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
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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-Pyrenées, but the boundaries changed over time, and the area was reduced in the course of the centuries.

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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; Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 13: almost 500 between 1222 (Cordes) and 1375 (Labastide-d’Agen); Erlen 1992: c. 350 between 1144 (Montauban) and the late 14th century; Randolph 1994, p. 290: almost 700 in the 12th and 13th 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. The routes were of high economic importance to the region.5

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 lead 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

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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; Laurent, 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.
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. 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)

Higounet 1975 (2), pp. 637-638; 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. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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. 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.

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’.

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

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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.


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 Béziers and Carcassonne in the east.


16 Dubourg 1997, p.45.

17 Randolph 1994, p.291; Bresesford 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: basto or bastie 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, Malbranche & 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. 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. Some scholars also use the term bastide for new towns from the 12th to 15th centuries elsewhere in Europe. 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.

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.
- 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.

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.

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 nova, and elsewhere in Europe various other terms were used.

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.

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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.50-68. 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 (1955) 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 “planting 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 As the market was the element which the function of the bastide, bastides 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, Léguèvin, 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 nous lugs and nous vills were used, but not consistently. (Beresford 1967, p.8)
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 Mores.28

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28 Onomatological 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. 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’ or ‘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. 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.

The great monastic orders, particularly the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, founded many sauvetés. 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.

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 Hugueney distinguish between two sorts of plans: linear plans, consisting of a main street, possibly with parallel streets and transverse streets; and plans with an enveloping pattern.

1975 (1), pp.418-423

29 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 augmentacionem et propter castelli dilatationem’; Higounet 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 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 & Hugueney 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 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)
oplement of house lots around a central core, which is usually formed by a church.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Lomagne\textsuperscript{16}, 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.\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig26}
\caption{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.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig27}
\caption{Plan of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave. (From: Lavedan & Hugueney 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.}
\end{figure}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, pp.64-67.
\item Higounet 1975 (2), p.675; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.29-30. According to Lavedan and Hugueney (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. (Ourlia 1947, p.66)
\item Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.66.
\item 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.500), Saint-Lys and Montauroc (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.294, 301). Most sauvetés were (and still are) just small villages or hamlets, mostly 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)
\end{enumerate}
2.3.2 Castelnaux

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

The word castelnaux, which can be found in ancient documents as well as in toponyms, means something like ‘new castle’. 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. In most cases the castle lies on a hill or a ridge, with the castelnaux sited somewhat lower, along a street that leads up to the castle. The plans of the castelnaux 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 castelnaux served various goals: protecting the population against marauders, increasing lordly control over the population, and involving the population in the defence of the castle. 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. For some castelnaux 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 castlans (meaning something like ‘inhabitants of the castelnaux’).

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

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.

Castelnaux were founded between about the second half of the 11th and the end of the 13th century. This means that there is an overlap in the periods of foundation of sauvetés and castelnaux, and of castelnaux 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 castelnaux. Or a castelnaux can be created next to the residence of a bishop (as for instance at Auch), and a bastide can be built in the immediate vicinity of a castle of its founder. 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. 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 castelnaux 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

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38 Cursente 1979, p.31, n.11; Cursente 1980, pp.91-94. There are more than 30 settlements with the toponym Castelnaux or Castelnau in Aquitaine. They are particularly concentrated in Gascony. (Higounet 1975 (2), p.668)

39 Cursente gives the following definition of the term castelnaux: ‘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 castelnaux, see Higounet 1992, pp.257-262 (based on Cursente 1978).

40 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 castelnaux’s foundation. What the legal status of these settlements was is mostly unknown. (Cursente 1980, p.117; 1979, p.31)

41 Cursente 1979, p.112.


43 Cursente 1980, pp.113-114.


45 For instance, the so-called inscélénements-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 castelnaux were created in southwestern France, settlements of similar kind were also created in Provence and Languedoc. (Cursente 1980, p.62; Cursente 1979, p.35)

46 Cursente 1980, p.90. Higounet (1975 (2), p.670) writes that the high-tide of castelnaux 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.

47 Cursente 1980, p.58.

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

49 Cursente 1980, p.102.
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). 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

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52 Other examples: the formula ‘castrum seu bastidam’ was used with the foundation of a castelnau next to the motte of Cluset (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.
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. Despite the many small-scale reclamation, 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. 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. 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 lead to heavy damage. An impressive example of this is the town of Cordes, which was founded in 1222.

![fig.2.11: 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.](image)

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. 417-435; Bartlett 1993, ch.5-8).
59 Among others: Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 37; Randolph 1994, p. 303. Two earlier newly founded towns, Montauban (1144; Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, pp. 67-68; Higounet 1975 (2), p. 677-678; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp. 30-33) and Marmande (1182; Beresford 1967, p. 551) 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.
it was a town with a really urban character. 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 Castelnau-de-Montmiral, which, as the name suggests, was built next to a castle. 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. 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. 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.

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. (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.

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-
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. 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. As mentioned above, sauvetés were also founded by collaborations of a similar character, but the phenomenon of the foundation of towns in partnership between two or more greater and smaller lords is more common for bastides.

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. After all, it was easy for a lord to found a new town under those circumstances, and he did not need to engage his equals in such arrangements. 

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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.45)
74 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37. Likewise, the vicomte of Béarn mostly also founded bastides on his own. (see par.2.4.6)
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,
plots of arable and possibly also vineyards.

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. 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).

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. 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. 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. 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. From the urban form of the new settlements it can also be concluded that there was a certain amount of systematisation. It should be mentioned, however, that this source has often been interpreted a bit too narrowly, but that will be discussed below.

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. 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

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80 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.
82  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 Guebin 1959.
86  See pars.2.10.3.1, 2.10.3.2.
87  See par.2.10.6.
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. Nineteen 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. This was a belated result of the Treaty of Paris of 1259, concluded between Agenais and the three dioeceses that were created under Alphonse.  

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. 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.

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. In Aquitaine, however, the main goal for Edward’s foundations seems to have been to increase the revenues from the territory. In addition to this, motives of territorial policy also played an important role. 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.

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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. These charters were considerably more extensive

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89 According to Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p. 37) around 50 bastides were founded under Edward I and II. Ewen (1992, p. 140) gives a number of no less than 140.

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.

91 See pars. 1.3, 1.4.1.


94 Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 39; Beresford 1967, pp. 353-356. Among these bastides were Fleurance (founded 1274, by the French crown with the count of Gare and the abbot of Bouilliac); 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 Pireuil); and Villeneuve-sur-Lot (1253, by Alphonse with the abbot of Eysines).

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. 353-355; Sumption 1990, pp. 72-74)

96 The Edwardian charters 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 1250) and Monflanquin (coutumes 1250), which were located in the same region. (Beresford 1967, p. 201)
and detailed than those which were common for new towns in England or Wales.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{99}

\section*{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 vigourously 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{201} (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.\textsuperscript{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 Riomont) on he used the same model of partage contract over and over again, and the chartes de coutumes were also standardised.\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[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 communaut together with the boul(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 toils 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)
\item[98] Particularly rare in England and Wales are plans similar to the more 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 & Hugueney 1974, fig.224; cf. Conwy, Beaumaris, Flint Caernarfon, see ch.1)
\item[99] Beresford 1967, p.375.
\item[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 partage 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. (Higoueon 1990; 1992, pp.122-137)
\item[101] Beresford 1967, p.23.
\item[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.
\item[103] Higoueon 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.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
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 vis-à-vis other lords in this way.108

This was the case with, among others, the counts of Astarac, Pardiac and Gauré. 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-Lomagene (1276, in paréage with the Cistercian abbey of Grandseelve) and Grenade-sur-Garonne (1290, also with Grandseelve) are the most significant examples of these.110

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106 For instance Pampelonne, Rabestans, St.-Martin-en-Bigorre and Revel. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.22)
107 Lavedan & Hugueney 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)
110 See Higoumèn, 1992, pp.141-145 and below, par.2.5.4.3.
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. Among others, the counts of Foix, Comminges, Armagnac, Astarac, Pordac and Bigorre and the viscounts of Béarn and Lomagne tried to create new administrative, territorial and economic cores for their domains by founding bastides.

Already during the rule of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, his lieutenant and vassal Sicard Alamán had actively ventured into the creation of bastides on his own domains, wholly in agreement with the count’s policy. 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.

Bernard IV, count of Astarac (1249-1291), also founded a number of bastides with a similar motive. 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 Gauré and his family some years before during a raid into the small county of Gauré. 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.

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. 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’.

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. Curiously enough, no paréages are presently known for eleven of these foundations. 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.

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111 This figure is based on the map in Calmettes 1986, p.21. According to Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai (1985, p.22) the bastide foundations of smaller lords in the south accounted for about 25% of the total number of bastides.
113 Higounet 1975 (3), pp.305-323. It considers, among others, Boulou (1242), Montaurec-La-Conseillère (1241) and Montesquiu-Lauragais (1241).
114 Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.37. The counts of Foix founded, among others, Mazères-sur-l’Hers (1255, in paréage with the abbots of Boulbonne), La Bastide-de-Sévèrè (1253/1254, with the abbots of Combolongue and the abbots of Max-d’Auzil) and Campegue-sur-Arice (1254, with the abbots of Combolongue).
115 He founded Massepue (1274, in paréage with the abbots of Lescaleniu), Mirande (1281, with the abbots of Berdoues and sénéchal Eustache de Beaumarchais), Meilhan (1280, with the abbots of Bardoues and sénéchal Eustache de Beaumarchais), Seissan (1286, with the abbots of Faget). (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.42)
116 Laurent, 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 13th 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 Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293.
119 Cursete 1979, p.35; Cursete 1980, p.103.
120 See Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.42) (who appear to have forgotten Montaut and Lestelle though).
121 See Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, ch.5: ‘Répertoire’, s.v.: Asson (1283), Bellocq (1281), Bruges (1357-58), Cardesse (1324), Gan (1320), Garlin (1320), La Bastide-Clarence (1324), Labastide-Villefranche (c.1292), Lestelle Béharram (1335), Navarrenx (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).
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. 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.

In the Lauragais (the area southeast of Toulouse) the founding of bastides continued somewhat longer than elsewhere in southwestern France. 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 adherant to this theory. 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. 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’.

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. There had been many conflicts, it’s true, but these were particularly of a judicial nature. 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.

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. A number of documents concerning ‘English’ bastides demonstrate that the king- duke was not at all eager to have them fortified. The communities of settlers of various bastides requested, in some cases several times, for permission to...
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. 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.

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.

In contrast to what seems to have been almost generally presumed until well into the 20th century, not all bastides were fortified. 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.

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 unwalled.

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.

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.

In this way territories were enlarged by colonisation and the creation of new legal structures, rather than by

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133 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.92-94. For example Sauveterre-de-Guyenne and Hastingues (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 Montflanquin, 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 1235, 1274 and 1286. 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.


138 According to Heers (1900, 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.121-123) 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 Insegler 1901.
already contained the privilege to dig ditches and build stone walls, which was actually done from 1355 on.148 De coutumes 1342, the settlers, who came from six different parishes in the area, received a charte. This charter 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

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 harrassed 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

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141 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.122-123. See also par.3.5.2 (Florentine new towns).

142 Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.105-106. 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 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.122-123.

144 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 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.

145 See Vale 1990, pp.112-130.

146 BERESFORD 1997, pp.83-85. A comparable policy was followed with the creation of the Florentine new towns (see par.3.5.1).

147 Doumerc 1976, p.41.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 13\textsuperscript{th} and the first half of the 14\textsuperscript{th} 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 13\textsuperscript{th} century, and in the jugerie Rivière nine out of ten administrative centres were bastides.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{149} Beresford 1967, p.29.
\textsuperscript{150} Beresford 1967, p.186. Similar cases are Marcia (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.22; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.293), Hastingues (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.108-109; Beresford 1967, p.188) and others (Trabut-Cussac 1954, pp.127-128; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.131).
\textsuperscript{151} Regarding predetermined plot sizes in new towns, see par.9.11.
\textsuperscript{152} Saint-Blanquat, 1985, pp.8-7. 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 nu ne in the administrative territorial organisation (pars.1.7.2, 1.7.4, 1.7.5, 1.7.10 and 3.5.3).
\textsuperscript{153} Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.195.
\textsuperscript{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)
\textsuperscript{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, 229-230) 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. 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’. 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.

New tenants had to pay droits d’entrée (‘rights of entry’) when they settled in a bastide. In the course of time these droits d’entrée became more like a sort of purchase price for the ground. Rent contracts were sometimes even sold by auction. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. In most bastides, however, most settlers came from nearby, in large part from the territory of the founding lord. 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-Blanquat 1985, p.51; see also pars.1.10.6. See par.2.10.4.4, 2.10.6, 9.21 and 9.23. Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.20, 51, 107. Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.51. 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) Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.51; see also par.9.9. Beresford 1967, pp.61, 65-66. Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.63-64. Beresford 1967, pp.88, 64; see also par.9.1.3. See par.9.9. See par.2.8.
Blanquet 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.\footnote{Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.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).}

### 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.\footnote{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 the chartes de coutumes and the chartes de parâges 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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 29, 73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. Markets).} 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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 29, 73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. Markets).} 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.\footnote{Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.90-91.} 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.\footnote{Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.91. For exemptions elsewhere, see for instance Beresford 1967, p.211.} 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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, p.63; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.89.}

### 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, wineries 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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, pp.56-59, 219; Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.89.}

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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, p.598. 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.} 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.\footnote{Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.91. For exemptions elsewhere, see for instance Beresford 1967, p.73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. Farming out revenues).}

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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 29, 73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. Farming out revenues).} 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 revenues urban, fee farms etc. were provided with no less than six fairs per year; smaller foundations, however, sometimes had to do without.\footnote{Beresford 1967, p.243.} The newly created market centres were of great importance to 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.\footnote{Beresford 1967, pp.9-10, 29, 73-75, 362 (and concerning England and Wales and in general, s.v. Farming out revenues).}

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)


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.598.

173 Beresford 1967, p.75-76. 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.

174 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)

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.

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

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. 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.

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.

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. 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. 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.

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 bastides 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. Great abbeys like Cadouin, Berdoues, Bonnefont and Grandseille owned up to twelve different granges each, all sited no more than a day’s walk from the abbey. 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).

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. This was caused by, among other factors, the subordinate rank and the competition of the mendicant orders, which enjoyed a growing popu-
larity and which attracted many lay brothers.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{192} Parts of granges were subsequently rented out in parcels of limited size at fixed sums or shares of the yield.\textsuperscript{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 parâges 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-parâgeur and to the new settlers that rented the ground.\textsuperscript{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-parâgeurs that originally owned the land, the abbey 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 seigneurial 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{198} They were mainly created in Gascony, between the river Baise and the great bend of the river Garonne.\textsuperscript{199} (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{200} (\textit{fig.2.22})

Thirty of the more than 44 bastides were founded in parâge with the French crown. The rest were mainly founded together with smaller lords, and some were created autonomously.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
  \item[191] Barailhé 1997, chapter ‘La crise économique cistercienne du XIIe siècle’.
  \item[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-Mary was founded. (Higounet 1975, p.281) This formula was also followed in other bastide foundations by Cistercian abbeys in parêge 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)
  \item[195] Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.41, 46.
  \item[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.40)
  \item[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.1-3) A few bastides were created quite near the abbey. (Higounet 1975, p.260) Gimont, for instance, was built very close to the abbey of Plainesville (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)
  \item[198] Higounet 1992, p.149.
  \item[199] Higounet 1975, p.266.
  \item[200] Flerusance 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 Gauré in 1272. (Barailhé 1997, p.I-8)
  \item[201] Higounet 1992, p.151. Cistercian bastides which were not founded in parâge are: Garansvillar, founded by Belleperche in 1270 (Barailhé 1997, pp.I-6, 11, 19), and Labessière-Candé, founded by Candé in 1255 (Higounet 1992, p.157), for which a paréage was concluded with the lord of Castrés only seven years after its foundation (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.290). Barailhé suggests that Belleperche also founded Larratz in 1234, and other unnamed bastides autonomously. (Barailhé 1997, pp.I-19-20) According to Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin (1988, p.291), however, Larratz was founded together with the lord of Terride.
\end{itemize}
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 cooperation with political adversaries of the French crown, such as the counts of Foix and Comminges. (see Higounet 1992, p.152; Barailhé 1997, pp.I-1, I-17-18)


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 Hospitaler 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 Hospitaler had the largest share, with fourteen foundations. 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.

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.

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 bastide 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. A total area of about 500 arpents (170 ha.) was more common for a bastide.

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. 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. 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.

205 Higounet 1992, p.349. Unlike the Cistercians, these monastic orders were already active in creating souvisets and coloñounax in the 12th century. They founded at least 80 towns and villages in Aquitaine between 1100 and 1355. (see pars.2.3.1, 2.3.2) For a discussion of a bastide foundation by the Knights Templar, see Higounet 1975, pp.293-294. Une bastide the colonisation des templiers dans les Pré-pyrénées: Plagne.
206 Higounet 1992, p.348. 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 1125, Newton Arlosh 1305, Skiphour 1301, Wavermouth 1300; Beresford 1967, pp.131-133, 515, 420, 475-480), Scotland (Melrose and Cupar; Adams 1978, p.24), Poland (Kuhn 1968, pp.115, 145-146), Bohemia (Hoenschi 1989, p.143; Kanka 1969, p.140) and Austria (Koller 1978, pp.42-63).
208 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.61. See also Lawinge 1966, 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 of the bastide area were often 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 hectares in the 13th and 14th centuries. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.61; Zupko 1978, t.v. ‘arpent’, esp. ‘Haute-Garonne’)
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 souvisets 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)
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 parage 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 population were equally divided between the two parageurs, 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-parageur who contributed the ground to the foundation deliberately kept cultivated land and existing buildings out of the parage, 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; Laurin, Mélébranche & 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.
216 Berthe 1990, p.97. See also Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.65, regarding Grenade.
218 Berthe 1990, p.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 terr nuoce forentrre. (par.3.6) Higounet describes a comparable course of events for various regions in southern Europe. (Higounet 1992, pp.43-50)
221 Not all bastides were meant to concentrate the population that already lived in the area. In the parage of Marciac (1238), between the château of the French crown Guillaume de Marciac, the count of Pordiac and the abbey 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 castrum et villae non depopulantur prope bastide’; Berosset 1657, 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 fiscal authority 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 parageurs.
222 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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.’\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.’\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{229} After the harbour and the named regions were lost to the French crown 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.\textsuperscript{230} The demand for southern wine increased, and that caused produc-

\textsuperscript{223} Beresford 1967, p.78.
\textsuperscript{224} Beresford 1967, p.243.
\textsuperscript{225} Beresford 1967, pp.75, 79, 91, 118, 220-225. Relevant citations from documents: Beresford 1967, pp.82, 175, 225, 242, 427; see par.2.5.4.1. 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.
\textsuperscript{226} See par.2.5.4.1.
\textsuperscript{227} Beresford 1967, pp.177, 219; see n.173.
\textsuperscript{228} Erlen 1992, p.228.
\textsuperscript{229} Beresford 1967, p.352.
\textsuperscript{230} In 1306-07, 162,724 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. 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. This export was balanced, to some extent, by the import of fish, hides, wool, cloth and cereals, particularly from England.

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. 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 shockproof. 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.

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. 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. 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.

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. This importance was reflected in the relatively great wealth of the town. In 1315-16 it was larger than any other ‘English’ bastide. 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.

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.
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. 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 preconsisatio. 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.

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.

With the foundation of Toulouzette in 1321, it was the sénéchal of the king-duc 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-duc and himself to a representative of the future settlers.

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. 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 bastide, the erection of pales may well have been derived from the crosses that were erected in the centre of the market place. (Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp.44-48)

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.
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.252 These rights were recorded in so-called chartes de coutumes or chartes de franchises, that were granted to the community of every bastide.253 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.254 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.255 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.256 Privileges of an economic character, such as exemptions from tolls and taxes, also formed an important section in the coutumes.257 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.258

The chartes de coutumes also contained articles on administrative self-representation of the bastide community. Often the community was represented by consuls 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.259 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.260 In return for the charte de coutumes the community of settlers had to pay a previously established sum.261

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 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.117-122.
252 Laurent, 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)
254 Beresford 1967, p.320.
255 Laurent, 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.79, 81-86)
256 Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.90.
257 Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.45.
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 1998, 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.
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 parfage 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, Castelnau-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 jurats 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, 9.1.1 and 9.1.4.
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 le peuplement dans l’Europe méridionale (Xe-XIVe siècle) (1992, pp.43-51). (see also par.9.1.1)
270 Higounet 1992, p.48; see also par.9.9. Dubourg writes that the population for the bastides of Croses (1337, a parfage between the French crown and the abbots of Saint-Pé de Gènes) and La Bastide-de-Flavacourt (1330, parfage 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 forcibly settled with the population of remote valleys in the Pyrenees. (Higounet 1992, p.48) According to Bernard, coercion was also used to settle Libourne (1270, founded by the English séneschal Roger de Leyburn). (Bernard 1992, p.20)
271 Higounet 1992, p.50.
272 See also par.9.9.
273 This was the case, among others, in Cordes in 1293 and Arthes in 1294. (Saint-Blanquat 1985, p.70)
moment, and commonly they had three years of tax exemption after taking up the ground.\textsuperscript{274}

Usually it took at least a decade before a considerable number of settlers had gathered.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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)

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

\textsuperscript{276} Saint-Blanquat 1985, pp.91-99. See also par.2.5.4.2.

\textsuperscript{277} For instance Higounet 1975, p.366.

\textsuperscript{278} See par.7.5.
war in the northeastern part 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
to extensively used land; a lack of safety in a particular area because of brigandage; or the threat that a
different lords. These or other specifically local situations concerning the ‘management’ of an area and its
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. 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 situ-
ated 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. In the duchy of Aquitaine, 24 bastides were river ports. This is 20% of the
number of bastides in this area. Of course, the intersections of communication routes (land or water) offered extra advantageous locations. 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. 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. 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 archaeo-
logical or written sources. 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 some-
where in between (for instance halfway down a gentle slope, mostly on an existing road through the site).

According to Lavedan and Hugueney, 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. However, the difference between the types of locations in

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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 cause-
ways as entry roads. (Beresford 1967, p.71)

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.


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-Claude, Cordes, Septfonds, Najac, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue and Villérem. 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 Alain and Fours.


286 Examples of bastides sited on hilltops are Cordes (fig.2.11) and Monflanquin (fig.2.21), 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 Frouzes (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 hillslades.

287 Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.72.
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...
not many, but all bastides had a regular grid plan. In the 19th century this misconception became more widespread. 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.’ 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. 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.’ 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. 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. 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. 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
towns like Napoléon-Vendée or certain towns in Algeria, is nothing but disorder compared to this absolute symmetry [...] Curie-Seimbrès, 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 chequer board plans, the bastides have a character which is so neat and so distinct that one recognises

"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 [...].

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. (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 Verneuil 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.

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

Apparently, the bastide plans that are comparable to that of Monpazier have been regarded as the most characteristic of all varieties of bastide plans. 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 archetypal 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), 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.

The 19th-century archetypical image of the bastides also contained the elements of foundation in paréage, sitting on virgin ground, and charters that were exclusive for bastides. 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. 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.

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 & Hugueney 1974, pp. 67-68 and s.v.; Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp. 11, 38; Heers 1990, p.143; Erlen 1992, p.136; 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.

The 19th-century archetypical image of the bastides with their plans that are comparable to that of Monpazier have been regarded as the most characteristic of all varieties of bastide plans. 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 archetypal 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), 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.

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. 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-Seimbrures who described the bastides in this way, among others, with the goal of demonstrating the historical autonomy of southern France. 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.

304 ‘Un point mis hors de doute par l’examen et la comparaison des bastides, c’est qu’elles forment toutes construites sur un plan idéale 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 Laurent, Mallebranche & 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 & Hugueney 1974, pp. 67-68 and s.v.; Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp. 11, 38; Heers 1990, p.143; Erlen 1992, p.136; 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.


307 These are: Bretenoux (fig. 3.3), Carcassonne, Damazo, Gexane-en-Tursan, Grenade-sur-Adour, Grenade-sur-Garonne (fig. 2.22), Lannepaux, Marciac (fig. 2.41), Miramont-de-Guyenne, Mirande, Minopio, Montréal-du-Gers (fig. 2.19), 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 (1126, founded by the count of Fox with the lord of Belpach).

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


312 Pujol 1990, p.364.

313 Pujol 1990, p.367. Still largely adhering to the old image, for example, are: Divorne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, esp. pp.73-75; Faucheux 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 1965, 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, Divonne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai, and Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin contain such classifications. 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.

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. 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. 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 symmetric around a central element like a church, market place, road or castle and clearly enclosed. This model is subdivided into:
   a) circular villages
   b) square villages
   c) revolving formations: compact, more or less orthogonal structures of which the street plan has a sort of swastika shape
   d) linear formations: organised around a central main street, possibly with parallel streets and a central transverse street
   e) place-villages: plans with a relatively very large market place, surrounded by houses
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:

315 See par. 0.4.2.
316 See Gouron 1953, Ourlac & Gilles 1957, Saint-Blanquat 1985. There are also typological classifications based on the functions of the bastides, for instance in the use of the terms bastide-fronière and redaction-bastide. For example Huguenet 1975, pp. 178-183, 245-254, 293-297. 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 Divonne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, pp. 39-44) But as far as I know, these typologies are not really thought through or used systematically.
317 See par. 0.4.2.
318 Regarding strictly, there are just two bastides of this type: Montesquieu-Lauragais and Téou. 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, Villereal (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 overlapping 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.
• 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, pp.77) Of the models de Vianne and Armagnacais the same can be said as of the modèle gascon: see n.324.

326 The flaws in specific types and subtypes are partly described in the footnotes above.
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 Jégun. (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.
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. 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.

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328 For instance, Lavedan and Hugueney (1974, pp.85-86) connect the origin of the two-axes 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 founded in 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. 2.35), Le Plan (fig. 2.37), Tournay (fig. 2.39), Masereube (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).
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 & Hugueney (1974) and Laurent, 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

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332 Examples of other plans of single-street bastides: La-Bastide-du-Haut-Mont (Lavedan & Hugueney 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.
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).

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 Fleurence in 1292 and Hastingues up to the 15th century. Probably this was also foreseen in the various ‘primae clausurae’ promised by the king-duke in the chartes of a number of towns founded by him.

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

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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.france.com/)

335 See pars.2.5.1, 2.10.5.1.


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. 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. 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. 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

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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 & Hugueney 1974, fig.323; Doumerc 1976, plan of 1777; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.172-174 (after being newly built around 1280, 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 & Hugueney (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.
plots and back alleys, while the other plots are much deeper and have no back alleys. On the other hand, 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. The market place is sited at the highest point.

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;
- 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.

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 & Hugueney 1974, fig.229), Gimont (idem, fig.242), Beaumont-du-Périgord (idem, fig.243, and fig.2.14 in the present study), Poymirol (idem, fig.247), Montréal (idem, fig.248), Castellionès (idem, fig.250), Valence-sur-Baïse (idem, fig.255), Monségur (idem, fig.258, 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. 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. 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. 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. (fig. 2.13)

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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 south of the northern side of the market place at Granges. (see Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, fig. 315)
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. 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. 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. 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 liculium or platea. (Dubourg 1997, p.109)
347 See par.9.11 and appendix C.
348 See par.9.11 and appendix C.
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 bastids 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 bastids 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 other bastids. 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.
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 Crémon). 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 bastids 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 bastids this layout is rare, but in other regions of Europe one may find similar layouts
In Villefranche-de-Rouergue (fig. 2.35) most of these street blocks, which measure about 15 m. by 34 to 60 m., consist of two long strips separated by a narrow alley about half a meter wide. Originally, such a strip probably contained two house lots arranged back to back, so that 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 cane being a rod of c. 1.8 - 2 m.⁴⁵⁵ 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.⁴⁵⁶

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.⁴⁵⁷ 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.⁴⁵⁸

In some cases the width of the streets was prescribed in the paréage or the coutumes.⁴⁵⁹ 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.⁴⁶⁰

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 3.⁴⁶¹ 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.⁴⁶² 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.⁴⁶³ 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.⁴⁶⁴ Such primary and secondary streets were called carreyras, because they could be traversed with a cart. Sometimes the main

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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 Chambery in France or Leeds in England. (see Beresford 1967, fig.38)

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 le voie publique’, Courtieu 1988, p.84).
359 Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.74; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99. In Monsegur, for instance, the streets were to be 24 ft. wide.
360 Divonne, 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 & Hugueney 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. (Zuška 1978, p.30)
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 5 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. (Divonne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.67, n.1; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.99)
streets were distinguished as *viae*. 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.

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. 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.

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.

### 2.10.4.7 Market places

In towns of earlier periods, castles, monasteries or churches were the most common focal points of the settlement. 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.

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

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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 Divonne, 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.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.
371 Randolph 1994, p.300; see also par.2.6; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.101.
market place remained central for as long as there were no features in the landscape that impeded growth in all directions.\textsuperscript{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)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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\textsuperscript{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)

\textsuperscript{373} In Rabastens-de-Bigorre even two blocks are left open. (see Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, fig.346)

\textsuperscript{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 & Hugueney 1974 and fig.8.7 in this study)

\textsuperscript{375} For a more detailed analysis of the plan of Grenade-sur-Garonne, see par.6.3.3.1.
The houses that flank the market place often have upper stories that project over the public space, supported by arcades or posts. (fig. 2.4.2) 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. The couverts were only built later on, and were generally built separately by the individual owners of the houses.

In many of the larger bastides a market hall was built on the market place. (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. In some bastides the church was built in the market place. More often, however, one may find the church on one of the sides along the place or in a corner just off the place.

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. In a number of towns, the original market places have been encroached upon in later times, as for instance in Saint-Denis. This may have been partly caused by the rebuilding of market stalls in stone.

A curious case is Albias. 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 cestàyrré. 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. 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.
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. At least a number of bastides were originally surrounded by simple ditches, possibly supplied by earthen banks with thorny hedges or wooden palisades. Later on, mainly in the 14th and 15th centuries, more and more bastides were being fortified with stone walls. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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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.144
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.
The subject of the outline form of the wall circuits has already been discussed above. 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.

2.10.5.2 Castles

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

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. At Beaumarchès it even happened that two paréage-lords of the town both had a castle built near the bastide.

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.

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.
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)
were not eager to change the existing ecclesiastical organisation. 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.

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. (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. 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. Before a real church was built, however, a small chapel built of wood may have already been standing in its place.

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.

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

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404 See par.9.18; Beresford 1967, pp.169-175.
405 As, for instance, in Labastide-Castel-Amouroux. (Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.110)
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.
410 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.121.
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. 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. (fig. 2.45) In Castelnau-de-Lévis, Labastide-de-Lévis and Lisle-sur-Tarn (among others) there are churches which have fortified towers. Many churches were, however, only fortified in the Hundred Years War.

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. 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.

Quite often, the church was sited at the highest point of the town. 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; Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 121.
412 The chapel was built in 1306 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. (Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 245) See, for instance, the fortified churches at Rudelle, Montbrun, Carcassonne, Sauveterre-de-Rouergue, Caudecouste 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. 2.37), Castillonnes, Malèrè, Valence-sur-Baïse, Bellecôq, Saint-Pastour and Monclar.
413 Rey 1925, p. 138.
414 In 1354, for instance, the community of Trie-sur-Baïse (founded in 1233) 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 For instance in Réalville, Domme, Cordes (fig. 2.11), Beaumont-du-Périgord (fig. 2.14), Monflanquin (fig. 2.31), Castillonnes, Malèrè, Valence-sur-Baïse, Bellecôq, Saint-Pastour and Monclar.
417 Rey 1925, pp. 132-169; Laurent, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p. 121.
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.

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418 Haverkamp 1987, p. 137.
419 See Price 1955, p. 9.
420 For Saint-Pastour, Hastingues and Pavie, see Lavedan & Hugueney 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. 2.26) 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.
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 Villereal. (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 Laurent 1988, p.58.
425 Laurent 1988, p.58. See par.2.10.3.1.
426 Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, pp.27-28; Gutkind 1972, p.272 and fig.3.15 in the present study
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 parisis.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-

431 Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.74.
432 Lavedan & Hugueney 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.
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.
437 Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, pp.89-90.
438 Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.74; Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.89.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 parage 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.\textsuperscript{447} Mostly, however, these buildings were only from a second or later generation.

\textsuperscript{439} Lavedan & Hugueney 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)
\textsuperscript{440} Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.88.
\textsuperscript{441} The term couvert is generally used at present; in sources from the 14th and 15th century the projecting upper stories are sometimes called ambona or projecta. (Teysseyre 1988, p.55)
\textsuperscript{443} Laforet 1974, p.95.
\textsuperscript{444} Lavedan & Hugueney 1974, p.95.
\textsuperscript{445} Lauret, Malebranche & Séraphin 1988, p.96.
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, Série 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.

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 partage for Grenade, accorded in 1290 between the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Grandeselve 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.

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)
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.
458 Taking the topographical map (Institut Géographique National, Série 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.
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 × 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 × 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 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.\(^{468}\)

\(^{459}\) 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.275 ha. according to Abbe.

\(^{461}\) Given the size of the street blocks (about 60 × 60 m. and 60 × 75 m.), it seems likely that, if a uniform size of house lots was really planned, this would have been 7.5 × 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; Lavandé & Hugueney 1974, fig.207) 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 × 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.

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


\(^{467}\) And this also holds for the rectangular blocks of c.60 × 75 m. in the two rows that cross at the central market place. The fact that this market place is so large (c.75 × 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 Huguenet (1975, p.272) the same holds true for the (also Cistercian) bastides of Saint-Lys, Mazières, Cordes-Tolosannes and Boulougnac-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.83 fig.5; Erlen 1992, p.31 Luftbild 4); Solomiac (Guidoni 1992, p.123); 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, Marcia, Solomiac, Cologne, Monpazier, Molières, Beaumont-du-Périgord, Symet 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.2.16.4.2)
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.\footnote{See Lavigne 1996.} But here the dimensions of the fields show no correspondence to the street blocks in the town.\footnote{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 & Hugueney 1974, fig.289)\footnote{‘Les rues, très larges pour permettre le passage de charrois, se prolongaient dans la campagne qu’elles découpaient en blocs géométriques, assurant une véritable prise de possession d’un vaste district, inéparable 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 Higonnet’s original work (1975, p.272), but is strongly enlarged.} But here the dimensions of the fields show no correspondence to the street blocks in the town.\footnote{See above, n.468.}

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.’\footnote{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)}\footnote{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)\footnote{For instance, this is to be seen in aerial photographs: Fleurance (Erlen 1992, p.231, Luftbild 3), Saint-Louis, Beauchalot (Higonnet 1975, pp.260, 268), Saint-Pastour (Diverne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.17), Sauvetat-de-Guyenne, Montflanquin (Lauret, Malebranche & Seraphin 1998, figs.208, 209), Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Castillonnes, Villeréal (Calmettes 1986, pp.50, 125, 170) and Miranda (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/).}}\footnote{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)\footnote{For instance, this is to be seen in aerial photographs: Fleurance (Erlen 1992, p.231, Luftbild 3), Saint-Louis, Beauchalot (Higonnet 1975, pp.260, 268), Saint-Pastour (Diverne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.17), Sauvetat-de-Guyenne, Montflanquin (Lauret, Malebranche & Seraphin 1998, figs.208, 209), Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Castillonnes, Villeréal (Calmettes 1986, pp.50, 125, 170) and Miranda (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/).} This is a great exaggeration, however.\footnote{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.\footnote{‘Les rues, très larges pour permettre le passage de charrois, se prolongaient dans la campagne qu’elles découpaient en blocs géométriques, assurant une véritable prise de possession d’un vaste district, inéparable 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 Higonnet’s original work (1975, p.272), but is strongly enlarged.} 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 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.\footnote{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)\footnote{For instance, this is to be seen in aerial photographs: Fleurance (Erlen 1992, p.231, Luftbild 3), Saint-Louis, Beauchalot (Higonnet 1975, pp.260, 268), Saint-Pastour (Diverne, Gendre, Lavergne & Panerai 1985, p.17), Sauvetat-de-Guyenne, Montflanquin (Lauret, Malebranche & Seraphin 1998, figs.208, 209), Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Castillonnes, Villeréal (Calmettes 1986, pp.50, 125, 170) and Miranda (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/).} 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
Libourne, for instance, have populations of over 20,000 inhabitants. Most bastides however, are small towns or villages with a rural atmosphere. 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-

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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.0.1.4.
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.