was killed by a page of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, pope Innocent III decided that he had to take stronger measures: he excommunicated the count and preached a crusade against the Cathars and the lords that protected them. This crusade would come to be known as the Albigensian crusade.¹²

A crusading army conquered Provence with much bloodshed, and initially it was also successful in Languedoc and eastern Aquitaine. But after 1218 Count Raymond VI (1194-1222) managed to reconquer his territory. In 1226, however, the French kings Louis VIII (1223-1226) and IX (1226-1270) joined in the conflict. Most probably, their goal was to turn royal nominal power in the south into actual power rather than to help the Roman church get back its spiritual authority. With this royal interference, the crusade became more of a sort of war between northern and southern France. Languedoc and large parts of eastern Aquitaine were once again conquered at the cost of the count of Toulouse, and in 1229 Count Raymond VII (1222-1249) was forced to accept a peace that was very unfavourable to him: the Treaty of Paris. This treaty compelled him to give up a large part of his territory in the north and in the east.¹³ He also had to marry his daughter Jeanne (c. 1220-1271) to a brother of the king. Later on, this would appear to be Alphonse, count of Poitiers (1241-1271). Therefore, with Raymond's death in 1249, Alphonse also became count of Toulouse. In the treaty it was stipulated, furthermore, that the territory would revert directly to the crown if Jeanne and Alphonse were to pass away without children. This actually happened in 1271.¹⁴

Thus, the Treaty of Paris of 1229 was the formal end of a large-scale conflict. The heresy, however, was still not completely eliminated. In Albi and Carcassonne (among other places) there still were revolts of an anti-catholic and anti-royal nature many years later, and the fortress of Montségur, which lies deep in the Pyrenees, was only taken from the Cathars in 1244. In 1229 the pope established the Inquisition, as a permanent religious tribunal, led by the Dominican order.¹⁵ The Inquisition condemned landlords for being heretics or protectors of heretics. According to a new decree issued by Louis IX they could be dispossessed after being condemned, by which means their territories would be forfeited to the count of Toulouse or directly to the French crown.¹⁶

In the end, the Albigensian crusade was a great triumph for the king of France, who expanded his domains and his authority decisively in the south of his kingdom at the cost of his nominal vassals, foremost the count of Toulouse. As we shall see below, these political developments were of great importance to the alterations in the political, social, economic and spatial structures that form the background to the foundation of the *bastides*.

2.2 The term '*bastide*'

The term '*bastide*' comes from official documents concerning the foundations of new towns in Aquitaine in the 13th and 14th centuries, in which the settlements are designated as *bastida seu villa nova* ('*bastide* or new village') or *bastida seu populatio* ('*bastide* or population core') or simply as *bastide* or *bastida*. The word derives from the Latin *bastire*, and is directly related to the modern French *bâtir*, which means 'to build'.¹⁷

The fact that the word *bastide* comes from historical documents does not mean, however, that only the settlements which are called by that name in ancient documents are presently known as *bastides*. Since the 19th century the word *bastide* has become a generic term for towns with a particular origin (and a particular

10 Sumption 1978, pp.32-62. The term Albigensian derives from the city of Albi, which more or less formed the geographical and organisational centre of the movement.

11 Sumption 1978, pp.70-73, 226-231.

12 Sumption 1978, pp.15-16.

13 It concerned among others the Albigeois south of the river Tarn, the northern part of Quercy and the city of Cahors in the north and the duchy Narbonne and the viscounties of Beaucaire and Carcassonne in the east.

14 On the Albigensian crusade and the Treaty of Paris, see Hamilton 1974; Sumption 1978.

15 Sumption 1978, pp.226-243; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.23.

16 Dubourg 1997, p.45.

17 Randolph 1994, p.291; Beresford 1967, p.8; Higounet 1992, pp.17-18. In previous centuries and also in other regions, related words have been used particularly for fortified buildings: *bastia* or *bastille* for instance. In Aquitaine, the term *bastide* was also used for fortified buildings in the 13th to 16th centuries. In Provence it was used for lordly farms on estates. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.14-15)

form), which might have been described by different terms, as for instance *villa* or *castrum* in the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁸ There is, however, no really fixed definition for the term. The meaning of the term has changed through time, and even in the present there is no real consensus about its definition. Different scholars use different definitions, depending on their approach to the phenomenon: students of the settlement history of Aquitaine highlight different aspects than do students of political-institutional history or architectural historians.¹⁹ Some scholars also use the term *bastide* for new towns from the 12th to 15th centuries elsewhere in Europe.²⁰ Various scholarly publications about *bastides*, however, omit the subject of precise definition altogether.

There also appears to be a cultural difference in what is meant by the term *bastide*. In particular, British and American scholars regard strong defences in the form of a wall circuit as an essential element of a *bastide* town. In their view, *bastides* are not specific for southwestern France. Indeed they apply the term to all newly planned, walled towns of about the 13th and 14th centuries throughout Europe.²¹

In this study the term *bastide* is used for settlements on which the conditions listed below apply. While these conditions can all be found in definitions that have been previously formulated by other scholars, they have not yet been applied in a combined, coherent fashion.

- A *bastide* is a town that was newly founded in southwestern France in the 13th and 14th centuries. The founder was the lord of the land on which the settlement was founded, possibly in cooperation with other lords. This does not necessarily mean that the settlement was completely new in its physical aspect: there may have been an older core, possibly in the form of a village or a church.
- The foundation of the *bastide* implied (at least) a juridical action. Special rights and privileges were promised to people who were to occupy a specific part of the founder's land; by which a separate legal space was created. By this action, the founder intended to attract settlers to that place.²²
- A crucial element of the legal arrangement was that plots of ground were given to the settlers in hereditary tenure, and that those settlers enjoyed certain freedoms of person and possession.
- A further, crucial element of the legal arrangement was that the town received the right to hold a market.²³

It is not possible to sensibly indicate a limit with regard to the size of a *bastide*. Some appear to have consisted of only about ten households, while others were planned for thousands.²⁴

So, in short, the term *bastide* means a market settlement of the 13th or 14th century, located in southwestern France, which was newly founded and peopled with free persons. Elsewhere in Europe other terms were used to indicate new towns in that period. The Florentine town foundations of the first half of the 14th century, for instance, were designated as *terra nuova*, and elsewhere in Europe various other terms were used.²⁵

In the following paragraphs not only *bastides* with all the above-named features will be discussed. Various other settlements in southwestern France will also be considered as material for comparison and in order to describe the origins of the *bastides*.

18 Cursente 2004, pp.62-66.

19 For the historiography of *bastides* and the use of the term over the course of time, see Pujol 1990; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.13-17; Cursente 2004, pp.62-68.

Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.17) work with a definition put forward by Higounet in 1950, although they readily admit that it is not really appropriate for many cases.

20 The word *bastide* is used, for instance, by Burke (1965) and Rutte (S.D and 1993) with respect to new towns of the 12th to 14th centuries in the present Netherlands. According to Morris the word has been used to indicate new towns from 'the middle ages' in general, but in his opinion it ought to be used only for new towns with predetermined plans, founded in the 13th century in France (particularly the southwest) and for the town foundations of King Edward I in England and Wales. For the rest of the newly founded towns of 'the middle ages' the term 'planted town' should be used, according to Morris. (Morris 1972, p.82) In my opinion this is rather confusing: the term should best be used only for the region where it was actually more or less common in the period under consideration, which was southwestern France.

21 See for instance Carter 1969, pp.2-3; Alomar 1976, p.60; Adams 1978, p.36; Graham 1988, p.51; Herbert & Jones 1988, p.53; Bentley 1993; Corfis & Wolfe 1995, pp.54-59; Walker 1990, p.134. It has already been pointed out above that there is an etymological connection between the term *bastide* and fortifications. Below (par.2.5.1), will be seen that this meaning of fortification hardly applies to the *bastides* as they were originally conceived.

22 It is illustrative, in this respect, that a list of Count Alphonse de Poitiers' *bastide* foundations, made up in 1271, also names the settlements of Saint-Michel, Nohic and Orgueil. These were existing settlements that received new charters with rights and privileges from the count. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.15)

23 According to Cursente (2004, pp.74-75) the market place was the crucial element that made a town a *bastide*, as the market was the element which the function of the settlement revolved around. In my opinion this is not entirely correct, as some settlements which I consider to be (and which are generally considered to be) *bastides*, did not clearly have distinct market places: here the market was held in a street or a field. These were mainly small settlements, as for instance Saint-Pastour, Léguevin, Labastide-d'Anjou.

24 Erlen 1992, p.238. Most *bastides* however, were small towns of about 50 to 200 households, with a strongly rural character and function.

25 See chapter 3 and par.9.4. In England, for instance, the terms *novus burgus* and *nova villa* were used, but not consistently. (Beresford 1967, p.8)



fig. 2.4: Topographic map of Southwest France. (From: De grote bosatlas. Groningen, 1981, modified by the author) The area in which the bastides were created is formed by the basins of the Garonne, the Adour (in the southwest) and the lower basin of the Dordogne (in the north). The region is largely bordered by the Pyrenees to the south, the Massif Central to the east and the less fertile soils of the Limousin to the north.

2.3 Origins: colonisation and settlement foundations in southwestern France, 12th -13th centuries

As described above, southwestern France was relatively thinly populated until well into the 12th century, and consequently only a small part of the land was brought into cultivation. The land was mainly covered with forests. In the 11th century, the valley of the Garonne, the Lauragais and the foothills of the Pyrenees in the southwest were the most densely populated areas in the whole region, but even there the cultivated areas of the villages and estates were surrounded by woods.²⁶ There were very few cities and towns. Toulouse, Périgueux and Bordeaux were the only Roman *civitates* that still had a more or less urban character in the 11th century. Apart from these, there were some secondary towns, like Cahors, Albi, Carcassonne, Tarbes and Bazas.

The secular authorities were badly organised and only had limited control over the land and the population. The clerical authorities were generally better organised and, through donations, they had come into possession of a large part of the land.

As almost everywhere in Europe, the population of Aquitaine started to grow around the 11th century.²⁷ There are indications suggesting that a part of the growing population migrated southward to the north of the Iberian peninsula, which was in the process of being gradually re-conquered from the Moors.²⁸

²⁶ Higounet 1975 (2), pp.658-663; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.29.
²⁷ See par.o.1.2. With respect to southwestern France: Higounet 1975 (2); Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.29; Erlen 1992, pp.52-53; Dubourg 1997, pp.49-50.
²⁸ Onomastological research has shown that particularly in Aragon, Castile and Navarre many people had names that indicate they originally came from Aquitaine. (Higounet

2.3.1 Sauvetés

The population growth led to much new reclamation of land in Aquitaine. Clerical landlords who sought to exploit their uncultivated lands tried to attract settlers to these lands by founding new settlements for which special rights and freedoms were granted, the so-called *sauvetés*.²⁹ These settlements may have been completely new creations, or they may have had an older core, often focused on an abbey or a church. The term *sauveté* comes from the old documents and toponyms: *salvetat* or *sauvetat* means something like a 'protected area' of 'refuge'. The element of protection was not a fortification or a garrison, but a safeguard by the clerical institutions that founded the settlements, under the jurisdiction of Heaven. Within the territory of the *sauveté* a permanent Peace of God (*Pax Dei*) was instituted, warranted by the clerical institutions.³⁰ The phenomenon of the *Pax Dei* had come into existence in the 10th-11th centuries, when there was much disorder in Aquitaine, because there was no central authority that could deal with the anarchical situation. Its function was to protect the ecclesiastical institutions, the clergy and other defenceless, unarmed people. Those who broke the *Pax Dei* could be excommunicated by the church and, if it regarded a feudal lord, his subjects were allowed to ignore their duties towards him.³¹

The great monastic orders, particularly the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, founded many *sauvetés*.³² Often, alliances were created between clerical founders and secular lords who thought that the foundation of a *sauveté* was a profitable way to attract colonists and increase the rentability of their domains. Secular lords donated great amounts of uncultivated land to clerical institutions on the condition that (a part of) the land would be given to free settlers in newly created agricultural settlements, the *sauvetés*, the returns of which would be shared by the secular and clerical lords.³³

Sauvetés were essentially legal spaces that were removed from the domains of landlords and placed under the custody of a clerical authority and the Peace of God, in order to attract and protect settlers. These settlers

worked the land, which they probably mostly had to reclaim themselves. For this reason they can be regarded as real colonists. In this way the returns of the ground were drastically increased.

The ground-plans of many *sauvetés* show clear signs of planning. Lavedan and Huguency distinguish between two sorts of plans: linear plans, consisting of a main street, possibly with parallel streets and transverse streets; and plans with an envel-



fig. 2.5: Plan of Nogaro. (From: Divorine, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985) Nogaro is a so-called *sauveté*. It was founded c. 1060 by St. Austinde, archbishop of Auch, presumably as a double row of elongated rectangular plots along a street, with the church (consecrated in 1060) at the end of it. This original part of the town is drawn in solid lines, while the parts that were probably added later (until about the 16th century), are stippled.

1975 (1), pp.418-423)

29 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.29-30; see also Higouney 1975 (1), pp.207-229.

That the foundation of new settlements was directly connected to the growth of the population is obvious, but there are very few clear sources that confirm this relationship. A document regarding the building of a new church in a new settlement near Argenton-Château (Poitou) in 1068-1069, however, mentions that the church was built 'because of the growth of the population and because of the extension of the fortified settlement' ('propter populorum augmentationem et propter castelli dilatationem'; Higouney 1992, p.44)

30 With the inauguration of a *sauveté*, a ceremony was performed to ask appeal to God for protection. A number of clerical dignitaries led a procession along the boundaries of the territory, while pronouncing a curse against violators of the peace. (Ourliac 1947, p.47) This ritual clearly attests to the fact that the principle of the *sauveté* was based on the phenomenon of the clerical 'immunities' with right of asylum, usually in a church or a churchyard. (Erlen 1992, p.226)

31 Ourliac 1947, pp.47, 62-65; Gergen 2003. Initially, the *Pax Dei* was temporary in nature, like a truce, but in the course of time the phenomenon spread over all of France and to surrounding countries, and in the 12th century it became a permanent institution of the church.

32 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, pp.62-63. The Knights Hospitaller were particularly active in the county of Comminges, where the commandery of Saint-Clar founded more than forty *sauvetés* in an area of about 20 by 40 km. in the first decades of the 12th century. (Erlen 1992, p.137)

33 Ourliac 1947, p.58. Often, a kind of condominium-treaty was concluded, in which it was put down that the secular donor would receive a number of plots and a part (usually half) of the revenues from the new settlement. (Erlen 1992, p.226)

opment of house lots around a central core, which is usually formed by a church.³⁴ (figs.2.5, 2.6)

Just about all *sauvetés* - probably more than a hundred - in southwestern France were founded between 1050 and 1130. Most foundations took place in the last decades of the 11th century.³⁵ Some relatively successful and large examples are Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, founded around 1135 by the abbey of Moissac in co-operation with the viscount of Lomagne³⁶, and Nogaro. (figs.2.7, 2.5). Some *sauvetés* managed to develop into towns or were re-founded as *bastides*, by which means they attained a higher and more urban status.³⁷



fig.2.6: Plan of Alan. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The settlement was founded as a *sauveté* by the Knights of St. John after 1100; in 1270 it was re-founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in *paréage* with the bishop of Comminges. Most probably, the town was extended at this time: at first it had been a small rectangular settlement immediately north of the church, and then it was enlarged, particularly to the west, where a market place was laid out.



fig.2.7: Plan of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave. (From: Lavedan & Huguenev 1974) The town was founded as a *sauveté* by the abbey of Moissac in *paréage* with the viscount of Lomagne in 1135. This original foundation probably only comprised the core of the plan, to the east of the church. In the 13th century, the town was extended, possibly in several phases.

34 Lavedan & Huguenev 1974, pp.64-67.

35 Higounet 1975 (2), p.676; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.29-30. According to Lavedan and Huguenev (1974, p.61) the *sauvetés* were founded, more generally, in the 11th and 12th centuries. Similar settlements under clerical protection were also founded by the Knights Hospitaller in Normandy. (Ourliac 1947, p.66)

36 Lavedan & Huguenev 1974, p.66.

37 Some *sauvetés* that were re-founded as *bastides* later on: Alan (fig.2.7), Nègrepelisse, La Romieu (Higounet 1975 (2), p.675), Septfonds (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.300), Saint-Lys and Montastruc (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.294, 301). Most *sauvetés* were (and still are) just small villages or hamlets, most consisting of only a few dozen households at the time of their foundation. The *sauveté* of Fronton, however, was a project on a relatively grand scale, with 300 house lots planned initially. (Higounet 1975 (2), p.675)

2.3.2 Castelnaud

Around the same time, there were also many new settlements of another type created in Aquitaine: the so-called *castelnaud*. These small settlements can be regarded as the worldly counterparts of the *sauvetés*.

The word *castelnaud*, which can be found in ancient documents as well as in toponyms, means something like 'new castle'.³⁸ This term is revealing, because these settlements were always founded next to a castle or a *motte*, and had fortifications that may or may not have been connected to those of the castle.³⁹ In most cases the castle lies on a hill or a ridge, with the *castelnaud* sited somewhat lower, along a street that leads up to the castle.⁴⁰ (fig. 2.8) The plans of the *castelnaud* often show a clearly planned regularity, but there are also examples with rather irregular layouts which, therefore, make it appear as though less effort was put into their spatial formation. (compare figs. 2.9 and 2.8)

The *castelnaud* served various goals: protecting the population against marauders, increasing lordly control over the population, and involving the population in the defence of the castle.⁴¹ Subjects of the lord were sometimes forced to move to the new settlement. Usually the settlers received freedom of person and possession, but in some cases they remained serfs to the lord.⁴² For some *castelnaud* the documents suggest that the population was divided into different social classes. A kind of knights, indicated as *milites* or *cavers*, appear to have lived in the houses closest to the castle. The rest of the population were indicated as *caslans* (meaning something like 'inhabitants of the *castelnaud*').⁴³

In some cases the creation of *castelnaud* went hand in hand with the reclamation of uncultivated lands.⁴⁴ Some *castelnaud* were granted market rights, but the economy generally seems to have been mainly agrarian.⁴⁵

The phenomenon of planned concentration of settlement at castles or other focal points of lordly power was not unique to southwestern France: similar settlements were also created elsewhere in Europe during roughly the same period.⁴⁶

Castelnaud were founded between about the second half of the 11th and the end of the 13th century.⁴⁷ This means that there is an overlap in the periods of foundation of *sauvetés* and *castelnaud*, and of *castelnaud* and *bastides*. It is sometimes hard to distinguish between these different types of settlements. For instance, a *sauveté* can be founded next to a fortified commandery of the Knights Hospitaller, which might make it look like a *castelnaud*. Or a *castelnaud* can be created next to the residence of a bishop (as for instance at Auch⁴⁸), and a *bastide* can be built in the immediate vicinity of a castle of its founder.⁴⁹ Concerning the first overlap, however, a rather clear discrimination can be made on the basis of whether the jurisdiction was in the hands of a clerical or a secular lord – whether the protection of the settlement was given over to God or to a worldly power – and in a physical sense the distinction mostly is whether the historical core of the settlement was a church or monastery, or a castle.⁵⁰ Concerning the second overlap, a sensible distinction can be found in the degree to which the castle forms the social and economic centre of power within the community. It is rather arbitrary, however, where exactly the boundary is to be drawn between *castelnaud* and *bastides* in this respect. Adding to the confusion is the fact that the terminology was not entirely consistent in the past: hence there is

38 Cursente 1979, p.31, n.11; Cursente 1980, pp.91-94. There are more than 30 settlements with the toponym *Castelnaud* or *Castetnaud* in Aquitaine. They are particularly concentrated in Gascony. (Higounet 1975 (2), p.669)

39 Cursente gives the following definition of the term *castelnaud*: 'a subordinated castle borough with a circuit of fortifications, created by a lord [...] between the years 1050 and 1300' ('un bourg castral subordonné et doté d'une enceinte mis and place par un seigneur [...] entre les années 1050 et 1300'; Cursente 1980, p.90). For a brief discussion of the *castelnaud*, see Higounet 1992, pp.257-262 (based on Cursente 1978).

It is often hard to determine whether such a settlement was really newly founded or whether it was created in various phases without a clear lordly policy. (Cursente 1980, p.87) In most cases it seems that there must already have been a small settlement at the castle gate before the *castelnaud*'s foundation. What the legal status of these settlements was is mostly unknown. (Cursente 1980, p.117; 1979, p.31)

40 Higounet 1975 (2) pp.669-670.

41 Cursente 1980, p.104.

42 Cursente 1980, pp.58-59, 62.

43 Cursente 1980, p.105.

44 Cursente 1980, p.112.

45 Cursente 1980, pp.113-114.

46 For instance, the so-called *incastellamento*-settlements in central Italy, of the 10th to 12th centuries (Toubert 1973) and the *châteauneufs* in central and northern France (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.32). Some decades before the *castelnaud* were created in southwestern France, settlements of similar kind were also created in Provence and Languedoc. (Cursente 1980, p.62; Cursente 1979, p.35)

47 Cursente 1980, p.90. Higounet (1975 (2) p.670) writes that the high-tide of *castelnaud* foundations was between 1100 and 1175; according to Cursente, though, there were hardly new creations between 1140 and 1200. This difference can possibly be explained by the fact that Higounet discusses the whole of Aquitaine, whereas Cursente focuses on Gascony.

48 Cursente 1980, p.58.

49 For instance Cazals, Domme, Palaminy and Saint-Sulpice-le-Point. According to Cursente (1980, p.84) the types of the *bastide* and the *castelnaud* gradually merged from the late 13th century on.

50 Cursente 1980, p.102.

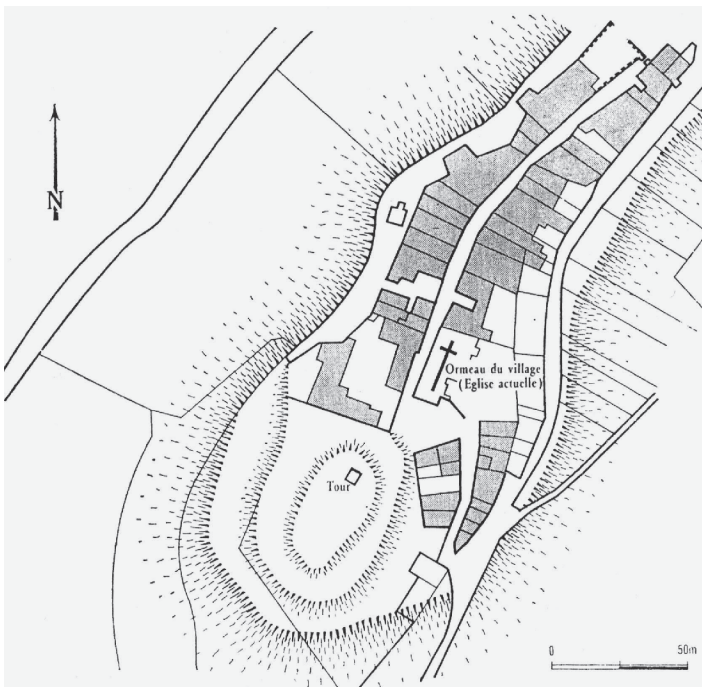


fig.2.8: Plan of Biran, based on the cadastral plan of 1827. (From: Cursente 1980) This castelnau was founded before the middle of the 13th century, next to and possibly together with a motte-castle of a local lord on a promontory site (directly northwest of the present church).

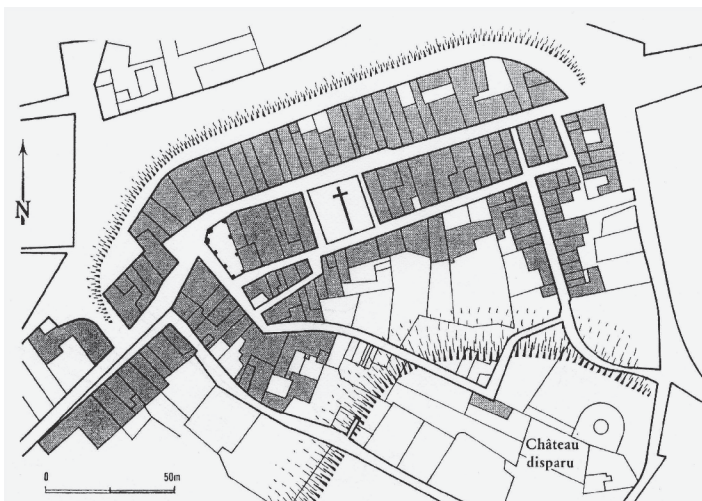


fig.2.9: Plan of Manciet, based on a modern cadastral plan. (From: Cursente 1980) The castelnau of Manciet was probably founded in the fourth quarter of the 13th century by the archbishop of Auch or the count of Armagnac, below an older castle (now gone: 'chateau disparu').

a bastide which is called *castelnau* (Castelnau-sur-Gupie⁵¹) and there are castle-settlements that are described as *bastides* in ancient documents (among others, Fourcès, fig.2.10).⁵² Moreover, there are also settlements that were *sauvetés* or *castelnaux* in origin, but that were refounded (and extended) as *bastides* later on.⁵³

Another important distinction is that, in the *bastides*, the community of settlers usually had the right of self-representation towards the landlord, while the settlers of the *sauvetés* and *castelnaux* generally did not have this privilege.⁵⁴

Initially, only the more powerful lords, like bishops, counts and viscounts, had the authority, organisational power and financial means to create new settlements next to their castles; but after about 1200, lesser lords also managed to take similar initiatives.⁵⁵ For the period from about 1250 on, in which many *bastides* were founded, the *castelnau* can be regarded as 'the poor man's *bastide*', as Cursente has put it. This is because *castelnaux* were smaller than the average *bastides*, commonly with only about 15 to 50 houses and a population of between 60 and 200.⁵⁶

51 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.285.

52 Other examples: the formula '*castrum seu bastidam*' was used with the foundation of a *castelnau* next to the *motte* of Cluzel (Cluzel) in 1275. With the foundation of Marestaing-Neuf in 1270, the term *bastide* was used. The fact that both co-founders, the lord Bernard Marestaing and the commander of the Knights Hospitaller, received ground within the walls to build their own castles, makes the term *castelnau* more appropriate though. (Cursente 1980, pp.79-80) See also Cursente 2004, p.66.

53 Erlen 1992, p.234. For example: Saint-Clar, Cazaubon (Cursente 1980, map p.89), Miradoux and Seissan (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.35).

54 Erlen 1992, p.232.

55 Cursente 1980, pp.61, 73. In the present region of Gascogne the number of *castelnaux* (over 100) is more than five times as high as the number of *bastides*. Only five *sauvetés* have been identified as such in this region. (Cursente 1980, p.118; Cursente 1979, p.35)

56 Cursente 1979, p.35; Cursente 1980, p.103.

2.4 Bastides: chronology and founders

About halfway through the 12th century, the process of colonisation and reclamation of uncultivated lands seems to have slowed down in Aquitaine. The cause for this is not entirely clear, but possibly the population growth temporarily diminished, or there may have been an increase in migration to the Iberian peninsula and the cities.⁵⁷ Despite the many small-scale reclamations, whether or not connected to the foundation of *sauvetés* and *castelnaux*, the land was still largely uncultivated and there was still a lot of fertile land that could be reclaimed or exploited more intensively.

After the Albigensian crusade (1208–1229) the land of the county of Toulouse lay neglected and partly in ruins. The war and the retaliations of the crusaders had cost many lives among the population; the battles and the pillaging had ravaged cities, towns and the countryside; and political and economic structures were largely swept away during the period of disorder. This situation invited reconstruction and opened up possibilities for re-structurisation.

2.4.1 Bastide-foundations under Count Raymond VII of Toulouse

The Treaty of Paris of 1229, in which the peace between the French king and Count Raymond VII of Toulouse was laid down, gave the count the right to found new settlements, on the condition that they would not be fortified.⁵⁸ The count welcomed this opportunity, in order to regain his grip on the county, its population and its economy. It appears that he engaged in a deliberate settlement policy, by founding new towns (or re-founding existing ones) that filled the vacuum that resulted from the destruction of existing towns and villages during the war.

It has been suggested that the Treaty of Paris was the starting point of the period of *bastide* foundation.⁵⁹ This is not entirely correct, though, since Raymond VII had already begun somewhat earlier with the (re-)

founding of settlements in the area where the crusade had led to heavy damage.⁶⁰ An impressive example of this is the town of Cordes, which was founded in 1222.⁶¹ (fig. 2.11) This town is sited on top of a rather steep hill with an extensive view in every direction, on the location of the earlier 'castrum' Saint-Marcel, which had been destroyed by the crusading army in 1214.⁶² Cordes was a very successful foundation. Already in the 13th century

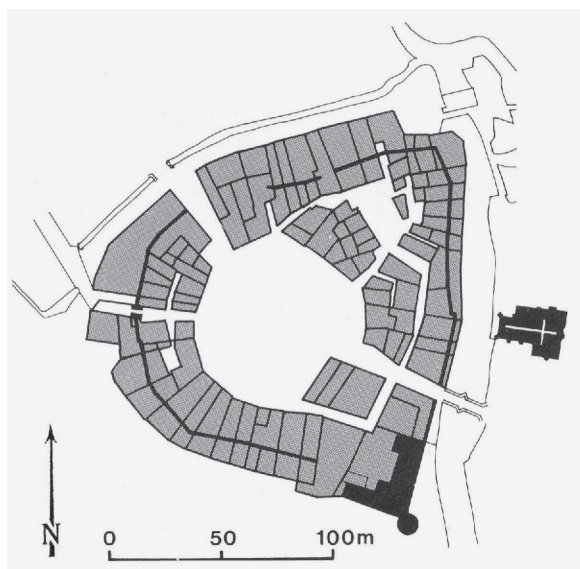


fig. 2.10: Plan of Fourcès. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) Fourcès received coutumes from the English crown in 1289, but it seems quite possible that part of its structure is considerably older. It is one of the few bastides with a rounded form. It was created around a pre-existent castle, which was demolished later to create a central market place. For this reason it actually fits the definition of a *castelnau* rather than of a *bastide*. A new castle was built in the southeastern corner of the town after 1488.

57 Higounet 1975 (2), pp.676-677. In this period, many colonists from northern origin settled in northern Spain (then the kingdoms of Aragon, Navarra, Castilia and Leon) in this period, in old and new villages and towns. (see Higounet 1975 (1), pp.417-439; Bartlett 1993, ch.5-8).

58 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39.

59 Among others: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37; Randolph 1994, p.303. Two earlier newly founded towns, Montauban (1144; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, pp.67-68; Higounet 1975 (2), p.677-678; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.30-32) and Marmande (1182; Beresford 1967, p.351) also have been described as *bastides*, since they were founded by great territorial lords, the count of Toulouse, Alphonse Jourdain, and the duke of Aquitaine (and king of England), Richard Lionheart, respectively. In my opinion this is problematic however, because Montauban was founded as a settlement next to the count's castle that guarded an important crossing point of the river Tarn, and therefore it should more accurately be characterised as a *castelnau*. With regard to the history of Marmande, there are conflicting opinions as to whether or not it was a re-foundation of an existing settlement or whether a castle was already existent on the site. (Beresford 1967, p.622; Higounet 1975, pp.325-334; *Atlas historique des villes de France*. Marmande, 1985)

60 According to Saint-Blanquat, the early *bastide* foundations were inspired by the newly created settlements in present northern Spain. In his opinion there was a considerable similarity in the charters of rights that were given to the new settlements. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.12) As far as I know, no further research has been published on this (alleged) correspondence.

61 The term that was used to characterise Cordes in the 13th-century documents is 'castrum', meaning something like 'fortified settlement'. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.14; Cursente 2004, p.63)

62 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.37, 286.



fig. 2.11: Plan of Cordes. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) Cordes was founded in 1222 by Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, after the previous settlement, the *castrum* Saint-Marcel, was destroyed by the crusading army of Simon de Montfort in 1214. The town is sited on a small and steep elongated hill in an open landscape, which gave it great tactical value. The plan of the town reflects the form of the hill, with the central main street running along the back of the ridge, and the market place on the highest point. The fortification, with its double set of gates, was probably built after Cordes was transferred to the French crown, as a result of the treaty of Paris, in 1229.

it was a town with a really urban character.⁶³ In fact, few of the later *bastides* would reach a comparable degree of ‘urbanity’; most have remained largely agrarian in nature. Around 1222, Raymond also founded Castelnaud-de-Montmiral, which, as the name suggests, was built next to a castle.⁶⁴

The rest of Count Raymond’s *bastides*, however, were founded after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris. Raymond and some of his loyal vassals, particularly Sicard Alaman, whom the count had appointed as lieutenant for the whole county, founded a total of about 20 *bastides* and *castelnaux*.⁶⁵ Many of these foundations were strategically sited on hilltops or surrounded by steep downward slopes. In this way they were relatively easy to defend despite the fact that they could not be fortified.⁶⁶ Lauzerte, for instance, was a re-foundation by Raymond VII (1241) of the *castrum*-settlement of Beaucaire, which had been founded on top of a hill by Count Raymond V in the late 12th century.⁶⁷

It was partly thanks to these new towns, as centres of lordly power and administration, that the count was able to restore his grip on what was left of his territory. These town foundations not only served the political-strategic interests of the founders, but also served to repair the economic, social and administrative organisation of the countryside. It is logical, therefore, that many of the new foundations under Raymond VII took place in the part of his territory where the destruction by the crusade had been most intense: the northern Albigeois and the eastern part of the Agenais.⁶⁸ (fig. 2.12, upper left)

The foundations under Raymond VII clearly mark the beginning of the period of *bastide* creation. Even though his foundations were not all successful, Raymonds policy of settlement creation still appears to have served as an example to other lords.⁶⁹

2.4.2 Bastide foundations in ‘*paréage*’

Most *bastides* were founded as a collaboration between two (and sometimes more) landlords. The cooperating lords usually signed a contract in which the rights and duties of both parties were laid down. Such a contract was commonly referred to as a *pareagium* (rendered in French as *paréage*), literally meaning some-

⁶³ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.265-257.

⁶⁴ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.285.

⁶⁵ On Sicard Alaman as founder of *bastides*, see Higounet 1975 (1), pp.305-325.

⁶⁶ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39.

⁶⁷ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.291. Such militarily strategic locations are not very common for *bastides*. (see par.2.10.1) Better examples of the average *bastide* in that respect are Raymond’s foundations, Puymirol (1246) and Lisle-sur-Tarn (1229-1241). (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.292, 298)

⁶⁸ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.16; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37; Dubourg 1997, pp.33-35, 44-45.

⁶⁹ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37; Higounet 1975 (2), pp.680-681.

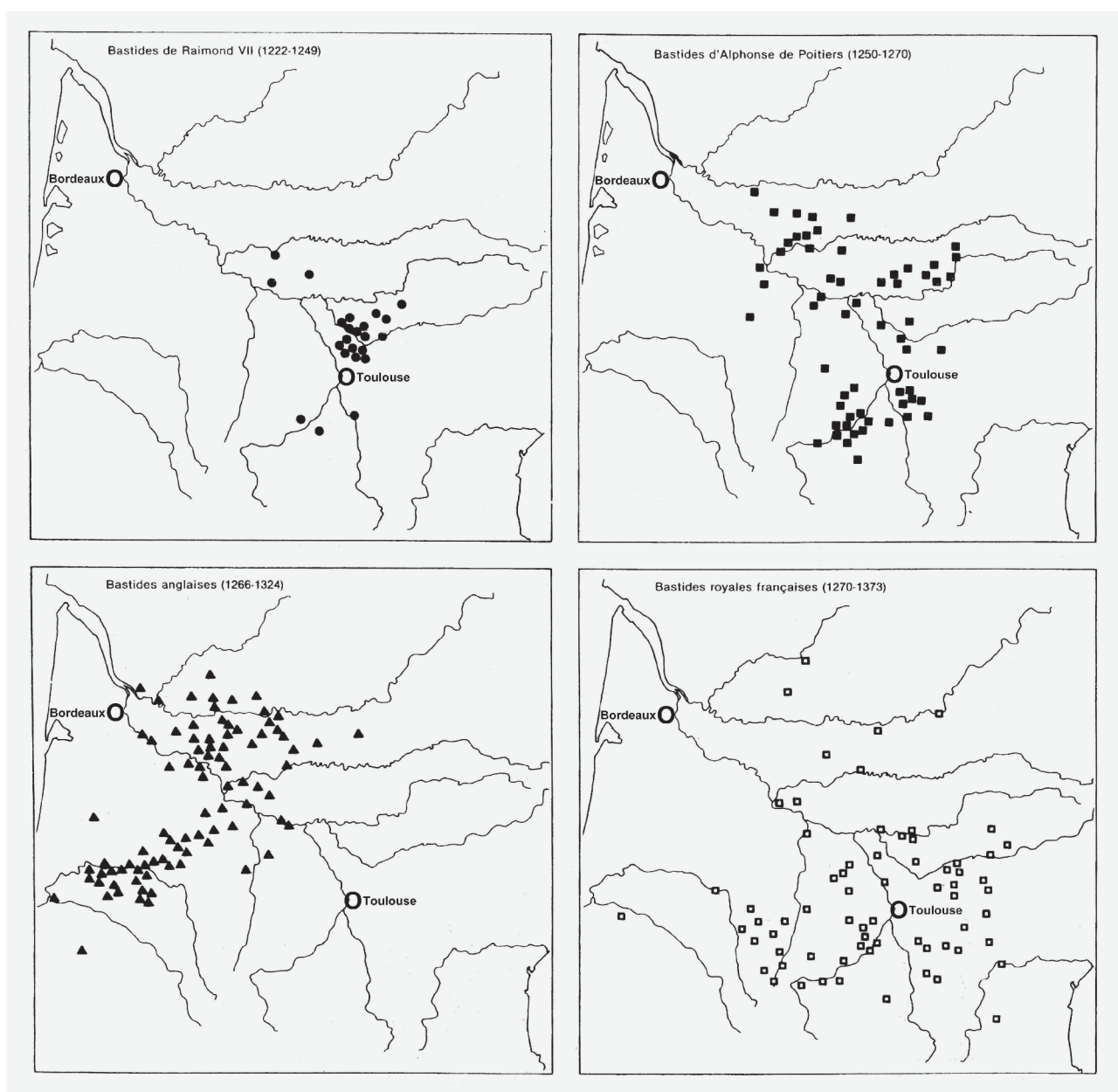


fig.2.12: Four maps of southwestern France roughly indicating the spread of bastides that were created under the four main founders: Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (upper left), Count Alphonse de Poitiers of Toulouse (upper right), the dukes of Aquitaine (also kings/princes of England; lower left) and the French crown (lower right). (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author)

thing like ‘pairing’. Usually one party was a local lord, an abbey or a commandery, which furnished the ground and the rights over it. The other party was usually a territorial lord of higher status and power, like a count, duke or a direct representative of the king. This second party usually offered special privileges and military and juridical protection for the community of settlers.⁷⁰ By entering into such an agreement the smaller lord theoretically became the equal of the greater lord, at least for the limited area to which the *paréage* applied. Similar arrangements for town foundations were also instituted elsewhere in Europe in the same period, but there they are much less common.⁷¹ As mentioned above, *sauvetés* were also founded by collaborations of a similar character⁷², but the phenomenon of the foundation of towns in partnership between two or more greater and smaller lords is more common for *bastides*.⁷³

Count Raymond VII, however, always acted as the sole founder, after he had come into possession of the ground by inheritance, purchase, exchange or usurpation.⁷⁴ After all, it was easy for a lord to found a new

70 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.41-50; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.43-44; Duby 1990, p.79; Erlen 1992, p.35.

71 See, for instance, Beresford 1967, p.102 (England); Kuhn 1975, pp.141-142 (Pomerania); Panero 1979, pp.103-105; Panero 2004, p.104; Cortese 2004, pp.286-298 (Italy); Erlen 1992, p.35 (Prussia).

72 *Paréage* agreements are known from about the middle of the 11th to the 15th centuries. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.43)

73 Beresford 1967, pp.99-102.

74 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37. Likewise, the *vicomte* of Béarn mostly also founded *bastides* on his own. (see par.2.4.6)



fig. 2.13: Plan of Monségur, based on a 19th-century cadastral plan. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974) This town was the first bastide foundation by the English crown, around 1263. It was walled in 1303-05 (along the outline of the area pictured in this plan). As the name Monségur suggests, the town is sited on a high point: on a ridge, which falls off to the southwest. The twist in the basic direction of the urban structure follows the direction of the ridge.

town without partners on his own ground, as long as the domain offered enough economic possibilities and the lord had enough authority and legal power to guarantee the settlers that their future prospects could actually be realised and that the juridical situation would remain stable. In practice, this mostly meant that only the more powerful lords could found new towns by themselves. According to Beresford, the king-duke of Aquitaine founded 39% of the total number of *bastides* in his duchy on his own, without a *paréage*, whereas only 3% in the duchy were founded by smaller lords on their own.⁷⁵

The advantage of *paréages* to the greater lords was that they could, in this way, enlarge their authority in areas that did not belong to their own domains. By making partnerships with the local lords, who often enjoyed relatively great autonomy in their domains, the greater lords could incorporate these domains, piece by piece, into their dominions. But, apart from extension of power, such agreements were also about financial gain. A principal element of the *paréages* was that the returns from rents, taxes and justice would be shared by the *paréageurs*. So, from ground that had yielded little or nothing to the greater lord, he would subsequently collect half the returns from the *bastide*.⁷⁶ These returns could be quite substantial, as will be discussed below.

For the local lords the main advantage of concluding *paréages* with higher lords lay in the alliance with a mighty authority, which offered protection by its legal and military power. On the one hand this formed an attractive extra guarantee for the settlers who had to be attracted; and, on the other hand, this could also mean that the local lord got himself a better position in comparison to rival lords in the nearby area, thereby enabling him to better defend his authority or even to extend it.⁷⁷ For example, in 1305 a local lord named Arbaud Loup d'Estibeaux requested the king-duke to join in a *paréage* for a piece of the lord's domain at Osord (Ozourt) in the region of Gers, 'in which the lord of Navailles and his men commit great outrages', with the aim of founding a *bastide* there, with a population of 2000. As far as is presently known, the king-duke never reacted to the request.⁷⁸

The rights and duties of the lords were precisely spelled out in the *paréage* contracts. Often, the main privileges of the future settlers would already be stated in the contracts.⁷⁹ And, sometimes, the number and size of the lots that were to be issued to settlers were also established, as well as the amount of the rent that was to be paid for them. This included house lots, garden plots that were to be sited right outside the town,

75 Beresford 1967, p.100, table.

76 Randolph 1994, pp.291-292. The right to high justice was not shared; it was held by the major lord.

77 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.43-44. See also par.2.4.5.

78 'en laquelle le sire de Navailles et ses gens lui font de grands outrages' (Trabut-Cussac 1954, p.127). Trabut-Cussac also discusses the similar case of the *bastide* foundation at Lane in the Bayonne region.

79 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.41-50; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.43-44.

plots of arable and possibly also vineyards.⁸⁰

The *paréage* contract is sometimes labeled as ‘foundation charter’ by scholars, since it records the intention to found a *bastide*. When concerned with real new foundations on virgin land it is often the oldest record known of the settlements. The contracts are very valuable sources of historical knowledge, as they often are the only documents that provide information about dates, founders, their rights and duties, intended size and various specific circumstances, among which sometimes even the motives for the foundation of a *bastide*.

2.4.3 Bastide foundations under Alphonse de Poitiers

In 1249 Raymond VII was succeeded as count of Toulouse by Alphonse de Poitiers, brother of King Louis IX of France, following the conditions laid down in the Treaty of Paris. Alphonse continued the policy of *bastide* foundations with an increasing intensity. As mentioned above, Raymond founded his *bastides* without the cooperation of other lords, on his own domains. Alphonse chose a different strategy, and concluded many *paréages* with local lords and abbeys that offered their lands for the creation of *bastides*. In this way Alphonse founded around 40 *bastides* between 1250 and 1270.⁸¹ The largest and most well-known of these are Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (1255, founded in *paréage* with the abbot of Sainte-Foy of Conques and the lord of Pineuil), Villeneuve-sur-Lot (1253, with the abbot of Eysses) and Villefranche-de-Rouergue (1252, with the bishop of Rodez).⁸² (figs. 2.21, 6.4, 2.35)

The motive for these *bastide* foundations is probably best described by the term ‘pacification’: getting more of a grip on the county and the various lordly domains within it, in order to increase the count’s authority and income and to make the county more of a unity.⁸³ Together with the foundation of new towns, the count’s administrative apparatus was extended and re-organised. In particular, in the border areas in the north (Agenais and Quercy) and south of the county (Toulousain and Lauragais), Alphonse tried to extend his authority by founding *bastides*, at the expense of the king-duke of Aquitaine in the north and the counts of Comminges and Foix in the south.⁸⁴

The foundation of *bastides* now became a deliberate policy that was modeled on a systematic procedural formula. This appears, among others, from documents that recorded systematic inquiries which were made before it was decided to found a new town. Such inquiries were made into the precise juridical status and ownership of the land that was planned to be involved in the foundation, or into the economic prospects and the possibilities with regard to the attraction of settlers to the new town.⁸⁵ Under Alphonse de Poitiers there were three or four different models of charters with rights and privileges for *bastides*, the basic content of which was actually largely similar.⁸⁶ From the urban form of the new settlements it can also be concluded that there was a certain amount of systemisation. It should be mentioned, however, that this source has often been interpreted a bit too narrowly; but that will be discussed below.⁸⁷

2.4.4 Bastide foundations under the English king-dukes

The English kings also saw the usefulness of this settlement policy as an instrument of power and a model of exploitation. By the 13th century they had already founded many new towns in England.⁸⁸ During the rule of King Edward I (1272-1307), who was also duke of Aquitaine from 1254 to 1306, however, the foundation of new towns became much more important as an element of royal territorial and economic policy. In chapter 1

80 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.43-44; Randolph 1994, p.297, n.19; Abbe 1997, pp.310-311. See also par.2.10.6.

81 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.37-39. According to Lauret c.s. Alphonse founded almost fifty *bastides*. Higounet mentions ‘over thirty’ (1992, p.21), and in an earlier publication he wrote that 36 foundations were recorded in a memoir at the time of Alphonse’s burial (Higounet 1975 (2), p.682, n.121). In the transcription of the list, the *Mémoire des Acquisitions* (published by Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.82), 38 settlements are mentioned, though not all were actually founded under Alphonse. Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.19) propose the total to have been ‘around forty’.

82 See Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, ch.5, s.v.

83 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.37-39. For the returns from the foundation of *bastides*, see par.2.5.4.

84 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37. See also par.2.5.1, regarding the foundation of *bastides* in frontier areas.

85 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37; Dubourg 1997, pp.89-91; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.30. Regarding such inquiries by the administration of Alphonse de Poitiers, see Guébin 1959.

86 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.19-20. The different models of charters were not clearly related to particular regions, nor to periods. Possibly, the choice for a specific model was related to the prime functions that were intended for a *bastide*. It is also possible that the *co-paréageurs* were allowed to choose between various models.

87 See pars.2.10.3.1, 2.10.3.2.

88 Beresford 1967, pp.11-13, 85, 99, 230.

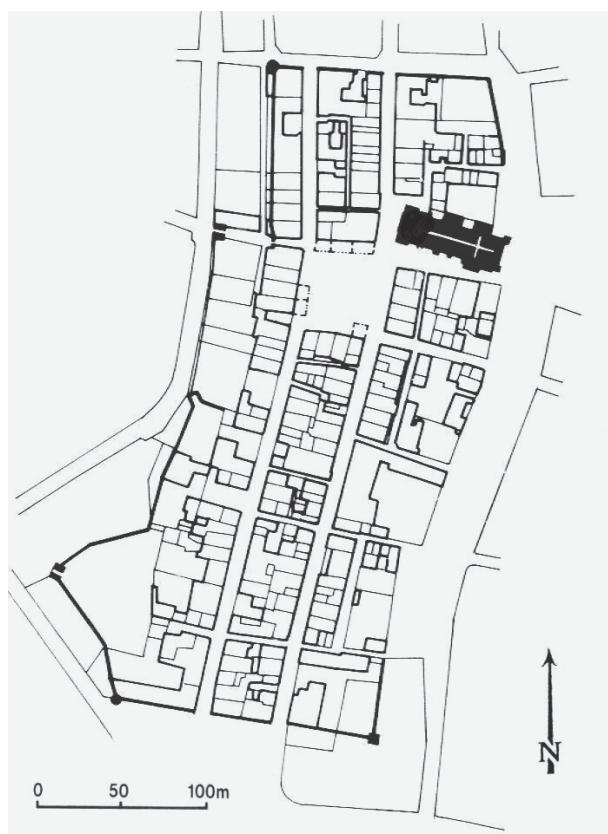


fig. 2.14: Plan of Beaumont-du-Périgord. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) The town was founded in *paréage* by the English crown, the abbot of Cadouin and the lord of Biron in 1272. The town is sited on the northern end of a ridge, and the twist in the basic direction of the plan follows the shape of the ridge. The 14th-century church is located with its backside in the enceinte, on the side of the ridge.

we have already described how he was very active in new town creation in northern Wales. Assisted by his loyal vassals and officers, he founded at least 15 new towns in England and Wales, and in his southern French territories this number was exceeded by far with the help of his lieutenants (*sénéchaux*).⁸⁹ From the fact that Edward himself inspected the building of some of the new settlements, it can be deduced that the foundation policy was of real importance to him.⁹⁰

In chapter 1 it appeared that Edward's town foundations in Wales were primarily motivated by tactical military considerations. The castles that were built or renovated right next to the towns clearly illustrate this.⁹¹ In Aquitaine, however, the main goal for Edward's foundations mostly seems to have been to increase the revenues from the territory. In addition to

that, motives of territorial policy also played an important role.⁹² Goals directly related to military strategy, however, do not appear to have had much influence. This will be discussed in detail in paragraph 2.5.

The first 'English' *bastide* foundation was Monségur, in 1263. (fig. 2.13) The policy of *bastide* creation under the English crown was only really set in motion, however, in the 1280's. It is likely that the *bastide* foundations of Count Alphonse de Poitiers in particular provided an example for the English crown.⁹³ Sixteen of the *bastides* that were created under Alphonse fell to Edward's administration in 1279 and 1286, when the Agenais and 'the three dioceses' of Cahors, Périgueux and Limoges were handed back over to the duchy, on loan from the French crown.⁹⁴ This was a belated result of the Treaty of Paris of 1259, concluded between King-duke Henry III and King Louis IX, in which it was established which domains would fall to the duchy of Aquitaine in the event of Alphonse and Jeanne de Poitiers dying childless.⁹⁵

Although the foundation of new towns was an old and well-tried political instrument to the English crown, the 'English' *bastides* followed a model that was specific for the region of Aquitaine. The rights which were bestowed on these *bastides*, drawn up in so-called *chartes de coutumes*, mostly followed the model of the *bastides* that were founded under Alphonse de Poitiers.⁹⁶ These charters were considerably more extensive

89 According to Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.37) around 50 *bastides* were founded under Edward I and II. Erlen (1992, p.140) gives a number of no less than 140. Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.20) write that Edward I founded 25 *bastides*, but they seem to have counted only the larger successful foundations. From the tables given by Beresford (1967, pp.353, 357, 358) it can be deduced that about 65 *bastides* were founded under Edward I. In 1274, Edward ordered his *sénéchaux* to go ahead autonomously, in name of the duke, with the purchasing of ground for new *bastides* and bestowing them with rights and privileges. (Beresford 1967, p.354) In 1279, the *sénéchal* of the newly acquired region of the Agenais, Jean de Grailly, was given a similar assignment. (Beresford 1967, p.355) With this authority, he would found, among others, Cadillac (in 1280, in his own domain as vicomte of Benauges) and Vianne (in 1284, in *paréage* with the lord of Lisle).

90 In chapter 1 it was mentioned that Edward stayed at Rhuddlan in August 1277 and at Caernarfon in July 1284, during the building of the new towns and castles there. In England he was personally engaged with creation of New Winchelsea in 1288, Kingston-upon-Hull in 1294 and Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1296-97. In March 1287 Edward visited the *bastide* of Baa (in the Bordelais), which was being built at that time. (Beresford 1967, pp.3-4, 37, 9, 11, 14-15, 29)

91 See pars. 1.3, 1.4.1.

92 Beresford 1967, pp.359-361.

93 Beresford 1967, pp.353-354.

94 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39; Beresford 1967, pp.353, 356. Among these *bastides* were Fleurence (founded 1274, by the French crown with the count of Gaure and the abbot of Bouillas); Montréal-du-Gers (1255, by Alphonse de Poitiers); Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (1255, by Alphonse with the abbot of Sainte-Foy and the lord of Pineuil); and Villeneuve-sur-Lot (1253, by Alphonse with the abbot of Eysses).

95 With the Treaty of Paris of 1259 a formal agreement was concluded for the division of lands between the French crown and the duchy, after the French had conquered the northern parts of the continental territories of the Plantagenets in 1202-14 (Normandy, Maine and Poitou). (Beresford 1967, pp.355-359; Sumption 1990, pp.72-74) Regarding the *bastides* that fell into Edward's hands in the Agenais, see Beresford 1967, p.356.

96 The Edwardian *coutumes* of the *bastides* Molières, Monpazier, Valence d'Agen and Lalinde, for instance, followed the model of the charters that were granted by Alphonse de Poitiers to the *bastides* Montclar d'Agen (*coutumes* 1256) and Monflanquin (*coutumes* 1256), which were located in the same region. (Beresford 1967, p.200)

and detailed than those which were common for new towns in England or Wales.⁹⁷ Nor with regard to their urban layout do the ‘English’ *bastides* diverge significantly from the *bastides* in general. Various ‘English’ *bastides* have layouts that are more or less common among the *bastides* and which are very rare or even non-existent in England or Wales.⁹⁸ (see for instance figs. 2.13, 2.14, 2.20) Hence, the ‘English’ *bastides* cannot be clearly distinguished from the *bastides* in southwestern France in general, with respect to their motivations, functions, rights and forms. In most cases they can be clearly distinguished, however, from the new settlements in England and Wales with regard to these aspects.

Edward I was succeeded by Edward II and Edward III as duke of Aquitaine and king of England. Under Edward II more *bastides* were founded, but with a lower intensity and less success than during his father’s reign. (see fig. 0.2) The last ‘English’ *bastide* foundation, Pouriet (or Arbanats, 1348), which was also the only foundation of Edward III, was a complete failure. As a result of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) the French crown eventually conquered all of the Plantagenet territories in southwestern France, and by 1453 all *bastides* in former ‘English’ territory had gone over into French hands.⁹⁹

2.4.5 Bastide foundations under the French kings

After the death of Alphonse de Poitiers in 1271, the whole county fell to the French crown, as a result of the Treaty of Paris from 1229. Subsequently, the policy of *bastide* foundation was vigorously followed through. Between 1271 and 1373 at least 70 *bastides* were founded under the French crown.

However, long before the crown held the direct rule over the county of Toulouse, it was already involved in the foundation of new settlements. In the 12th century, for instance, new villages and towns were created in the Paris Basin, as part of a policy that was directed at reclamation and rentabilisation of the royal domains.¹⁰⁰ In southern France, Louis VIII founded Villeneuve-lès-Avignon in 1226. This town was built on the right bank of the river Rhône, right across from Avignon, after the conquest of this city.¹⁰¹ And in 1246, Louis IX founded Aigues-Mortes, a large and completely new town in the most southern point of his territory, the motive for which was to create a fortified port to provide the king direct access to the Mediterranean.¹⁰² (fig. 2.15)

With the acquisition of the county of Toulouse by the crown, the actual administration of the territory was given to royal lieutenants, *sénéchaux*, who governed specific *sénéchaussées*. A relatively well-known *sénéchal* who was very active as a founder of *bastides* was Eustache de Beaumarchais, *sénéchal* of the Toulousain and the Albigeois from 1272 until 1294. He founded 23 *bastides*.¹⁰³ The most noteworthy of these are Fleurence (1272), Beaumont-de-Lomagne (1279), Mirande (1281) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (1290, fig. 2.22). Under Eustache the systematisation of the procedure of *bastide* creation was followed through. From 1273 (the foundation of Rimont) on he used the same model of *paréage* contract over and over again, and the *chartes de coutumes* were also standardised.¹⁰⁴ The greatest part of the royal foundations, and particularly those of Eustache de Beaumarchais, took place in the French part of Gascony, the hilly region to the west of the river Garonne.

97 Among others, the *chartes de coutumes* of the *bastides* mostly contained regulations regarding the rights and duties, and the method of election and nomination of the representatives of the settlers, the *jurati* or *consuls*, who were responsible for the administration of the *communitas* together with the *baile* who was appointed by the lord(s) of the town. In settlements of comparable size in England and Wales, these elements of communal organisation and representation were not included in the charters. Various other things, like the amounts of tolls and fines, building regulations etc., can also be found in *coutumes* of *bastides*, while in England and Wales such elements were mostly taken up in separate regulations. (Beresford 1967, p.220)

98 Particularly rare in England and Wales are plans similar to the more regular *bastides* with central square market places. Only New Winchelsea in Sussex appears similar at first sight, but the square open space which would be the market space in many *bastides* is a churchyard here. (see fig.7.1) Lavedan and Hugueneu (1974, p.85) exaggerate, however, when they write that there is no similarity whatsoever between the forms of the foundations of Edward I in England and those in France. Various *bastides* with less regular plans and lacking square market places, like Cadillac, Montfort-en-Chalosse and Montfaucon, are more or less similar to towns in England and Wales. (see Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.234, 295; Lavedan & Hugueneu 1974, fig.224; cf. Conwy, Beaumaris, Flint Caernarfon, see ch.1)

99 Beresford 1967, p.375.

100 From the late 11th until the 14th century many new settlements were founded in the Paris Basin. For the most part these were small reclamation villages, which were often founded in *paréage* between worldly lords and monasteries. It involved hundreds of settlements, among which there are also places that were meant to become real towns. Many of these settlements can be recognised from the toponym Villeneuve or Neuville. (Higounet 1990; 1992, pp.122-137)

101 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.23.

102 Inventaire Général des Monuments 1973, pp.18-38; Sournia 1981, pp.3-9. Until the 15th century Aigues-Mortes remained a very important trading port. At the end of the 13th century there were about 15,000 inhabitants. The silting up of the harbour, however, caused a dramatic decline in town’s fortunes in the following centuries.

103 Higounet 1992, p.140. The 23 foundations are mentioned in a document of 1293-94, but some of these were not really new foundations by Eustache. According to Calmettes (1986, p.18) Eustache founded 22 new *bastides*.

104 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.23; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39.



fig. 2.15: Aigues-Mortes. Aerial photograph, view towards the south, c. 1970. Aigues-Mortes was founded by King Louis IX of France in 1247, in order to serve as port town to give the king access to the Mediterranean. It is located in the estuary of the Rhône River, farther east than the area where practically all the new towns which are generally known as bastides were built.

Eustache was succeeded as *sénéchal* by, among others, Guichard de Mauriac, Jean de Trie and Berand de Solomiac, who founded about 15 more *bastides*.¹⁰⁵

Some of the royal *bastides* were founded on royal domains, with the intention of improving the exploitation of these domains.¹⁰⁶ Most of the royal *bastides*, however, were created in *paréage* with local lords, and seem to have been intended primarily to get control over regions that previously had been lordships with relatively great autonomy. Particularly in Gascony there had been many counties and viscounties that had gradually gained autonomy in the previous centuries.¹⁰⁷ In order to establish royal jurisdiction here, *paréages* were concluded with local lords who aspired to defend or enlarge their authority *viz-à-viz* other lords in this way.¹⁰⁸

This was the case with, among others, the counts of Astarac, Pardiac and Gaure. Their domains were plagued by the aggression of the count of Armagnac, who regularly raided the region. Therefore, they concluded *paréages* for the foundation of new *bastides* with the French crown, in order to gain a mighty ally against this count.¹⁰⁹ They hoped that the juridical and military power of the crown would protect them, at least in the area of the *bastides* that were founded in cooperation with the crown. Commanderies of the Knights Hospitaller and particularly Cistercian abbeys also founded *bastides* in *paréage* with the crown. For them the motive for these cooperative town foundations often seems to have been of an economic rather than a territorial-political character. Beaumont-de-Lomagne (1276, in *paréage* with the Cistercian abbey of Grandselve) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (1290, also with Grandselve) are the most significant examples of these.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Erlen 1992, p.40.

¹⁰⁶ For instance Pampelonne, Rabestans, St.-Martin-en-Bigorre and Revel. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.22)

¹⁰⁷ Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.71; Calmettes 1986, pp.20-21; Dubourg 1997, pp.40-41. The relatively great autonomy of the Gascon princes, with their small territories, was due to the fact that the region was a remote corner of the French kingdom, in between various other lordships (like the kingdom of Navarre, the county of Toulouse and the duchy of Aquitaine) between which the local lords could opportunistically choose their allies.

¹⁰⁸ See for instance Calmettes 1986, p.16. According to Calmettes, an important motive for local lords to conclude *paréages* with the royal administration was that the crown had the means to finance the creation of new towns. I do not know of any sources, however, that indicate that the crown paid (even the larger part of) the costs. The costs and returns mostly seem to have been equally divided between the *paréageurs*, except for the fact that the local lord contributed the ground, which generally must have been the largest investment. (on the investment of the ground, see Beresford 1967, p.71)

¹⁰⁹ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39.

¹¹⁰ See Higounet, 1992, pp.141-145 and below, par.2.5.4.3.

2.4.6 Bastide foundations by smaller lords

As mentioned above, smaller lords of various sorts also used the instrument of *bastide* foundation with the aim of extending their power and income. They founded more than sixty *bastides*, with or without concluding *paréages* with more powerful lords, mostly the duke of Aquitaine or the French king.¹¹¹ Among others, the counts of Foix, Comminges, Armagnac, Astarac, Pardiac and Bigorre and the viscounts of Béarn and Lomagne tried to create new administrative, territorial and economic cores for their domains by founding *bastides*.¹¹²

Already during the rule of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, his lieutenant and vassal Sicard Alaman had actively ventured into the creation of *bastides* on his own domains, wholly in agreement with the count's policy.¹¹³ In the 1250's some other lords, among whom the count of Foix, also started to found *bastides*. An important goal for them seems to have been to consolidate their authority relative to the count of Toulouse.¹¹⁴

Bernard IV, count of Astarac (1249-1291), also founded a number of *bastides* with a similar motive.¹¹⁵ He concluded two *paréages* with *sénéchal* Eustache de Beaumarchais, probably mainly with the aim of gaining royal protection against the aggression of the neighbouring lord, the count of Armagnac, who had slaughtered the count of Gaure and his family some years before during a raid into the small county of Gaure.¹¹⁶ Of course it was a disadvantage to Bernard IV that he lost some of his autonomy to the crown, which was represented by Eustache, but that was probably the lesser of the two evils he had to contend with.

The creation of a *bastide* could serve various purposes, and that also goes for the conclusion of a *paréage* in itself. With a *paréage* common interests were created, such as those involving the jurisdiction and revenues of the *bastide* and possibly also its strategic location, thereby creating or intensifying strategic political alliances. For the smaller lords it was of the greatest importance that the ally was well chosen. The co-*paréageur* who contributed an attractive piece of land was always a good partner; *paréageurs* that did not contribute land to the *bastide* foundation were commonly chosen for their military and juridical power and authority.¹¹⁷

Small local lords mostly acted in *paréage* with great lords like the duke, the king or the count of Toulouse, but sometimes they cooperated with other local lords. The *bastide* of Marguestau, for example, was founded in 1294 by the lord of Marguestau together with the count of Armagnac.¹¹⁸ Many of the settlements that were founded by the smaller worldly lords were *castelnaux* rather than *bastides*, as they were often created in the direct vicinity of their castles. These settlements can be regarded as a sort of 'poor man's *bastides*'.¹¹⁹

Not all smaller lords appear to have favoured cooperation with other lords. Between 1281 (Bellocq) and 1358 (Bruges), the successive viscounts of Béarn created thirteen *bastides* in order to strengthen their grip on the population and the economy in their more or less independent lordship.¹²⁰ Curiously enough, no *paréages* are presently known for eleven of these foundations.¹²¹ Apparently the viscounts had sufficient authority to found the new towns on their own and could dispose of enough ground on well-suited locations. They do not seem to have felt that they needed co-*paréageurs* to make their *bastide* foundations into successful ventures.

111 This figure is based on the map in Calmettes 1986, p.21. According to Divorine, Genre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.22) the *bastide* foundations of smaller lords in the south accounted for about 25% of the total number of *bastides*.

112 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.71; Calmettes 1986, pp.20-21; Dubourg 1997, pp.40-41; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.39.

113 Higounet 1975 (1), pp.305-323. It considers, among others, Boulou (1242), Montastruc-la-Conseillère (1241) and Montesqui-Lauragais (1241).

114 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37. The counts of Foix founded, among others, Mazères-sur-l'Hers (1253, in *paréage* with the abbot of Boulbonne), La Bastide-de-Sérou (1252/1254, with the abbot of Combelongue and the abbot of Mas d'Azil) and Campagne-sur-Arize (1254, with the abbot of Combelongue).

115 He founded Masseur (1274, in *paréage* with the abbot of Lescaledieu), Mirande (1281, with the abbot of Berdoues and *sénéchal* Eustache de Beaumarchais), Meilhan (1280, with the abbot of Berdoues), Pavie (1281, with the abbot of Berdoues and Eustache de Beaumarchais) and Seissan (1286, with the abbot of Faget). (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.42)

116 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.42. See the previous note.

117 For comparison, one may consider the situation in England. Much as in Aquitaine, small lords could found new towns (boroughs) there on their own domains, without needing special permission from the king. In the course of the 12th to 14th centuries, however, they increasingly felt the need to have the crown affirm the rights and privileges they provided the boroughs with. The crown received a fixed sum for such confirmations. This is not the same as a *paréage*, but it serves to demonstrate that the power and authority of the higher jurisdiction of the crown was used by town founders as a sort of certificate of guarantee to give their boroughs a higher and officially approved status in a legal sense, which, in turn, offered more security to settlers and to possible third parties such as traders and investors in real estate. (see Beresford 1967, pp.60, 85)

118 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293.

119 Cursente 1979, p.35; Cursente 1980, p.103.

120 See Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.42) (who appear to have forgotten Montaut and Lestelle though).

121 See Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, ch.5: 'Répertoire', s.v.: Asson (1283), Bellocq (1281), Bruges (1357-58), Cardesse (1324), Gan (1332), Garlin (1302), Labastide-Clairence (1314), Labastide-Villefranche (c.1292), Lestelle Bétharram (1335), Navarenx (before 1316) and Rébenacq (1347). The only known *bastides* that were created in cooperation with other lords are Nay (in *paréage* with the commandery of Fabas, 1302), and Montaut (with the abbey of St. Pé, 1308).

2.4.7 End of the period of *bastide* foundations

In the 14th century the number of new *bastide* foundations diminished, much like the number of new settlements in almost all of western and southern Europe. The most fertile lands were already brought under the plow, which meant that new reclamations had to take place on more marginal soils. More important in this context, however, is the fact that the growth of the European economy had come to a halt in the early 14th century and that the Black Death caused a great demographic crisis around the middle of the century.¹²² On top of all that, southwestern France experienced an additional crisis in the form of the Hundred Years War between the French crown and the dukes of Aquitaine *casu quo* the English crown (1337-1453). Because of these worsening conditions, the chance of success for a new settlement foundation diminished dramatically.¹²³

In the Lauragais (the area southeast of Toulouse) the founding of *bastides* continued somewhat longer than elsewhere in southwestern France.¹²⁴ The last known *bastide* foundation is Labastide-d'Anjou, in 1373. This place, which was founded by the French crown, has the honour to be named after Louis d'Anjou, king of Naples. Despite the name, the foundation was no great success: at present it is no more than a small village.

2.5 Motives for the foundation of *bastides*

2.5.1 Military motives

Until some decades ago it was more or less generally agreed by scholars that *bastides* were founded for reasons of military strategy. They would have served mainly as a sort of civil castles in conflicts between various landlords, and particularly between the French and the English kings. In particular, Charles Higounet was an influential adherent to this theory.¹²⁵ At first sight, the idea seems quite sensible, since there actually were severe conflicts between various lords, and the *bastides* appear to often have been founded in frontier areas between the different territories.¹²⁶ Moreover, a significant number of the towns were surrounded by more or less imposing fortifications. (figs. 2.16, 2.43) Particularly in English-speaking countries the term 'bastide' is therefore almost generally interpreted as meaning something like 'newly founded fortified settlement'.¹²⁷

After closer study it appears, however, that the idea of the primacy of military motives behind *bastide* foundations is largely due to misinterpretation. In 1954 Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac published an article in which the almost generally accepted idea was proven wrong. He argues that between 1259 and 1290 and between 1303 and the 1320's there had been few military conflicts between the French and the English crowns.¹²⁸ There had been many conflicts, it's true, but these were particularly of a judicial nature.¹²⁹ With the help of documentary sources Trabut-Cussac also demonstrates, with regard to the 'English' *bastides*, that in most cases there is no proof whatsoever for military motives at the time of their foundation or shortly afterward. It appears that the inhabitants of the *bastides* were generally freed of the otherwise obligatory military service to their lords for the first ten years after they settled in a *bastide*.¹³⁰ It also appears that the chartes *de coutumes* of *bastides* mostly did not contain provisions with respect to a possible military function: the inhabitants very rarely received the right to carry arms, and with respect to the *bastides* of Alphonse de Poitiers, which often have been regarded as a sort of fortresses, nothing is provided in the chartes with regard to the fortifications. It appears, in fact, that fortifications simply were not planned initially.¹³¹ A number of documents concerning 'English' *bastides* demonstrate that the king-duke was not at all eager to have them fortified.¹³² The communities of settlers of various *bastides* requested, in some cases several times, for permission to

122 See par.o.1.5; Beresford 1967, pp.305-308; Erlen 1992, p.141.

123 Beresford 1967, p.374.

124 Royal foundations: among others, Montgaillard-de-Bigorre (1327), Revel (1342) and Castelnaudary (1367-68). Foundations of other lords: among others, Gan (1332) and Bruges (1357-58), both founded by the viscount of Béarn. (see Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, ch.5: Répertoire, s.v.)

125 See particularly Higounet 1975 (1), pp.245-255, *Bastides et frontières* (orig. 1948 and published again in Stoob 1978, pp.173-192); and also Higounet 1992, pp.21, 35; Saint-Blanquat 1949; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.12; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, pp.67-71, 92-93; Divorine, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.23-24; Calmettes 1986, p.14; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.38, 39, 40; Heers 1990, p.107.

126 On conflicts between the various lords in the region, see Vale 1990, pp.112-139.

127 See above, n.21. Highly illustrative is the title of a book by James Bentley, which was published in 1993: *Fort Towns of France. The Bastides of the Dordogne and Aquitaine*.

128 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.83-86.

129 See Sumption 1990, pp.72-99; Vale 1990, pp.48-80.

130 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.87-89.

131 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.89-90. It appears that the laws in a number of 'english' *bastides* were distinctly unfavourable for defence against the aggression of neighbouring lords, even when they were sited on the border of the duchy, near to the territories of adversary lords. (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.105-106)

132 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.90-92.



fig. 2.16: Eastern gate of Domme, from the northeast. The fortifications of Domme, which was founded in 1281-83, were built in the early 14th century.

fortify their towns and for aid in doing that. These requested fortifications mostly appear to have been meant as a defence against brigandage rather than against the armies of other lords.¹³³ With this, it should also be noted that the first *bastides* that were actually fortified do not appear to have been located in disputed frontier areas between different lordships.¹³⁴

With respect to the ‘English’ *bastides* the *chartes de coutumes* sometimes contained the stipulation that the founder would provide the *bastide* with a ‘*première clôture*’. This generally meant that the crown would be responsible for the building of four gates at the entrances to the *bastide*. These provisions do not indicate, however, when the ‘*première clôture*’ would actually be built. In a number of cases the communities of the *bastides* were still sending petitions to the administration some seven decades after the foundation, to beg the king-duke to comply with this provision. Even when the gates were finally built, this did not automatically mean that the *bastide* would be well defensible, because in some cases there were hardly any or, indeed, no fortifications apart from the gates.¹³⁵

In contrast to what seems to have been almost generally presumed until well into the 20th century, not all *bastides* were fortified.¹³⁶ Trabut-Cussac has argued that most town walls were only built in the 14th century, shortly before or during the Hundred Years War, in which the English and the French crowns fought over the dominion of the duchy of Aquitaine. For the most part, these walls were constructed at the request of the *bastide* communities themselves, and they should thus be regarded as communal defences rather than as seigneurial military instruments.¹³⁷

Despite the fact that Trabut-Cussac’s arguments have not been seriously countered, it appears that many scholars still adhere to the idea that *bastides* were generally founded with military motives in mind. It seems that they often assume that the walls, gates and towers which surrounded many *bastides* in the past, were planned right from the outset of the foundations. In this, they fail to notice that most of these fortifications were only built in the period of the Hundred Years War, and that even then most *bastides* remained unwallled.¹³⁸

It is, indeed, a fact that *bastides* are relatively often sited in frontier areas between different lordships. This fact is the main argument which Higounet uses to emphasise the strategic military importance of the *bastides*, particularly with regard to the frontier areas between the territories of the king-duke and the French crown.¹³⁹

However, the siting of many *bastides* on locations in border areas has to do with the fact that boundaries between the various lordly territories were often not yet clearly determined. A newly created settlement in an area where lordly rights were not yet clearly fixed could serve as an anchor point for lordly dominion.¹⁴⁰ In this way territories were enlarged by colonisation and the creation of new legal structures, rather than by

133 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.92-94. For example Sauveterre-de-Guyenne and Hastings (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.101, 108-109). The fact that fortifications, particularly stone gates, towers and walls, gave a town an impressive appearance and a higher status may also have played a role.

134 Trabut-Cussac 1954, p.98. Trabut-Cussac discusses the example of Monflanquin, which was founded by Alphonse de Poitiers in 1256 and was fortified in 1282.

135 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.96-101. This restrained fortification policy with respect to the king-duke’s *bastides* was in contrast to the *castra*, the seigneurial fortress settlements of the king-duke. Under Edward I the latter were generally well maintained, and a number of them were reinforced in 1255, 1274 and 1280. Edward I also acquired various new *castra* from local lords. (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.119-120)

136 Regarding this general misconception, see Pujol 1990, pp.345, 252, 363, 356.

137 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.94-135. See also Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131; Heers 1990, p.108; Vale 1990, pp.118, 230.

138 According to Heers (1990, p.108), only 41 of the 125 *bastides* in the ‘English’ territory listed by Beresford, were ever provided with stone walls.

139 Higounet 1975, p.247. Reacting to this argument by Higounet, Trabut-Cussac points out that no *bastides* were founded by the king-duke in the Saintonge. If *bastides* were founded with military-tactical motives, they should logically have been founded there, since the most northern and traditionally also most vulnerable and crucial border of the duchy was located there. (Trabut-Cussac 1954, p.115)

140 Trabut-Cussac (1954, pp.121-122) emphasised that the borders were not at all clearly fixed. Only a few points were really defined in the frontier areas. He uses the phrase ‘*mosaïque de frontières*’ (‘mosaic of frontiers’). See also Irsigler 1991.

military conquest.¹⁴¹ It is also relevant that frontier regions generally were relatively uncultivated and underpopulated due to less favourable geographical conditions, as is usually the case with border areas. Because of the growing population pressure and the increasing knowledge of agrarian technology it became profitable to cultivate these marginal lands.

With all this, it must be acknowledged, however, that some *bastides* probably actually had some military significance in the early phases of their existence. A small number of towns were walled relatively early in their existence. This was the case with, among others, Cordes (founded 1222), Domme (1281) and possibly Vianne and Monpazier (both 1284).¹⁴²

Territorial policy clearly was an important motive in many *bastide* foundations, but motives of an economic nature were also very important. In general, one may assume that, where political structures and rights of ownership were not yet clearly fixed and were disputed among different lords, the political territorial motivation would probably have been more important, and that, where these structures and rights had already crystallised, economic motives were of primary importance.

So, with the possible exception of a few special cases, *bastides* were generally not created to serve as fortresses in the territorial conflict between the English and the French crowns. For as far as *bastides* served a role in territorial conflicts between different lords, they rather acted as a pacification instrument, a physical anchoring point of the lordly authority, and as visible sign of lordly ambitions.¹⁴³

2.5.2 Protection of population and travelers

The fact that the *bastides* were not created as seigneurial fortresses does not mean, however, that they were planned without any view to their defensive functions. A number of foundations were explicitly motivated with the aim of providing protection to the population of a particular area and its possessions and production. The forests of Aquitaine housed gangs of criminals and roving mercenaries. They robbed travelling salesmen and pilgrims and sometimes they even plundered complete villages. There also were various members of the nobility that were notorious for their brigandage. It also happened that the inhabitants of border areas between different lordships were harassed by hostile neighbouring lords or their subjects.¹⁴⁴ Various noble families had long-standing conflicts, and inhabitants of border areas could particularly be the victims of short outbreaks of violence, often acts of revenge for earlier aggressions.¹⁴⁵ A number of *bastides* were created to provide protection against such plunderings, robberies and harassments. In this way, the inhabitants of the countryside would come to live in larger and more compact settlements, in which they would be better organised to protect themselves.¹⁴⁶

A clear example is Revel. This *bastide* was founded in 1332-42 in the Forêt the Vauré, after the surrounding area had been heavily harassed, at least since 1313, by gangs of former mercenaries that lived in the forest. In 1332, King Philip VI bought a part of the forest, with the intention to found a *bastide*.¹⁴⁷ In 1342, the settlers, who came from six different parishes in the area, received a *charte de coutumes*. This charter already contained the privilege to dig ditches and build stone walls, which was actually done from 1355 on.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.122-129. See also par.3.5.2 (Florentine new towns).

A *bastide* foundation where this did not work out well was Saint-Sardos. In 1323 it was founded by the abbey of Sarlat in *paréage* with the French crown. But the place lay within the Agenais, which belonged to the duchy by that time, although near the southeast border of it. This caused a severe armed conflict, the so-called war of Saint-Sardos, between the duchy and the French crown and their supporters, which lasted two years. (Vale 1990, pp.233-242)

¹⁴² Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131. According to Trabut-Cussac (1954, p.90) and Higounet (1984, p.22), however, Vianne was of little military value and was walled only later. Domme is located on a strategic site high above the Dordogne river, which was the border between the French and 'English' territories at the time of its foundation in 1281-83. King Philip III the Bold of France (1270-85) founded this *bastide* after he had bought the ground and the castle lying next to it from two local lords. The town was fairly heavily fortified in the early 14th century. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.201-202) One may ask, however, what the extra strategic military value of the *bastide* would have been, since it was located next to an impressive castle that was located strategically on the rocky outcrop at the far point of the hillcrest. In my opinion, the *bastide* was sited relatively high up for the protection of its inhabitants and their goods, and it seems likely that it was fortified mainly because otherwise the castle would be very vulnerable should the nearby *bastide* be easily conquered by enemy forces. It does not seem likely therefore, that the town was created to become a kind of castle manned by citizens, as has been the general idea about *bastides*.

¹⁴³ Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.124-131.

¹⁴⁴ This happened, for instance, in the *bastides* of Saint-Gein, Lias and Frontdeboeuf around 1320. (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.105-106) Throughout his article Trabut-Cussac also mentions a number of other cases.

¹⁴⁵ See Vale 1990, pp.112-139.

¹⁴⁶ Beresford 1967, pp.83-85, 186. A comparable policy was followed with the creation of the Florentine new towns (see par.3.5.1).

¹⁴⁷ Doumerc 1976, p.47.

¹⁴⁸ Doumerc 1976, pp.49, 58, 59, 63.

The *bastide* of Molières was also founded in the midst of a forest. It was created in 1284 by the *sénéchal* of Edward I, explicitly to provide protection to travellers on the pilgrims' route that crossed the area.¹⁴⁹ A more or less similar case is the *bastide* of Pimbo. The abbot of Pimbo gave Edward I a mandate to build a castle and a *bastide* on the site that appeared most fit to him within the abbey's domain, in order to restore the peace in the surrounding area.¹⁵⁰

2.5.3 Administrative motives

The foundation of *bastides* also served to create more order in the organisation of the territory of the founding lord, with the goal of getting more control over the population and the land. Concentration of the population and reorganisation of the administrative structure were the instruments, which took form in the creation of *bastides*.

A very important aspect of the control over the population, no doubt, must have been fiscal in character. By organising the population in concentrated settlements, in which the settlers were given house lots and plots of garden, arable land and vineyard of a clearly determined size, it became relatively easy to rate taxes and rents and to collect them from the inhabitants.¹⁵¹

It has already been mentioned above, with respect to the *bastide* foundations of Edward I and Alphonse de Poitiers, that a number of *bastides* became administrative centres in their dominions. In the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century, a growing proportion of the administrative districts in southwestern France came to be centred in *bastides*. This can be clearly observed from the administrative organisation of the former domains of Raymond VII. Since the Treaty of Paris of 1229, the county of Toulouse was divided into six judicial districts, the so-called *jugeries*. In the *jugerie* Rieux, for example, no less than ten out of the eleven *baillies* (areas administered by bailiffs) were centred on *bastides* at the end of the 13th century, and in the *jugerie* Rivière nine out of ten administrative centres were *bastides*.¹⁵²

It seems that the town of Villefranche-de-Rouergue was planned as an important administrative centre right from the outset of the project. It was founded in 1252 by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in *paréage* with the bishop of Rodez.¹⁵³ The count instantly gave it the function of capital of the Basse Marche (or Rouergue). This was partly because the earlier capital of the administrative region, Najac, was not favoured any longer because it had revolted against Alphonse in 1249.¹⁵⁴

2.5.4 Economic motives

One of the main goals of the creation of many *bastides*, as with many other new towns in other periods and countries, was to enlarge the founder's returns on his lands.¹⁵⁵ It is mostly unclear, however, in what precise measure this was the case for individual towns, as this motive was rarely explicitly mentioned in documents.

Founding a new settlement could be very profitable if the number of settlers in the lord's domain would be increased by it or when land that previously had generated only small returns could be exploited more intensively. This certainly holds true for a considerable part of the *bastides*. In other cases, the profit from new settlements was not so much created by an increase of population or more intensive exploitation of the land, but rather by the stimulus that was given to local economies. By concentrating the population, production and trade in settlements that were larger than the villages and hamlets where the inhabitants of the area had previously lived, economic growth was stimulated. The founders levied direct taxes on the agrarian production. Apart from that, the lords also levied tolls for products that were traded in the market and products that were imported into and exported from the towns. Higher production, more transactions and more

149 Beresford 1967, p.29.

150 Beresford 1967, p.186. Similar cases are Marciac (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.22; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293), Hastingues (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.108-109; Beresford 1967, p.186) and others (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.127-128; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131).

151 Regarding predetermined plot sizes in new towns, see par.9.11.

152 Saint-Blanquat, 1985, pp.6-7. Regarding the administrative role of the *bastide* Créon, see Trabut-Cussac 1954 (B). Cf. the important roles of the new foundations in Wales and the Florentine *terre nuove* in the administrative territorial organisation (pars.1.7.2, 1.7.4, 1.7.5, 1.7.10 and 3.5.3).

153 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.195.

154 Calmettes 1990, p.19. Beresford notes that a particular *bastide* was founded in the Quercy because the king-duke had no administrative centre yet in this newly won region. Unfortunately he does not give the name of this foundation. (Beresford 1967, p.362)

155 Maurice Beresford investigated and clarified the economic motives of lords that founded *bastides* and new towns in England and Wales. (Beresford 1967, esp. pp.55-89, 229-290) Other scholars are generally rather vague on the subject of the economic intentions of founders and settlers.

consumption consequently led to direct economic benefits for the founding lords.¹⁵⁶

The economic motive for the foundation of new settlements is reflected in the many provisions that the founders made to stimulate production and trade: encouragement of reclamations, founding of markets, building of market facilities, construction of roads, bridges and ports and measures that were taken to make rivers easier to navigate.

Only rarely do the documents contain more explicit indications of the economic motivation for *bastide* foundations. A document of 1245, for instance, records that the *bastide* of Monte Esquivo was created to ‘increase and improve the revenues of the church’.¹⁵⁷

The most direct and relatively easily traceable aspect of the new revenues that lords received as a result of the foundation of a *bastide* concerns the rents that were paid for the parcels of land every year. Within the settlement there was a fixed rent per specified unit of ground. The rent for house lots was relatively higher than for garden lots or plots of vineyard. The rent for fields of arable land was still lower.¹⁵⁸

New tenants had to pay *droites d’entrée* (‘rights of entry’) when they settled in a *bastide*. In the course of time these *droites d’entrée* became more like a sort of purchase price for the ground.¹⁵⁹ Rent contracts were sometimes even sold by auction.¹⁶⁰ This probably only concerned the most attractive lots, which were sited on the market place and the main streets. For most *bastides* it does not seem likely that there were already so many eager settlers at the moment of foundation, that they exceeded the number of planned house lots.¹⁶¹

The initial settlers were exempted from paying rents and taxes for a fixed number of years from the moment they moved to the new town. This was common for new settlements that were created all over Europe in the period of about the 12th to 15th centuries. In this way the settlers were partly compensated for the costs of moving, building new houses and reclaiming new agricultural fields. In the county of Toulouse this exemption usually lasted three years.¹⁶² After the period of exemption, the founding lords received annual rents for the ground that mostly would have been higher than the previous returns from the same ground.¹⁶³

When the ground was transferred into the hands of another lord, usually at the death of the lord, the inhabitants had to pay an *acapte*; and when settlers passed their lands to other renters, an *arrière acapte* had to be paid.¹⁶⁴ The lords of a *bastide* could also levy special taxes, for instance in case of war or when roads or bridges needed to be built or repaired. They could also earn extra income from dispensing justice and levying fines.¹⁶⁵ These taxes and yields from justice were not exclusive for *bastides*; they were more or less common for all settlements with free tenure.

It is only logical that a *bastide* foundation would generate more extra income for a lord when the settlers came from other lordships and when they were economically successful.¹⁶⁶ In most *bastides*, however, most settlers came from nearby, in large part from the territory of the founding lord.¹⁶⁷ In these cases extra income mainly had to be generated by economic growth and natural population growth.

An additional way to gain extra returns from the foundation of a *bastide* was to rent out fields that did not belong to the legally fixed area of the new settlement. When a *bastide* was successful in attracting settlers, it often happened that the inhabitants, when they were mainly active in agriculture, wanted to work more land than they were given initially. In such cases, the local landlord, whose domain usually surrounded (or at least partly surrounded) the *bastide*, could rent or lease out additional fields. It seems that the rents for these lands were often higher and the conditions more advantageous to the lord than in the actual area of the *bastide*. Saint-

¹⁵⁶ See also par.9.1.3.

¹⁵⁷ ‘[...] *bastidam Monte Esquivo* [...] *propter quam augmentarentur* [...] *vel meliorarentur redditus ecclesie* [...]’ See: Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.25, n.20. Saint-Blanquat does not indicate which foundation is involved here. It is probably a case of Montesquieu-Volvestre, an older settlement that received *coutumes* from Raymond VII in 1246/48. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.295)

¹⁵⁸ See pars.2.10.4.4, 2.10.6, 9.11 and 9.23.

¹⁵⁹ Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.20, 51, 107.

¹⁶⁰ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.51.

¹⁶¹ In Grenade-sur-Garonne, for instance, the influx of settlers seems to have been considerable. But still, about 2,000 of the 3,000 house lots provided for in the *paréage*, were never taken up. (see par.2.10.6)

¹⁶² Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.51; see also par.9.9.

¹⁶³ Beresford 1967, pp.62, 65-85.

¹⁶⁴ Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.63-64.

¹⁶⁵ Beresford 1967, pp.88, 64; see also par.9.1.3.

¹⁶⁶ See par.9.9.

¹⁶⁷ See par.2.8.

Blanquat even suggests that the amount of land that was distributed to new settlers with *bastide* foundations was sometimes intentionally kept small in order to generate extra income from the rent of additional lands.¹⁶⁸

2.5.4.1 Markets

With the *bastides*, new markets were founded. Under Count Raymond VII markets were not yet a standard element of a *bastide* foundation, but later on they would come to be.¹⁶⁹ In the chartes *de coutumes* and the chartes *de paréages* it was usually determined on which day of the week the market would be held and when the yearly fair(s) would be. Some *bastides* were provided with no less than six fairs per year; smaller foundations, however, sometimes had to do without.¹⁷⁰ The newly created market centres were of great importance to the local economy in Aquitaine because of the need to export agricultural products, particularly wine.¹⁷¹ Since the transport routes over land were generally in bad condition in Aquitaine, it was important for producers to have a market place nearby. Hence, a relatively dense network of markets was needed.¹⁷² The importance of the transport to and from the market in the *bastides*, can be seen in the locations where most *bastides* were created: on the shores of navigable rivers or on interregional roads.¹⁷³ These transport routes were the economic lifelines of the *bastides*.

The markets formed lucrative institutions for the founding lords, because they could tax the import, sale and export of goods, apart from the taxes that were levied on harvests and on transport at toll sites. The inhabitants of the *bastides* and other towns of the same lord, usually were exempted from many of these tolls and taxes. The landlords could also generate income by leasing out stalls in the market place.¹⁷⁴

2.5.4.2 Farming out revenues

Much like elsewhere in lordly domains, the inhabitants of the *bastides* generally were obliged to make use of the mills, winepresses and ovens of the landlord, and for this service they had to pay a fee. The inhabitants of many other (new) towns elsewhere in Europe often were exempted from such obligations, but the *coutumes* of the *bastides* generally appear to be more conservative in this respect. In the course of time, however, these lordly monopolies were often farmed out.¹⁷⁵

During the period of the 12th to 16th centuries it became more or less usual for lords to farm out various sources of income at a fixed price for one or more years. In the *bastides*, for instance, the market tolls or the market place itself could be farmed out, so that the farmer could collect the tolls and the rents for leasing out space or market stalls.¹⁷⁶ It also became usual to farm out tolls on roads and rivers and on other monopolies like mills, ovens and the right to catch fish.¹⁷⁷

Initially the farmers were mostly private entrepreneurs, but in the 14th and 15th centuries it was more and more often the community of the *bastide* that farmed various revenues. An extra advantage would be that with a growing economy the community would have a financial benefit.¹⁷⁸ It seems that particularly in *bastides* many revenues were farmed out: from the accounts of the duchy of Aquitaine of 1306-07 it appears that of all *bailliages* where revenues were farmed, 50% was centred on a *bastide* in the regions of Périgord, the Limousin

168 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.49-50; Lavigne 1996, p.192. This appears to have been the case, for instance, with the *bastide* Plagne (see par.2.5.4.4).

Lordly manorial farms that lay nearby new settlements could also profit from the vicinity of the new market, where products could be sold to consumers and traders. (Beresford 1967, pp.75-76)

169 Beresford 1967, pp.56-59, 219; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.89.

170 Sauveterre-de-Guyenne was provided with six annual fairs. (Beresford 1967, p.243)

171 This subject will be discussed in detail in paragraph 2.5.4.5.

172 Beresford 1967, p.368. According to Beresford, the foundation of relatively many new towns in southwestern France is due to the relatively late colonisation of the region in combination with deficient land routes. Relatively many markets were needed to make reclamations profitable. Beresford describes the same phenomenon for Wales, Cornwall and Devon, in roughly the same period. (Beresford 1967, pp.369, 281, 347) The same probably also goes for The Netherlands in the 13th and particularly the 14th and 15th centuries.

173 The siting of *bastides* on river banks is clearly visible in Gascony: Grenade, Barcelonne, Plaisance, Maubourguet, Beaumarchès and Marciac form a chain of markets along the river Adour; Mirande, Valence, Vianne and Laverdac along the Baïse; Masseube, Pavie and Fleurance along the Gers; whereas Villefranche, Simorre, Gimont, Cologne, Solomiac and Beaumont-de-Lomagne are sited along the Gimone. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.41) According to Beresford, 20% of the *bastides* in 'English' Aquitaine functioned as ports. (Beresford 1967, p.120) The importance of a port to a *bastide* is illustrated in a document in which Edward I orders the construction of a port at the *bastide* of Monségur in 1289: 'because they had many good commodities which they could sell if they had a port in the river Dropt, which would be useful for the whole country and for us.' ('cum ipsi habeant multa bona venalia que vendere possent si portum haberent in flumine Droiti, quod esset utilitas toti patrie et nobis.' Beresford 1967, p.177)

174 Beresford 1967, p.63; Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.90-91.

175 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.91. For exemptions elsewhere, see for instance Beresford 1967, p.211.

176 Beresford 1967, p.63; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.89.

177 Higounet 1992 (1), p.432-433, 435

178 Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 29, 73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. *Revenues urban, fee farms*).

and Quercy, and in the Agenais it was even 70%.¹⁷⁹

Not only specific rights, but taxes and tolls were also farmed out; sometimes even complete settlements with all associated revenues. Some *bastides* even seem to have been founded in order to gain quick financial profit by farming them out for several years. A case in point is described by Beresford. In July 1284 Edward I concluded a contract with the rich wine merchant Henry le Waleys, who was an important advisor and diplomat of the king.¹⁸⁰ In this contract it was determined that Le Waleys would farm the revenues from six *bastides* for ten years, in return for a yearly payment of 170 pounds sterling. Four of these *bastides* had been founded only shortly before, and one (Molières) was possibly still in the planning stage.¹⁸¹

In this way the king-duke quickly made financial profits from the *bastides* that were founded in his dominion. The documents do not describe this motive directly, but it seems likely that many other *bastides* were also founded primarily to generate new income, whether or not by farming out revenues. Particularly the king-duke, the French king and their respective lieutenants seem to have all acted as a sort of commercial real estate developer.¹⁸²

That *bastides* could be relatively profitable projects is also demonstrated by the fact that, according to the accounts of the duchy Aquitaine of 1306-07, a third of the total revenues from the region Bazadais came from just four *bastides* in this region.¹⁸³ From an assessment of taxable wealth in the towns of the duchy of 1315-16, it appears that about a quarter of this wealth was owned by inhabitants of *bastides*.¹⁸⁴ The importance of *bastides* among the towns of the duchy, probably particularly because of their economic success, is also demonstrated by the fact that between 1317 and 1326 more than half of the towns to which the king-duke directly sent important messages, orders and requests, were *bastides*.¹⁸⁵

2.5.4.3 Bastide foundations by Cistercian abbeys

Apart from the counts of Toulouse, the kings of France, the king-dukes of Aquitaine and various lords of lesser importance, there was another party that was very active in the creation of *bastides*: the Cistercian abbeys of the region. The fact that motives of an economic kind played an important role in the creation of *bastides* is clearly demonstrated by the Cistercian foundations.

From 1135 on, about twenty abbeys of this order were founded in the region of Gascony alone. The rule of the Cistercian order prescribed that the monks had to live from their own labour. Therefore, the abbeys acquired large tracts of donated land, which typically had only been barely cultivated (if at all) previously. The best tracts of these lands were reclaimed by the abbeys and organised in *granges* for economic exploitation. These *granges* were a kind of large-scale farms, similar to the manorial farms on domains of worldly lords.¹⁸⁶ Great abbeys like Cadouin, Berdoues, Bonnefont and Grandselve owned up to twelve different *granges* each, all sited no more than a day's walk from the abbey.¹⁸⁷ On the manorial farms of worldly lords the work was generally done by serfs. On the Cistercian *granges*, however, the work was initially done by the monks themselves, and from about the middle of the 12th century on increasingly by lay brothers (*conversi*).¹⁸⁸

In the second half of the 12th century many lay brothers joined the spiritual communities. They were generally unschooled, and had a clearly inferior rank in relation to the choir brothers. From the early 13th century on, however, the stream of new lay brothers gradually dried up.¹⁸⁹ This was caused by, among other factors, the subordinate rank and the competition of the mendicant orders, which enjoyed a growing popu-

¹⁷⁹ Beresford 1967, p.362.

¹⁸⁰ Beresford 1967, pp.6-7.

¹⁸¹ It regarded the *bastides* of Lalinde (founded by the *sénéchal* Jean de Lalinde in 1267), Beaumont-de-Périgord (by Edward I, the abbot of Cadouin and the lord of Biron in 1272), Beaulieu (by the English crown, 1276/1284), Fonroque (English crown, 1284), La-Bastide-Villefranche (or Labastide-Monestier, English crown, 1284) and Molières (*sénéchal* Jean de Grailly, 1284). (Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 28-35)

¹⁸² According to Beresford it was easy to make relatively high profits from the foundation of new towns, because the investments were relatively low. (Beresford 1967, ch.3, pp.55-98, and esp. p.360)

¹⁸³ Beresford 1967, p.362. Beresford describes in extensive detail the considerable returns that lords received from their newly founded towns in England. (Beresford 1967, pp.55-97, 257-270)

¹⁸⁴ In the Bazadais 295 pounds of wealth was taxed in the *bastides*, from a total of 1180; in the Agenais the figure was 1617, from a total of 3536; and in the Landes 38 from a total of 628 pounds. These figures are based on Beresford's table IX.9 (Beresford 1967, pp.269-270).

¹⁸⁵ Beresford 1967, p.253. Saint-Blanquat believes that the increase in the number of *bastide* foundations under Alphonse de Poitiers in 1268-70 also indicates that the lordly financial situation was an important motive for the foundation of *bastides*, since it was particularly in this period that Alphonse was in need of money in order to finance his crusade to Tunis. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.19)

¹⁸⁶ Higounet 1981, p.157.

¹⁸⁷ Higounet 1975, p.269.

¹⁸⁸ Higounet, 1975, pp.180-182.

¹⁸⁹ Higounet, 1975, p.183; Barrière 1990, pp.149-159; Baraillhé 1997, chapter 'La crise économique cistercienne du XIIIe siècle'.

larity and which attracted many lay brothers.¹⁹⁰ It is also possible that the social class from which the lay brothers came, had found more attractive economic prospects elsewhere, for instance in the *bastides*.

Thus, the abbeys were confronted with a shortage of manpower to work their lands, which forced them to exploit their domains in another way. In particular cases the abbeys had already employed wageworkers, and in this period this phenomenon became more usual. Apparently however, this was not an ideal solution to the problem; it may have been too expensive or too difficult to organise.¹⁹¹ According to canon law monasteries were not allowed to sell land. Therefore, another solution was found: the rule of the Cistercian order was adapted to make it possible to rent out land that was relatively infertile and which was lay at a relatively great distance from the abbeys.¹⁹² Parts of *granges* were subsequently rented out in parcels of limited size at fixed sums or shares of the yield.¹⁹³

Once it was possible for the abbeys to rent out their land, it also became possible to found *bastides* in order to exploit considerable parts of their domains. For the land of less profitable *granges* the abbeys started to conclude *paréages* with worldly lords to found new settlements there. In doing this, part of the rights, and actually also part of the possession, was yielded to the co-*paréageur* and to the new settlers that rented the ground.¹⁹⁴ In return, the abbeys received income from the *bastides* in the form of, among other things, rents, taxes, tolls and fees from justice. Being the co-*paréageurs* that originally owned the land, the abbeys retained the full rights to the tithes. Usually, they ensured that no other clerical institutions - in the 13th and 14th centuries this particularly meant the 'new' mendicant orders - would be allowed to settle in the *bastides*.¹⁹⁵ The intention was, of course, to raise the returns from the land in comparison to the pre-*bastide* situation. Mostly this seems to have actually worked out.¹⁹⁶

Thus, by founding *bastides*, the Cistercian abbeys in southwestern France transformed the exploitation of a considerable part of their landed property from a fairly extensive direct form, centered on *granges*, to an intensive indirect seigniorial form, involving renting to newly attracted *bastide* settlers.

Concerning the locations of the Cistercian *bastides*, it can be noted that they were mostly relatively far away from the abbeys, since they were often created on the land of the most distant *granges*.¹⁹⁷ It seems likely that this was done in order to be better able to obey the rule of the maximal day's travel between abbey and *grange*.

The various Cistercian abbeys in southwestern France founded at least 44 *bastides*.¹⁹⁸ They were mainly created in Gascony, between the river Baïse and the great bend of the river Garonne.¹⁹⁹ (fig. 2.17) The most well known (and largest) Cistercian foundations are Beaumont-de-Lomagne (1276) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (1290), which were both founded by the abbey of Grandselve and Eustache de Beaumarchais.²⁰⁰ (fig. 2.22)

Thirty of the more than 44 *bastides* were founded in *paréage* with the French crown. The rest were mainly founded together with smaller lords, and some were created autonomously.²⁰¹ It seems that the various abbeys chose their partners opportunistically. Often, this meant that they sought for a powerful and reliable partner who had not previously been very powerful in the region of the abbey or the new *bastide*. Often this would have come down to the count of Toulouse or the crown. As described above, Alphonse de Poitiers and

190 Higounet 1981, p.172.

191 Barailhé 1997, chapter 'La crise économique cistercienne du XIIIe siècle'.

192 Barailhé 1997, p.1-1; Higounet 1981, p.160. The rule was adapted in 1208.

193 Higounet, 1975, p.182; Higounet, 1975, p.274; Barrière 1990, p.150.

194 For example: in 1256 the abbey of Bonnefont offered half of the land of the area called Lestelle in loan to the count of Comminges with the aim to found a *bastide*. With this, the count and his successors became vassals of the abbey, and the *bastide* Lestelle-de-Saint-Martory was founded. (Higounet 1975, p.281) This formula was also followed in other *bastide* foundations by Cistercian abbeys in *paréage* with worldly lords, because the abbeys were not allowed to sell or give away their land. This formula had been more or less common since the Carolingian period. (Reynolds 1994, s.v. church property, benefices or fiefs on)

195 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.41, 46.

196 The Cistercian *bastides* generally seem to have been founded on less fertile ground. (Higounet, 1975, p.183) The abbeys usually were less motivated to give up fertile land that yielded substantial returns for *bastide* foundations. (see Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.49)

197 In the rules of the Cistercian order of 1134 it was laid down that *granges* should be sited within a day's journey from the abbey. But this rule was not always actually followed. (Barailhé 1997, p.1-5) A few *bastides* were created quite nearby the abbeys. (Higounet 1975, p.269) Gimont, for instance, was built very close to the abbey of Planselve (also called Gimont). Most probably this was because the location offered particularly advantageous economic prospects, as it was sited at the intersection of a trade and pilgrims' route of Roman origin and the river Gimone, with an important road parallel to it. (Barailhé 1997, p.1-9)

198 Higounet 1992, p.149.

199 Higounet 1975, p.266.

200 Fleurance is also quite large, but it is not exactly clear in what measure the abbey of Bouillas was involved in its foundation by the count of Gaure in 1272. (Barailhé 1997, p.1-8)

201 Higounet 1992, p.151. Cistercian *bastides* which were not founded in *paréage* are: Garganvillar, founded by Belleperche in 1270 (Barailhé 1997, pp.1-6, 11, 19), and Labessière-Candeil, founded by Candeil in 1255 (Higounet 1992, p.151), for which a *paréage* was concluded with the lord of Castres only seven years after its foundation (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.290). Barailhé suggests that Belleperche also founded Larrazet (in 1254) and other unnamed *bastides* autonomously. (Barailhé 1997, pp.1-19-20) According to Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.291), however, Larrazet was founded together with the lord of Terride.

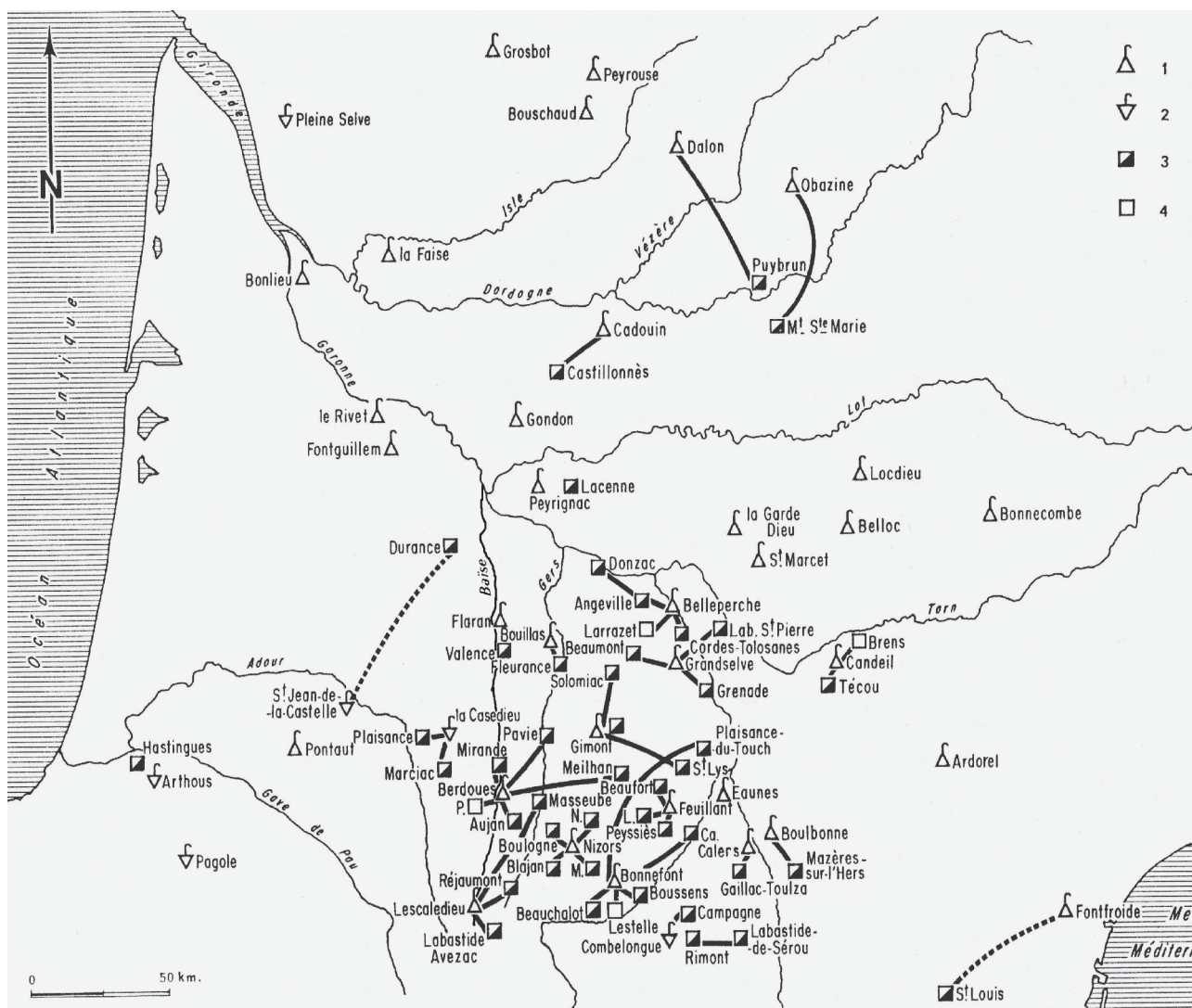


fig. 2.17: Map of southwest France, showing the locations of: 1) Cistercian abbeys; 2) Premonstratensian abbeys; 3) Bastides founded by Cistercian and Premonstratensian abbeys; 4) Town charters accorded by Cistercian abbeys. The thick black lines indicate to which abbey the bastides and chartered towns belonged. Dotted lines indicate presumed connections. (From: Higounet 1975)

the crown were all too eager to extend their authority, by way of *paréages* with abbeys or other landlords, to areas where their actual power was limited, at the cost of local lords who previously had great autonomy in the region.²⁰²

Some Cistercian *bastides* were founded out of political motivations of a local, strategic nature. This clearly appears to have been true in the cases of Donzac and Marciac. Donzac was founded by the abbey of Belleperche, in *paréage* with Alphonse de Poitiers, around the year 1265. The main aim of the abbey seems to have been to get protection from Count Alphonse against the aggression of the locally powerful viscount of Lomagne. It is known that abbot Guilhem Gauffre (c.1263-1294) did not have a friendly relationship with Alphonse de Poitiers, but he nevertheless concluded a *paréage* with him in order to get an ally against an even more hostile local power.²⁰³ The *bastide* of Marciac was created, according to an early document, by the abbey of La Case-Dieu in order to provide protection against marauding bands. For this foundation, the abbey concluded a *paréage* with the count of Pardiac and Guischar de Marsiac, the successor of Eustache de Beaumarchais as royal *sénéchal* of Toulouse, in 1298.²⁰⁴

The phenomenon of *bastides* that were founded by a monastic order reminds one of the 12th-century *sauveté* foundations. But in those cases the founders were mainly the monastic orders of the Premonstratensians,

202 According to Higounet the Cistercians founded many *bastides* in cooperation with the crown, because the order supported Capetian ambitions and had an 'anti-southern tradition'. (Higounet 1992, p.155) In my opinion, however, this seems too bold. The Cistercians also founded *bastides* in coöperation with political adversaries of the French crown, such as the counts of Foix and Comminges. (see Higounet 1992, p.152; Barailhé 1997, pp.1-6, 1-17-18)

203 Barailhé 1997, p.1-7.

204 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.22; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293. According to Barailhé (1997, p.1-16), the help of the crown was called in because the abbey and the count did not have enough money to carry out the foundation.

the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar. These orders were also involved in the foundation of *bastides*, but much more rarely than were the Cistercians. All in all, it is a question of about twenty *bastides*, of which the Knights Hospitaller had the largest share, with fourteen foundations.²⁰⁵ In contrast to the Cistercian *bastides*, these foundations did not involve the reformation of *granges*: for these orders it was more common to rent out their lands, instead of exploiting them directly.²⁰⁶

It was not only in Aquitaine that the Cistercians created new civil settlements: it also happened elsewhere in France and Europe, but in much smaller numbers. In the present Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, Cistercian abbeys also founded relatively many new towns and villages. There it was not a question of the transformation of existing *granges*, but of newly donated domains which, for the most part, had not yet been reclaimed.²⁰⁷

Since the phenomenon of the foundation of new towns by the Cistercian order was so intense in Aquitaine, it seems likely that it was not just the problem with the shortage of lay brothers to exploit the *granges* that gave the impulse to these foundations. A very important role was also played by specific regional developments in settlement policy in Aquitaine, itself a result of specific economic, political and demographic conditions and from the situation with respect to land use and developments in agrarian technology.

2.5.4.4 Reorganisation of the economy and agrarian structures

It has already been discussed in paragraph 2.5.1 that, unlike what is almost generally assumed, *bastides* were rarely (if ever) created as military forts. In mostly cases, however, neither were they created to function as cities. The *bastides* generally assumed an economic function which was rather that of a small market town. Contemporary documents clearly show that the economy of the *bastides* was largely agrarian. The bigger *bastides* were certainly founded with the idea of accommodating a number of households that lived mainly off trade and crafts; but most *bastides* were planned to function as towns with a largely agrarian economy. In fact, many *bastides* appear to have been created as instruments to stimulate and to reorganise the agrarian economy.

Often, the foundation of a *bastide* was accompanied by the reorganisation of landed property. Large domains were divided and were given in hereditary tenure to new settlers. In many *bastides*, the settlers received three or four pieces of ground: a house lot, a garden lot, a plot of arable land (mostly used for growing grains) and often also a plot for viticulture. The gardens and vineyards were mostly located directly outside the *bastide*, while the arable land lay further off. The *paréage* of Grenade-sur-Garonne, concluded in 1290 between the abbot of Grandselve and Eustache de Beaumarchais, consisted of a total area of about 1,500 hectares: 71 ha. were meant for the house lots (*airals*); 426 ha. for the garden lots (*casals*); and the rest for the plots of arable land (*arpents*). Grenade was a relatively large *bastide*, however, planned for no less than 3,000 households.²⁰⁸ A total area of about 500 *arpents* (570 ha.) was more common for a *bastide*.²⁰⁹

For the different types of lots there were different rent tariffs: the house lot was by far the most expensive (relatively and often also absolutely), followed by the plot of vineyard, the garden plot and the parcel of arable land.²¹⁰ The rent for the arable land, to be paid in money or in kind, generally was relatively low, so that the settlers probably could get by quite easy.²¹¹ Mostly, they had arable plots in the form of more or less square blocks or elongated strips, divided over various larger fields in different parts of the *bastide* territory.²¹²

205 Higounet 1992, p.349. Unlike the Cistercians, these monastic orders were already active in creating *sauvetés* and *castelnaux* in the 12th century. They founded at least 80 towns and villages in Aquitaine between 1100 and 1353. (see pars.2.3.1, 2.3.2) For a discussion of a *bastide* foundation by the Knights Templar, see Higounet 1975, pp.293-303, *Une bastide de la colonisation des templiers dans les Pré-pyrénées: Plagne*.

206 Higounet 1992, p.349. For as far as these monastic orders did directly exploit their lands, it mainly involved viticulture from the late 12th century on, for the order's own use as well as for sale. (Higounet 1992, pp.353-355)

207 Higounet 1992, p.150. According to Higounet, one town was founded by the Cistercians in Italy and four in Germany. Other towns and villages were created in northern France (particularly in Haute-Marne; Higounet 1975, pp.179-180), England (Wyke-upon-Hull 1160-1193, Kingsbridge 1219, Newton Arlosh 1305, Skinburgh 1301, Wavermouth 1300; Beresford 1967, pp.131-133, 515, 422, 415-416), Scotland (Melrose and Cupar; Adams 1978, p.24), Poland (Kuhn 1968, pp.115, 145-146), Bohemia (Hoensch 1989, p.104; Kavka 1963, p.146) and Austria (Koller 1978, pp.42-45).

208 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.61. See also Lavigne 1996, pp.192-195 and par.2.10.6.

209 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.61. For the parcellation of the *bastide* area of Grenade, see par.2.10.6. The plots of arable land often were called *arpents*, since these plots often measured an *arpent* in area (the *arpent* is comparable to the English hide, the German *hufe* and the Dutch *morgen*. The surface area of the *arpent* varied considerably by place and period, but it seems that in the relevant region it mostly measured about 1,1 hectare in the 13th and 14th centuries. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.61; Zupko 1978, s.v. 'arpent', esp. 'Haute-Garonne')

210 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.63.

211 Erlen 1992, pp.227, 237, 240-242. According to Erlen the amount of arable land per household in the *bastides* commonly was about 20 ha., while in the earlier *sauvetés* it had been about 12-15 ha. In my opinion, though, this amount of c. 20 ha. seems too high. (cf. par.2.10.6)

212 Erlen 1992, p.237.

Apart from the various sorts of plots and fields mentioned above, the *bastide* territories generally also contained uncultivated land. This land mostly served as common pasture and wood supply.²¹³

The foundation of a *bastide* mostly went along with the reclamation of uncultivated land. In the past it was more or less generally assumed that many *bastides* were founded on locations where no settlement had been before and that the whole *bastide* area was newly reclaimed. At present, however, it seems that there were very few *bastides* that were created in completely uncultivated territory.²¹⁴

But some *bastides* actually did serve as cores for the reclamation of the surrounding areas. In the *bastide* Plagne, which was founded in 1303 by the Knights Templar of Montsannès (who contributed the ground to the foundation) in *paréage* with the lord of Bérat, the colonists each received a fixed amount of arable land, but next to that they also received the right to reclaim as much ground as they could work. It was specifically stated, however, that some particular pieces of land had to be left untouched in order to serve as a wood supply and pasture. A special financial settlement was drawn up for the extra ground that the settlers reclaimed. The returns from the *populatio* were equally divided between the two *paréageurs*, but for the extra lands that were subtracted from the domain of the Templars, the latter received two thirds of the rent and a specific part of the harvest in kind.²¹⁵

Most *bastides* seem to have been founded on land that had partly been cultivated before. With the creation of the towns, however, land use was intensified. The ground generally must have been at least partly newly allotted. Sometimes, the co-*paréageur* who contributed the ground to the foundation deliberately kept cultivated land and existing buildings out of the *paréage*, in order to minimise the costs of the investment in the foundation.²¹⁶ Unfortunately, it is mostly very hard to reconstruct the pre-existent situation with regard to land use.²¹⁷

Generally, inhabitants of various villages of a region were gathered to populate the *bastides*. The town of Gimont, for instance, became the centre of a district of six existing parishes, where the population had mainly lived in villages and a small *castrum*. With the foundation of the *bastide*, settlement in this district was largely relocated in the new town.²¹⁸ When Montréal-du-Gers was founded in 1255, no less than 19 parishes were consolidated into the district of the new *bastide*.²¹⁹ By the second half of the 15th century ten of these parishes appear to have become almost uninhabited, most likely because the main part of the population had moved to the new town.²²⁰ The *bastides* often were the centers of relatively large districts, as various older administrative units (often parishes) were united with the new foundations.²²¹

In an article about the formation of the territories of the *bastides*, Maurice Berthe describes a case study of the diocese of Rieux. Of the 112 present-day municipalities in this diocese, ten are centred on *bastides*. Four of these were assemblies of various existing parishes, each replacing a number of older villages. Two others replaced one older village each: in 1270 Salles-sur-Garonne replaced the old village of Salles after it was devastated, and in 1249 La-Bastide-de-Besplas was founded on a valley site, replacing an older settlement that was located on a nearby hilltop. The *bastides* of Plagne (1303) and Labastide-Clermont (1300) may have been really new reclamation settlements. Their territories show no traces of previous settlement, neither in the landscape nor in the documents. There may already have been some extensive agriculture or pasture, however, in the surroundings of Labastide-Clermont, the work of the Cistercians of Feuillants, who were co-founders of the *bastide*.²²²

213 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.49-50; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.89. In some cases the settlers also received rights on pasture and the collection of wood outside of the actual *bastide* area in specific parts of the domain of the founding lord.

214 Berthe 1990, pp.97-98, 107-108. In general, the character of the *bastides* was much less that of a 'reclamation settlement' than were the new towns and villages that were created in the so-called 'Ostkolonisation' in Central and Eastern Europe, which often served as cores for the reclamation of large areas of largely uncultivated land. (see for instance Erlen 1992)

215 Higounet 1975, pp.294-297. A similar right to reclaim as much ground as could be worked was also given to the settlers of the *bastides* of Bouloc and Labastide-du-Temple. (Dubourg 1997, pp.111-112) See also Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.65, regarding Grenade.

216 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.45.

217 Interesting attempts have been published by Lavigne (1996). See also Abbe (1993), regarding the new settlement Villeneuve-l'Archeveque in northern France.

218 Higounet 1992, pp.77-86; Berthe 1990, p.97.

219 A similar case is the *bastide* Gaillac-Toulza, the territory of which was formed by 16 parishes and other administrative units. (Berthe 1990, p.103, see also pp.105-106)

220 Berthe 1990, pp.98-99. Cf. the *terre nuove fiorentine*. (par.3.6) Higounet describes a comparable course of events for various regions in southern Europe. (Higounet 1992, pp.43-50) Not all *bastides* were meant to concentrate the population that already lived in the area. In the *paréage* of Marciac (1298, between the *sénéchal* of the French crown Guillaume de Marciac, the count of Pardiac and the abbot of Case-Dieu) it is indicated that the inhabitants of the nearby settlements are not allowed to settle in the new town 'so that fortified settlements and villages close to the *bastide* are not laid waste' ('*ut castra et ville non depopulantur prope bastidam*'); Beresford 1967, pp.234-235; Higounet 1975, pp.394-395). It may be supposed that this condition was stipulated by the two local co-founders, so that their subjects from the surrounding settlements over which they held full authority and fiscality would not settle in the *bastide*. For in the new town the authority and the taxes, rents and tolls had to be shared with the other *paréageurs*. (see pars.2.8, 9.1.1, 9.9)

221 Berthe 1990, p.103. In the present division of the municipalities of southwestern France, it can still be seen that the average *bastide*-municipality is larger than the mean municipality.

222 Berthe 1990, pp.104-107. The remaining two *bastides* of the ten in the diocese are passed over by Berthe.

Most *bastides* that served as reclamation centres were, of course, founded in areas that had been thinly populated and, consequently, little cultivated. This particularly applied to the foundations in the Landes, the flat and ill-drained area close to the Atlantic coast between Bordeaux and Bayonne.²²³

The fact that most *bastides* were strongly focused on agrarian production and the trade in agrarian products can sometimes be clearly read from contemporary documents. In 1282, one year after the foundation of their town, the inhabitants of Sauveterre-de-Guyenne declared in the court of King-duke Edward I, 'The site of your *bastide* is good and convenient [...] and with time it will abound in land, meadows and vines; it will produce almost every commodity.'²²⁴ Many newly founded towns in other regions were not so much aimed at agrarian production. In England for instance, many a town created in roughly the same period did not have any arable land in its territory, and there are also various documentary sources that show that many town foundations here were particularly focused on the stimulation of trade.²²⁵

The new organisation of the structure of settlement and land use that came with the foundation of *bastides*, was generally accompanied by a new economic organisation. Markets were founded and the infrastructure was improved, so that the agrarian production could be sold and carried away.²²⁶ A clear expression of this can be read in a document of 1289, in which Edward I ordered the construction of a port at the *bastide* of Monségur: 'because they had many good commodities which they could sell if they had a port in the river Dropt, which would be useful for the whole country and for us.'²²⁷

Particularly because the population came to live more concentrated and closer to the market, it became easier to sell products and to buy other goods with the money that was earned. The production became more focused on the market and, in turn, this probably stimulated higher production and innovation. In short, the circulation of money and economic goods increased.

Concerning the specific sort of agrarian products, the agrarian and economic re-structurisation of the region can be regarded as part of the general European phenomenon of the 'cerealisation-process'. This meant that agrarian production was increasingly focused on cereals instead of extensive cattle breeding and the production of other crops, with which the yield per square meter was strongly increased in terms of nutritional and financial value. The agrarian colonisation in Europe between about the 9th and the 15th century must generally be understood against the background of this process.²²⁸

2.5.4.5 Viticulture and wine trade

Another crop that was increasingly grown from the 12th century on in southwestern France was the grape, for the purpose of wine production. The soil and the climate were very well suited, but it only seems to have become lucrative to produce wine after the English crown lost the regions of Maine, Poitou and Aunis to the French crown. The harbour of La Rochelle, which was founded around 1130-50 by William, duke of Aquitaine, had been a very important port for the export of wine from these regions to the north, and particularly to England.²²⁹ After the harbour and the named regions were lost to the French between 1224 and 1242, wine was increasingly exported from the southern part of Aquitaine, which remained in English hands for about two more centuries. Initially, this wine came largely from the vineyards of Bordeaux, which were Roman in origin, but in the course of time more and more wine was exported from higher up the rivers Garonne, Dordogne, Adour and their tributaries.²³⁰ The demand for southern wine increased, and that caused produc-

For the region south of Toulouse, Dubourg (1997) lists as reclamation-*bastides*: Montgéard, Revel, Mirepoix, La-Bastide-de-Lorhat (p.15), Villeneuve-d'Olmes, La-Bastide-sur-l'Hers, La-Bastide-de-Bousignac and Villeneuve-du-Paréage (p.52). This is not entirely correct however, as Montgéard and Mirepoix replaced older settlements.

223 Beresford 1967, p.78.

224 Beresford 1967, p.243.

225 Beresford 1967, pp.75, 79, 191-198, 220-225. Relevant citations from documents: Beresford 1967, pp.82, 176, 225, 242, 427; see also par.9.1.3. In southwestern France there were also a small number of foundations that seem to have been focused more on trade than on agricultural production. This was the case, for instance, with the 12th-century foundations of Marmande and Montauban, and the *bastides* Libourne, Hastings and Port-de-Lanne (of which it is not certain whether it was actually a new *bastide*). These towns were all located on the banks of navigable rivers and had ports and river tolls. (see Beresford 1967, s.v. in the gazetteer) The fact that 3,000 house lots were provided for the *bastide* of Grenade (see par.2.10.6), and only 2,000 plots of arable land, also seems to indicate that a considerable part of the population was intended to live from other sources of income than agriculture.

226 See par.2.5.4.1.

227 Beresford 1967, pp.177, 219; see n.173.

228 Erlen 1992, p.228.

229 Beresford 1967, p.352.

230 In 1306-07, 102,724 barrels of wine (about 850,000 hectolitres) were exported via Bordeaux. The largest producers of this wine were the vineyards in the Agenais and in the Albigeois/Bas Quercy region. (Higounet 1992, p.371) According to Higounet (1992, p.377) there was little export from the areas higher up on the various rivers; but Renouard shows that quite large proportions of wine were exported from these relatively remote areas. These higher areas were largely beyond the borders of the duchy,

tion in Aquitaine to grow: existing vineyards were extended and new ones were created, on newly reclaimed ground as well as on existing arable land.²³¹ With this, the economy of the 'English' part of southwestern France was going through a process of specialisation, which would go on until well in the 14th century. In the early 14th century, about two times as much wine was exported from Bordeaux as in the mid-20th century.²³² This export was balanced, to some extent, by the import of fish, hides, wool, cloth and cereals, particularly from England.²³³

At first, the wine was exported to England, but in the course of time the demand for wine from southwestern France also grew elsewhere in the North, in the Low Countries and the northern German lands, among other places.²³⁴ Transport by river was of vital importance to the wine trade, since land transport was difficult. The roads in southwestern France were generally in bad condition, which is very unfavourable for the transport of wine, as the taste is badly affected by bouncing and shaking and because the barrels were only to a limited extent shock-proof. Therefore, it was particularly with the customs on wine transport in mind that king-dukes Edward I and II tried to improve the navigability of the rivers Lot and Tarn, and to facilitate the loading and transfer of barrels by the construction of port facilities.²³⁵

The profitability of the wine trade meant that landlords tried to stimulate it in various ways. Many *bastides* already had part of their agricultural grounds reserved for vineyards from the moment of their foundation.²³⁶ This ground was taxed higher than the arable land: the founders often received one third of the yield, versus 1/7 to 1/10 part from the arable land.²³⁷ Hence, viticulture was more profitable for them than arable farming. Because the growing of grapes and the production of wine was relatively very labour-intensive, it was all the more important to the founding lords to attract many settlers to their territories.²³⁸

The amount of the wine production and export was enlarged considerably by the foundation of *sauvetés* like Fronton (1120-22) and *bastides* like Beaumont-de-Lomagne (1279) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (1290). The *bastide* Libourne (1281) was even the most important port for export of Dordogne wine, owing to its location near the mouth of the river.²³⁹ This importance was reflected in the relatively great wealth of the town. In 1315-16 it was larger than any other 'English' *bastide*.²⁴⁰ A third important wine-port in the duchy was Bayonne. Being located in the far southwest of Aquitaine, where the river Adour washes into the Bay of Biscay, this was the main export harbour for the southern part of the duchy. After 1280, many *bastides* were founded in this part of the duchy by the king-duke and various local lords, for which the production and export of wine seems to have been a major motive.²⁴¹

It can be concluded that the economic opportunity for the foundation of so many *bastides* in Aquitaine between about 1250 and 1350 was to a considerable extent the result of the rather sudden opening up of the possibility of wine export to England. This, in turn, was made possible by the overthrow of the Plantagenet rule over the more northern regions in France, which traditionally had produced much wine for export to England. The production of wine for export then largely moved to southwestern France, where it found hospitable circumstances in the availability of uncultivated or extensively used lands, favourable soils and climate, and navigable rivers and ports for transport.²⁴²

but the trade seems to have crossed those borders without problems. (Renouard 1959; see also Beresford 1967, p.398; Vale 1990, p.147) For the English wine trade in Aquitaine in general, see Carus-Wilson 1948; Renouard 1959.

231 Beresford 1967, pp.365-369; Higouet 1992, pp.371-384.

232 In 1308-09 more than 100,000 tons of wine were shipped from Bordeaux. In 1900 it was about 7/8 of this amount, and in 1956 only about half of it. (Beresford 1967, p.369, n.35; see also Vale 1990, p.141)

233 Beresford 1967, p.368.

234 Beresford 1967, pp.364, 369, n.35. Beresford even goes so far as to suggest that the colonisation of Aquitaine and the foundation of *bastides* in the 13th and 14th centuries was to a large extent connected to the rise of viticulture in the area, which was encouraged by the growing opportunities for export. (Beresford 1967, p.219)

235 Beresford 1967, pp.120-121, 177, 368; on the ducal income from customs, mainly on wine, see Vale 1990, p.142.

236 Beresford 1967, p.368; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.73.

237 The lucrative nature of viticulture and the wine trade was, of course, not exclusive to the *bastides*; it also affected other settlements. When wine was produced in areas where the natural conditions were right, this generally had positive effects on the income of the producers and the landlords. (see for instance Cursente 1980, p.106) The founding of *bastides*, however, was a very effective instrument to increase the production, to facilitate trade and transport, and to improve the lordly control over it all.

238 Relatively often the *paréages* or *coutumes* contained stipulations on the size of vineyard plots and the rates of rents and taxes on these plots and their yields. Apparently, this was more important for the founders and the 'colonists' than when it considered house lots or plots for gardens, arable land or pasture. (Abbe 1997, pp.311, 318)

239 Higouet 1992, p.379-380.

240 Beresford 1967, p.269, table IX.g. Marmande surpassed Libourne, but this town was founded much earlier, in 1182. (see above, n.59).

241 Higouet 1992, p.384. In the most southerly *bastides* higher up in the valleys of the Pyrenees (mainly in the lordships Béarn and Bigorre), however, wine production played no role of importance, as the natural conditions were much less favourable for viticulture.

242 Beresford 1967, p.369.

2.6 Actions preceding the foundation of *bastides* and foundation rituals

The *paréage* documents that are presently known give some insight into the foundation schemes of *bastides*. Before the actual foundations, however, there were probably many more things that were considered and planned than can be presently read from these documents. Fortunately, there are also a number of documents preserved that concern preparatory investigations into the juridical status with regard to the ground, the economic prospects, and the possibilities of settling the *bastides* with inhabitants.²⁴³ These sorts of investigations must have often preceded the *paréages*. It had to be clearly established, for instance, which area was exactly concerned in the *bastide* foundation and that no other lords or possessors had rights there. Sometimes the result of this might have been that rights had to be bought off or even that another lord had to be included in the *paréage*. After the conclusion of the *paréage*, people were set to work to find the most suitable location for the town itself. This subject will be discussed in more detail in paragraphs 2.10.1 and, more generally, 5.1. Once the location was established, the ground had to be cleared and allotted. This subject will be amply treated in paragraphs 2.10.2, 6.3.1-6.3.3, 7.5, 9.6 and 9.7. At around this point the process of attracting settlers to the new town was probably started. In the territories of the lords, and probably also elsewhere, it was announced that a new town would be created, and doubtless the advantageous settlement conditions would be recommended. This recruitment of settlers was sometimes called *preconisatio*.²⁴⁴ Below, in paragraph 2.8, the aspect of attracting settlers will be dealt with in more detail. Before this stage, a name may already have been established for the *bastide*. This may have been a new name or an existing toponym.²⁴⁵

Somewhere during this process, a foundation ceremony was carried out. Contemporary written sources offer a glimpse of what such rituals looked like. On a specific date and time, which was established in advance, a pole was erected to which the heraldic shield of the founding lord was fixed. The pole was called *pal*, *palum* or *pau*. The shield signified the authority of the lord and, in the case of a *paréage*, two or three shields were fixed to the pole, by which the partnership of the lords was also symbolised. With the erection of the pole the *paréage* was actually effected. It was planted in the very centre of the planned town, which commonly was in the middle of the market place. This ritual was called the *fixatio pali*.²⁴⁶

With the foundation of Toulouzette in 1321, it was the *sénéchal* of the king-duke in the Landes, Guillaume de Toulouse, after whom the *bastide* was named, who dug the hole and placed the *pal* himself. Subsequently he declared that anyone who wished was allowed to build a house in the *bastide* and live in it, and that those who did so would receive the same charter of rights as the inhabitants of the nearby *bastide* of Geaune-en-Tursan, which had been founded three years earlier. After this, he confirmed the charter in name of God, the Holy Virgin and All Saints, and he handed the patent letters with the seals of the king-duke and himself to a representative of the future settlers.²⁴⁷

It is likely that similar rituals were carried out with most *bastide* foundations. Various scholars have suggested that the ceremony with the *pal* was derived from the ancient Roman use of the *groma*, which was an instrument on a pole that helped surveyors to set out right angles in a *centuriatio* (a particular sort of orthogonal land allotment). The Romans also seem to have had some sort of ceremony to set up the *groma* for the allotment of a settlement plan in the place that would become the centre of the grid. The *pal*, however, had nothing to do with the setting out of the *bastide* allotment.²⁴⁸ The similarity of the ceremonies rather seems to derive from the general symbolic value that was attached to the centre of settlements in many ancient cultures. In various cultures these centres were marked by vertical structures. In the case of the *bastides*, the erection of *pals* may well have been derived from the crosses that were erected in the centre of *sauvetés* at the moment of their foundation.²⁴⁹

After the founders or their representatives erected the *pal* in the *bastide*, the new settlers, or those who were already present, swore an oath to the lord and paid a sum of money for entering into hereditary tenure.

243 Dubourg 1997, pp.89-91; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.30. See also Guébin 1959.

244 Dubourg 1997, p.101.

245 See par.9.4.

246 The *paréage* document of Tournay (1307) contains the following phrase: 'from the first day henceforth that the pole is placed in this *bastide*, signifying that this *bastide* is made [...] ('a prima die in antea qua palus erit fixus in dicta *bastida*, in signum dicte *bastide* faciende [...])', Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.119, n.2, containing other, similar phrases). In the *paréage* of Trie (1321) we read: 'the community between the king and the other *paréageurs* exists from the first day the pole is planted, signifying the new *bastide*, as is usual in all the new *bastides* of the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse' ('la communauté entre le roi et les *pariers* existerait à partir du premier jour où le pieu serait planté en signe de la nouvelle *bastide* comme il est d'usage constant dans toutes les nouvelles *bastides* de la *sénéchaussée* de Toulouse' Dubourg 1997, p.101, translated from Latin).

247 Gouron 1935, p.1988 (as described in Beresford 1967, p.101). Around 1289, Eustache de Beaumarchais himself, as *sénéchal* of the French king and as (re-)founder of the settlement, erected the *pal* in the centre of the market place. (Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.44-48)

248 The suggestion is made by, among others, Divorne Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.48) and Kauhsen (1990, pp.40-42). Elsewhere, Divorne c.s. also suggest that the orthogonal form of many of the *bastides* was somehow related to ancient Roman knowledge. (Divorne Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.8, 39) This suggestion is not explained, however, and only seems to be based on superficial similarities. (see also par.10.2.1)

249 See Kauhsen 1990; Müller 1961. Regarding the *sauvetés*, see Ourliac 1947, p.47.

When the ground was already allotted, the lots were subsequently issued to the settlers.²⁵⁰ With this, the *bastide* was not fully settled however. Mostly it took some decades before the settlement was actually filled with most of the settlers that had been foreseen by its founders, if that number was reached at all.

2.7 ‘Chartes de coutumes’

As with most new settlements from the period of about the 11th to 14th centuries, the attraction of the *bastides* for the settlers was to a considerable extent formed by the specific rights that were promised.²⁵¹ These rights were recorded in so-called *chartes de coutumes* or *chartes de franchises*, that were granted to the community of every *bastide*.²⁵² Such *chartes* actually form the record of the association between the landlords and the communities of ‘colonists’, in which the mutual relations, rights and duties are defined. Despite the fact that there could be various differences from case to case, there clearly are common basic characteristics in the *coutumes* of the *bastides*.²⁵³ Together with the *paréage* contracts the *chartes de coutumes* are the most important written sources with respect to the *bastide* foundations.

The various articles in the *coutumes* are mainly of an organisational and administrative nature.²⁵⁴ It was of primary importance that the ‘colonists’ received a quantity of land in hereditary tenure, over which they could freely dispose, and which could be inherited and sold to other members of the *bastide* community. Another very important article established that the inhabitants were free of person and possession.²⁵⁵ Privileges of an economic character, such as exemptions from tolls and taxes, also formed an important section in the *coutumes*.²⁵⁶ An even more important economic privilege, and thereby a principal attraction for new settlers, was the communal right to hold a weekly market and annual fairs on specified days.²⁵⁷

The *chartes de coutumes* also contained articles on administrative self-representation of the *bastide* community. Often the community was represented by *consules* or *jurati* and also by an administrative council of 12 or 24 elected representatives. In many cases, the *coutumes* also stipulated that the *bastide* would have a court of law for the district and a communal seal.²⁵⁸ With these rights, the *bastides* were truly ‘communities’, just like real cities.

Commonly, the *coutumes* were only delivered some time after the actual foundation. In this way the founders ran a smaller risk, because they could wait to see whether a sufficient number of settlers would show up before they would issue privileges to the settlers that were already present.²⁵⁹ In return for the *charte de coutumes* the community of settlers had to pay a previously established sum.²⁶⁰

2.8 Settlers

The settlers of the new *bastides* generally came from the surrounding region. This appears to have been the case from, among other evidence, the many complaints by neighbouring lords, who reluctantly saw how their subjects moved to new settlements that were located in the territories of other lords. The bishop of Rodez even went as far as to excommunicate the inhabitants of the *bastide* of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, because there were many of his former subjects among them, who had moved to the new town without his consent.²⁶¹ A document of 1269 describes how the settlers of the *bastide* of Salles-sur-l’Hers complained to

²⁵⁰ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.119.

²⁵¹ For the general principle, see Lyon 1957; Erlen 1992, p.11; Bartlett 1993, pp.117-132.

²⁵² Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.44-45. One of the most important precedents for the *chartes de coutumes* of the *bastides* in the kingdom of France was the *Loi de Beaumont*. This charter was granted in 1182 by the archbishop of Reims to his new town of Beaumont-en-Argonne. Its main elements were hereditary tenure against a fixed compensation and freedom of person and possession. (Erlen 1992, pp.38-40; cf. par.9.2)

²⁵³ Erlen 1992, pp.38, 35-45.

²⁵⁴ Beresford 1967, p.220.

²⁵⁵ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.44. Principally connected to this freedom was the stipulation that the inhabitants did not have to pay special levies, unless they were collected in the whole county, *sénéchaussée* or kingdom. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.70, 81-86)

²⁵⁶ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.90.

²⁵⁷ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.45.

²⁵⁸ Erlen 1992, pp.245-247.

²⁵⁹ The French crown often granted the *coutumes* a year after the foundation ceremony. The king-duke and other founders mostly seem to have waited even longer before doing so. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.44) In the *paréage* for the *bastide* of Réjaumont the founders stipulated that no special rights would be granted if no more than twenty houses had been built after a certain period of time. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.89)

²⁶⁰ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.20. In 1265, the *coutumes* for the *bastide* of Larrazet were granted specifically to a number of families that were mentioned by name. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.58-59) It is likely that these were the families that had already moved to Larrazet at that moment, and who paid to receive the *coutumes*. In this way it was clear that other families that had not paid for them would not enjoy the rights and freedoms specified in the *coutumes*.

²⁶¹ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.69; Vale 1990, pp.103, 157, 234; Heers 1990, p.108.

their new landlord that their former lords still demanded services and fees from them and used force to get what they wanted. Hence, the settlers demanded protection from their new lord.²⁶²

Many, or probably most, new inhabitants came from the territories of the founding lords. It seems that at least partly they were selected by the founders. It is known, for instance, that the count of Astarac tried to arrange especially advantageous conditions for the inhabitants of his nearby *castrum* of Renso in order to settle in the *bastide* of Tournay, which he founded in 1307 in *paréage* with the French crown.²⁶³

But *bastide* founders generally did not want all their subjects to re-settle in the *bastide*, as that might involve the loss of particular rights or power over these subjects. Therefore, founders forbade their subjects to settle in the new town without their special consent. It is likely that most of the people that were allowed to settle in the *bastides* had mostly already enjoyed relatively great freedom previously. According to Saint-Blanquat, it was even a general principle that serfs were not allowed to settle in *bastides*.²⁶⁴ This is not entirely true, however, as is shown by a petition in name of Edward II to Philip the Fair of about 1305, requesting the king not to receive serfs or *hommes questaux* in his *bastides*.²⁶⁵

As with the inhabitants of the *castrum* of Renso, specific inhabitants of territories of founding lords were stimulated to move to new *bastides*. In this way, a *bastide* could serve as a means to restructure a territory and to regroup its population.²⁶⁶ The population of Cordes, for instance, was largely re-settled from the towns of Cahuzac, La Guépie and Saint-Marcel, which had been destroyed in the Albigensian war. Likewise, Castelnaud-de-Lévis was settled with inhabitants who came from six parishes that had also been devastated.²⁶⁷ According to contemporary documents, the *bastide* of Saint-Sulpice(-le-Point) was to be populated with people 'you unite from different places' and Lestelle was founded with the goal to 'gather the population'.²⁶⁸ Of Montréal-du-Gers, Gimont (fig.2.27) and a number of *bastides* in the southern Périgord it is also known that they were settled by the transplantation and concentration of the population of various small settlements in the countryside.²⁶⁹ The lords may sometimes have applied force to stimulate their subjects to move to the *bastides*, but there are few sources that clearly attest to this.²⁷⁰

Of course, the concentration of population served all the goals that were desired with the foundation of *bastides*: without a population there would not be a *bastide*. But, apart from that, it also had other advantages to the lords: it became easier to control the population, to tax it, and to protect it (and its capital) against brigandage and enemy forces.²⁷¹ In a sense, the distance between the lords and the population was shortened, and the lordly territory was unified to a certain extent.

Some of the settlers may have come from further away, beyond the territory of the founding lord and neighbouring lordships. It seems, however, that this was the case for only a small part of the population. The founders would certainly have welcomed merchants and craftsmen, but the greatest part of the settlers must have been small farmers. Noblemen and clerics generally were not allowed to own houses in the *bastides*.²⁷² In the Albigeois, however, there were some *bastides* where the nobility was allowed to live and possess real estate. In these towns, the nobles were strongly represented among the *consuls* or *jurati* in the *bastide* administration.²⁷³

When new inhabitants settled in a *bastide*, they swore an oath to the lords of the town - not to the community, as was the case with the communes of the free cities. The settlers had to build a house within a year from that

262 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.69.

263 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.69.

264 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.70. The status and prosperity of serfs could vary quite markedly, but it is logical that the poorest people were not allowed to inhabit the *bastides*, as they probably could not afford the *droits d'entrée*, nor did they have the capital to build a house or buy tools, cattle and the seeds for sowing. In the older scholarly literature, however, it was often presumed that the settlers of the *bastides* (and other new towns and cities from the period elsewhere in Europe) were mainly serfs that were attracted by the freedom that was granted in the new towns. In some instances this is still repeated in more recent publications, as for instance Dubourg 1997 (pp.68-69). This theory, however, can largely be ruled out by more recent research. It appears to have been founded largely on outdated 19th-century views of a revolutionary bourgeois nature, in which town and countryside were set off against each other. (see pars.0.4.1, 9.9)

265 Vale 1990, p.103. In 1299 King Philip the Fair had abolished servitude in his domains in the Toulousain and Albigeois. The ground that the serfs had worked was given in hereditary tenure. With this, however, servitude only partly disappeared in Aquitaine. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.70)

266 See also pars.2.5.2, 2.5.4.4, 9.1.1 and 9.1.4.

267 Dubourg 1997, pp.50-51.

268 'ex diversis locis coadunatis'; 'congregare populationem'. (Higounet 1992, p.47) Higounet discusses various examples of the principle of concentrating population from different places in lordly territories in new settlements in his article 'Congregare populationem': politiques the peuplement dans l'Europe méridionale (Xe-XIVe siècle) (1992, pp.43-51). (see also par.9.1.1)

269 Higounet 1992, p.48.

270 Higounet 1992, p.48; see also par.9.9. Dubourg writes that the population for the *bastides* of Croses (1331, a *paréage* between the French crown and the abbot of Saint-Pé de Génères) and La Bastide-de-Flavacourt (1330, *paréage* between the French crown and the archbishop of Auch) was deported from the surroundings of Lavedan and Barèges by royal officials. Higounet writes that the last *bastides* in Bigorre were forcedly settled with the population of remote valleys in the Pyrenees. (Higounet 1992, p.46) According to Bernard, coercion was also used to settle Libourne (1270, founded by the English *sénéchal* Roger de Leyburn). (Bernard 1992, p.20)

271 Higounet 1992, p.50.

272 See also par.9.18.

273 This was the case, among others, in Cordes in 1293 and Arthès in 1329. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.70)

moment, and commonly they had three years of tax exemption after taking up the ground.²⁷⁴

Usually it took at least a decade before a considerable number of settlers had gathered.²⁷⁵ But it could also happen that the plans failed entirely because not enough settlers were attracted to form a sizeable settlement at all. This happened when people did not see enough advantages in settling in the *bastide* and when settlers were not deported to them by coercion.

The inhabitants of the *bastides* gradually formed ever more tightly knit communities, which became increasingly more organised and emancipated. With their representative organs the communities gradually attained more legal and administrative autonomy, at the cost of the *bailes*, who represented the lordly interests. Over time the communities purchased more of the lordly rights, so that the relation between the lord and the *bastide* community increasingly came down to the yearly payment of specified amounts of money to the lord.²⁷⁶

2.9 Planners

A very interesting question is, of course, who were the persons responsible for the spatial planning of the *bastides*. Unfortunately, hardly anything is known about this, as written sources on the subject are very rare and vague. According to some authors, professional town planners were involved.²⁷⁷ This may well have been the case, because a considerable number of *bastides* look like they were planned with great care and accuracy - particularly in comparison to the new towns of Wales -, but this is not what the written sources tell us. The few sources that mention people involved in the process of planning only refer to surveyors, notaries and, in one case, a Dominican friar.

In chapter 7, which deals with the planners of new towns from the high-period of town foundation in different regions of Europe, a special paragraph is devoted to the *bastides*; and the information from the written sources will be analysed in detail there.²⁷⁸ In the scholarly literature on the *bastides* one can also find speculations about the geometrical techniques that were used by the designers of the plans for the determination of dimensions and proportions. This subject will be dealt with in paragraphs 6.3.1 to 6.3.3.

2.10 Spatial aspects of the *bastides*

In the paragraphs above, we have seen how the *bastides* acted as instruments in the reformation of existing structures. Along with the structure of settlement, the social, juridical, economic and political structures were adapted to the changing conditions of increasing population, increasing communication, increasing importance of the monetary economy and a changing political situation. The most clearly visible aspect, however, is that the spatial structure of the surface of the earth was adapted. This re-structurisation of space was not, or was very rarely, a goal in itself, but nevertheless the traces of it in the landscape are among the most important sources for our present knowledge of all the changes named above. These spatial aspects will be discussed in detail below.

2.10.1 Locations

For the success of a *bastide* it was essential that it be given a good location and a quantity of land around it that would be large and fertile enough to guarantee thriving agricultural production. These two conditions must have largely determined whether or not a *bastide* was attractive to settlers, as they were important requirements for a flourishing economy.

Bastides were built on various sorts of locations. Of course, they were preferably built on the most advantageous sites, but in many cases the idea to found a *bastide* would have been prompted by a specific situation in a particular area, by which the place where the town could be founded would be limited to that area. For instance, Count Raymond VII came to found *bastides* as a result of the devastations of the Albigensian

²⁷⁴ The oath towards the lord, the obligation to build a house within a year, and several years of tax exemption are common elements for new settlement foundations throughout Europe in this period. (see pars.9.2 and 9.12)

²⁷⁵ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.73. In rare cases it seems to have lasted only about five years.

²⁷⁶ Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.91-99. See also par.2.5.4.2.

²⁷⁷ For instance Higounet 1975, p.366.

²⁷⁸ See par.7.5.

war in the northeast of his territory, particularly on locations where older settlements or castles had been destroyed. Other locally determined incentives for *bastide* foundation could be a local abundance of uncultivated or extensively used land; a lack of safety in a particular area because of brigandage; or the threat that a local population would move to nearby *bastides* of other lords. These or other specifically local situations concerning the ‘management’ of an area and its population could inspire lords to apply the concept of *bastide* foundation, which had proven to be effective by about the middle of the 13th century, to a specific place.

Essential conditions for the location of a new town were the availability of drinking water and firm ground to build on, the absence of malaria and protection against floods.²⁷⁹ But for the economic success of the *bastide* it was also of great importance to be well connected to other towns and cities. The *bastide* had to be well situated with respect to navigable water and the existing road network, or it had to be connected to the transport network by newly laid out roads.²⁸⁰ In the duchy of Aquitaine, 24 *bastides* were river ports. This is 20% of the total number of *bastides* in this area.²⁸¹ Of course, the intersections of communication routes (land or water) offered extra advantageous locations.²⁸² It was also important for the choice of location that the plots of garden, vineyard and arable land would be within easy reach of the town.

A very different motive for the choice of a specific location, which often led to the selection of rather different sites, was defence from bands of robbers and other enemies. These locations were particularly chosen for *bastides* that were created in unsafe areas and areas that were disputed by different lords. When defence was an important motive for *bastide* foundation, locations that were easy to defend and from which the surrounding area could be controlled were the most desirable. Hilltops with steep sides offered great advantages in this respect, but low sites surrounded by water were also possible locations. The demand for defence was, however, often contradicted by the demand for a comfortable and economically viable location.

In many cases, there already was some sort of settlement on the site of the new town.²⁸³ Such previous settlements may have been isolated farms, hamlets, villages or *sauvetés*. Generally, they were much smaller than the new *bastides*. In some cases these settlements were absorbed into the new towns, which thereby actually were re-foundations and extensions rather than literally new settlements.²⁸⁴ In other cases the pre-existent settlement was demolished to make place for the new one. This second course of events can only be known from older elements that were retained, such as the churches of Lisle-sur-Tarn and Vianne, or from archaeological or written sources.²⁸⁵ However, there has been little archaeological research in *bastides* up until now, and the contemporary written sources are generally vague regarding the previous spatial situation at the specific locations.

From the above, it already appears that the sort of locations where *bastides* were built could be rather different in character, depending upon, among other factors, the motive or immediate stimulus for the foundation and the land that was available to the founder. Three general sorts of locations can be distinguished: high sites (on a hilltop, a hillcrest or on the end of a hillcrest); low sites (commonly in a valley on the bank of a river); or somewhere in between (for instance halfway down a gentle slope, mostly on an existing road through the site).²⁸⁶

According to Lavedan and Huguency, the type of location chosen depended upon whether a *bastide* was founded with a military motive or not. They claim that the *bastides* in the border areas between the ‘English’ and the ‘French’ territories are much more often sited in high positions than in the more easterly regions, because the former were meant to serve a military purpose.²⁸⁷ However, the difference between the types of locations in

279 The risk of flooding was limited at most locations in southwestern France, but in some cases it was a very relevant matter. Mirepoix, for instance, was re-founded as a *bastide* in 1279, after the old town was destroyed by a flood of the river Hers. The new town was built on a somewhat higher location in the same valley. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.172-174)

280 Libourne and Aigues-Mortes were both built on slightly elevated sites in low-lying areas that flooded once in a while. Therefore they both were provided with raised causeways as entry roads. (Beresford 1967, p.176)

281 In England ports comprise 42% and in Wales 32%. (Beresford 1967, pp.120-121) Of the total number of *bastides* in southwestern France, the percentage of port locations is considerably lower than 20%, since the ‘English’ territory was on the lower end of the rivers Garonne, Lot, Dordogne and Adour. Higher up the rivers were not navigable.

282 Beresford 1967, pp.113, 115.

283 See also par.5.1.6. The aspect of earlier settlements on the location of *bastides* is rarely treated in the scholarly literature, which means that the newness of the *bastides* is, in a sense, exaggerated.

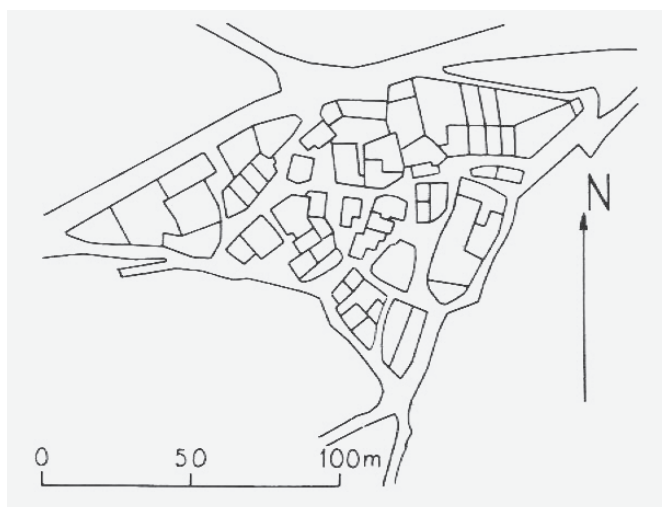
284 For example Saint-Clar, Cordes, Septfonds, Najac, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue and Villereal. In some cases it seems that nothing much was added to the form of the existing settlement with the *bastide* foundation, as for instance with Alan and Fourcès.

285 On the pre-existing churches, see Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.268-269; Higounet 1992, p.91; Higounet 1984, pp.18-21.

286 Examples of *bastides* sited on hilltops are Cordes (fig.2.11) and Monflanquin (fig.2.31), while Bassoues (fig.2.26) lies on a hillcrest and Gimont (fig.2.27), Montréal-du-Gers (fig.2.28) and Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig.2.14) are sited on the end of hillcrests. Among the *bastides* built on low-lying sites are Fourcès (fig.2.10), Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (fig.2.21), Bretenoux (fig.2.33) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (fig.2.22). Monpazier (figs.2.19-20) and Villefranche-de-Rouergue (fig.2.35) lie about halfway down gently sloping hillsides.

287 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.72.

fig. 2.18: Plan of Labastide-du-Vert. (from: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974) The small town was founded before 1258, when it is first mentioned in a document as a possession of the bishop of Cahors. Its plan is probably the most irregular of any bastide.



the different areas is actually quite limited, and the claim that high locations necessarily imply military interests on the part of the founders is too much of a generalisation.²⁸⁸

2.10.2 Setting out the allotment

In a number of contemporary documents, the allotment of the *bastide* land is called *perticatio*. There are no clear sources as to how this *perticatio* was exactly carried out, but considering the results, there seem to have been considerable differences in the process in the various *bastides*. Regular distances were probably set out by the use of ropes (or chains) and sticks of specific lengths, and relevant points were probably marked with pegs or poles hammered in the ground or with large stones.²⁸⁹

It appears from the documents that sometimes the *perticatio* was not carried out correctly, and that corrections or rectifications were made afterward. The *chartes de coutumes* of Trie-sur-Baïse and Revel, for instance, mention that settlers would have to pay additional rent on top of the standard amount, if it appeared after an eventual re-measuring of the *bastide* grounds that their lots were bigger than the standard size.²⁹⁰ This actually appears to have happened at Grenade-sur-Garonne. In 1322, 32 years after the foundation of the town, it was decided that the town and its grounds would not be newly measured out completely, but that individual lots were to be measured on request, after which rents were to be adjusted. Nine years later, however, the situation apparently still was not satisfying, as a new survey was carried out for the whole settlement.²⁹¹ Unfortunately, the documents do not reveal whether the problems concerned house lots, garden plots or agricultural plots.²⁹²

It seems highly likely that the *perticatio* was normally led by people experienced in land measurement. Unfortunately, it is not known to what extent they really were professional surveyors.²⁹³ It also seems likely that the planners of the urban form were often the same people as the ones who actually made the allotment, but once again there are no sources that confirm or deny this. At Beaumont-de-Lomagne, in any case, the surveyor of the city of Toulouse was present when the lots were handed over to the settlers in 1282, which makes it likely that it was he who had actually set out the allotment.²⁹⁴

2.10.3 Historiography of the urban form of *bastides*

When one studies the ground plans of the *bastides*, it clearly appears that many have a more or less regular orthogonal form.²⁹⁵ Already in the 18th century, some French historians mistakenly came to believe that

²⁸⁸ In fact, two of the few *bastides* which contemporary documents explicitly mention as being founded with the motive of defence, Molières and Revel, were not built on high locations. On defensive motives for *bastide* foundation, see par.2.5.2.

²⁸⁹ Binding 1993, pp.340-348; Guerreau 1995, pp.94-102; Pouls 1997, pp.10-57; see also par.9.6.1. The length of the measuring sticks would commonly have been a local standard unit, such as the *perga* (c. 3 m.), the *brasse* (5-6 ft.) or the *canne* (c. 2 m.). The ropes or chains often had a length of 5, 6, 10 or 12 such units. In paragraphs 6.3.1-6.3.3 and 9.6 the subject of the design and the setting out of the plans will be elaborated on.

²⁹⁰ Doumerc 1976, p.186; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.62.

²⁹¹ Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.62, 99.

²⁹² According to Higounet, it considered an operation of re-allotment in 1332-33, prompted by a disappointing number of settlers. The form of the built-up area would have been re-planned and limited to the more or less square surface that is depicted in the 19th-century cadastral plan (with the boulevards on the northwest and southeast sides, which replaced ditches) instead of the oblong form which would have been planned originally. (Higounet 1992, p.147) According to Saint-Blanquat the *repticare*, as it was called, may have been necessary because the handing out of the ground had not been orderly, so that houses were built in the wrong places and fields were cultivated with the wrong crops. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.65)

²⁹³ According to, among others, Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.44), professional surveyors were involved, but they give no arguments or references supporting their view.

²⁹⁴ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.62; see also pars.7.5 and 7.7.

²⁹⁵ According to Beresford (1967, p.150), 37% of the *bastides* in the duchy that were studied by him had a regular orthogonal layout. Weyres (1969, p.67) found 110 *bastides* with a regular orthogonal plan. Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.6) write that no less than 80% of all *bastides* had a plan based on a *quadrillage* (a regular grid) and more

not many, but all *bastides* had a regular grid plan. In the 19th century this misconception became more widespread.²⁹⁶ The growing consideration for the regular layout of the *bastides* caused a curious revolution in the conception of ‘medieval town planning’ in the French study of (architectural) history at the time, which is interesting from the present historiographical point of view. Initially, ‘medieval’ architecture and town planning was generally presumed to be irregular. In the 1850’s, the highly influential architect and theorist Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc wrote: ‘Up until the Renaissance symmetry and general regularisation of plans were not considered. The laws of symmetry, laws which are so ridiculously tyrannical in our own day, never exercised their influence on the population of the Middle Ages.’²⁹⁷ These sentences demonstrate how much this vision was determined by an unease with contemporary 19th-century architecture, as can also be felt in the works of other influential authors of the 19th century, like Pugin and Sitte.²⁹⁸ However, from the time that scholars like Jean-Justin Monlezun and Félix de Verneilh brought the regular orthogonal plans of the *bastides* to the attention of a larger public, about halfway through the 19th century, another vision of the past gradually took form. De Verneilh and, after him, various other historians who studied *bastides*, came up with a new conception of ‘gothic town planning’. In 1847, De Verneilh wrote - in reaction to the romantic vision of Victor Hugo, who was a great lover of the remains of ‘medieval’ Paris: ‘In the common language, a “gothic town” is synonymous with a badly planned and completely irregular town; this expression should, however, be erased from our vocabulary. The most typical gothic towns, which were created in the 13th century, are the most regular ones that we have. This being the case, I beg Monsieur Victor Hugo’s pardon, but these towns are truly grid plan towns, and most of the grid plan towns are medieval towns.’²⁹⁹ In this way De Verneilh made the regular *bastide* with orthogonal plan the archetype of ‘gothic’ town planning. This new notion of ‘gothic’ town planning subsequently became more or less generally accepted in France (unlike most other countries) up to the present day.

With this, De Verneilh presented an important modification to the then common vision of ‘medieval town planning’, which is described above in the words of Viollet-le-Duc. One should consider, however, that De Verneilh was also partly wrong, in his definition of *bastides* as regular grid plan towns.³⁰⁰ Unlike what he claims, many settlements that were founded as *bastides* do not have very regular plans. In some cases, an initially intended regular structure may have not been realised because circumstances that did not allow it; and in others an original regular structure may have been erased in the course of time by ‘erosion’ and changing property boundaries.³⁰¹ But in many cases the founder seems to have been interested in his settlement’s administrative, legal and economic organisation, rather than its spatial organisation, for which little or no energy was put into the realisation of a regularly ordered town plan. (fig. 2.18)

2.10.3.1 The ‘archetype’ of the *bastides*

Since De Verneilh’s publications, the definition of the *bastides* as regularly planned urban structures has been more or less generally accepted. At the same time, the image of what a *bastide* would look like has become more and more generalised.³⁰² The plans would be orthogonal, the street blocks would be rectangular, in the centre there would be a square market place which was surrounded by covered galleries in front of the houses (so-called *couverts*) and in the midst of which would stand a market hall / town hall, and the *bastide* would be surrounded by a wall or palisade following a rectangular outline. It is remarkable that this archetypical form strongly resembles the archetypical form of the ancient Roman *coloniae*.

After Viollet-le-Duc had come to know the work of De Verneilh, some years after he wrote the above quotation, he wrote in a later volume of his very same *Dictionnaire* with regard to the *bastide* of Monpazier: ‘Like all town plans that were laid out in this period in Guyenne and Périgord, the town of Monpazier is not only aligned with a perfect regularity, but all the houses also have the same dimensions and are distributed in the same manner. Monpazier’s street blocks with their houses show with what cellular uniformity these settlements are built. [...] Even the regularity that can be observed in modern

than 200 of these are still recognisable at the present time. According to Higounet (1992, p.25), 53% of the *bastides* in the region of Gasconne have a regular plan.

296 Pujol 1990, pp.359-367.

297 ‘Jusqu’à la Renaissance on ne tenait aucun compte de la symétrie, de l’ordonnance générale des plans. Les lois de la symétrie, lois si sottement tyranniques de nos jours, n’avaient jamais exercé leur influence sur les populations du Moyen Age.’ Viollet-le-Duc 1854-1868, vol.I, p.325. See also Pujol, p.360. Some years later, however, Viollet-le-Duc’s ideas on this topic changed under the influence of De Verneilh (see below).

298 See also par.11.1.

299 ‘Dans le langage usuel, ville gothique est synonyme de ville mal tracée et parfaitement irrégulière; c’est une expression à rayer de notre vocabulaire. Les villes gothiques par excellence, celles qui ont été fondées au XIII^e siècle, sont les plus régulières que nous ayons. Ce sont véritablement, j’en demande bien pardon à Monsieur Victor Hugo, des villes en damier et la plupart des villes en damier sont des villes du Moyen Age.’ De Verneilh, t.VI (1847), p.73. See also Pujol 1990, p.360.

300 Pujol 1990, pp.359-361.

301 See par.9.6.2.

302 Pujol 1990, p.363; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.72; Dubourg 1997, p.102 (referring to a non-specified publication by M. Courajoud of 1865).



fig.2.19: Monpazier. Aerial photograph, view towards the south. Monpazier was founded in 1284 by Jean de Grailly, as sénéchal to the king-duke, and the lord of Biron.

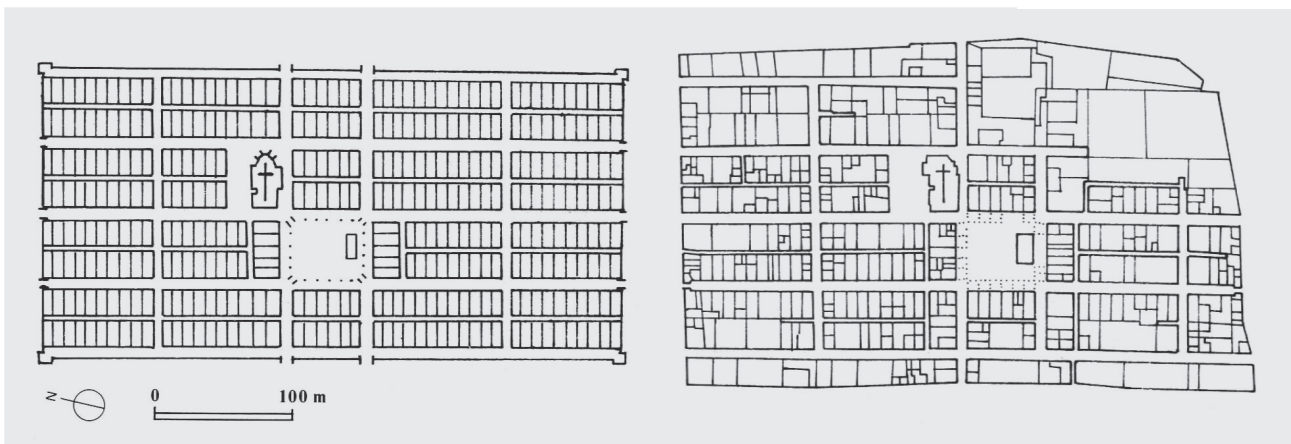


fig.2.20: Two plans of Monpazier. (From: Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, modified by the author) On the left is an idealised plan, originally created by De Verneilh in 1847, which has been published many times as ‘the plan of Monpazier’. On the right is the actual plan, after a cadastral plan of the early 20th century.

towns like Napoléon-Vendée or certain towns in Algeria, is nothing but disorder compared to this absolute symmetry [...].³⁰³ Curie-Seimbres, who published the first general study on the bastides in 1880, and who knew the subject very well, even wrote: ‘It is demonstrated with certainty by the study of the bastides, that they were all built on an identical and perfectly regular plan [...] With their checquer board plans, the bastides have a character which is so neat and so distinct that one recognises

303 ‘Comme tous les plans de villes cette époque tracés en Guyenne et en Périgord, la ville de Monpazier est non seulement alignée avec une régularité parfaite, mais encore toutes les maisons sont d’égales dimensions et distribuées de la même manière. Un îlot de maisons de la ville de Monpazier fait voir avec quelle uniformité cellulaire ces habitations sont construites. [...] Certes, la régularité observée dans les villes modernes comme Napoléon-Vendée, comme certains villes d’Algérie n’est que désordre en comparaison de cette symétrie absolue [...]’. Viollet-Le-Duc 1854-1868, vol.6, pp.246-247.

them at first sight in maps [...]'.³⁰⁴ According to this passage, all *bastides* would have been built on the same, perfectly regular plan. When one carefully studies the actual plans, however, it becomes clear that no two of the more than 300 *bastides* have the same layout, and that perfect regularity only exists in theory.

Monpazier has almost generally come to be regarded as the 'archetype' of the *bastides* in general.³⁰⁵ (fig. 2.19) And, indeed, this *bastide* does have a relatively very regular plan. The actual plan of Monpazier in the 19th century, however, was not regular enough in the eyes of the authors quoted above, so they conveniently supplied a reconstruction of what they believed was the original plan. (fig. 2.20) This reconstruction was originally made by De Verneilh in 1847. It contains considerable modifications of the actual plan which, for the most part, were not founded on firm evidence but only on the assumption that absolute regularity had been the starting point of the planners.³⁰⁶

There are about twenty *bastides* that have a regular layout which is more or less comparable to the plan of Monpazier.³⁰⁷ Hence, it is an unjustified over-generalisation to consider Monpazier as an archetype of the *bastides* in general.

Apparently, the *bastides* with plans that are comparable to that of Monpazier have been regarded as the most characteristic of all varieties of *bastide* plans.³⁰⁸ Up to a certain extent, that is understandable, because this sort of plan is easy to recognise as having been planned, and in contrast to various other sorts of plans (as for instance the single-street plan), it is quite typical for the region. It seems that around the middle of the 13th century the archetypical plan was first laid out in the region, possibly at Montréal-du-Gers or Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (both 1255, founded by Alphonse de Poitiers)³⁰⁹, subsequently inspiring the planners of other *bastides*. It should be considered, however, that this sort of plan is not unique to southwestern France: similar sorts of plans were also laid out at roughly the same time in central-eastern Europe and, sporadically, elsewhere. (see figs. 3.19, 7.1, 9.3, 10.7, 9.17)

The 19th-century archetypical image of the *bastides* also contained the elements of foundation in *paréage*, siting on virgin ground, and charters that were exclusive for *bastides*.³¹⁰ The freedoms of the settlers were greatly emphasised, as was the 'high democratic content' of the communal institutions: the *bastide* was presented as a sort of means of emancipation of the population of the countryside and the formation core of the bourgeoisie.³¹¹ In the second half of the 19th century, the *bastides* were more or less presented as a southern-French version of the civic communes of northern France. It was particularly Curie-Seimbres who described the *bastides* in this way, among others, with the goal of demonstrating the historical autonomy of southern France.³¹² This generalised image of the *bastides*, which Pujol calls 'l'image symbolique de la bastide' in his historiographical study, is still largely adhered to at the present time, despite attempts to modify and refine it in the past decades.³¹³

304 'Un point mis hors de doute par l'examen et la comparaison des bastides, c'est qu'elles furent toutes construites sur un plan identique et parfaitement régulier [...] Les bastides avec leur plan en damier ont un cachet si net, si distinct, qu'on les reconnaît à première vue sur les cartes [...]'. Quoted by Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.55.

305 This does not mean that Monpazier was the oldest occurrence of the 'typical' *bastide*, but that it most clearly shows the various characteristics that are supposedly typical for the *bastides* in general. The town of Montauban is almost generally regarded as the 'prototype' of the *bastides* because of its plan, its founder and its early date. (Brinckmann 1920, p.17; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, pp. 67-68 and s.v.; Divorne, Gendre, Laverge & Panerai 1985, pp.11, 38; Heers 1990, p.143; Erlen 1992, p.138; Dubourg 1997, pp.8-9) Montauban was founded in 1144 by Alphonse Jourdain, count of Toulouse (1112-1148), on a strategic location next to a castle. The town plan is regarded as precedent to the plans of the later archetypical *bastides*. In my opinion, however, the idea of Montauban as a unique creation in its time, and as the sole predecessor (by about a century) of the *bastides*, makes little sense. Montauban was not the sole town creation of its time; in fact many settlements were founded next to castles, although they were rarely so successful. (see par.2.3; Cursente 2004, pp.72-73) And, although the plan has a central quadrangular place, it is not orthogonal and hardly regular. Another problem is that it is not clear which parts of the plan actually date back to the original foundation in 1144.

306 Pujol 1990, pp.359-360; Divorne, Gendre, Laverge & Panerai 1985, p.7; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.54-55.

307 These are: Bretenoux (fig.2.33), Carcassonne, Damazan, Geaune-en-Tursan, Grenade-sur-Adour, Grenade-sur-Garonne (fig.2.22), Lannepax, Marciac (fig.2.41), Miramont-de-Guyenne, Mirande, Mirepoix, Montréal-du-Gers (fig.2.28), Nay, Revel, Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (fig.2.21), Sauveterre-de-Rouergue, Tournay (fig.2.39), Trie-sur-Baïse and Villefranche-du-Périgord.

308 See the following paragraph.

309 Sainte-Foy-la-Grande was created in *paréage* with local lords. It seems that the basic elements of this sort of plan had already been used in more embryonic form earlier, as for instance at Molandier (1246, founded by the count of Foix with the lord of Belpech).

310 Regarding the form, see Lavedan & Huguency 1974, pp.72-73.

311 Pujol 1990, p.363.

312 Pujol 1990, p.364.

313 Pujol 1990, p.367. Still largely adhering to the old image, for example, are: Divorne, Gendre, Laverge & Panerai 1985, esp. pp.73-75; Faucheur 1988, p.74; Randolph 1994. These authors actually write that there are also *bastides* with different, less regular, layouts, but still they treat the *bastides* as if they (almost) all comply with the old archetypical image. In 1926 Lavedan already tried to give a more realistic - less generalizing - picture of the spatial form of the *bastides*. (Lavedan 1926) According to Weyres, however, Lavedan went too far in the opposite direction (Weyres 1969, p.73, n.7). In my opinion this is not the case. It can hardly be emphasised enough how much variation there is in the layout of *bastides*. One example to demonstrate this is Guidoni's discussion of the planning of *bastides*. (Guidoni 1992 (II), pp.97-133) Although Guidoni's knowledge of *bastides* is mainly based on Lavedan, he treats them as a sort of 'ideal cities', all variations on the archetypical model described above, inspired by an inclination to 'experiment' with the basic layout.

2.10.3.2 Typologies

In the scholarly literature on the spatial form of the *bastides* from about halfway through the 20th century on, attention is mostly strongly directed at a comparison of the different plan forms - at least as far as the plan form is not generalised to the 'archetype' described above. Various scholars have tried to create order in the evident great variety of plans by making typological classifications. In this way they hoped to offer a manageable system by which, ideally, all *bastides* can be logically categorised. Among others, the important works on *bastides* by Lavedan & Hugueney, Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai, and Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin contain such classifications.³¹⁴ The relatively great attention paid to formal classification is not unique for the *bastides*: it can also be found in literature on town planning of about the 12th to 14th centuries elsewhere in Europe, but here scholars seem to be most focused on typology.³¹⁵

The classifications of *bastides* on the basis of plan forms can be regarded as variations on the categorisations that historians have used, for instance, on the basis of who the (main) founder was, on the types of *coutumes*, or on the supposed original functions envisioned.³¹⁶ These last categorisations have some historical relevance, since these distinctions were, or may have been, actually regarded as making a relevant difference at the time of the *bastide* foundations, although the various possibilities probably were not clearly classified by that time. In my opinion, though, the various typologies on the basis of plan form barely have historical relevance. Below I will briefly discuss a number of problems and objections, mainly based on the example of the relatively elaborate typology of Lauret, Malebranche and Séraphin.

According to Lauret, Malebranche and Séraphin, the great variety in *bastide* plans can be brought down to a number of standard models, which in practice are adapted to the topographical situation.³¹⁷ It is not explicated whether these ideal models were actually known by the planners or whether they only serve as types for formal classification, but from the description of the models it appears that the authors believe that the one or another of these models were actually chosen from the variety of models at the time of the creation of the towns.

The following types and subtypes are described:

- 1) *Atypical plans*: plans without traces of planning, mostly *bastides* with an older core.
- 2) *Plans dictated by the site*: the plans are mostly strongly influenced by the form of the landscape. This type is subdivided into *bastides* sited on high and low locations.
- 3) *Ancient models, envelopments and closed structures*: plans that are mostly more or less symmetrical around a central element like a church, market place, road or castle and clearly enclosed. This model is subdivided into:
 - *circular villages*³¹⁸
 - *square villages*
 - *revolving formations*: compact, more or less orthogonal structures of which the street plan has a sort of swastika shape³¹⁹
 - *linear formations*: organised around a central main street, possibly with parallel streets and a central transverse street³²⁰
 - *place-villages*: plans with a relatively very large market place, surrounded by houses³²¹
- 4) *Systematic plans*: orthogonal plans without prescribed boundaries. This is the type that is given most attention by Lauret, Malebranche and Séraphin. In their opinion it would have been applied mainly to *bastides* from the middle of the 13th century on by Alphonse de Poitiers and his successors, since it was suited very well to systematic foundation policies. The type is divided into six sub-types that are largely specific to particular regions:

³¹⁴ Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, pp.74-80; Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.73-84; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.55-77. Other works containing typologies based on plan forms are Daru & Daru 1981, pp.22-27; Calmettes 1986, pp.37-54; Dubourg 1997, pp.104-109.

³¹⁵ See par.o.4.2.

³¹⁶ See Gouron 1935; Ourliac & Gilles 1981; Saint-Blanquat 1985. There are also typological classifications based on the functions of the *bastides*, for instance in the use of the terms *bastide-frontière* and *reclamation-bastide*. (for instance Higounet 1975, pp.178-183, 245-254, 293-303) As with this functional classification, terms of topographical typology are also often used. For instance, some scholars classify *bastides* by their location on a hilltop or in a valley. (for instance Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.39-44) But as far as I know, these typologies are not really thought through or used systematically.

³¹⁷ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.55-78.

³¹⁸ Regarded strictly, there are just two *bastides* of this type: Montesquieu-Lauragais and Técou. In both cases the form is strongly influenced by their location on small hills, for which there is a complete overlap with the type *plans dictated by the site*. Apart from these two there are older settlements that are re-founded as *bastides*: Sarrant, Fourcès (fig.2.10), Larresingle, Villeréal (fig.2.44) and Miradoux. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.59)

³¹⁹ This type, which is essentially determined by the street plan, is almost completely overlapped by the subtype *square villages*.

³²⁰ This type, in most cases, overlaps the type *plans dictated by the site*.

³²¹ The relatively low number of houses, however, is mostly the result of arrested development, so that the originally planned market place has become relatively large. The examples given for this type mostly do not really have closed envelopments, wherefore it does not seem justified to regard it as a separate subtype.

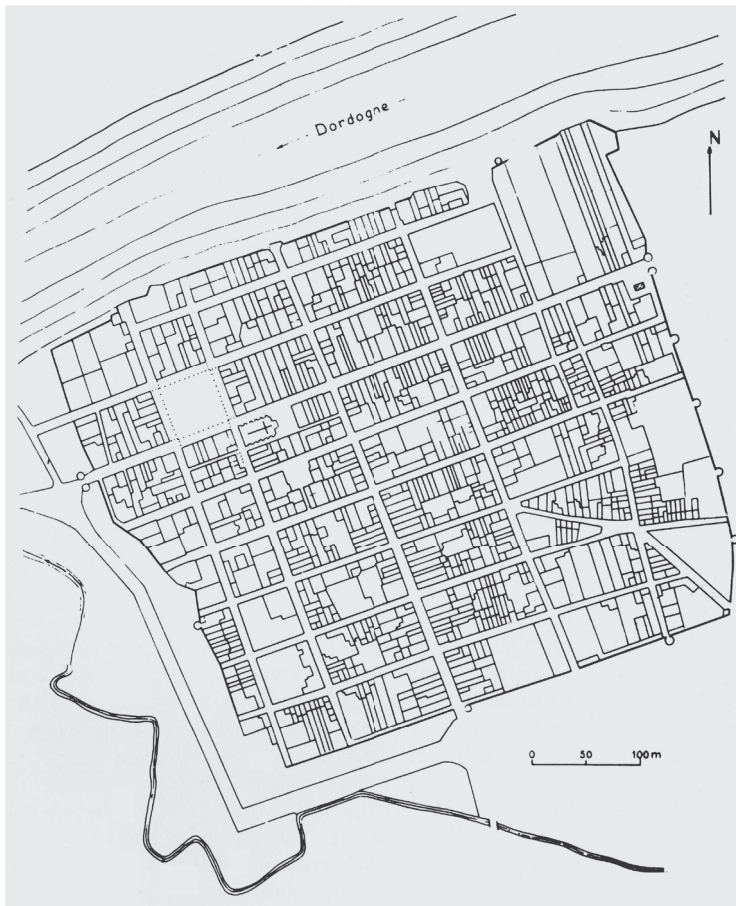


fig. 2.21: Sainte-Foy-la-Grande. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974) The town was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers of Toulouse in paréage with the abbot of Sainte-Foy de Conques and the local lord of Pineuil in 1255. The three streets in the southeast corner of the town that do not conform to the general grid of streets were not originally planned in this way. Most probably they were only created in the 19th century, when the town wall was breached at that corner and just north of it, in order to connect to two extra-urban roads.

- *Modèle quercinois*: a main street with perpendicular residential streets, the so-called herringbone plan. From the examples given by the authors it appears that many plans do not conform to this model very clearly, and that the plan type can also be found outside the Quercy region.³²²
- *Modèle aquitain*: this is more or less the same as the archetypical model. A square market place is surrounded by rectangular street blocks with primary streets in one direction, the church being located in the street block diagonally next to the market place. This model would be typical for the Bazadais-Agenais-Périgord region, which is called Aquitaine here.³²³
- *Modèle gimontois*: this type is named after the main example of it, Gimont (fig.2.27), and has a central main street that widens into a *place* in the centre. Two parallel streets are connected to it by transverse streets at regular distances.
- *Modèle gascon*: the sole distinctive mark of this model is the site of the church, which is separated from the market place by a street block.³²⁴
- *Checkerboard plan*: plans with square street blocks.³²⁵
- *Other models*: types that only cover a very small number of *bastides*, for instance those determined by the site of the church, which is directly next to the market place in the *modèle armagnacais* and in the perimeter of the town in the *modèle de Vianne*.³²⁶

In my opinion, this extensive typology suffers from many flaws. The more important ones relate to the logic of the classifications.³²⁷ The classification into main types is unclear because atypical plans are set next to plans dictated by the site, next to ancient models, envelopments and closed structures and, finally, systematic plans. In

³²² For instance, Saint-Félix-Lauragais and Valentine barely follow the definition of the type. (see Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, figs.221, 249) Gimont does follow the definition quite closely (fig.2.27), but gets its own type because of the form of the market place (see below).

³²³ The authors add that there are variants with streets of equal value in the two perpendicular directions. (Damazan, fig.2.40; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.66-70) There are, however, also other elements in which the examples of the model put forward diverge from its description, as for instance with regard to the site of the church (Laparade and Molières).

³²⁴ Since this subtype is only characterised by the relative placement of the church and the market place, it is completely covered by other types, such as the *modèle aquitain* and the *quadrillage*.

³²⁵ From the examples that are given of this plan it appears, however, that the street blocks are often only partly or nearly square. (see Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.77)

³²⁶ Of the *models de Vianne* and *Armagnacais* the same can be said as of the *modèle gascon*: see n.324.

³²⁷ The flaws in specific types and subtypes are partly described in the footnotes above.

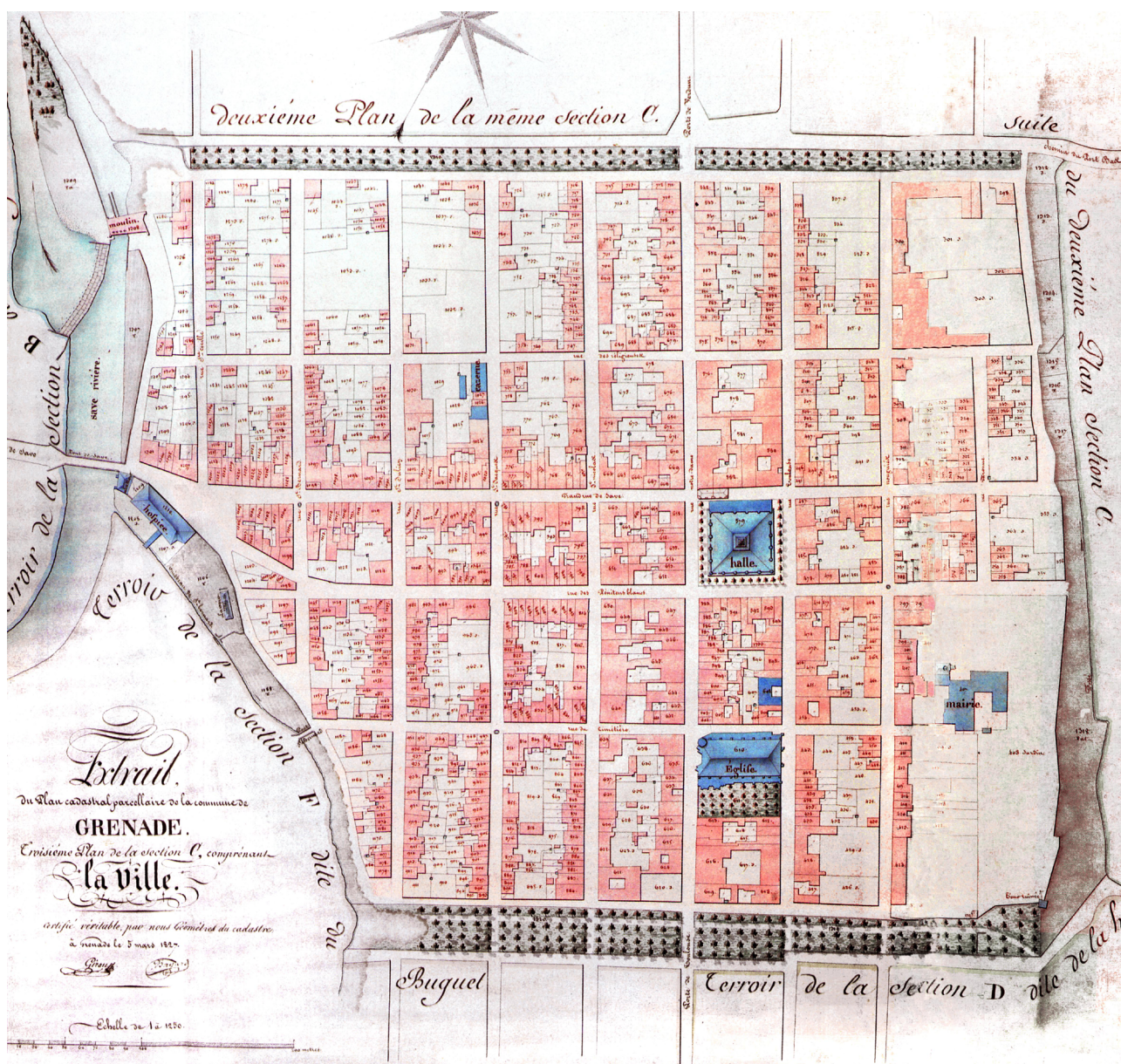


fig. 2.22: Cadastral plan of Grenade-sur-Garonne, 1827. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The plan is oriented NNW. Grenade was founded in 1290 in paréage between Eustache the Beaumarchais (as sénéchal of the French king) and the abbey of Grandselve. The town was not walled but a certain moment, probably in the 14th century, ditches were dug to the north and south, where the boulevards are indicated in the plan. It seems that the other sides were only fixed by the natural course of the rivers to the west and southwest, and by the low but steep natural slope of the flood terrace of the river Garonne, to the east.

my opinion it would be more logical to set unplanned (atypical plans) next to planned (systematic plans), and to subdivide these main types. It is non-sensical to take plans dictated by the site as a separate type, since the authors claim that all their types are ideal types that are, in practice, adapted to the site. The type ancient models, envelopments and closed structures can be planned as well as unplanned, wherefore it does not seem sensible to classify it as a separate type. It is also problematic that there are large overlaps between these types, as well as between the various subtypes. Furthermore, the various subtypes of systematic plans are rather unclear because their definitions are not purely morphological, consisting of aspects of urban form as well as of geographical region. This makes the classification all the more unclear since it appears that these subtypes actually are not unique for the regions they are specified for.

The classification of bastides by plan types suggests that the founders and planners would have thought in such types, even though most authors who proposed such classifications do not explicitly state that this was the case. This idea is, however, wrong: founders and planners did not think in terms of such plan types in the period under consideration. The typological approach of bastide creation is anachronistic. It is strongly

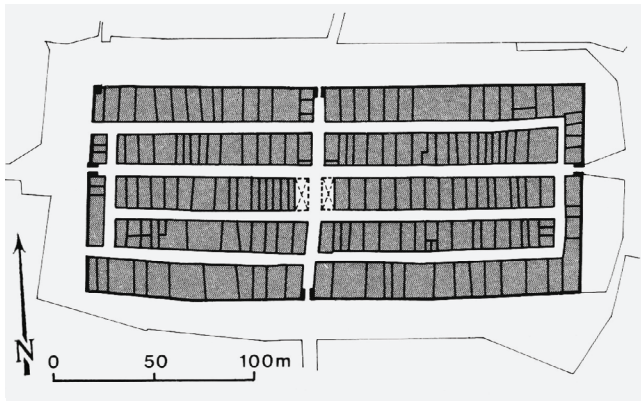


fig. 2.23: Plan of Jegun. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) The town was founded in 1280 by the count of Armagnac, near a site where the count of Fézensac had possessed a castrum in the 12th century.



fig. 2.24: Plan of Montaut. (Pyrenées Atlantiques. From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) The town was founded by the viscount of Béarn and the abbot of Saint-Pé in 1308 under the name of Saint-Hilaire-de-Lassun. The church was built in the centre of the square in the 16th century, on the site of the previous market hall.



fig. 2.25: Plan of Bassoues. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) Bassoues was founded in 1295 by the archbishop of Auch. The town is sited on a low hillcrest, with the central main street along the top of the crest, and the market place at the highest point. The town wall and the castle in the northeast corner were built around the middle of the 14th century.



fig. 2.26: View of Bassoues, seen from the donjon of the castle at the north end of the town. Clearly visible are the main street along the hillcrest, and the market hall built over this street in the market place.



fig. 2.27: Plan of Gimont. (From: Calmettes 1986) The town was founded in 1266-74, by Alphonse de Poitiers and the abbey of Planselve. It is sited on a low hillcrest, with the central main street along the top of the crest and the transverse streets sloping down quite steeply. In the central square stands the market hall (indicated by the thin line), with the main street passing underneath, as at Bassoues. (see figs. 2.26 and 2.48)

influenced by the methods of modern town planners, who primarily think in plan forms and types. The plan typologies have little or no historical relevance, in the sense that they do not provide any information on the way the forms of the *bastides* came about.

In a number of typologies, various specific types are coupled with non-morphological historical and geographical factors, like the way the *bastides* were created, specific founders, regions, or sorts of locations.³²⁸ These connotations are not explained, however, and in most cases it appears that the link between type and the connected factor is not exclusive. As is the case, for instance, with the regional subtypes described above. This strongly detracts from the sense of the connections.

All in all, the plan typologies are of little or no use for the understanding of the creation of the *bastides*.

³²⁸ For instance, Lavedan and Huguency (1974, pp.85-86) connect the origin of the two-axis type to their founder, Alphonse de Poitiers, whereas the subtype in which a block of houses is sited between the market place and the church, is associated with the founder Eustache de Beaumarchais.

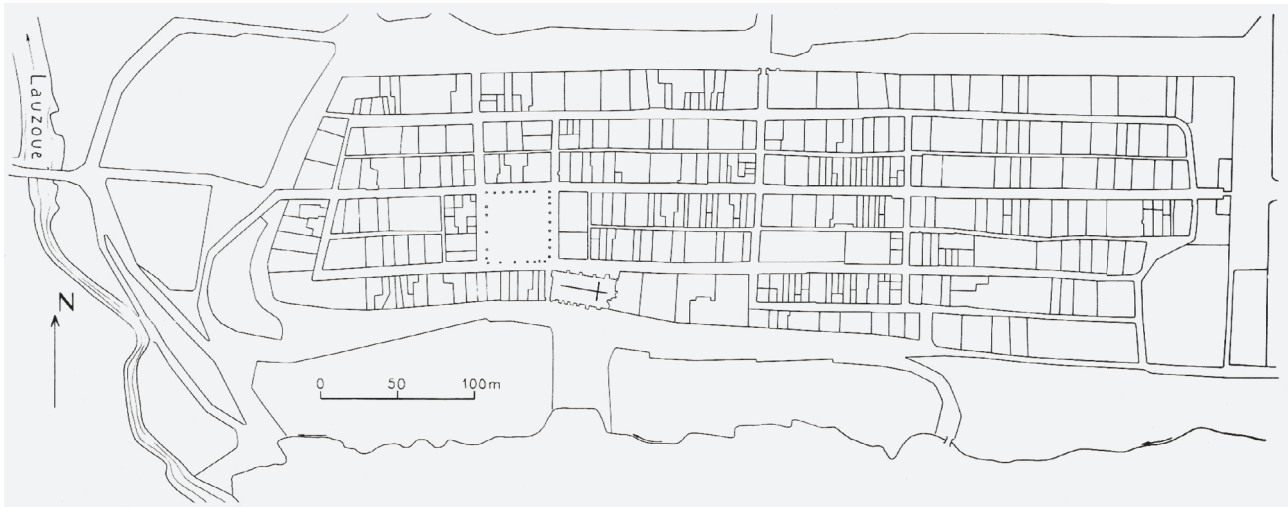


fig.2.28: Plan of Montréal-du-Gers. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974) The town was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in 1255. It is sited on a ridge which ends on the west side of the town, and which largely determines the form of the outline of the town. Montréal is one of the very few bastides for which we know who was responsible for its planning: the notary Pons Maynard.

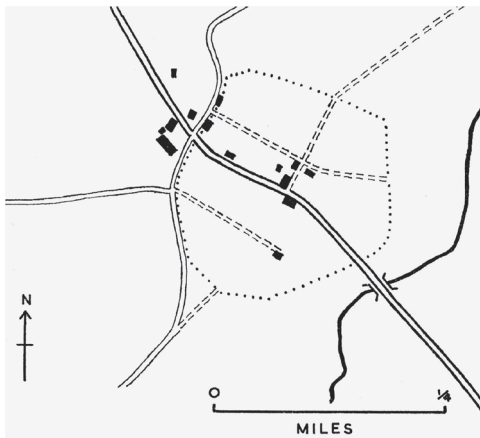


fig.2.29: Plan of Roquepine and surrounding area. Based on aerial photographs. (From: Beresford 1969) The town was in founded 1283 by Bertrand Panisals, who was a lieutenant of the English royal sénéchal, Jean de Grailly. The town was not successful, so it has eventually become reduced to no more than two farmsteads along the former main street. The dotted lines indicate the former streets and the outline of the town, which can be identified in aerial photographs as crop marks.



fig.2.30: Plan of Villefranche-de-Lauragais. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, modified by the author) The town was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in 1254-57. Probably it originally only consisted of the small part with two rows of lots on either side of the main street in the area around the church, which is marked with a thick grey line. Around 1280 the town was extended under French royal rule, and it seems to have been extended again in later phases.

Since the various authors hardly explain the motive for, or the goal of, their typologies it is not even clear whether they meant them to be used for the study of history. The authors simply seem to have followed one another in the making of classifications rather than asking what goal such classifications might serve.

It should be mentioned, however, that there are specific aspects of the plans of *bastides* that can be discerned to have historical relevance. For instance, it can be determined that plans that are clearly focused on one central street are generally formed on the basis of an existing road; and when it is a question of two crossing streets, there generally was an existing crossing of roads at which the *bastide* was founded. Also, there is one specific plan element that appears to be special for one particular region. This is the narrow house blocks that originally consisted of only two or four house lots, divided by narrow streets or alleys at right angles to the main streets. This specific form of street block is, among the *bastides*, to be found only in the Quercy-Rouergue region.³²⁹ (figs. 2.34, nrs. 19-21, 2.35) It is not possible, though, to create a sensible and complete typology of *bastide* plans on the basis of such aspects: there simply are too many differences, and the plan forms commonly can not be logically correlated with specific creators, periods, regions or other aspects.

2.10.4 Urban layout

Because of the great variation in *bastide* plans it is almost impossible to make general remarks on the urban form of these towns. Other authors have mainly treated the urban layout of the *bastides* by describing the typological classifications made by them. However, as argued above, the typological approach on the basis of *bastide* plans does not make much sense for the study of history. Apart from the fact that it is simply impossible to give all *bastides* a place in a classification that is logical, such categorisations do not help to understand how these towns were actually created.

In the chapters on the Edwardian new towns of Wales and the Florentine *terre nuove* (ch. 1 and 3) the focus is on groups of towns of limited size, which can therefore be treated town by town. In this chapter on the *bastides*, however, a much larger group of towns is treated. I have explicitly chosen to take a broad view, in order to show the great variety among the *bastides*, particularly to counter the old approach in which the focus is narrowed down to the archetypical *quadrillage-bastides*.

In the following subparagraphs the spatial layout of the *bastides* will be discussed. First, some remarks will be made on the general plan forms and subsequently specific elements of the plans will be examined. In the following paragraph (2.10.5) the buildings that originally were built in the towns will be briefly discussed.

2.10.4.1 General plan forms of the original plantations

The archetypical *bastides* described in paragraph 2.10.3.1, such as Monpazier, Sainte-Foy-la-Grande and Grenade-sur-Garonne (figs. 2.19-20, 2.21, 2.22), have plans that are among the most regular of all *bastides*. There are, however, also other sorts of layouts which are very regular. Jegun, for instance, has a plan that is also very regular, although it is quite unlike the archetypical *bastide* plan. It has long and narrow street blocks in which only single rows of houses are accommodated, and the central market place is comparatively very small.³³⁰ (fig. 2.23) Conversely, there are also *bastides* that basically have the same sort of street plan as the archetype, but which have a much less regular layout.³³¹ One example is Montaut, which has an orthogonal grid layout with a large square market place in the centre. The building lines of the streets, however, are not very straight, the allotment is quite irregular and the street blocks have no standard dimensions. (fig. 2.24) As with many other *bastides*, the irregularity increases towards the margins of the town.

Almost all *bastide* plans contain clearly visible elements of regularity, thereby implying spatial planning. There is a clear inclination towards straightness of streets and plot boundaries, and angles generally tend towards perpendicularity. Moreover, there mostly are traces of regularity in the size of plots and street blocks and in the width of streets. Apart from that, one also recognises a clear coordination in the layout of streets and the orientation of plots upon them in almost every *bastide*.

³²⁹ In the typology of Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin this is the *modèle Quercinois*. (1988, pp.64-65)

³³⁰ Other examples are Bassoues (fig. 2.25), Le Plan (fig. 2.37), Tournay (fig. 2.39), Maseube (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293), Montjoie-en-Couserens (idem, p.60) and Labastide-de-Bousignac, (idem, p.61).

³³¹ See for instance Blaye (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.77), Lestelle (p.292), Beauregard, Blasimon (idem, p.283), Bruges, Boulogne (idem, p.284) and Montaut (fig. 2.24).

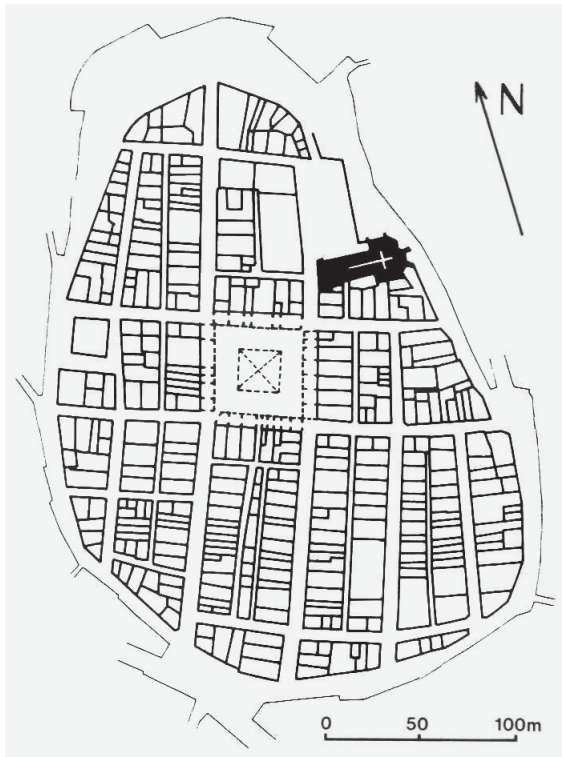


fig. 2.31: Plan of Monflanquin. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) Monflanquin was founded in 1256 by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in paréage with the lord of Calviac. The town was laid out on top of a hill, and the outline of the town was largely determined by the form of the hill.

As with the towns of Wales, a very basic distinction between different plan forms can be made. The smallest towns often have a layout with houses along one single street. Larger *bastides* may also clearly have one main axial orientation, often centred on the 'spine' formed by a single main street. (figs. 2.13, 2.25-2.27, 2.30, 2.38) Another basic plan form is based on two perpendicularly intersecting directions. (figs. 2.21, 2.22, 2.33, 2.35, 2.36, 2.40, 2.44) The reason why one of these layouts was chosen by planners in the past, mostly must have been that there was one important road in the existing topographical situation, or alternatively there may have been an intersection of two roads. Still other plan forms have no clear orientation in their layout. This is the case with, among others, the ones with rounded forms (fig. 2.10), but more generally those with no clear main orientation are

rather irregular in structure. (see fig. 2.18)

It would be interesting to count the number of different sorts of *bastide* plans, in order to get a general idea of the relative number of the basic varieties (such as irregular form, rounded form, single-street plan, cross-street plan and grid plan). It is very hard to actually do this, however. For one thing, the number of *bastides* is so large that many of them are still not exposed in publications. Moreover, there still must be quite a number of *bastides* which have not yet been identified: foundations that failed, foundations whose location is not clear, and conversely, existing settlements that may actually be *bastides* but which cannot be positively identified as such. In the publications by Lavedan & Huguency (1974) and Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988) many *bastide* plans are depicted. But in both cases, as in most other publications on the morphological aspects of the *bastides*, the more regular and larger *bastides* are relatively over-represented.

It may well be that the most common form of plan is the simple single-street arrangement, although one certainly does not get this impression from the literature on the *bastides* published so far. These settlements are all relatively small, and it is hard to tell whether they were intended to be so small in their original conception. Possibly, many of them were not meant to be single-street villages, but have come to be that, simply for lack of development. An example of a town that seems to have been meant as a single-street town is Bassoues. (fig. 2.25) Roquepine on the other hand, has been reduced to a single-street layout with just a few buildings on its main street. However, crop marks in the surrounding fields suggest that there must have been more streets in the past.³³² (fig. 2.29)

Mostly, the landscape topography had a great influence on various aspects of the plan form. For instance, as already been noted above, the choice of a single-direction-plan or a two-direction-cross-plan was probably often determined by the position of pre-urban roads at the site. The aspect of the natural relief of the site and its influence on the urban form will be discussed in paragraph 2.10.4.3.

2.10.4.2 Outline forms

Within the group of the *bastides* there is a wide variety of outline forms. According to the archetypal image of the *bastides* they should be rectangular in shape, in agreement with their inner grid structure, but in actuality this is quite rare.³³³ It is always hard to determine what the original outline of the plan was. It is quite possible that some towns did not even have a planned outline, since the number of future settlers was not

³³² Examples of other plans of single-street *bastides*: La-Bastide-du-Haut-Mont (Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig. 195), La-Bastide-du-Temple (idem, fig. 196), Caumont (idem, fig. 207) and the *bastide*-extension of Najac (idem, fig. 209).

³³³ See par. 2.10.3.1.

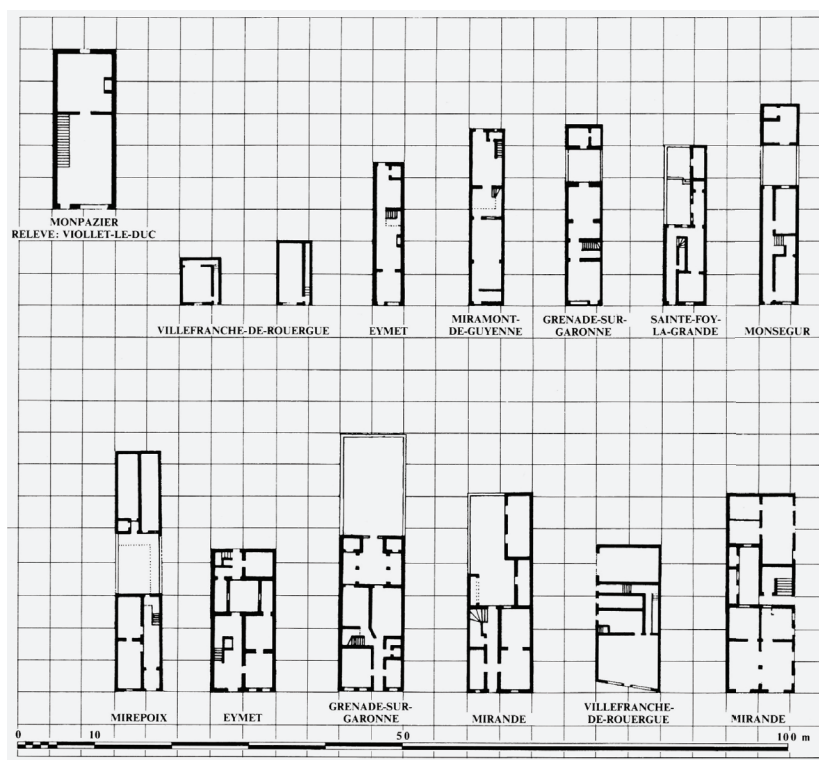
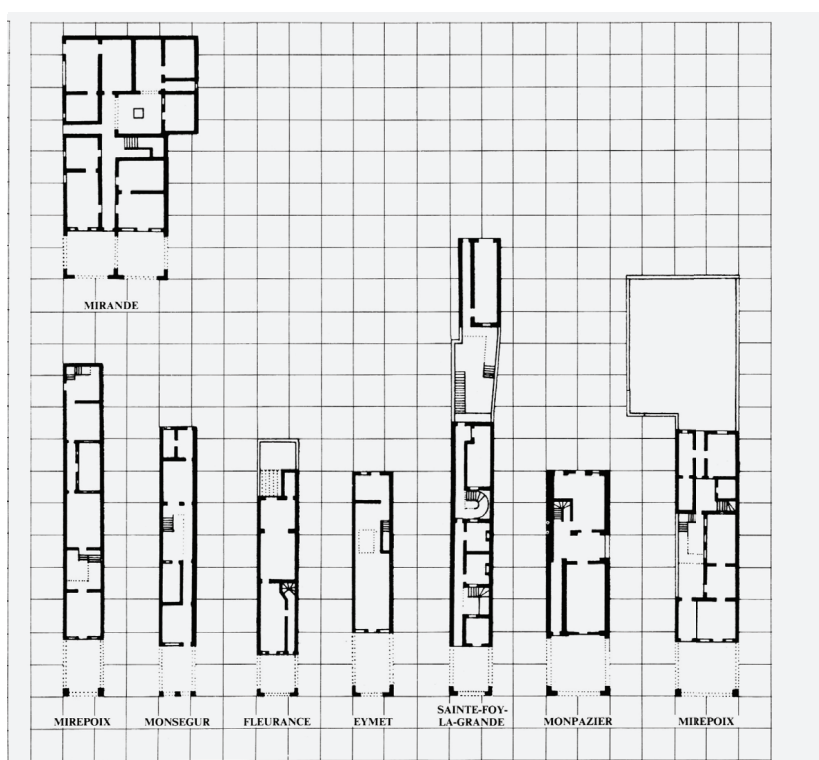


fig.2.32: Plans of house lots in different bastides. (From: Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, modified by the author) The houses are of various ages, but all date from before the 19th century. This clearly shows how much difference there is in the size of the plots and the houses, as well as in the plan types. In the upper figure are plots that are sited along streets, while in the lower figure plots are depicted that are sited on market places. It should be noted that not all these plots follow the originally planned layout. Some of them were created by amalgamation (Mirande, top right, and Mirepoix, far right); while others were split up from larger plots (Villefranche-de-Rouergue on top, Grenade-sur-Garonne, top left, and Monségur, top and below). In fact, it seems likely that all seven narrow plots in the top row (not including Monpazier) were parts of lots that were originally meant to be larger, most twice as wide.



fixed at the beginning.³³⁴ Many students of bastide planning take the (former) circuit of walls or ditches as the planned outline of the towns. But these circuits were mostly created long after the towns were founded, and many bastides never received substantial defences (or at least have no recognisable traces of them).³³⁵

It seems, however, that at least a number of bastides were originally surrounded by simple ditches, possibly supplemented by earthen banks with thorny hedges or timber palisades, as in Fleurance in 1292 and Hastings up to the 15th century.³³⁶ Probably this was also foreseen in the various ‘prima clausura’ promised by the king-duke in the chartes of a number of towns founded by him.³³⁷ Hardly anything

has recognisable been preserved of the original ditches, earthen banks and palisades, so not much is known about their precise form.

334 Mostly it is not known how large the original urban layout was meant to become, or even if there was a clear limit to the size of the town. In some scholarly publications, however, various bastides with regular plans are depicted as though they were planned as a rectangular unit, often of nine blocks, with the central one as the market place. (see, for instance, Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.66-78) Oddly enough, no explanation is given for this way of depicting the plans. Sauveterre-de-Rouergue and Verfeil-sur-Seye actually have such a layout, which once was delimited by walls and ditches. But even in these two places this seems not to have been the originally planned layout, as it is clearly visible in plans that the grid of streets once extended further outward. It is not known, however, whether this area was originally planned to be given out as house lots (cf. par.2.10.6). (see Alary & Marlhac S.D., p.22; Grimbert 1988, plan 1835 of area surrounding Sauveterre; Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, fig.323) The abstract form of the nine squares, with the central one left open, has even become the logo of the institute of the Centre d'Étude des Bastides. (see the various publications of the CEB, or <http://etudebastides.ifrance.com/>)

335 See pars.2.5.1, 2.10.5.1.

336 Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.62, 119; Higounet 1984, p.22; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.131-133.

337 Trabut-Cussac 1954, p.91. This was the case at, among others, Saint-Osbert, Sauveterre-de-Guyenne and Monségur (fig.2.13). (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131)

Stone town walls were mainly built from about the 1320's on.³³⁸ The exact placement of the wall circuit was often strongly influenced by the area of the built up part of the town at the moment of construction, as well as by the topography of the existing landscape. By taking these elements into account in determining the course of the circuit, the costs of the relatively very expensive stone walls would be minimised, while optimal use would be made of natural barriers in the landscape, such as water streams or relief, in order to make the walls more effective for defense. Hence, there are many *bastides* that have regular internal structures of streets and plots but rather irregular wall circuits. (see figs. 2.13, 2.14, 2.31, 2.35, 2.44) Looking at the regular internal structure, one would normally expect these towns to have been enclosed by a rectangular outline coordinated with the urban grid. It is always hard, or rather impossible, to tell in what measure a circuit of walls or ditches reflected the idea of the outline of the town as it was originally planned. In some cases it can be clearly recognised that the circuit was laid out cutting through an existing allotment that extended further outward, as in Grenade-sur-Garonne (fig. 2.22, 2.52, 2.53), Verfeil-sur-Seye, Revel, Mirepoix and Carcassonne.³³⁹ In par. 2.10.6 this will be discussed in detail, particularly regarding Grenade.

There were circuits with rounded outlines, circuits with angular outlines with more or less straight stretches between the angles, and there were also circuits that combined these forms. (see for instance figs. 2.31, 2.13, 2.14, 2.35, 2.44) Angular outlines with straight sides were the most common, however.

Concerning the originally planned form of the *bastides*, a distinction should be made between the layout that was newly created and parts that may have already existed before. Septfonds, for instance, was centred on an older *sauveté*, which is hardly recognisable in modern plans, but quite visible in older ones.³⁴⁰ Of course, one should also try to distinguish the parts that may have been added later on. Sometimes this is very difficult or even impossible, because the sources are too meagre to allow such distinctions. Often, though, parts that were added later show different forms or dimensions. Regarding Villefranche-de-Lauragais (see fig. 2.30), for instance, it is known from documents that the *bastide* was founded in 1254-57 by Alphonse de Poitiers and that it was extended around 1280. On the one hand this is recognisable in the plan, since the core around the main street near the church has a structure with smaller



fig. 2.33: Plan of Bretenoux. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) Bretenoux was founded in 1277 by the lord of Castelnau-Bretenoux. Previously it was known as Villefranche d'Orliende. The town wall was built in the 14th century. The house lots are relatively small, for which reason they are almost all completely built-on, with no open space at the back.

338 An important reason for the increasing activity in building defences was the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337 and various smaller conflicts that lead up to it. (see Trabut-Cussac 1954; Vale 1990)

339 See Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig. 323; Doumerc 1976, plan of 1771; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp. 172-174 (after being newly built around 1289, the area of Mirepoix was reduced from 28 blocks to 9, when it was walled in 1364); idem, p. 185 (Carcassonne was newly built around 1262, and was walled in 1355, but this only affected the central core of about 65 street blocks, instead of the full layout which is said to have totaled 143 blocks. See also Mot 1963, p. 18)

340 In the plan of Septfonds published by Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p. 301), the central part around the church shows some odd irregularities with respect to the rest of the plan, while in the older plan of Lavedan & Huguency (1974, fig. 322) it is clear that this central part must be the old *sauveté*, remnants of the wall circuit of which are recognisable in the plan.

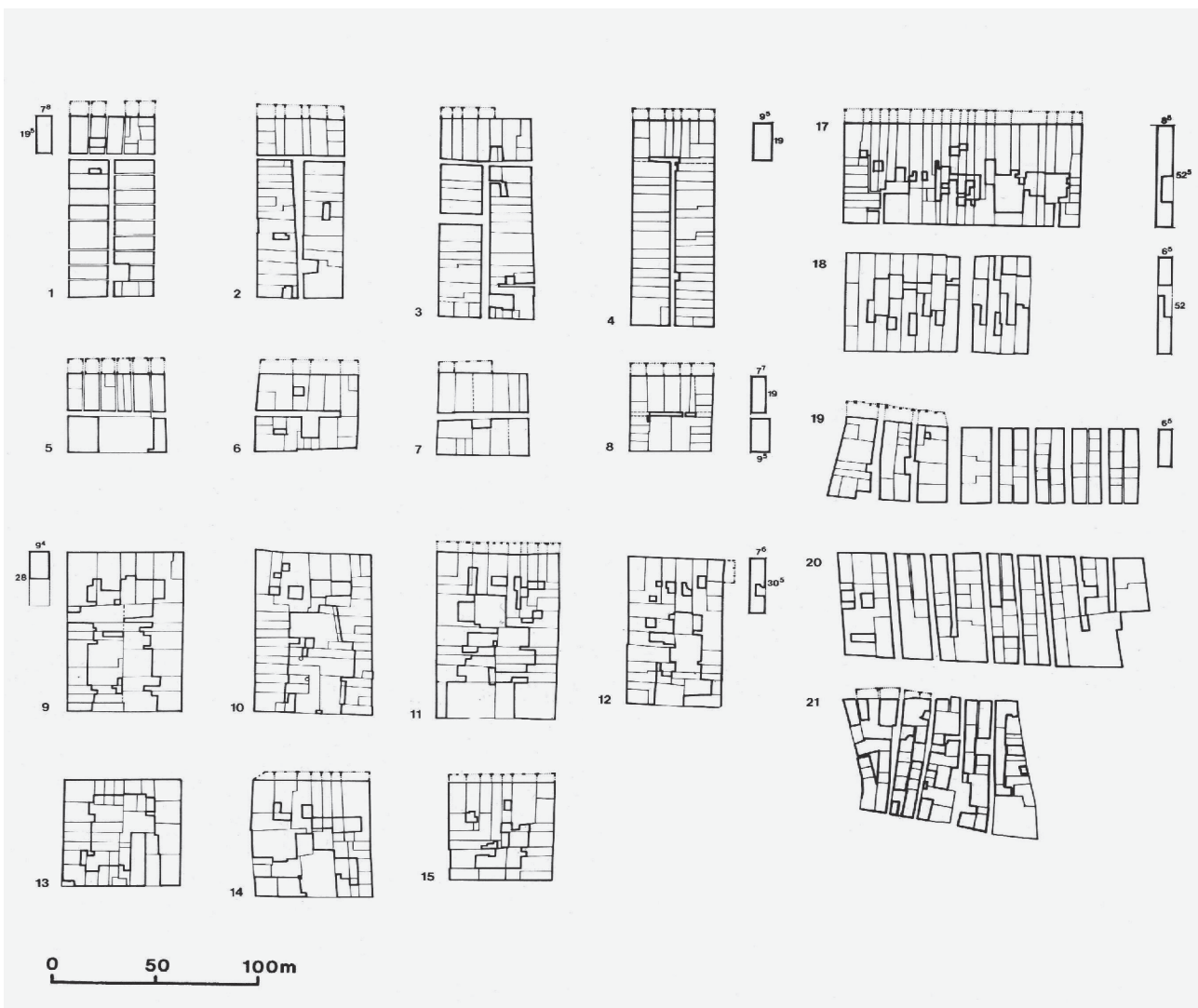


fig.2.34: Plans of street blocks in various bastides. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author)

- With alleys at the back of the lots: 1 and 5: Monpazier; 2: Eymet; 3 and 7: Miramont; 4 and 8: Villeneuve-sur-lot; 6: Monflanquin;
- Without alleys: 9 and 13: Grenade-sur-Garonne; 10 and 14: Cologne; 11: Marciac; 12: Gimont; 15: Mirande;
- With elongated lots and back streets (mainly to be found in the southern regions): 17: Mirande; 18: Nay;
- With elongated blocks which presumably developed from large elongated lots, separated by alleys, that were divided (typically for the Quercy-area): 19: Villefranche-de-Rouergue; 20: Caylus; 21: Villeneuve-d'Aveyron;

The small numbers in the lots that are separately depicted next to some of the blocks are the dimensions in meters.

plots and back alleys, while the other plots are much deeper and have no back alleys. On the other hand, however, one can only guess about how large the extension of 1280 was meant to be, since there is no very clear boundary separating it from still later additions.

2.10.4.3 Relief

It has already been mentioned above that the relief of the natural landscape often played a significant role in the choice of the specific layout of defensive circuits. Apart from that, the relief also had its influence on other aspects of the urban form. Bassoues, for instance, is built on a hillcrest (see fig.2.25), and it is clear that the form of the landscape has had a great influence on the form of this town. The central street, which is the main axis of the town, lies right on top of the hillcrest. The slight bend of the main street, and thereby of the whole urban structure, just to the west of the market place, is determined by the course of the hillcrest.³⁴¹ The market place is sited at the highest point.

³⁴¹ Comparable bends in the main axis of the plan structure determined by the form of the landscape can be found in the plans of, among others, La-Bastide-Clairence (Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.229), Gimont (idem, fig.242), Beaumont-du-Périgord (idem, fig.243, and fig.2.14 in the present study), Puymirol (idem, fig.247), Monréjeau (idem, fig.248), Castillonès (idem, fig.250), Valence-sur-Baïse (idem, fig.255), Monségur (idem, fig.288, and fig.2.13 in the present study) and Boulogne-sur-Gesse (idem, fig.342).

In many other *bastides* one may also find either the market place or the church at the highest point.³⁴² In Grenade-sur-Garonne, for instance, which was laid out on a fairly flat terrace in between the rivers Save and Garonne, the highest point is in the southern corner of the marketplace, from which point the streets slope down in every direction. (see fig. 2.22) The northwest-southeast street crossing this point is the highest street in town, along its whole course. It is no coincidence that this is also one of the two main streets of the town: at both ends there were bridges crossing the town ditch and the facade of the main church is faces this street.

Commonly, the plans are more regular when the terrain is more open and level. There are, however, exceptions to this general principle. Monflanquin, for instance, is sited on top of a rather steep hill. The form of the hill is reflected in the outline of the old town, which was formerly surrounded by a town wall that followed the contour line. But apart from that, the structure of the plan, which forms a somewhat irregular grid, does not hint at the fact that it is located on a hilltop. (fig. 2.31) As in various other *bastides*, the church was sited on the highest point of the town.

Even on flat sites in valleys or on plateaus the streets are never completely level, in order to allow for the draining of surface water. Often they follow the slight inclinations of the natural relief, which leads rainwater to streams.³⁴³ Alternatively, streets may have been given artificial inclinations. This can be seen, for example, in the *bastide* of Carcassonne, where the north-south streets in the northwest part of town were given inclinations so that the water is conducted to the west-east streets which, in turn, slope down to the river following the natural relief.³⁴⁴ Sometimes, it is clearly visible that streets were specifically laid out through natural gullies. For instance, in Monségur the street just northwest of the market place does not fit well in the regularity of the street system. One would have expected a street that extends from the west side of the market place in a northward direction; but instead, the street is sited somewhat further westward, so that it can conduct the rainwater from the deepest point of the main street (along the north side of the market place) in a northwesterly direction down the hill.³⁴⁵ (fig. 2.13)



fig. 2.35: Plan of Villefranche-de-Rouergue. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The town was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers of Toulouse in paréage with the bishop of Rodez in 1252. Characteristic of Villefranche and other *bastides* in the region (Aveyron-Quercy) are the narrow elongated blocks, divided by alleys. It seems likely that these blocks initially were separate lots.

342 See pars. 2.10.4.7 and 2.10.5.3.

343 This is the case, for example, in Septfonds, Mazères and Revel.

344 Without scrupulous archaeological research it can not be established whether this layout is really authentic, but, judging from the age of the buildings alongside the streets, the layout seems to be some centuries old at the least.

345 A similar situation is to be found in Beaumont-du-Périgord, where the third street south of the church is a small street that does not really fit in with the otherwise regular structure. (fig. 2.14) This street appears to be laid out here, in order to conduct the water in an eastward direction from the easternmost of the two parallel main streets, which lies in a slight depression here. Another similar case is the alley northward from the midpoint of the northern side of the market place at Granges. (see Lavedan & Huguéney 1974, fig. 315)

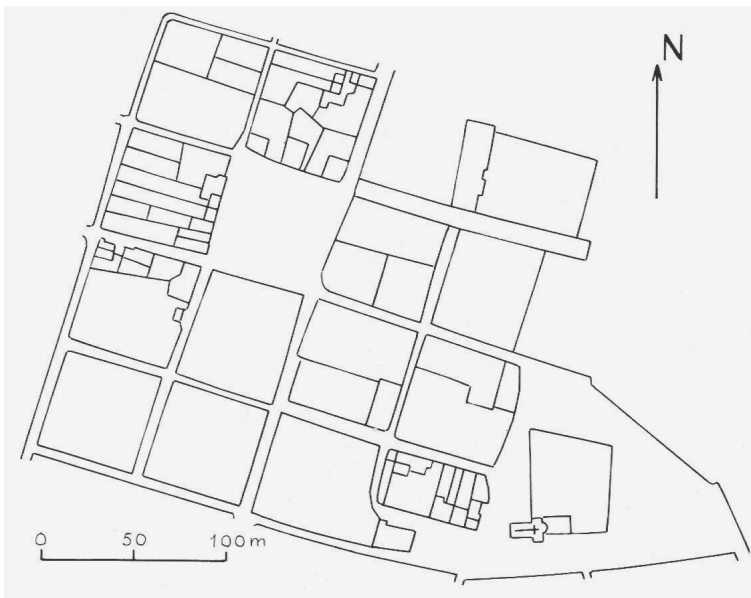


fig. 2.36: Plan of Beauvais. (From: Lavedan & Huguenev 1974) The town was founded by Jean de Marigny, bishop of Beauvais, on behalf of the French crown, in *paréage* with the lord of Tauriac in 1342. This plan, which is based on a 19th-century cadastral plan, clearly shows that the layout was meant for a larger population than it had in the 19th century, and probably ever before. The few houses are concentrated on the market place, as is generally the case in unsuccessful or shrunken towns, and on the church in the southeast corner.

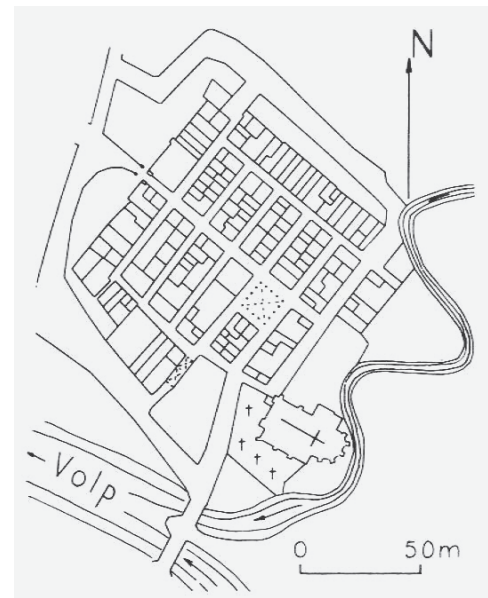


fig. 2.37: Plan of Le Plan. (From: Lavedan & Huguenev 1974) Le Plan was founded by the count of Comminges in 1366. The town has a so-called 'herringbone plan', with one main street and several residential streets perpendicular to it. The space for the square appears as though it were created by 'cutting out' a part of a street block. Compared to other bastides, the house lots are very small.

2.10.4.4 House lots

As almost everywhere else, the house lots in the *bastides* were preferably given an elongated rectangular form. The houses were meant to stand at the front of the lot, and behind each of them would be yards with gardens, workshops, sheds or stables.

Sometimes the *chartes de paréage* or the *coutumes* mention a standard size for the house lots or *ayrals*, as they were often called.³⁴⁶ Usually the dimensions of the lots are about 6 to 10 m. wide and 18 to 30 m. long, with proportions of width and length varying from 2:3 to 1:4.³⁴⁷ From *bastide* to *bastide* there could be quite a difference in the standard lot size, and in towns where no such standard was set there also could be a considerable difference between the individual lots. (fig. 2.32) And even in places where such standards were set in the official documents, there may have been sizeable variations in reality. In the course of time this variation grew, since in successful foundations the larger lots would be split up as the demand for house lots grew and, conversely, in less successful towns, lots remained empty or were amalgamated. It may still be noticed today how the difference in lot sizes can give various *bastides* a very different character. In Bretenoux, for instance, there is hardly any open space left in the walled core of the town; whereas in nearby Puybrun there still are large surfaces covered with gardens at the back of the plots. (fig. 2.33) This is caused by the fact that the original size of the plots was much smaller at Bretenoux. But another cause was that in Bretenoux an area of limited size (c.100 x 100 m.) was walled in the 14th century, while at Puybrun a much larger area of about 300 x 500 m. seems to have been moated later on, but remained largely unbuilt on in the peripheral parts for lack of settlers.

The average plot size in the *bastides* is smaller than in the new towns of Wales or many other northern European regions, and is closer to the sizes that can be found in towns in southern Europe.³⁴⁸ But like almost anywhere else, there were many towns where the actual plots were not laid out or actually distributed in as regular a form as may have originally been intended. Irregularities were often caused by the lack of homogeneity of the site, by limited clarity of the planned plot boundaries, by unforeseen developments

³⁴⁶ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.85. Sometimes a house lot was called a *localium* or *platea*. (Dubourg 1997, p.109)

³⁴⁷ See par.9.11 and appendix C.

³⁴⁸ See par.9.11 and appendix C.



fig. 2.38: Plan of La-Bastide-Clairence. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 1974) The town was founded by the viscount of Béarn in 1314. The outline of the town and the direction of the longitudinal streets, none of which is completely straight, are clearly determined by the form of the terrace in between the two streams, on which the town was built.

during the flocking in of settlers (as in the abovementioned example of Puybrun), or by the negligence of the determined lot dimensions.³⁴⁹

In many bastides there were also garden plots in the periphery, which were mostly called *cazals* or *cazalères*. Surrounding the town, there were agricultural plots, often called *journaux* or *ayrals*.³⁵⁰ These suburban plots will be treated below in paragraph 2.10.6.

2.10.4.5 Street blocks

As almost everywhere else, the house lots were arranged in rows or blocks, bordered by streets. Mostly, these blocks had a more or less rectangular form with more or less straight sides. But when the lots were irregular in form, or the bordering structures - mostly streets, but possibly a stream or the perimeter of the settlement - were not straight or not at right angles, the blocks might take on other forms.

Within the category of the more regular blocks, the proportions of the sides vary from about 1:1 to about 1:4. The facades of the houses are on the short side of the house lots, which is oriented towards a street or the market place. The short side of the lots usually is on the long side of the block, which normally is oriented on the more important streets. The perpendicular cross streets are of minor importance and are often less wide.³⁵¹

There are different sorts of street blocks with regular forms. (fig. 2.34) The most basic type is the simple row of plots, with the houses on the front of the lots facing one street, and the back of the lots on another street.³⁵² A somewhat more elaborate type of street block contains double rows of lots, lying back to back. Sometimes there are small alleys or back streets dividing the two rows. Street blocks that lie on two crossing primary streets, or on a primary street and the market place, often have a number of plots perpendicular to the other ones at the end of the block. In the cases where this is applied to the double-row block with a back street (or alley), this back street usually also has a perpendicular part at the end of the block, so that it is T-shaped in plan. (fig. 2.34, numbers 1-4) For bastides with regular plans it may be assumed that, in most cases, they were planned to have one type of block.³⁵³

In the Rouergue region there are bastides that are mainly built up of a rather different sort of street blocks. These towns do not mark a separate type in their whole plan, but (part of) their street blocks are distinct from most other bastides. These blocks seem to have been just two lots wide and were separated by narrow secondary streets perpendicular to the major streets. In most cases a narrow alley accommodating the flow of rainwater separated the houses on the two lots. Such blocks may be found in Villefranche-de-Rouergue, the bastide-extensions of Villeneuve-d'Aveyron and Caylus, and originally probably also in Labastide-l'Eveque and the extension of Najac.³⁵⁴

349 For the 'irregularisation' of theoretically regular plans and lots, see par.9.6.2.

350 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.85; Dubourg 1997, pp.110-111.

351 In many of the more successful settlements, there are also facades on the cross streets. But mostly this was only a secondary development, when the lots on the cross streets were divided and additional houses were built on them (for instance in Mirepoix, Cologne, and Créon). Only in a number of towns with residential streets at right angles to the main traffic streets, are the facades also oriented on the primary streets along the short sides of the blocks. These so-called 'fishbone plans' can be found in, among others, Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Le Plan. (figs.2.35, 2.37) In other bastides similar solutions were used for the street blocks that border the market place on their short side. (see below)

352 In successful settlements, as for instance Mirepoix, the plots in these kinds of street blocks are often divided in two, with additional houses built on the backside of the plot.

353 For the blocks adjacent to the crossings of primary streets or next to the market place, however, there commonly would be adapted blocks with house fronts on their perpendicular sides. (see above)

354 See Grimbert 1988; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.64, fig.A. Among the bastides this layout is rare, but in other regions of Europe one may find similar layouts



fig. 2.39: Plan of Tournay. (From: Lavedan & Huguency 1974) Tournay was founded by the French crown in *paréage* with the count of Astarac in 1307. A centralized plan like this is rare among the *bastides*. Strangely enough, a rather similar town plan can be found in the Czech Republic: Nový Jičín (see fig. 8.7). The location of the church, just outside the actual town, is less rare, but in this case it was only built in the 19th century.

the blocks originally consisted of four lots, each about 7.5 m. wide and about 17 to 30 m. long. This more or less corresponds with the *charte de fondation* of the town, which says that the standard lot was to measure 4 x 10 *cannes*, the *canne* being a rod of c. 1.8 - 2 m.³⁵⁵ In the following centuries, however, the lots were divided several times, so that, at the present time, there are many blocks that contain up to around 15 small house lots.³⁵⁶

2.10.4.6 Streets

As mentioned above, the streets in the *bastides* generally tend to be more or less straight. In most cases the streets, or in any case the 'front streets', were intended to have unbroken building lines.³⁵⁷ It is not always explicitly mentioned in the *coutumes*, but it seems that it was generally forbidden to build structures attached to the house fronts that projected into the street.³⁵⁸

In some cases the width of the streets was prescribed in the *paréage* or the *coutumes*.³⁵⁹ Very wide streets of around 20 m., as can be found in some newly founded towns in Wales or elsewhere in Northern Europe, are very rare in the *bastides*. The usual width was about 6 to 10 m.³⁶⁰

In many of the *bastides* with more than one street, a basic hierarchy of streets can be recognised by their width. According to the *chartes de fondation* of Ribouisse, Lignairolles and Mirepoix, all three of which were (re-)founded by Gui de Lévis, lord of Mirepoix in the 1270's, the main streets were to be 4 *brassées* wide, and the secondary streets just 3.³⁶¹ From an analysis of the urban form of Monpazier it appears that the main streets must have been planned 24 feet wide, the secondary ones 16, and the alleys must have been 6 feet wide.³⁶² The most important streets were generally the ones that connected the heart of the town (usually the market place) with the interregional road network. In Libourne the main street, the *magna carreyra*, was to be no less than 11 m. wide.³⁶³ The secondary streets could be residential streets with little function for traffic apart from opening up to the house lots, or cross streets on which no facades were planned.³⁶⁴ Such primary and secondary streets were called *carreyras*, because they could be traversed with a cart. Sometimes the main

from about the same period, as in Vessalico and Castelfranco Bolognese in Italy, Great Yarmouth and Edinburgh in Great Britain. (see Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.64; Guidoni 1992 (II), fig.121; Aston & Bond 1976, fig.23) In Villefranche and Vessalico this layout is clearly a planned one. In other places the alleys along the length of the lots do not seem to have been planned initially; they probably were created in order to give access to later sub-tenements on the back of the elongated original lots, as in Chambéry in France or Leeds in England. (see Beresford 1967, fig.38)

355 Grimbert 1988, p.51; Zupko 1978.

356 Calmettes 1986, p.64.

357 See par.2.10.5.5.

358 In the *coutumes* of Mirepoix there is an article that prescribed that 'the streets must stay at the alignment and that nobody has the right to build on the public road' ('les rues doivent rester à l'alignement et que nul n'a le droit d'empiéter sur la voie publique', Courtieu 1988, p.84).

359 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99. In Monségur, for instance, the streets were to be 24 ft. wide.

360 Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.56; Randolph 1994, p.294. According to Weyres (1969, p.68) the main streets were often 24 ft. wide.

361 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74. The *brassée* was the length of two arms extended from the tips of the middle fingers, usually between 5 and 6 feet. (Zupko 1978, p.30)

362 Shillaber 1947, p.302.

363 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99.

364 For instance, in Miramont-de-Guyenne the primary streets were about 10 m. wide and the secondary ones about 7 m.; in Mirande it was 9 and 6 m., respectively; in Monpazier 8 and 6 m.; in Carcassonne 6 and 5 m.; and in Villefranche-de-Rouergue the primary streets were about 6 m. wide and the secondary ones (at right angles to them) about 3 m. (Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.67, n.1; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99)

streets were distinguished as *viae*.³⁶⁵ In towns built on terrain with significant inclination, the primary (longitudinal) streets are mostly laid out in the least steep direction, while the secondary (cross) streets are steeper, sometimes even paved with steps.³⁶⁶

As explained above in paragraph 2.5.1, many *bastides* were enclosed with a town wall later in their history. In most cases, the wall circuit was laid out in such a way that it was most convenient for defensive purposes and least expensive. This meant that not every street could end in a gate, so a selection had to be made of where to place the gates (usually there were four). This often meant that not all primary streets terminated in gates, and that sometimes secondary streets actually did. Since street frontage on busy streets was commercially important for shopkeepers, this generally meant that the value of property on a primary street decreased when it was blocked by a town wall, and that it increased on a secondary street which had direct access via a town gate.

Apart from the main streets and secondary streets, many *bastides* had back streets or alleys of about 1 to 3 m. wide.³⁶⁷ These served to give access to the back of the lots, and also functioned as sewers to drain the rain water from the back of the lots. These back streets and alleys appear in the documents as *ruelle*, *ruette*, *venelle* or *carreyrou*. In many cases they were progressively built over and annexed by the owners of the neighbouring lots during the centuries, so that only fragments are left at present.³⁶⁸

Not all *bastides*, however, had this distinction of different kinds of streets, if only for the fact that many had no more than one or two streets. Until the 18th century most streets in the *bastides* remained unpaved. Open sewers were often in the centre of the street, until gutters on the sides of the streets and sidewalks were introduced in the 19th century.³⁶⁹

2.10.4.7 Market places

In towns of earlier periods, castles, monasteries or churches were the most common focal points of the settlement.³⁷⁰ In the *bastides*, however, the market place generally was the social, economic, symbolic and spatial centre of the town. From the prominent position and significant surface area of the market place in most *bastides* one can read the importance of trade for the creation of the towns. The symbolic importance of the market place is underlined by the fact that the foundation ritual with the *pal* was usually performed in the centre of the market place and that the municipal institutions would normally be sited on or at the place, as it is generally called in French.³⁷¹

Mostly, the market place was sited right in the centre of town. But if it was not, it was still most often the spatial centre in the sense that the main roads usually passed the place or even crossed there. In most cases it seems that the first houses of a new *bastide* were built on the market place, followed by houses on the main streets and subsequently on the secondary streets. Normally, the



fig.2.40: Plan of Damazan. (From: Lavedan & Huguenev 1974) Damazan was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers in *paréage* with the abbot of Fontgailleau in 1269. It is remarkable how a fairly regular allotment is still visible along the four main streets that pass by the square, but that no such regular allotment is present in the corners of the town, although we can be fairly sure that it was originally also planned there. The reason for this is probably that there were not enough settlers in the town to actually take up lots and build houses there, while the main streets were more popular locations.

³⁶⁵ Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.56; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99.

³⁶⁶ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.100.

³⁶⁷ Often they were 1 *canne* or 1 *brasse* wide, which is about 2 m. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99)

³⁶⁸ Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.56-57. In Villeneuve-sur-Lot, for instance, the back streets, after slowly being annexed, were completely turned over to the owners of the adjacent lots in 1845, after which their structure disappeared almost completely. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99)

³⁶⁹ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.100.

³⁷⁰ See pars.2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

³⁷¹ Randolph 1994, p.300; see also par.2.6; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.101.



fig.2.41: Photograph of the market place of Marciac, taken from the church tower, to the southwest. (From: postcard Eric Teissedre / Diagram) With dimensions of about 75 x 130 m. the market place of Marciac is one of the largest to be found in any of the bastides.

market place remained central for as long as there were no features in the landscape that impeded growth in all directions.³⁷² When the town was not successful and remained very small or, later on, even shrank, the few houses mostly remained concentrated on the place. (fig.2.36)

Unlike the contemporary new towns of Wales, most *bastides* have real market places. In Wales, as well as in various other regions of Europe, the market was mostly held in a widened street, but this is relatively rare in the *bastides*. Some *bastides* have market places of irregular form, but often they are more or less rectangular, and many of these are nearly square.

The rectangular ones are mostly to be found in *bastides* with more or less regular grid plans. Amongst these some basic sorts may be discerned: fairly often part of a street block seems to be 'cut out' in order to create room for the market place (fig.2.37), in a few cases this is done symmetrically on both sides of the main street (see figs.2.25-2.27, 2.38), and many market places appear as though a complete street block is left open (figs.2.20-2.22, 2.28, 2.33, 2.36)³⁷³. A special case of this last sort of market place is the one in which it is clear that it was not simply a random block left open, but where it can clearly be recognised as the actual core of the whole structure of the town plan. This is the case in Tournay, where the whole structure of lots sort of radiates from the square, with streets in a more or less square circuit around it. (fig.2.39) This plan, however, is unique among the *bastides*.³⁷⁴ More often one may find the sort of plan like those of Damazan or Grenade-sur-Garonne, where the square market place appears to have been the basis of the plan, with four straight streets laid out along its sides and extending from it, most of the other street blocks being elongated rectangles instead of squares. These street blocks were made elongated in order to save on street space in favour of space for house lots.³⁷⁵ (figs.2.14, 2.20 - 2.22, 2.40) From these cases, it appears that there was a preference for square market places.

In many *bastides* the market place is so large that it seems to be over-dimensioned in relation to the rest of the town. Often this appears to have been the result of an arrested or negative development of the

³⁷² In Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, for instance, it seems that the relatively peripheral location of the market square within the pre-20th-century town was a result of the fact that the town could not grow in a northwesterly direction because the river Lot impeded this, while the tributary stream to the southwest of the town blocked growth in that direction. (see fig.2.21)

³⁷³ In Rabastens-de-Bigorre even two blocks are left open. (see Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.346)

³⁷⁴ Among the *bastides* this plan is unique, but in Czechia two more or less similar plans can be found in the roughly contemporary newly founded towns of Nový Jičín and Vysoké Mýto. (see figs. 529 and 524 in Lavedan & Huguency 1974 and fig.8.7 in this study)

³⁷⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the plan of Grenade-sur-Garonne, see par.6.3.3.1.

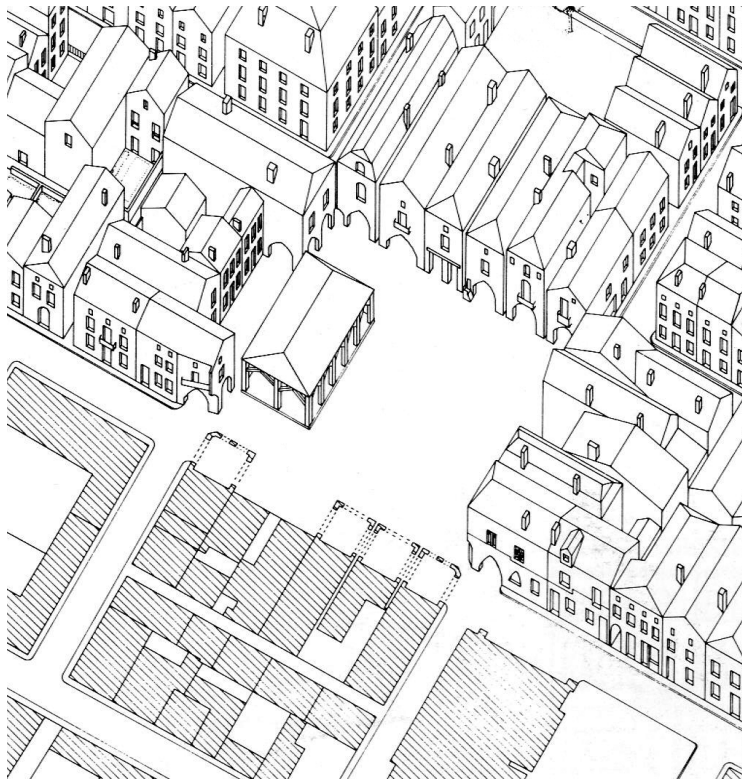


fig. 2.42: Isometric drawing of the market place of Monpazier. (From: Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985) This view clearly shows how the streets along the sides of the market square are built over with the projecting upper storeys of the houses. (cf. fig. 2.20)

town for lack of settlers or demographic decline.³⁷⁶ But in many other cases with relatively large market places it seems that the town was not planned much larger than it has actually become.³⁷⁷ In the bastides with regular plans and full rectangular market places ('deleted blocks'), the sides of the *place* mostly are between 40 and 70 m. long, most frequently just under 50 m.³⁷⁸ The largest rectangular market places can be found in Marciac (c.75 x 130 m., see fig. 2.41), Revel (c.120 x 120 m.), Rabastens-de-Bigorre (c.70 x 145 m.) and Trie-sur-Baïse (c.70 x 125 m., with the church built on it).³⁷⁹

The houses that flank the market place often have upper stories that project over the public space, supported by arcades or posts. (fig. 2.42) It has often been assumed that these galleries, generally called *couverts*, were planned with the very origin of the towns, to enclose the market place all around. This is, however, a mistake that followed from the over-generalised traditional idea of the archetypical *bastide*.³⁸⁰ The *couverts* were only built later on, and were generally built separately by the individual owners of the houses.³⁸¹

In many of the larger *bastides* a market hall was built on the market place.³⁸² (figs. 2.42, 2.46-48) Much like the *couverts*, however, they were often demolished in the 19th or 20th century. Most market places were also furnished with a well or a cistern and a market cross.³⁸³ In some *bastides* the church was built in the market place.³⁸⁴ More often, however, one may find the church on one of the sides along the *place* or in a corner just off the *place*.³⁸⁵

As mentioned above, the market place was often sited at the highest point in the *bastide*. This is the case, for instance in Alan, Miramont-de-Guyenne, Libourne, Grenade-sur-Garonne and Bassoues.³⁸⁶ (figs. 2.6, 2.22, 2.25) In a number of towns, the original market places have been encroached upon in later times, as for instance in Saint-Denis.³⁸⁷ (fig. 2.54) This may have been partly caused by the rebuilding of market stalls in stone.

A curious case is Albiac. The *charte* (1287) of this town mentions, oddly enough, that the town was to have three *places*, each of them having an area of one *cestayrée*.³⁸⁸ In the modern plan of the town, however, only two open spaces, of very different forms and sizes, can be seen, so it may be doubted whether the initial plan was ever carried out.³⁸⁹ Some *bastides* had a special open space in which annual fairs could be held. Usually this was just outside the town in a common field.³⁹⁰

376 Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.71-72. See for instance Beauvais (fig.2.36), Villefranche-d'Astarac and Bretagne-d'Armagnac (Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.332 and 333).

377 See, for instance, Tournay (above fig.2.39), Grenade-sur-Adour (Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.296), Rébénacq (idem, fig.299), Gan (idem, fig.300), Nay (idem, fig.303), Caudecoste (idem, fig.313), Plaisance-du-Gers (idem, fig.334) and Sauveterre-d'Aveyron (idem, fig.362).

378 Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.73.

379 For Rabastens-de-Bigorre and Trie-sur-Baïse, see Lavedan & Huguency 1974, figs.346, 348.

380 See par.2.10.3.1.

381 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.103; Randolph 1994, pp.294-295; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.122; see also par.2.10.5.5.

382 See par.2.10.5.4.

383 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.94. In most *bastides* there were more wells, for instance on street crossings, or private wells in back yards. But the main well was generally sited in the market place, most often in an eccentric position. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.113)

384 For instance: Réalmont, Briatexte and Arthès (see Lavedan & Huguency 1974, figs.350-353).

385 For instance, respectively at Bretenoux (fig.2.33), Villefranche-de-Rouergue (fig.2.35); Monségur (fig.2.13), Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig.2.14), Monpazier (fig.2.20), Ste. Foy-la-Grande (fig.2.21); Cordes (fig.2.11), Grenade-sur-Garonne (fig.2.22), Gimont (fig.2.27), Beauvais (fig.2.36) and Le Plan (fig.2.37). See also par.2.10.5.3.

386 See also Weyres 1969, p.66.

387 See also Saint-Louis (Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.308), Verfeil-sur-Seye (idem, fig.323), and Mirepoix (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.174).

388 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74. The *cestayrée* generally measured between 15 and 50 are. (Zupko 1978, p.162)

389 See Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.327.

390 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.101. In Pampelonne this field is still clearly visible in the large triangular place in the *faubourg* of the town. (idem, p.297)

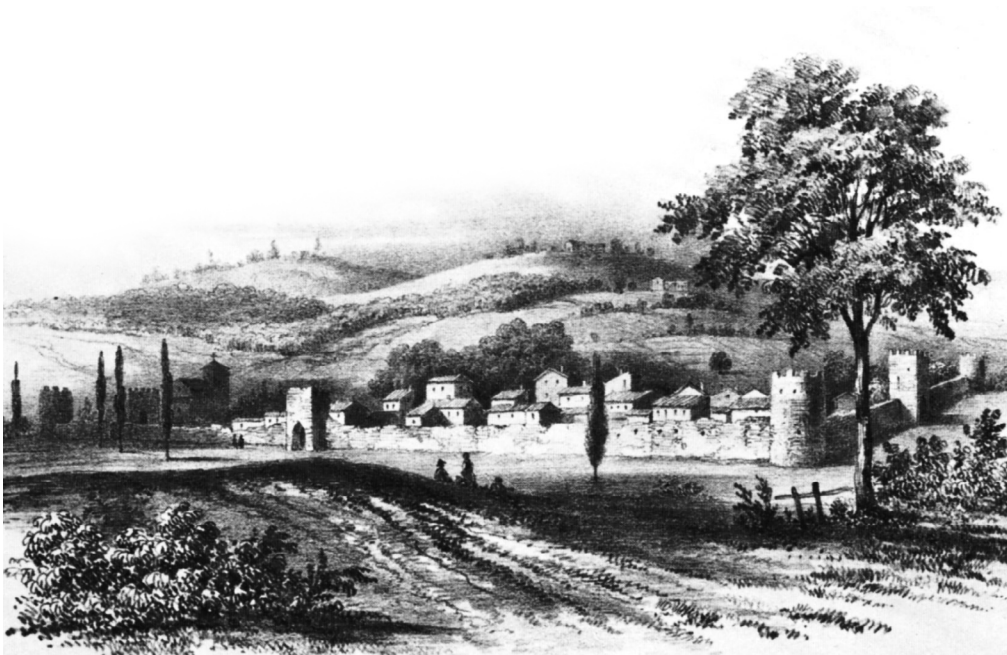


fig. 2.43: Lithograph of Vianne, seen from the north, by Bichebois & Philippe, 1840. (From: Higouet 1984) The town was founded by the local lord of Montgailard and Jean de Grailly, sénéchal of the English crown, in 1284. The stone walls and gates were probably only built in the first half of the 14th century. Vianne is one of the few bastides where the fortifications have been preserved quite well up to the present time.

2.10.5 Architectural elements

In this paragraph the different sorts of buildings and defences that were originally built in or around the *bastides* will be briefly discussed. Unfortunately, not much is known about these original structures. The various functional types of architectural elements are treated in subparagraphs, ordered according to their general size, from great to small.

2.10.5.1 Town defences

As explained above, the general image of the *bastides* as being, originally, heavily fortified towns, is a misconception.³⁹¹ At least a number of *bastides* were originally surrounded by simple ditches, possibly supplied by earthen banks with thorny hedges or wooden palisades.³⁹² Later on, mainly in the 14th and 15th centuries, more and more *bastides* were being fortified with stone walls.³⁹³ The town community had to ask the lord of the town for permission to fortify it. If this was permitted, the lord would usually dedicate a specific part of his income from the town to meet the costs.³⁹⁴ When stone walls were built, it was more or less normal that the lord took care for the building of the gates (usually four per town), and that the community was responsible for the building of the walls.³⁹⁵

Of the original ditches, earthen banks and palisades hardly anything has been preserved and, therefore, not much is known about their form. Many of the stone walls have been dismantled since the 18th century, but some of them have remained. At Cordes, Domme and Vianne a large part of the wall circuits is preserved, and at many other places smaller fragments remain. (figs. 2.11, 2.16, 2.43) It is hard to make general remarks about the architectural form of the stone walls and gates, since there appear to have been a wide variety of forms. The walls generally were between one and two metres wide, generally were built of cut or broken stone or boulders, though sometimes they were (partly) made of brick. At the corners of the circuit, and on long stretches in between, there were wall towers of rounded or rectangular plan. The gates mostly had a rectangular plan with a low tower above.³⁹⁶

³⁹¹ See par. 2.5.1. Possible exceptions, however, were Cordes (founded 1222), Domme (1281) and possibly Monpazier (1284). These towns were walled relatively early in their respective lives. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131)

³⁹² See par. 2.10.4.2.

³⁹³ An important reason for the increasing defence works was the outbreak of the Hundred Years War in 1337. (see Trabut-Cussac 1954)

³⁹⁴ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.124.

³⁹⁵ Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.91, 96, 98, 102, 134; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.133; see also par.9.17.

³⁹⁶ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.133.



fig. 2.44: Plan of Villeréal. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The town was founded by Count Alphonse de Poitiers of Toulouse, the abbot of Aurillac and the lord of Biron in 1267. The church is located in a small settlement core of irregular form, which is older than the bastide.

The subject of the outline form of the wall circuits has already been discussed above.³⁹⁷ The town gates were normally placed at the end of the main streets. Mostly there was a street or path along the inside of the wall circuit, but often it was gradually annexed by the owners of the adjoining plots.³⁹⁸

2.10.5.2 Castles

Some bastides were founded next to existing castles.³⁹⁹ Others were planned together with adjoining new castles or had a castle built next to them later on.⁴⁰⁰

Montségur (Ariège) for instance, was an old ‘castrum’ of the lords of Mirepoix, located on a hilltop. It is well known because the supposedly ‘last Albigensians’ were besieged there in 1243-44 by the armies of the French crown. After the castle had fallen, the community was relocated in a new bastide at the foot of the mountain, and the castle was rebuilt so that the bastide and the surrounding countryside could be controlled by the vassals of the crown. Similar transfers of power and settlements occurred in a number of other places where old castles had been conquered by the crusaders or the royal armies.⁴⁰¹

In the *chartes de paréage* of a number of ‘English’ bastides the possibility is reserved for the king to build a castle in or next to the town.⁴⁰² At Beaumarchès it even happened that two *paréage*-lords of the town both had a castle built near the bastide.⁴⁰³

It is hard to discern general characteristics typical for the castles associated with the bastides. Of course, the castles were preferably built on the best defensible site available: on a high point with steep sides, as at Montségur, or (partly) surrounded by water, as at Bellocq. When the castle was sited directly adjoining the town, it was most often at a corner of the town’s outline. (see fig. 2.25)

2.10.5.3 Ecclesiastical houses

As with new towns of the same period in other parts of Europe, the bastides were preferably set up as distinct parishes, in order to make them into real social communities. But the existing religious institutions generally

³⁹⁷ See par. 2.10.4. 2.

³⁹⁸ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.134.

³⁹⁹ For instance Cazals, Domme, Palaminy and Saint-Sulpice-le-Point.

⁴⁰⁰ For example, the castles of Molières, Beauregard and Eymet were built some decades after the town foundations. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.137)

⁴⁰¹ Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.135-136. Other examples are Roquefixade, Dun, Lagarde, Najac and Penne-d’Albigeois.

⁴⁰² For instance at Pimbo, Saint-Gein, Montguilhem and Geaune-en-Tursan. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.136)

⁴⁰³ Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.124.

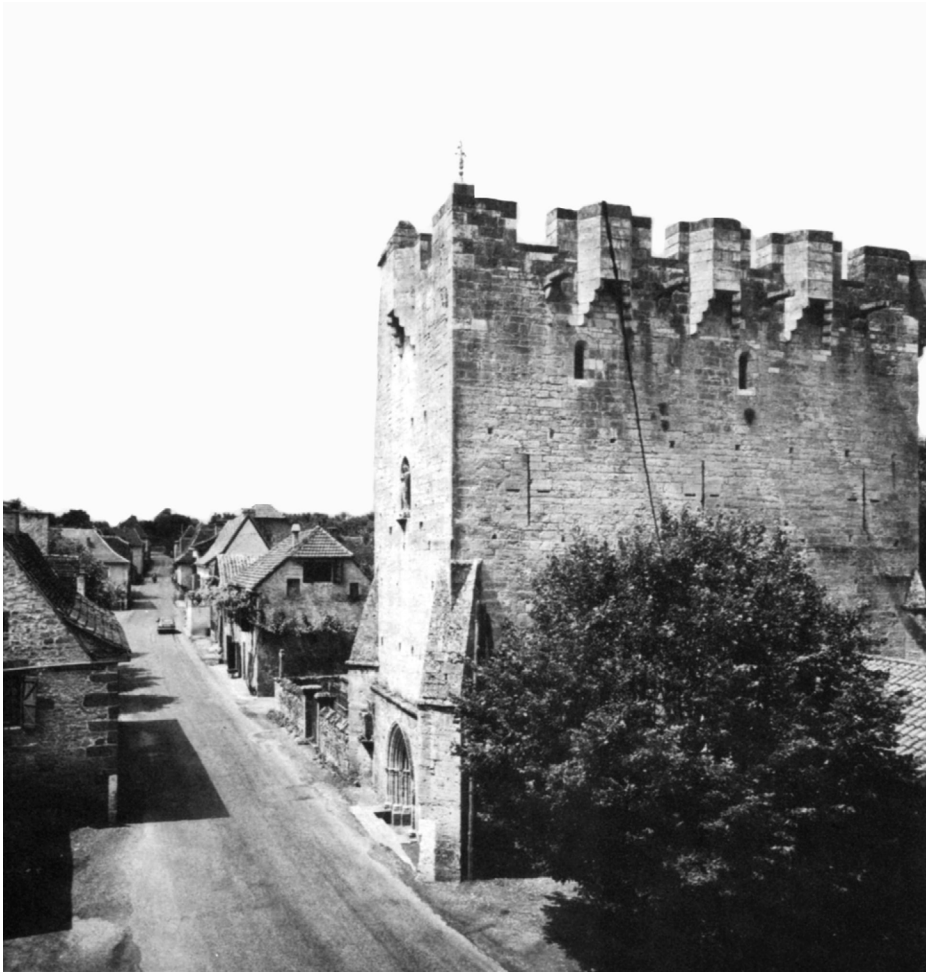


fig.2.45: Fortified chapel at Rudelle. Photograph taken from the southeast, with view through the main street of the town.

(From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The chapel was built around 1300, about half a century after the town was founded. The inhabitants of the unwalled town could seek refuge in the building in times of danger, for which eventuality there was a well in the building for drinking water. In 1639 the chapel still served as stronghold.

were not eager to change the existing ecclesiastical organisation.⁴⁰⁴ In many bastides, chapels would be turned into parochial churches only after many years: in Créon for instance, the chapel of 1320 became a parish church only around 1500, and at Monflanquin the 14th-century church only became a parish church

after the small older church below the town had become a ruin in 1714. Many other bastides, however, would never become distinct parishes. In some cases they even remained divided between two pre-existing parishes.⁴⁰⁵

A small number of bastides were centred on older churches with small settlements that were incorporated into them or re-structured. In Villeréal, for instance it is clearly visible that the new town incorporated a small rounded settlement which centred on a church.⁴⁰⁶ (fig.2.44) In Lisle-sur-Tarn only the church of the older settlement, which appears to have been demolished in 1229, remained after the town was re-founded later on.⁴⁰⁷ Much the same happened in other towns, such as Vianne and Sainte-Livrade.

In most bastides the building of a church was undoubtedly foreseen with the foundation of the town. The 1325 *charte de fondation* of Saint-Louis in the Périgord actually mentions that the inhabitants were to be responsible for the building of a church, as well as other communal edifices such as bridges, wells and town walls. The construction of the church commonly only began some decades later, when the new settlement had proven to be more or less successful by actually attracting settlers. Especially between about 1280 and 1350, many churches and chapels were under construction.⁴⁰⁸ Before a real church was built, however, a small chapel built of wood may have already been standing in its place.⁴⁰⁹

The church building often served more functions than purely religious ones. Large public meetings were often held in the church. In Beaumont-de-Lomagne for instance, the consuls and other communal officials were chosen in the church every year on December 27. In some cases the church tower contained the town prison.⁴¹⁰

Many churches also served as places of refuge when towns were threatened by hostile forces. In their early history, the bastides were still unwalled, and the church was about the only solid stone building, which made it

404 See par.9.18; Beresford 1967, pp.169-175.

405 As, for instance, in Labastide-Castel-Amouroux. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.119)

406 The fortified church is from the 14th century, but most probably it replaced a predecessor. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.305)

407 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.119, 268-269, 292. Other examples of bastides founded at the locations of older churches (and settlements) are Saint-Ybars, Saint-Clar, Vianne, Sainte-Livrade, Saint-Sardos and Cazères.

408 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.119.

409 Randolph 1994, pp.293-294.

410 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.121.

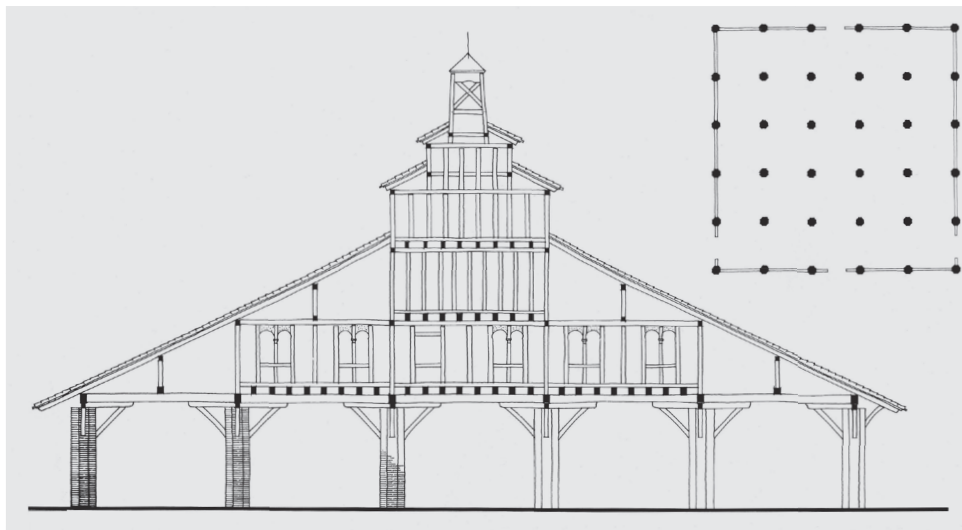


fig. 2.46: Market and town hall of Grenade-sur-Garonne, section and plan. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) This market hall dates from the 14th century, and is probably the only one which still largely survives from that time. The brick pillars and timber structure carry a timber frame town hall on the 2nd to 4th floor. The building is crowned by a small bell-tower.

the best place to seek refuge. Probably, it was also important that people believed that they would be most safe in the church because they were under God's protection there. The fact that many churches were built with the secondary purpose of defence can be read from their architecture, which is solid and closed, and sometimes even with machicolations and loopholes. Most bell towers also served as watchtowers, since they were the highest buildings in the towns.⁴¹¹ The churches of Villeréal, Montjoie en Beaumont-de-Lomagne, for instance, were fairly heavily fortified. The church of Rudelle even looks like a stronghold rather than a church.⁴¹² (fig. 2.45) In Castelnau-de-Lévis, Labastide-de-Lévis and Lisle-sur-Tarn (among others) there are churches which have fortified towers.⁴¹³ Many churches were, however, only fortified in the Hundred Years War.⁴¹⁴

As already mentioned above, there are cases where the church is located in the middle of the *place*. (figs. 2.24) In others it is located adjacent the market place (figs. 2.33, 2.35) and, particularly in *bastides* with regular grid plans, the church was often built in a block just off the market place, but visibly connected with it diagonally through one of the corners of the *place*. (figs. 2.13, 2.20, 2.21, 2.25, 2.40) In many cases, however, the church is located somewhat further from the *place*. Sometimes there is just one street block in between the two (figs. 2.11, 2.22, 2.27), but often the church was sited further towards the periphery of the town (figs. 2.10, 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, 2.39), most often somewhere along the main street.

Generally it is not known whether the location of the church was planned right from the outset of the creation of the town, but in many cases that may be assumed.⁴¹⁵ An advantage of the peripheral locations was that there the church and the cemetery did not take up valuable space that could easily be rented out; in some cases, however, an additional motive may have been that in the periphery the church could better function as a defensive structure. In a number of towns there are fortified churches in the outline of the town, which may have been walled later on or at about the same time as the building of the church.⁴¹⁶

Quite often, the church was sited at the highest point of the town.⁴¹⁷ This may have been the reason that the church was located at a specific place within the town, such as at the market place or in the periphery. In a number of cases, though, the church could be sited at the edge of the town and at the market place at the same time, when there was only one street block in between the two. This is the case, for instance, in Beaumont-du-Périgord and Montréal-du-Gers, which are both sited on narrow ridges with steep sides. In these places the outline of the town follows the relief, and therefore it has an elongated form, with the market place near to the outline. (figs. 2.14, 2.28)

411 Rey 1925, pp.132-169; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.121.

412 The chapel was built around 1300 for the lord of Lacapelle-Merleval, whose predecessor had founded the town about half a century before. The consuls of the town held the keys to the church, and there was a well in the building that served as a supply of drinking water. In 1639 the church still served as a place of refuge within the unwalled town. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.245)

413 Rey 1925, p.138.

414 In 1354, for instance, the community of Trie-sur-Baïse (founded in 1323) received permission from the crown to fortify the church and the town itself, for which purpose a part of the royal revenues from the *bastide* were reserved. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.124) The cathedral of Mirepoix was also turned into a defensive structure in this period, which led to a conflict between the consuls and the bishop over who had the right to hold the keys to the church. (Rey 1925, p.139)

415 For instance, the location of the church within the town must probably have been planned right from the outset when the church was built adjacent to the market place, at the side or in the corner, since houses would have been built there otherwise.

416 See, for instance, the fortified churches at Rudelle, Montbrun, Carcassonne, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue, Caudecoste and Cologne. Many other churches also lie in the outline of towns, whether or not they are part of the town wall, but are less evidently fortified: for instance Montréal-du-Gers (fig.2.28), Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig.2.14), Monflanquin (fig.2.31), Castillonès, Molières, Valence-sur-Baïse, Bellocq, Saint-Pastour and Monclar.

417 For instance in Réalville, Domme, Cordes (fig.2.11), Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig.2.14), Monflanquin (fig.2.31), Cazals, Septfonds and Pampelonne.



fig. 2.47: Market and town hall of Villeréal. This hall was probably rebuilt in the 18th century, replacing an earlier building.



fig. 2.48: Market hall of Gimont, with view through the main street. Photograph from the northwest, c.1955. This market hall probably dates from the 15th century. It is remarkable for being built over the main street of the town, just like the market hall of Bassoues. (see figs. 2.26-27)

It might well be that one of the motives for the siting of churches on locations where they were easily visible from outside the town, was to enhance their symbolic power. Not only did the church buildings give strength because of their solid stone walls, they were also revered for being the ‘house of God’. It was a taboo to damage a church or to harm people in it, and it could therefore provide some degree of protection even when it was not fortified. It is known from written sources concerning other towns that churches or monasteries were believed to provide protection to towns through divine intervention.⁴¹⁸

When regarding the siting of churches within the structure of the *bastide* plans one should not only consider their location but also their orientation. According to liturgical tradition, churches had to be oriented east-west, with the choir to the east: literally ‘oriented’. Considerable deviations from this rule seem to have been acceptable, since most churches in general were only roughly oriented eastward.⁴¹⁹ This is also the case with the churches in the *bastides*. In most instances it is impossible to determine why a church was oriented with a considerable variance from the east. In the *bastides* with regular plans, however, a clear distinction can be made between churches that are adapted in their orientation to the general orientation of the structure of the town plan. Such is the case in Sainte-Foy-la-Grande or Grenade-sur-Garonne (figs. 2.21, 2.22), which was more common, and churches that freely diverged from the norm in order to be oriented more accurately, as in Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig. 2.14), Saint-Pastour and Hastingues.⁴²⁰ It seems that in the one case spatial harmony was considered more important than liturgical prescriptions, while in the other case it was the other way around.

⁴¹⁸ Haverkamp 1987, p.137.

⁴¹⁹ See Price 1955, p.9.

⁴²⁰ For Saint-Pastour, Hastingues and Pavie, see Lavedan & Huguency 1974, figs.254, 256, 283. A remarkable case is the church of Montréal-du-Gers, which diverges from the grid of the town plan, following the edge of the plateau rather than the grid, even though this grid is more or less oriented. (see fig.2.28) The reason for this was to incorporate the side wall of the church into the defences of the town, which also follow the edge of the plateau.

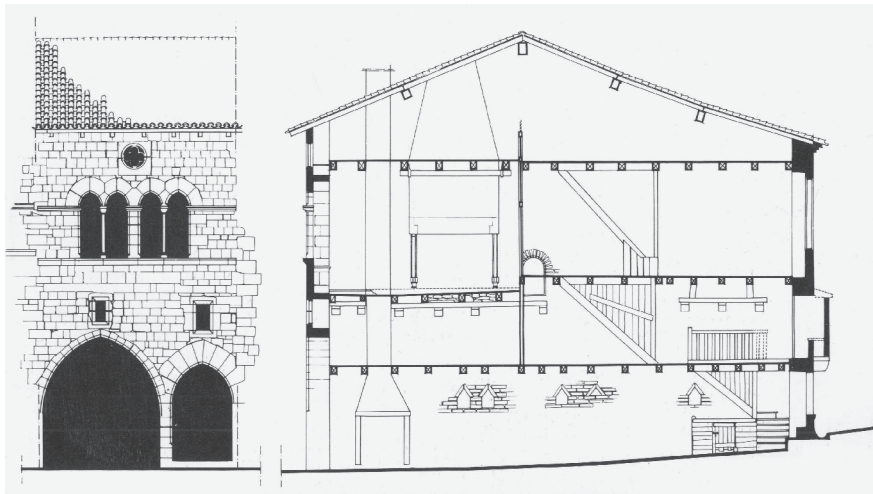


fig. 2.49: House of late 13th or 14th-century origin, Lauzerte. Facade and plan. (from: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) A house like this, with a really urban character, built largely of stone and brick, was relatively costly and luxurious. The houses of the first generation in a newly founded town would normally not be as luxurious as this one. The section shows that the floor levels were altered at some moment in time, in order to provide room for an extra level.

Every parish had a cemetery, which often lay right next to the church. In many cases where the cemetery lay in the middle of a densely built settlement, as in Villeneuve-sur-Lot and Monpazier, they have been cleared in the 19th or 20th century to make room for parks or automobile parking spaces.⁴²¹

In the chartes of several bastides it is mentioned that a hospital was to be founded in the new town, commonly to be run by a feminine religious order. Unfortunately no such early hospital has been preserved.⁴²² Religious houses of other sorts, such as monasteries and friaries, eventually settled in many of the larger bastides. When a religious order was one of the founders of a town, it was usually explicitly stated in the charte de paréage that no other orders could settle in the town.⁴²³

2.10.5.4 Market halls and town halls

In many *bastides* a market hall was built within the market place itself. Often it would be an open structure with a large roof supported by pillars of wood or stone, standing right in the middle of the market place.⁴²⁴ In many cases the same building also housed spaces for communal and administrative use on the second floor, by which the building also formed a town hall or *maison de consuls*, as it was often called.⁴²⁵ Many of these halls were demolished in the 19th and 20th centuries. Of the ones that still stand, many are thought to be ‘medieval’, but actually they were only created in 16th to 18th centuries. In most cases it is likely, though, that they had predecessors from not long after the date of town foundation.⁴²⁶

It seems likely that the building of market halls was often foreseen with the planning of the town. In the *coutumes* of Revel (1342) the creation of a public market place was permitted along with the building of a market hall combined with town hall on it. Later on, though, when the hall was actually built in 1377, the community had to obtain a special dispensation to do it, for which 200 livres had to be paid to the *sénéchal* of the French crown. The hall also housed a prison, meat counters, grain measures and a small bell tower.⁴²⁷ The community of Réalmont only obtained similar permission for its hall in 1341, almost 70 years after the town was founded. The market hall of Grenade-sur-Garonne is one of the few that still largely dates from the 14th century. It is a quite large building, with 36 pillars of brick supporting a timber roof with a smaller timber frame town hall on the second to fourth floors.⁴²⁸ (fig. 2.46) More or less similar structures were erected in other *bastides*, such as Cordes, where the present hall possibly still dates from 1353, and Villeréal. (fig. 2.47) It is not true, however, that this was a standard type that could be found in most *bastides*, as has been suggested in the past.⁴²⁹ Not all *bastides* had a market hall and, if they had one, it could have taken very different forms. Nor were they all built right in the middle of the market place. In the many *bastides* without real town halls, private houses, preferably located at the market place, would often be used for this purpose. From about the 15th

421 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.128.

422 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.113.

423 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.46.

424 Lauret 1988, p.58.

425 Similar types of buildings with combined administrative and market functions can be found in northern and central Italy and also in Germany, Czechia and Poland, often also located in the middle of a market place. (See Pevsner 1976, pp.27-28; Gutkind 1972, p.272 and fig.3.15 in the present study)

426 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.94; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.109.

427 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.214.

428 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.109.

429 Lauret 1988, n.7. See par.2.10.3.1.

century on, these were often turned into real town halls, commonly adorned with relatively rich decoration.⁴³⁰

Especially remarkable are the market halls of Bassoues and Gimont, which stand right in the middle of the market place, seemingly not taking special notice of the fact that the main street passes through the centre of the market place, right through the market hall. (figs.2.25-2.27, 2.48)

2.10.5.5 Houses

The newcomers to the *bastides* were responsible for the building of their own houses. Usually, they had to be erected

within a year and a day from the agreement to settle in the town.⁴³¹ In Monségur, Sauveterre and Saint-Osbert the requirements regarding the construction of the houses were further specified: in the first year at least a third part of the house had to be completed, in the second year another third had to be built, and for the rest the owners were free to act as they wanted.⁴³² In the case of a number of *bastides* founded by the English crown in the region of Bazas, the stipulation was much the same, but here it was specified that the facade had to be built in the first year.⁴³³ If the owner failed to meet these requirements, a fine had to be paid or the house lot would revert back to the founder of the town. In some of the foundations in the *sénéchaussée* of Toulouse it was stipulated that the value of the houses to be built had to be at least 60 *sous paris*.⁴³⁴ It is likely that in most cases the settlers built the houses themselves. If they moved in from nearby, they could reuse the materials that came from the demolition of their old houses.

Usually, the houses were initially built of wood or of a timber frame filled in with wattle and daub or mud brick. Later on, these were largely replaced by stone buildings.⁴³⁵ The old houses that presently can be found in the *bastides* are mostly only of a second or third generation, so it is hard to tell anything about the form of the very first houses or the form that might have been intended by the planners. The positioning of the houses, however, mostly seems to be more or less as originally intended: they were built at the front of the lot, with the *façades* forming a more or less closed street line.⁴³⁶ The rare houses of the 13th and 14th centuries that can still be found in some *bastides* all have stone walls, since the houses of less durable materials have all perished. (fig.2.49) Since these stone houses were relatively expensive they do not provide us with an accurate impression of the average house, which surely had a more humble character. An exceptional stone house, which seems to give a more true impression of the size of the average house in the 13th and 14th centuries, is preserved in Montcabrier.⁴³⁷ (fig.2.50)

Usually, the settlers were permitted to take building materials such as wood, sand, clay, thatch and stone from certain parts of the domain of the founder, in order to decrease the costs of building a new house, thereby making it less expensive for the new settlers to move to the town.⁴³⁸ In some *bastides* the *chartes* stipu-



fig.2.50: A house with a 14th century core in Montcabrier, facade and ground plan (not on the same scale). (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, modified by the author) The walls of the central part of the house, shaded in the plan, date from the 14th century, while the lateral parts were added later on. This is one of the few surviving houses from fairly shortly after the creation of a new town (Montcabrier was founded 1297). It seems that most houses were built out of more insubstantial materials. Many houses in *bastides* probably had a more or less rural character, like this house.

430 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.109.

431 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74.

432 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74; Tout 1917, p.15. Possibly, it was intended that first the ground floor was to be built, in the next year the second floor and further floors as circumstances permitted.

433 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.89.

434 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.71.

435 Calmettes 1986, pp.73-77. Commonly, the sorts of stone which were chosen were easily available in the area. In some *bastides* one finds many old houses built out of round boulders from river beds; while in others broken stone, cut stone or brick is the common material. Brick was most common in the area around Toulouse. Timber frame houses can still be found in various regions; sometimes the framing is filled in with brick.

436 Randolph 1994, p.294.

437 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.89-90.

438 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.89.

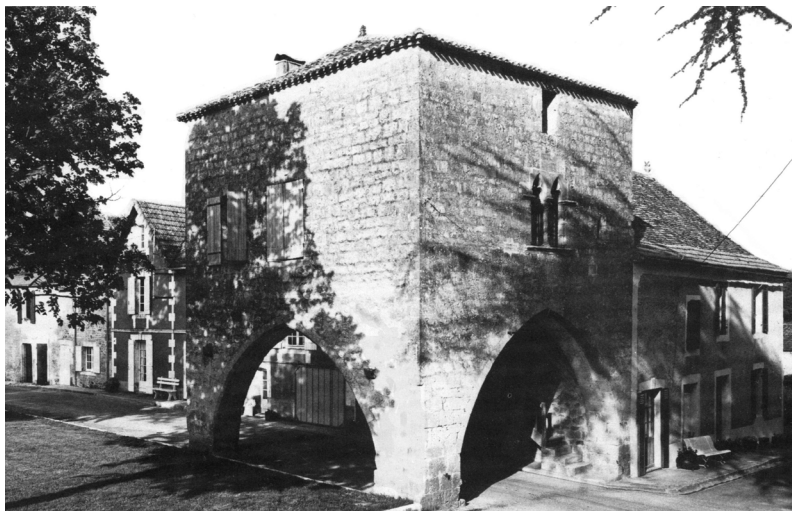


fig. 2.51: House with couvert in Molières. Photograph, taken from the southwest. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) Couverts are upper stories that project over the public space of a street or market place in front of a house, resting on arcades, columns or posts. This house is located on the southeast side of the market place, and it is the only one (left) in Molières with a couvert. The couverts were usually built later than the houses.

lated obligations as to certain architectural elements of the houses. In Bruges, for instance, settlers were obliged to build the facades of their houses out of stone. In other cases, such as Revel, it was left to the consuls to see to the form of rainwater conduits, dormers, windows and other openings in the facades.⁴³⁹

A basic distinction can be made between two kinds of houses: those with the roof-ridges parallel to the street, and those with the ridges at right angles to it. This distinction has nothing to do with the form of the house lots, but is mainly determined by the building tradition of the region. In the northern part of the area where the *bastides* were built, that is to say in Périgord, Quercy, Rouergue, Agenais and Landes, the type with the ridge at right angles to the street predominates, while the other type is prevalent in the south.⁴⁴⁰

Narrow alleys of about one foot wide, called *andrones*, generally separated the houses with the ridges at right angles to the street, so that the water from the roofs could drip down into the alleys and be carried away. Such *andrones* may sometimes also be found with houses that have the ridges parallel to the street. Here they seem to have served, among other functions, to prevent the rapid spread of fires.⁴⁴¹ At present, many of the *andrones* have disappeared, having been annexed to one or the other lot with the extension or rebuilding of houses.

As already pointed out above, the houses along the market places often have upper stories that project over the public space of the *place* or the streets that surround it. These so-called *couverts*⁴⁴² are supported by arcades, columns or posts. Contrary to common belief, the *couverts* were generally only built long after the towns were founded, and were mostly built separately by individual owners in front of their own houses.⁴⁴³ This can be clearly seen, for instance, in Monpazier, where the *couverts* of different houses have rather different architectural forms, or in Molières, where only one house on the square has a gallery projecting over the street. (figs. 2.42, 2.51) In most *bastides* special permission was required to build a *couvert*, and commonly an extra rent had to be paid. To meet the costs, the renter could hire out market stands in the covered space.⁴⁴⁴ In later *bastides*, such as Revel (1342), the building of *couverts* was foreseen in the *coutumes*: the owners of the houses on the market place were allowed to build a *galerie couverte* as long as it would not hamper the flow of traffic.⁴⁴⁵ Many of the *couverts* were demolished in the 19th and 20th centuries, especially the ones in the corners of the squares, in order to create more room for traffic.⁴⁴⁶

Usually the founder of the *bastide*, who previously had owned the land, reserved one or more house lots for his own use. For instance, with the foundation of Lubret-Saint-Luc, by the French crown in *paréage* with the local lord, Bernard de Castelbajac, the latter was granted the right to take up two lots on the market square and two more wherever he wished. This foundation proved to be a failure, but in other *bastides* one may find lordly houses that cover more than one of the standard plots, built in stone and often with exterior elements that reflect their noble stature, like stair towers and machicolation. Often, the local representative of the lord, the *baile*, resided there.⁴⁴⁷ Mostly, however, these buildings were only from a second or later generation.

439 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.74; Doumerc 1976, p.178. Stone facades were also mandated by the charter of the Florentine new town of Giglio Fiorentino. (see par.3.9.3.5)

440 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.88.

441 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.88, 99.

442 The term *couvert* is generally used at present; in sources from the 14th and 15th century the projecting upper stories are sometimes called *ambana* or *projecta*. (Teyssyre 1988, p.15)

443 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.122; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.103; Randolph 1994, pp.294-295.

444 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.122.

445 Doumerc 1976, p.179.

446 Lavedan & Huguency 1974, p.93.

447 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.96.



fig. 2.52: Aerial photograph of Grenade-sur-Garonne and surrounding area. (From: Guidoni 1992 (II)) It is clearly visible that the lines of the streets in the town extend to the field structures NNW and SSE of the town.

2.10.6 Spatial structures of extra-urban town grounds

Studying the areas directly surrounding *bastides* from plans or aerial photographs, one sometimes finds a land division there which looks as though it is directly connected to the allotment of street blocks in the cores of the towns. Examples of this can be found at Grenade-sur-Garonne, Saint-Denis, Cologne, Revel, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue and Plaisance-du-Gers.⁴⁴⁸ (figs. 2.52-2.55)

As already mentioned above, settlers of *bastides* often received not only a house lot, but also agricultural plots: a garden lot (*ort* or *casal*), situated at the periphery of the town, and arable land (*arpent*) commonly sited further away. And in many *bastides* the settlers also received a piece of vineyard.⁴⁴⁹ In some cases it is known from the *chartes de paréage* or the *coutumes* what the intended sizes of these lots were.⁴⁵⁰

Scholarly attention has been focused on these rural allotments only relatively recently, particularly in the work of Jean-Loup Abbe and Cedric Lavigne. They argue that scholarly attention has been concentrated too much on the urban structure of the *bastides*, at the cost of consideration of the rural land division which, in their opinion, is an integral part of an all-over structure.⁴⁵¹ According to these and other scholars, the

⁴⁴⁸ For Cologne, Revel, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue and Plaisance-du-Gers this can be seen in the topographical maps of the Institut Géographique National, *Serie bleue* 1:25000 or on aerial photographs on <http://maps.google.com/>. The cases of Grenade and Saint-Denis will be dealt with below.

⁴⁴⁹ Abbe 1997, p.310. In the *bastides* of Puybegon and Sainte-Gemme the tenants received even more pieces of land, as they were also provided with a field of meadowland. In Plagne the settlers received a plot of woodland in addition to house lot, garden and arable. But there are also *bastides* where the settlers were given only a house lot and a garden plot. (Abbe 1997, p.311) This was planned, for instance, for 1000 of the 3000 intended settlers of Grenade-sur-Garonne. (Lavigne 1996, p.192)

⁴⁵⁰ This information, concerning 16 *bastides*, is reproduced in the table in Abbe 1997, p.311. Concerning house lots, many more dimensions in different towns are given in appendix C of this study.

⁴⁵¹ Abbe 1993; 1995; 1996; 1997; Lavigne 1996.

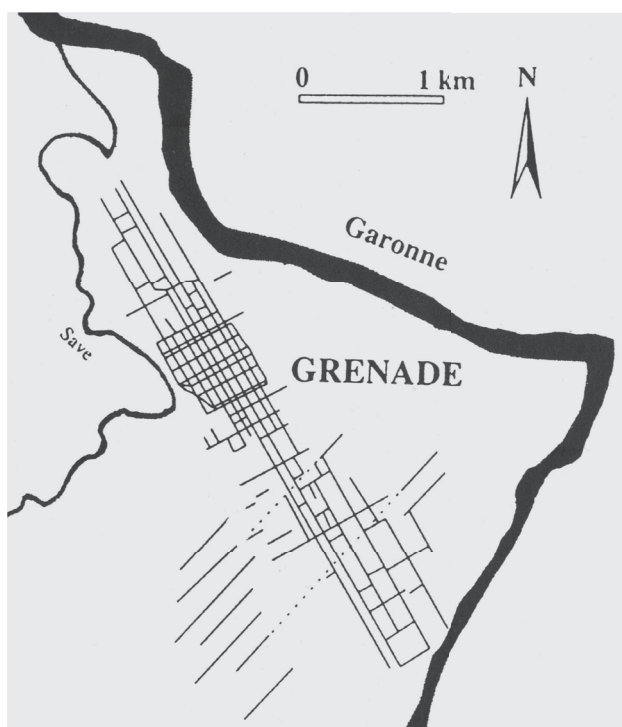


fig. 2.53: Schematic plan of Grenade-sur-Garonne and surrounding area. (After: Lavigne 1996) The town itself is just right of the centre. The thin lines in the surrounding area mark field structures of the 12th and 13th centuries. It is obvious that the structure to the NNW and SSE of the town was laid out on the same basic grid. It is likely that part of this structure was originally planned to accommodate a much larger urban area, whereas the outer parts were probably meant to provide space for the gardens.

structure of streets, blocks and house lots in the more regular *bastides* may well be the result of the way the surrounding land was parceled out for agricultural use.⁴⁵²

Their case is built on a small number of specific examples, of which Grenade-sur-Garonne and Saint-Denis-de-Saissac are the most important. The act of *paréage* for Grenade, accorded in 1290 between the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Grandselve and Eustache de Beaumarchais (acting as *sénéchal* of the French crown), states that the *bastide* grounds were to contain 3,000 house lots, 3,000 garden plots and

2,000 fields of grainland. The standard house lot measured 5 x 15 *brasses* (which is about 8 x 24 m., costing 5 *denier toul.* rent a year); the garden measured a quarter of an *arpent* (costing 3 d.); and the field had a surface of one *arpent* (10 d.).⁴⁵³

In the present-day situation the lines of the streets, which are spaced 55.05 m. apart, extend over one kilometre NNW and over two kilometres SSE of the built-up area of the town.⁴⁵⁴ (figs. 2.52-53, cf. fig. 2.22) According to Lavigne and several other authors, these lines are the dividing-lines between the original plots of arable land. From this they conclude that the plots for the houses, the gardens and the arable land were allotted following the same over-all structure.⁴⁵⁵

In my opinion however, this is only partly true. The land immediately north and south of the town must have been (at least partly) intended for house lots that were never occupied, since there is only room for about 750 house lots of the reconstructed original size within the outline of the town as it is presently known.⁴⁵⁶ The area of the town as it was originally planned, with 3,000 house lots, must have been about four times as large. According to Lavigne, the foundation of Grenade was planned to cover at least 1,635 ha.: 71 for the town itself, 427 for gardens and the rest for the fields.⁴⁵⁷ It is clear that the regular allotment along the lines extending north and south from the town covers an area which is far greater than the 71 ha. built-up area of the town as it was planned; but the area is considerably smaller than the originally foreseen 3,000 house lots and garden lots together.⁴⁵⁸

Since the garden lots were usually situated closer to the built-up area of the town than the fields of arable land, it seems logical that it was the garden lots rather than the fields that were planned in this structure that corresponds to the structure of the town proper. Therefore, house lots and some of the garden lots were most probably planned and laid out within the same grid-structure; arable fields, however, do not appear to have been allotted correspondingly.

452 Berthe 1986, p.10; Randolph 1994, p.302; Abbe 1995, p.118; Lavigne 1996, p.162.

453 Abbe 1997, p.311; Lavigne 1996, p.192.

454 I measured this in the cadastral plan of Grenade (see par.6.3.3.1). According to Lavigne, the standard house lots would have measured 8 x 24 m. (Lavigne 1996, p.192) but, in my opinion, they measured 9.17 x 27.52 m., so that the street blocks would have contained 12, 18 and 24 lots. (see par.6.3.3.1)

455 Lavigne 1996, p.193; Abbe 1997, pp.310, 317.

456 This outline is determined by the river Save and a small tributary stream in the west and southwest, and the edge of the low terrace on which the town lies in the northeast; and by boulevards to the northwest and southeast, which have replaced ditches that were probably dug in the 14th or 15th century.

457 Lavigne 1996, p.192.

458 Taking the topographical map (Institut Géographique National, *Serie bleue* 1:25000, 2042e) as a source, the surface of the area allotted corresponding to the structure of the town is 250 ha., at most. It should be considered that the size of the house lots according to Lavigne is smaller than in my reconstruction (see par.6.3.3.1); taking the house lot from my reconstruction (9.17 x 27.52 m.) as a basis, the area needed for the house lots, alone, would be 75.76 ha. Therefore, adding space for streets and a market, the required ground area would measure close to 100 ha.



fig. 2.54: Plan of Saint-Denis-de-Saissac. (From: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988) The town was founded by the French crown between 1290 and 1293. The orthogonal structure of blocks surrounded by streets is larger than the actual town, extending much further than this plan shows. (see fig. 2.55)

The bastide of Saint-Denis-de-Saissac was founded by the French crown between 1290 and 1293, and was laid out in a landscape previously covered with dispersed settlements.⁴⁵⁹ The plan of the town has a structure of square street blocks, which extends up to about 800 meters beyond the built-up area, covering just over 100 ha.⁴⁶⁰ (figs. 2.54, 2.55) The regu-

larity of the plan structure and documents strongly suggests that the original plan was based on uniform sizes for house lots, garden lots and fields.⁴⁶¹

It is not known how large the town was planned originally. However, having the case of Grenade in mind, one should be very careful about making assumptions as to how many of the blocks of the orthogonal allotment around Saint-Denis were planned for house lots, gardens or fields. Grenade was planned on a scale that was far too ambitious and this may also have been the case with Saint-Denis.⁴⁶²

It seems that the original number of blocks may have been at most 14 x 14, which comes to a maximum of 196.⁴⁶³ If this allotment was meant for house lots and garden lots only, the town would have probably been intended for about 625 households at most.⁴⁶⁴ If it was also meant to include the fields, the town may have been planned for around 130 households.⁴⁶⁵

According to Abbe, the squares and rectangles beyond the built-up area of the town must have been planned as agricultural fields, and he interprets the overall structure as a rural allotment rather than as an urban structure.⁴⁶⁶ In my opinion, however, this is not correct. The allotment of the fields around Saint-Denis is very uncommon, since square fields and roads surrounding every field are highly unusual for the division of agricultural ground. Normally, one would find a similar division into square blocks of 60 x 60 m. in a town rather than in an agricultural layout.⁴⁶⁷ Therefore, it seems likely that the structure made up of squares at Saint-Denis was originally only meant to contain house lots and gardens, and not agricultural fields.

More or less similar situations can be found in some other *bastides*, but commonly the extending structures are less easily recognisable and cover smaller areas.⁴⁶⁸ At Barcelonne-du-Gers (founded 1316) there is a larger

459 Abbe 1995, pp.109, 112.

460 I measured this from the plan by Abbe. (Abbe 1995, p.110) According to him, however, the orthogonal structure covered about 150-180 ha. (Abbe 1995, pp.112-113) Therefore, either his plan must be wrong, or he exaggerates the surface of the allotment. The total area that originally belonged to the *bastide* measured c.575 ha. according to Abbe.

461 Given the size of the street blocks (about 60 x 60 m. and 60 x 75 m.), it seems likely that, if a uniform size of house lots was really planned, this would have been 7.5 x 30 m. It must be remarked, however, that no clear traces of these lots can be found in the 19th-century cadastral plan. (Abbe 1995, fig.3; Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.367) The actual division of house and garden lots in this plan is quite irregular. According to Abbe, the original garden plots measured one *quartière*, which would be c. 8.25 a. (Abbe 1995, p.115)

462 Many *bastides* were planned on too large a scale: apart from the case of Grenade, it is known that in Libourne, while 1,620 households were foreseen, at the end of the 15th century only 1,145 were actually living there. In Monpazier 200 out of 300, and in Sauveterre only 1,000 out of 2,000 or possibly even 3,000 planned units were settled. (Heers 1990, p.109)

463 This number can be counted in recent aerial photographs (see fig. 2.55), or in Abbe's schematic plan of the rural allotment around Saint-Denis. (Abbe 1995, p.110)

464 That is, if the gardens were indeed a quarter of the 60 x 60 m. blocks, and the fields were equal to the blocks, as Abbe argues. (Abbe 1995, pp.113-115) For the probable size of the house lots, see above, n.461.

465 Higounet is not clear on the subject, but he seems to have meant that the structure was only intended for house lots and gardens. (Higounet 1975, p.258)

466 Abbe 1995, pp.106, 113-116, 118.

467 And this also holds for the rectangular blocks of c.60 x 75 m. in the two rows that cross at the central market place. The fact that this market place is so large (c.75 x 75 m. originally, later partly occupied) and that it has an elementary position within the whole structure, also suggests an urban rather than an agricultural spatial layout.

468 Abbe (1997, p.312) mentions that a correspondence in urban and rural layout can also be found in the Cistercian *bastides* of Gimont and Beaumont-de-Lomagne, and according to Higounet (1975, p.272) the same holds true for the (also Cistercian) *bastides* of Saint-Lys, Mazères, Cordes-Tolosannes and Boulogne-sur-Gesse. In all these cases, however, this is great exaggeration: it only takes into consideration relatively small areas directly adjacent to the towns, and in the last three towns I can not recognise it at all. In the other cases it is not clear whether this structure might have been planned to be part of the built-up area of the town, or whether it was planned to accommodate (part of) the garden lots.

In Rabastens-de-Bigorre (Soyer 1960, p.85 fig.5; Erlen 1992, p.231 Luftbild 4), Solomiac (Guidoni 1992, p.125), and Revel (Soyer 1960, p.83) the extension of the urban structure may have been large enough to accommodate all garden lots. In *bastides* such as Mirande, Marciac, Solomiac, Cologne, Monpazier, Molières, Beaumont-du-Périgord, Eymet and Sauveterre-de-Rouergue, one may also observe how the regular grid layout extends further than the former town walls or ditches. But these areas were probably originally planned for larger towns. (see par.2.10.4.2)

regular structure of fields of arable land to the southeast of the town, which actually has more or less the same orientation as the orthogonal structure of the town itself.⁴⁶⁹ But here the dimensions of the fields show no correspondence to the street blocks in the town.⁴⁷⁰

The few *bastides* that show such a correspondence in structure between the actual town and the surrounding area seem to have made a deep impression on present-day students of the *bastides*. The historian Jaques Heers, for instance, writes that the Cistercian *bastides* were mainly focused on the agricultural economy, and he concludes this on the 'evidence' of the correspondence of urban and rural allotment: 'The streets, which are very wide in order to make it possible for carts to pass each other, stretch out into the countryside, which is cut up into geometrical blocks, thereby securing a true taking into possession of a vast area, inseparable of the built-up area.'⁴⁷¹ This is a great exaggeration, however.⁴⁷²

It must be kept in mind here that the foundation of a *bastide* was not necessarily accompanied by a new distribution of agricultural land. In fact, many *bastides* were founded to congregate people already living in the nearby area and already having their fields there.⁴⁷³

Notwithstanding that fact, there are various scholars who regard the structure of the streets, blocks and lots in the *bastides* as though it is influenced by the way land was parceled out for agricultural use. Berthe, for instance, argues that the perception of the rural field division as an extension of the plan structure of the town – as in the above quotation from Heers – could just as well be turned the other way around.⁴⁷⁴ In my opinion, however, both rural and urban allotments may follow the principle of regular orthogonal order for conceiving an easily comprehensible and useful division of space; but that does not mean that the one allotment lay at the basis of the existence of the other. In this respect one should consider that many ancient buildings also had a regular orthogonal structure, but that their plans did not develop from agricultural field divisions or urban allotments, nor was it the other way around.

It must be noted that by far most of the *bastides* with regular orthogonal plans do not show any formal similarity to the layout of the surrounding rural field structures. Indeed, in most cases the field division around *bastides* is not very regular at all.⁴⁷⁵ Consequently, it appears unlikely that the layout of the many *bastides* that have regular orthogonal plans would generally have been influenced by the allotment of agricultural fields.

2.11 Conclusion

Many new towns were founded in southwestern France in the 13th and 14th centuries. Apart from the *sauvetés* and *castelnaux*, which were for the most part created in an earlier period, at least 350 towns were created that have come to be known as *bastides*. These creations were not all successful, but all in all it may be concluded that the *bastides* have largely determined the present pattern of settlement of the region.

That being said, however, the *bastides* do not form a very homogeneous group. They were founded by many different lords, unlike the groups of towns treated in the preceding and following chapters, and were given many different layouts, unlike the archetypical image of them that has often been presented. The main discriminating features that set them apart as a group are the facts that they are (1) newly founded market towns, (2) in southwestern France, (3) in the period between about 1230 and 1350.

There is also a great variation in the size of the *bastides*. Originally, some were meant for about fifteen families, whereas others were meant to become relatively large towns housing up to 3,000 families. This variation is even stronger in the present. Various *bastide* foundations failed completely, having left hardly any traces in the landscape; while others have become towns of substantial size. Villeneuve-sur-Lot and

⁴⁶⁹ See Lavigne 1996.

⁴⁷⁰ Another problem for this case is that the area with this field allotment does not actually reach up to the occupied area of the town. It begins only about 200 m. southeast of the place where the structure of the ancient moat can be recognised in the 19th-century cadastral plan. (cf. aerial photograph on <http://maps.google.com/> and Lavedan & Huguency 1974, fig.287)

⁴⁷¹ 'Les rues, très larges pour permettre le passage de charrois, se prolongeaient dans la campagne qu'elles découpaient en blocs géométriques, assurant une véritable prise de possession d'un vaste district, inséparable de l'agglomération'. *Bastides* that were founded with military motives, on the other hand, can be recognised, according to Heers, by the street lines that end at the edge of town. (Heers 1990, p.107) This misinterpretation stems from Higounet's original work (1975, p.272), but is strongly enlarged.

⁴⁷² See above, n.468.

⁴⁷³ In principle, it is also possible that there was no organised distribution of new agricultural land, since the founders of new towns could have had the hope that their foundation would develop a really urban economy, without the need for much agricultural land. This seems to have been the case with Grenade, at least for a third of the intended number of settlers. (see above in this paragraph)

⁴⁷⁴ Berthe 1986, p.10. Abbe and Lavigne are of the same opinion (Abbe 1995, p.118; Lavigne 1996, p.162), and Randolph also considers the possibility. (Randolph 1998, p.302)

⁴⁷⁵ For instance, this is to be seen in aerial photographs: Fleurance (Erlen 1992, p.231, Luftbild 3), Saint-Louis, Beauchalot (Higounet 1975, pp.260, 280), Saint-Pastour (Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.17), Sauveterre-de-Guyenne, Monflanquin (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, figs.208, 209), Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Castillonnes, Villeréal (Calmettes 1986, pp.50, 125, 130) and Mirande (Guidoni 1992, pp.121, 113). Many other examples can be seen in aerial photographs of the region published on the Internet (see for instance <http://maps.google.com/>).



fig. 2.55: Aerial photograph of Saint-Denis-de-Saissac and surroundings. (From: Google Earth 2008) Around the present settlement core the remnants of the grid-allotment of roads and field boundaries belonging to the original bastide foundation can still be clearly seen. It is not clear whether this allotment was meant for house lots and gardens only, or whether it was also intended for the agricultural fields. The agricultural allotment in the southwest corner is probably older.

Libourne, for instance, have populations of over 20,000 inhabitants. Most bastides however, are small towns or villages with a rural atmosphere.⁴⁷⁶ In fact, they also seem to have been planned as such, at least in the sense that their original function was mainly agricultural.

There is also a variation in the motives behind the creation of the bastides. It has often been assumed that they, and particularly the bastides of the king-duke and the French crown, were mainly founded with military tactical motives in mind. This appears, however, to be a misinterpretation, largely based on the fact that many bastides were surrounded by town walls and lay in areas that were heavily contested, for which reason they have come to be regarded as fort-towns. But the town walls and the military hostilities mainly stem from about the second quarter of the 14th century onward, long after most bastides had been founded.

The motives for the foundation of most bastides appear to have been primarily of economic character. That is not to say that territorial and political strategy did not play a role. It is a fact that bastides are relatively often sited in border areas between different lordships, the rights to which were not clearly defined. Many of these seem, at least in part, to have been created in order for the founding lord to enlarge his territory or to gain specific rights over the area by appropriation. Many bastides were founded in *paréage* between a local lord and a mightier lord of higher stature. In these cases the higher lord also gained rights and income over ground where his influence had previously been limited, in exchange for protection by his jurisdictional and military power. Other motives for bastide foundation were to provide protection to travellers on impor-

⁴⁷⁶ For numbers, see Calmettes 1992.

tant regional roads and to inhabitants of an area against brigandage, to create administrative centres, or to increase the effectiveness of taxation.

Bastides were generally founded because landlords sought to increase the income from their land, by having it cultivated more intensely. Agriculture was the core business of most of the *bastides*, and most of them were explicitly founded with that idea, as were many towns elsewhere in Europe. Landlords sought to make their land more profitable, if possible in a monetary form, and tried to do this by stimulating a more 'modern' form of agriculture, producing for the market, which could then be better incorporated into an inter-regional economic system. Instead of keeping land to themselves, they found that it would be more profitable if it was rendered to free farmers in hereditary tenure, in return for a relatively low rent. With this, they hoped that production would rise and that the circulation of capital would intensify, so that they would increase their income from it by way of rents, taxes and tolls. In particular, wine was a product that increasingly found its way to the international market, and it seems that its production was purposely stimulated by the foundation of *bastides*.

Trade was centralised in markets, and people were grouped together in compact settlements surrounding the market places, so that there was a clear spatial order - mirroring the legal order as laid down in *paréages* and *coutumes* - which would be easy to survey. Inhabitants from older settlements at the site were offered new settlement contracts and new settlers were attracted. All this was mainly motivated by the ambition to maximise the returns on the land by intensifying its agricultural use and taxing the yields more efficiently.

This development is an integral part of the European economic evolution in the period of about the 11th to 15th centuries.⁴⁷⁷ It did not just concern the *bastides* and the contemporary newly founded settlements elsewhere in Europe, but also earlier phenomena, like the *sauvetés* or *castelnaux*, and, in the period of the *bastide* foundations, it also affected other existing forms of settlement.⁴⁷⁸ It is a fact, however, that in southwestern France the consequences for the settlement pattern were more thoroughgoing than in most other regions in Europe, because here the pattern was altered more drastically in a relatively short period of time.⁴⁷⁹

477 Erlen 1992, esp. pp.9-10; Bartlett 1993, pp.106-167; Duby 1978. See also par.o.1.4.

478 Abbe 1997, pp.318-319.

479 There are some other regions, however, where the consequences for the present settlement pattern, by reclamations and foundation of towns and villages, were about just as great. It concerns among others Holland, the Po-valley in northern Italy and various areas in central-eastern Europe.

