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Village life in the Haut Comté de Foix in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

Blanks, David Robert, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1991

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VILLAGE LIFE IN THE HAUT COMTÉ DE FOIX IN THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

David R. Blanks, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1991

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To My Wife, Natalie Novak
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INTRODUCTION

The Fournier Register

The social history of medieval popular culture has progressed more slowly than that of the early modern and modern periods because the sources are sparse: the masses left few records of their thoughts and daily activities. A rare exception to this is the Registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier preserved in Vaticanus Latinus manuscript 4030 and published in three volumes by Jean Duvernoy.¹

Jacques Fournier, who became Pope Benedict XII (1335-1342), was Bishop of Pamiers from 1317 to 1325 and zealously directed the local inquisition. For eight years he routinely interrogated those suspected of heresy and he meticulously recorded their depositions. The Fournier Register contains the

¹Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (1318-1325), ed. Jean Duvernoy (Toulouse: Privat, 1965). A pamphlet of corrections appeared in 1972, and Duvernoy published a French translation of the Register (Mouton: Paris, 1978) under the same title. For the purposes of this dissertation I have, for the most part, relied on the Latin edition, and references to it will always carry the volume number (e.g. Registre, I, 128). Occasionally I make use of the French edition, especially for its index and Duvernoy's copious notes. The pagination of this edition is consecutive through all three volumes; so when I have recourse to it, no volume number is given (e.g. Registre, p. 1262).
testimony of 218 persons. Half were suspects; the other half, witnesses. Nearly all of them lived in the Comté de Poix, an area of southern France which today comprises the eastern half of the Department of Ariège.

MS Vat. Lat. 4030, a book of parchment of 325 folios, is an official copy (i.e. made by sworn scribes) of the court proceedings that took place from 1318-1325. Fournier directed his assistants to perform the task when he was transferred from the diocese of Pamiers to that of Mirepoix in 1326. They produced two volumes, one of which is lost. The other has come down to us in the form of the Fournier Register.2

The truly remarkable thing which makes the Register a unique document is that the majority of these witnesses were peasants! And a talkative lot they were. The bishop was hunting Cathar heretics, but the villagers commented on everything from their families and flocks to their fears of the unknown. They told fascinating stories, and nowhere else do we find medieval peasants talking about themselves in such detail.

This manuscript was first brought to the attention of historians by Charles Molinier, a professor at the University of Toulouse. In 1880 Molinier published his study of the inquisition in the Midi and its sources.3 Four years later the

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2For a brief history and description of the MS see Duvernoy, Registre, I, 8-17.

3L'Inquisition dans Le Midi de La France au XIIe et XIVe siècle (Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1880).
Ministre de l'Instruction Publique commissioned him to search for other relevant documents in Italy. Molinier visited libraries in Milan, Lacques, Florence and Rome in the spring of 1885. In 1887 he published his findings.4

Among the many records that he found he recognized MS Vat. Lat. 4030 as the most important. Although Molinier was interested primarily in the history, processes and personnel of the inquisition, the uniqueness of the document was not lost on him, and he suggested that there were a number of interesting details beyond the technical ones.5

Molinier's discovery reverberated in the historical community and generated several analyses and articles based upon the manuscript. The most significant were those of Mgr. Jean-Marie Vidal. In 1899 and 1900 Vidal produced three articles that were perhaps ahead of their time in that they were social histories before social history had been invented.6 Vidal's definitive analysis of MS 4030 appeared in 1906. He included a description of the MS as well as an


5 Molinier, Etudes, pp. 89-151.

analytical summary. Then he went on to analyze the inquisition at Pamiers, especially under Jacques Fournier (1317-1326). After this point, however, the document lay dormant for half a century. Occasionally it was mentioned in works on inquisitorial proceedings, occasionally in books on Catharism, but it was not put to any new uses. In 1965 Jean Duvernoy published his edition of the Latin text and from that point scholars such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Élie Griffe and Duvernoy himself began to mine the document for information on the lives and customs of the mountain folk who had come under investigation. They did a commendable job. It is my opinion, however, that the Fournier Register is far from exhausted in its potential to inform us about life in the Comté de Foix in the early fourteenth century.

Jacques Fournier and Heresy

Jacques Fournier did not begin his career as an inquisitor; rather, events thrust the task upon him. Born at Saverdun (bas Comté de Foix) around 1280, his religious life started at the Cistercian abbey of Boulbonne. He was

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7Le tribunal d'inquisition de Pamiers (Toulouse: Privat, 1906).

passionate and serious about his duties: Richard Southern called him "the copy-book Cistercian of the later Middle Ages." After studying theology in Paris, he succeeded his uncle as abbot of Fontfroide around 1311. Then, on 19 March 1317, Pope John XXII chose him as bishop of Pamiers. It was not until the summer of 1318 that he was first called upon to conduct an inquest. It was less a case of heresy than that of a woman who had had a crisis of faith.

The following summer Fournier began his investigation of heresy in the haut pays de Foix, a section of the eastern Pyrenees bordering Cerdagne and Andorra. Two events brought this about. On 16 July 1319 Pope John XXII charged the archbishop of Toulouse, the bishop of Saint-Papoul and the bishop of Pamiers with opening an inquest into the case of

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10According to Vidal (Histoire des évêques, p. 27): "The Cistercian bishop concerned himself less with material questions than with the religious needs of his flock, which was the opposite of his two predecessors [Bernard Saisset (1295-1312); Pelfort de Rabastens (1312-1317)]. He occupied himself with pastoral functions. He blessed the baptismal fonts in the two churches of the episcopal city, le Mercadel and le Camp. He himself baptized children there. He delivered the sacraments of confirmation, ordained clerks and preached to the people. He heard confessions, especially during Lent. He constructed churches and erected parishes. The diocese of Pamiers finally found in him a pastor, a father and a reformer."

11Aude Fauré, a bourgeoise from Merviel (bas Comté de Foix), had temporarily lost faith in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Registre, II, 82-105.
Bernard Délicieux, a Franciscan. The friar had been accused of interfering with the inquisition at Carcassonne, conspiring to murder Pope Benedict IX and being an adherent of the views of Joachim of Fiore. It was a famous case, and through it Fournier became familiar with inquisitorial proceedings.

It was a second event, however, which sparked the series of inquests that eventually comprised the Fournier Register. That same summer (1319) four Waldensians were arrested in Pamiers, and the bishop was startled into action. Jean Duvernoy described this awakening succinctly and beautifully.

It was through the trial of the most notable of these Waldensians, a deacon named Raimond de Sainte-Foy of Côte-Saint-André (Isère), that Jacques Fournier's career as inquisitor truly began. The first two defendants, the deacon and his nurse (nutrix), confessed freely while showing respect for the Church and the opinions of others. They showed no signs of fanaticism and went to the stake with perfect serenity. They say Jacques Fournier cried, and if the death of these heretics was edifying, it was not in the sense that anyone had expected.


13Registre, pp. 3-4.
Within a year the bishop's caseload began to swell. While investigating charges of sorcery, he happened to call as a witness one Béatrice de Planissoles, widow of the châtélain of Montaillou. Her startling revelations prompted Jacques Fournier to initiate an independent investigation. He had lost confidence in the efficacy of the inquisition at Carcassonne, and Clement V's bull Multorum querela (1312) had given bishops the power to act. For the next five years, from 1320 to 1325, Jacques Fournier zealously pursued the heretics of the haut pays de Foix. Most trials were conducted at the episcopal palace in Pamiers, but each summer, during his pastoral visits into the mountains, he took the opportunity to convene witnesses and collect testimony.

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14 John XXII had ordered Fournier to undertake this particular investigation on 28 July 1319, Vidal, Bullaire de l'inquisition française, pp. xlviii-li and pièce justicative 24, pp. 53-54. Sorcery came under diverse forms: divination, magic, spells, alchemy, and especially demonic ceremonies and pacts; and in this case the defendants, among whom there was a priest and a Carmelite, were accused of using incantations and communing with demons: "... per devia vitiorum vagantes factionibus ymagnnum, incantationibus et consultationibus demonum, fascinationibus, maleficiis et aliis diversis adinventionibus superstitionis intendunt, ..."


16 Fournier travelled in the mountains in May and April 1320; in late July and throughout August 1321 and again in late September and early October; in August 1322; in late July 1323; and in mid-June 1325. The villages he visited included Aston, Ax, Foix, Lordat, Puy-Saint-Pierre, Rabat, Sabart,
Béatrice de Planissoles had testified, among other things, that Pierre Clergue, the rector of the parish of Montaillou, was an ardent Cathar sympathizer.17

Apart from those individuals who were simply deluded or misguided, Bishop Fournier was trying to cope with two types of heretics, Waldensians and Cathars. The former group followed a tradition of evangelical poverty set forth by Valdès, a merchant from Lyon, in the late twelfth century.18 The only Waldensians Fournier encountered, at least as far as these inquisitorial proceedings are concerned, were those captured in Pamiers in 1319. None was from the area. Besides the two from Côte-Saint-André, there were two from Vienne. All were burned at the stake.19

Saint-Paul-de-Jarrat, Tarascon, Unac and Verdun. Vidal lists these visits by date and location in Le tribunal de l'inquisition, pp. 117-120.

17Duvernay, Registre, p. 4.


19Depositions 1, 2, 33 and 34 in the Latin edition. Incidentally, as far as we know, these were the only trials that resulted in executions. I qualify this because some of
Waldensianism came into play in only one other case. Béranger Escoulan of Foix had the misfortune of drinking in the wrong tavern on the day that Raimond de Sainte-Foy was executed. The story had gotten around that when the ropes that bound the Waldensian deacon burned, the heretic had joined his hands in front of him as if to pray. Béranger proclaimed, a little too loudly, that if the man had commended his soul to God, God would accept it, adding that Raimond had been condemned solely because he had criticized the clerics. His obstreperousness cost him more than a year in prison.20

For the most part then Fournier was dealing with Cathar perfects (parfaits or bonshommes) and their supporters, who were called believers (croyants).21 The basic tenets of the sentences have not been preserved. Those that are extant can be found in the Doat Collection vols. 27 and 28.

20 Registre, I, 169-176.

Catharism were not unique to it. The rejection of infant baptism, the Eucharist, marriage and meat; the denial of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers for the dead; a repudiation of clerical and papal authority in favor of the Scriptures; disdain for the cross, the instrument of Christ's death; the denial of Christ's humanity: these doctrines were shared in various combinations by numerous heretical sects. All were related to a dualism inherent in Christianity—the dichotomy of spirit and matter—which had resurfaced as part of the reforming impulse initiated by St. Boniface in the eighth century and spread by the monks of Cluny in the tenth century and Pope Gregory VII in the eleventh. When zealous Christians were frustrated by the failure of the church to meet the expectations it had raised, they took this dualism to extremes. Catharism was formed sometime after 1140 when eastern dualism—the notion that an Evil God made the world and all material things—in the form of Bogomilism—was introduced into western Europe via Italy and the Rhineland.\textsuperscript{22} Bogomolism supplied an organizing principle and a new, detailed cosmology to a number of hitherto unrelated groups of indigenous religious dissenters.

Having said this, I hasten to add that for the peasants of the haut pays de Foix the appeal of Catharism was not

\textsuperscript{22}Jeffrey Burton Russell, 
doctrinal; it was familial. Likewise, it was anticlerical and anti-French. It reflected feelings held by many southerners, rich and poor, even the upper nobility. During the thirteenth century the counts of Foix were said to have been hereticated on their deathbeds, and both the wife and sister of Count Raymond-Roger (1188-1223) became Cathar perfects. By the late thirteenth century, however, following the Albigensian crusades, the arrival of the French, the massacre at Montsegur, and the establishment of the inquisition, the local nobility had distanced themselves from the Cathars. Those believers who remained were primarily peasants. They were attracted, in part, by the socio-political sentiments listed above. Beyond this, of course,


24 cf. Chapter IV.


27 Of the total of 114 suspects mentioned in the Fournier Register, one was a knight, one the widow of a knight (Béatrice de Planissoles), one a notary, one the wife of a notary, one a jurisconsult, and one a bourgeoisie: all the rest were peasants. Vidal, Le tribunal d'inquisition, pp. 121-122.
they were very much concerned with salvation, and the simple faith of Cathar perfects such as Pierre Autier brought many into the fold.\textsuperscript{28} Compared to Catholicism, salvation was relatively easy to obtain in the Cathar Church: a believer need only adore the perfects and receive the \textit{consolamentum} on his or her deathbed. The \textit{consolamentum} was administered by a perfect. It was a combination of baptism and ordination, consisting of communion, confession, prayers and a sermon highlighted by the laying on of hands and numerous repetitions of the Lord's Prayer. By receiving the \textit{consolamentum} the candidate was forgiven his or her sins and became perfects themselves.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Methodological Problems}

There are a number of methodological problems inherent in any analysis which relies upon the Fournier Register.\textsuperscript{30} To begin with, the inquiry was directed by Bishop Fournier himself, an educated, principled ecclesiastic, "austere,


zejalous and just. "31 Throughout my investigation I must always keep in mind his temperament, attitudes, assumptions and motivations. Then too I have to consider the character and motivations of the witnesses, a problem commonly met by cultural anthropologists. It is difficult to know when people are lying. After all, the peasants who were brought before the bishop were often afraid for their property and families, sometimes even for their lives. They were anxious to put themselves in a favorable light, even if they were only witnesses and not suspects. Furthermore, there were other reasons that they might have lied: fear, hate, revenge, jealousy, bribery, ambiguity toward authority, the need to protect friends and family. It is nearly impossible to know what pressures were brought to bear against individual witnesses, although in certain cases there are some indications.32

Jacques Fournier was well aware of these factors and took steps to counteract them. Each witness was required to take a standard oath, the medieval equivalent of "Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?"33 Yet not even the swearing of an oath on the

31 Vidal, Le tribunal d'inquisition, p. 7.
32 The bayle of Montaillou, Bernard Clergue, put pressure on witnesses not to testify against his brother Pierre.
33 Registre, II, 118. "Iuravit ad sancta IIIior Evangelia quod veritatem diceret tam de se quam de aliis vivis et mortuis super crimen heresis."
bible or the threat of excommunication was enough to insure, to Fournier's satisfaction, that a witness was telling the truth. Efforts were made to double check the depositions by reading them back to the witness and giving him or her a chance to retract or modify earlier sworn testimony. If necessary, the witness was given the opportunity to provide additional information. Often people were called back several times, and their statements were cross-checked against those of others. Not infrequently they were sent to prison to think things over for awhile. In some cases witnesses were forced to confront one another in court. This was all standard practice. Torture was used only once.

It must also be remembered that the human memory is both fragile and malleable, and there is no way to know what sort of distortions crept in over the years. When one reads the

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34 **Registre**, p. 864. In this instance a husband and wife were questioned in each other's presence.


36 **Registre**, p. 637. Of course there may have been other incidents of torture which were mentioned in the lost volume.
depositions, inconsistencies do sometimes stand out: occasionally witnesses contradicted one another. Sometimes they contradicted themselves. And sometimes it is abundantly clear—even at a distance of six and a half centuries—that certain witnesses were lying. Some were far more artless and clumsy than others; some were extremely clever. Thus, ironically, the historian must be an inquisitor as well. I must judge each witness myself, consider each case individually; likewise, I must account for the court proceedings and be aware of the political/cultural context as a whole.

This is not all. There are additional methodological problems in this type of analysis. For one, I must account for myself and my own biases. It is easy to feel sorry for these peasants who wanted nothing more than to be left alone. This was one of the traps that Le Roy Ladurie fell into. Vidal went the other way: the monseigneur considered the heretics to be "the enemy camp." By being aware of this situation I hope I can straddle the fence between these two positions. I aim to make judgements without passing judgement.


38 Tribunal d'Inquisition de Pamiers, p. 128.
Beyond this, there is the problem of heresy in and of itself. Heresy is the raison d'être for the Fournier Register. Not only this document but most of the secondary literature, including Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*, is saturated with heresy. Unfortunately it is misleading. The average farmer or shepherd of the haut pays de Foix gave little thought to it, may have heard of heresy only indirectly, probably never even saw a heretic. Only a small percentage of those living in the Comté de Foix in the early fourteenth century were heretical believers, and there were fewer than a dozen perfects. The presence of Catharism is exaggerated in the most important primary source, and I have to compensate for this in some fashion. To that end I have employed as many alternative primary sources as possible. In addition to inquisitorial records I am using an annotated inventory of the archives of the Counts of Foix, seven cartularies dating from 1241 to 1387, property inventories, hearth counts, feudal contracts, land sales agreements, royal letters and ministerial reports, papal documents, local court proceedings and sentences, monastic records, chronicles, and modern archaeological and geographical analyses. In any case, heresy is not my chief concern here. I am looking for that mythical creature, the average peasant,\(^{39}\) and those hauled into the bishop's court were often extraordinary. I must control for heresy in an

attempt to look beyond it.
CHAPTER I
GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

"Poor country, free country." This was Hippolyte Taine's description of the Pyrenees. Touring southern France in the mid-nineteenth century he recognized isolation, poverty, freedom and conservatism as the hallmark marks of mountain culture.1 Quite independently Fernand Braudel arrived at much the same conclusion in his investigation of the mountainous regions of the Mediterranean: "In the mountains, society, civilization, and economy all bear the mark of backwardness and poverty."2 These aphorisms go a long way toward explaining the history of the haut pays de Foix in the Middle Ages. The culture of the farmer/shepherds of the upper Ariège was to a large extent determined by their mountain environment.3


3The Ariège river, fed by mountain streams and tributaries, flows from the crest of the eastern Pyrenees near Andorra northwards into the plains of Languedoc.

Figure 1. Geography of the Haut Pays de Foix.
Geography affected the communities of the haut pays de Foix on every level. People lived and died but the mountain was an implacable constant for countless generations of peasant families. It touched every aspect of village life. It determined, in part, the number of villages: there were only so many favorable sites. Geography also affected the size of the villages: the stinginess of soil and climate restricted population growth. Because fertile land is limited in the basin of the upper Ariège, the peasants had to rely on their other natural resources, chief among them the mountain pastures. Sheep herding was the predominant way of life in the haut pays de Foix from the neolithic era to the nineteenth century. Today flocks of sheep are still one of the enduring symbols of the eastern Pyrenees.

Likewise, the difficult, rocky terrain and the inclement weather hindered communication and transportation. Before the railroad was built travelers and merchants overwhelmingly preferred the Mediterranean coastal routes or the more accessible passes of Roussillon. Consequently, during the high Middle Ages, when the rest of Europe was experiencing an economic upturn, the economy of the upper Ariège remained as placid as the cold mountain lakes.

Geography affected politics as well. There has always been a tradition of freedom in the mountains. The manorial system presupposed productive agriculture, so serfdom never gained the higher altitudes; and to the extent that the
seigneurial system eventually did make itself felt, beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, domination was economic rather than personal. When the need arose, the communities of the haut pays de Foix were able to obtain remarkably generous charters of liberties--charters reflecting customs that pre­dated the medieval manor.

Mountain freedom was mental too. Both villages and individuals were fiercely independent. Isolation and the absence of a well developed religious infrastructure created an environment where free thinking was common. Not infrequently natural mountain logic led guileless peasants down the path of heresy. When new religious ideas appeared, they had a pronounced effect on these remote communities, far more so than in the larger, more cosmopolitan towns of the plains. In the plains the currents of opinion swept through in a continuous, self-cleansing fashion; in the mountains ideas became caught up in cultural eddies and proved difficult to displace. It took a long time for Catharism to take hold in the haut pays de Foix, but once it did, it endured for generations: the tough shepherds of the upper Ariège held out against bishops and inquisitors just as their ancestors had held out against Celts, Romans, Visigoths and Saracens. Poor country, free country.
The Haut Pays de Foix

The Comté de Foix was divided into two distinct regions, a plain in the north and a mountainous region in the south. As a whole, it formed what later became the eastern half of the Department of Ariège. In the Middle Ages, however, the two sections of the county were far from unified. They had been brought together for political reasons and their unification was more apparent than real, especially in the realm of daily life. The low country remained open to political and economic influences from all directions; the high country was a world unto itself. The haut pays de Foix, also called the Sabartès, had a geographic coherence that created a unique, almost insular culture.4

The bas Comté de Foix is a gently rolling, fertile plain. Its most important town, Pamiers, straddles the Ariège river which flows northward and joins the Garonne near Toulouse. There was always a certain amount of tension between the towns of Pamiers and Foix, which is in the high country. Pamiers dominated the open fields; Foix grew up around the comital château, guardhouse to the Pyrenees. During the Albigensian crusades, Pamiers served as a base of operations for Simon de Montfort: an assembly of northern nobles met there in 1212 to issue statutes for administering the conquered territories and

4Braudel (The Mediterranean, pp. 32-33) gave me the idea to describe mountain life as insular; in turn, Braudel credits J. Cvijic with the expression "mountain island," which he used to describe Montenegro in La Péninsule balkanique (1918), p. 29.
organizing the defense of the realm. Foix remained a stronghold for heretic sympathisers and the defenders of the South.

Fifteen kilometers south of Pamiers (i.e. upstream) a 500-600 m. ridge called the Plantaurel separates the pre-Pyrenean plain from the mountains proper and the bas from the haut Comté de Foix. The Ariège river cuts a defile, the Pas de Labarre, through the abrupt East-West ridge, and today the highway and the railway run along the valley floor. In the Middle Ages merchants and invading armies had no choice but to follow this single passageway into the high country. Now, as then, travellers emerging from the Pas de Labarre are overwhelmed by the powerful and impregnable château of Foix which guards the southern opening of the cluse.

The haut pays de Foix is formed by the upper basin of the Ariège river and extends from the Pas de Labarre to the crest

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5Dom Cl. Devic and Dom J. Vaissète, Histoire Générale de Languedoc (HGL), édition Privat (Toulouse, 1872-1904), vol. 8, cc. 625-635.

6The Plantaurel is a mountain chain that runs WNW-ESE. It is approximately 40 miles long and 3 miles wide and reaches a height of about 2500 feet. For a discussion of the strategic importance of the Pas de Labarre see Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, pp. 14-25. Paul Arqué notes that the distinction between the mountain and the plain is more marked in this eastern section of the Pyrenees than anywhere else, specifically because of the Plantaurel chain, Géographie des Pyrénées Françaises (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1943), pp. 6-7.
of the mountain.\textsuperscript{7} It has an area of approximately 1700 square kilometers (650 square miles). In the same way that the Pas de Labarre provides the only opening toward the plain, the Col de Puymorens (1915 m.), situated at the upper end of the Ariège valley, is the only pass into Catalonia and the sole mountain route between Toulouse and Barcelona.\textsuperscript{8} During the summer, the villagers of Mérens used to stand guard at the Col de Puymorens—from November through May the snows sufficed.\textsuperscript{9}

The entire Ariège basin is enclosed by high, rugged mountains that descend from the Spanish border to the Plantaurel. To the east is the Massif de Tabes (2349 m.) and to the west are the Massifs du Montcalm (3141 m.), des Bassies

\textsuperscript{7} The haut pays de Foix and the haut Comté de Foix were no longer coequal after the Albigensian crusades, when two miniscule Pyrenean seigneuries—the Donnezan and the Pays d'Alion—were added to the haut Comté de Foix as a result of political realignments, marriage alliances and outright purchases. The Donnezan is a small valley that opens on to the left bank of the upper Aude and the Pays d'Alion. The Pays d'Alion includes the villages of Montaillou and Prades and is formed by the upper basin of the Hers river. Both regions are east of the haut pays de Foix and neither belong to the same geographical unit. cf. Jean Duvernoy, "Le Donnezan à l'époque cathare," \textit{Heresis} 16 (1988), 51-56.

\textsuperscript{8} There are four passes that cross the Massif du Montcalm into Aragon and Andorra, the lowest being the Port d'Envalira (2407 m.); moreover, these passes are nearly inaccessible, making them viable for shepherds and fugitive heretics but impractical for merchants although, no doubt, some small scale local trade must have existed. Carte de l'Institut Géographique National, Série Verte, (St-Gaudens/Andorre) 1:100000.

\textsuperscript{9} On the struggle for control of the Col de Puymorens in the mid-11th century see Bonnassie, \textit{La Catalogne}, Vol. 2, pp. 619-624.
(2381 m.) and des Trois-Seigneurs (2200 m.). This makes access from the plains of Catalonia or Languedoc difficult at best, and it is one of the features that distinguishes the Ariège section of the Pyrenees from the Mediterranean sections in Cerdagne and Rousillon: those mountains open onto the plains below.

Even within the haut pays de Foix, the narrow, deep valleys are isolated from one another by mountain peaks that are frequently higher than 2000 m., and this created "pockets of little mountain societies jealous of their customs and proud of their individuality." This effect was enhanced by the severe winter and spring snows. It is important to understand, however, that the same geographical factors that nurtured and sustained these "little societies" also isolated them from many external economic influences: for all intents and purposes the haut Comté de Foix was a closed economic system.

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10 On the toponymy of these peaks see Paul Viteau, "Toponymie du Département de l'Ariège (Deuxième Partie)," Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Estudios Pirenaicos 6 (1958), 131-225.


13 Llobet, Foix Médiévale, p. 4.
All pre-industrial economic systems are determined to some extent by geography and the most backward societies, those with the least control over their environment, are precisely the ones most affected by their physical surroundings. Even by medieval standards the "little societies" of the haut pays de Foix were backward, and their economic possibilities were almost completely constrained by their mountain environment. This cut two ways. On the one hand, there were abundant natural resources and the peasants enjoyed liberal access to the fields, rivers, forests, mines and pastures of the upper Ariège. They were able to find sustenance for themselves and their families. On the other hand, the isolation of the mountain prevented the inhabitants from significantly tapping into the large scale trade that was developing in the plains of Catalonia and Languedoc in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Mountain Agriculture

Good agricultural land was limited in the haut pays de Foix. Traditionally, this section of the Pyrenees has been the least productive of the entire chain. Even in the nineteenth century, when population and agricultural exploitation were at a maximum, fields and meadows comprised only 13% of the total surface area in the Ariège valley, compared to nearly 50% in the very poorest regions of the bas Comté de Foix. This figure fell to 10% in the valley of Vicdessos, the main tributary to
the Ariège. These percentages were undoubtedly even lower in the Middle Ages because most of the land clearing in this region was not done until the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Worse still, what little agricultural land was available was often poor and difficult to farm. The largest contiguous tracts of arable lay along the valley floor, but these fields were ill-suited to growing grain because the mountains blocked out most of the sun and the frequent spring floods made farming a risky business. Consequently, most peasants tried their luck on the soulanes—the steep slopes with southern exposures. Since the neolithic period, clusters of tiny hamlets had squeezed themselves onto these scattered and precious patches of farmland at an altitude of 900-1000 meters. These were the same sites that had been occupied

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14 Chevalier, La Vie humaine, p. 327. Of course the percentage of productive land varies from commune to commune. It is higher, for example, in the valley of Miglos, which is located on the right bank of the Vicdessos at an average altitude of 800 m. Out of a total of 2095 hectares (5177 acres), there are 497 hectares of cultivable land, 4 hectares of gardens, 25 hectares covered by buildings, 190 hectares of natural prairies, 529 hectares of forest, and 850 hectares of mountain. Note that the mountain, essentially rock, takes up 40% of the total surface area, and this was less than in many other sections of the haut pays de Foix. C. Barrière-Flavy, La baronnie de Miglos: étude historique sur une seigneurie du haut Comté de Foix (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1894), p. ix.

for 3000 years. Yet even on the soulanes cereal cultivation was a constant struggle.

Farmers everywhere are held hostage by the whims of the weather, but this mountain climate was particularly capricious. Winter rye was normally sown in late September or the first two weeks of October, and winter wheat slightly later. However, when autumn was unusually wet, as it often is in this extremely humid region, the seasonal timetable was thrown off and the crops threatened. It was not uncommon to sow wheat in early December. Then too there was always the danger of a sudden freeze. The peasants themselves expressed it best:

Per Sant Andréou
Aci sé dits qué soun la néou

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16 Personal communication from Jean-Paul Métaillé, geographer at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail, November 28, 1988.

17 "For St. Andrew's (November 30), I am here, says the snow." This and the following peasant proverbs are in the distinctive Ariège patois and were collected in the nineteenth century by Dr. L.-S. Fugairon, Topographie Médicale du Canton d'Ax (Ariège), (Paris: Asselin et Huzeau, 1888), pp. 113-114. It is well-known that the frontier between the Comté de Foix and the Comté de Cousserans (what are today the eastern and western halves of the Département of Ariège) is also a linguistic frontier. In Foix they spoke Languedocien; in Cousserans, Gascon, cf. Pierre Bec, Les interférences linguistiques entre Gascon et Languedocien dans les parlers du Comminges et Cousserans: essai d'aréologie systématique (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968). It is less well understood that the haut Pays de Foix had its own dialect, but this is clearly reflected in the Fournier Register where the peasants identify each other by the "language" they speak. So, for instance, not only can they differentiate a Gascon from a Languedocien, they also know a Toulousain when they hear one; in fact, they could tell the difference between someone who came from the Sabartès and someone who came from the Pays
If a wet autumn was followed by an early snow, the farmers might simply give up and hope for a promising spring.

If they succeeded in getting the seed in the ground, it was generally safe during the winter unless the covering of snow lasted more than three months, in which case the grain suffocated. Naturally this was most likely at the higher altitudes which meant that rye, the preferred cereal above 1000 meters, was the most vulnerable.

Spring is the least secure season. If it warmed up too soon, the plants emerged prematurely and might be destroyed by a late frost.

Lé qué per nadal s'assouleillo
Per Pascos s'é tourreillo18

or

Si fébrié non fébriérego
Mars et avril n'en prennen l'embéjo19

Occasionally, this danger is forcefully illustrated in the Fournier Register. One Sunday morning in May 1322 the threat of a cold snap was the topic of discussion in the village square of Ascou. The farmers were worried because it had been raining and snowing at the same time. They were afraid that if the snow covered the wheat, they would be lost,

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18 "He who suns himself at Christmas, will freeze at Easter."

19 "If February is not February, then it will come in March and April."
but they reassured each other that everything would turn out
for the best because somehow God would save them as he always
had before.\textsuperscript{20} Unfortunately for the villagers of Ascou, their
worst fears were realized that spring: the snow continued, the
crops were destroyed and there was a famine.\textsuperscript{21} Chances are
the peasants viewed this disaster as God's punishment for
heretical statements made by one of their company at that very
same Sunday morning gathering.

In lieu of a late frost, violent gusts of wind (\textit{l'autun})
and especially torrential downpours were a constant menace.

\begin{quote}
Quand lé soleil sé coucho  
Ambé le mos à la boucho  
La plegeo es darre la porto\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

or

\begin{quote}
Quand l'aouta sé llébo sus la rousado  
La neit le bouye à la besto bagnado\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

Wind and rain alike threatened to annihilate the young,
fragile spikes of wheat or rye, and farmers worried about it
constantly. Some years were much worse than others. The second
decade of the fourteenth century, for example, was a

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Registre}, pp. 723-724.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Registre}, p. 729.

\textsuperscript{22}"When the sun sets while there is a morcel in the mouth,
the rain is behind the door." In other words, when the sun
goes down early (i.e. in the spring and the fall), it rains a
lot.

\textsuperscript{23}"When the \textit{autun} blows over the morning dew, the farmer's
coat will be wet that evening."
particularly wet one.  

Ultimately, there was summer. The mountain sun is often brutal in June and July. All of the crops were susceptible to overexposure, especially the late-blooming wheat which appeared on the unprotected soulanes. Naturally, these consummate fatalists had a saying that summed up the vagaries of mountain agriculture.

Qui terro de montanho labouro si un an y rit
Sept ans y plouro

In spite of the scarcity of land, its poor quality and the inherent climatic hazards, the haut pays de Foix provided its modest population with enough grain to bake bread most of the time, even if it was not the best bread. One peasant woman apologized to a guest for this, saying, "Monsieur, I'm afraid that you won't like the bread that I've made for you: us mountain women don't have fine sieves, and we no longer know how to bake good bread." Perhaps Madame Peyre-Amiel was 


25"For every year the mountain farmer laughs, he cries for seven." This proverb and the above analysis of the difficulties of cereal production in this region comes from Chevalier, La vie humaine, pp. 225-226.

simply being modest, for she probably made her loaves of wheat (froment) as opposed to barley (orge) or rye (seigle) or oats (l'avoine); occasionally, however, one does find references to bread made of millet (sarrasin), a lesser quality grain. It is perhaps suggestive that even today the inhabitants of the plain use the nickname "gabachou" for those living in the upper Ariège: gabache is the Ariège word for millet.\(^{27}\)

Still, because agriculture was undertaken on a restricted scale in the mountains, there were intermittent grain shortages. In 1436 a money-changer and an iron merchant, both from Toulouse, formed a partnership devoted to exporting metal from the haut pays de Foix in exchange for importing wheat.\(^{28}\) Clearly there was a demand for it. Also, at least one native of Tarascon said she emigrated to Aragon because there was a famine at home (early fourteenth century),\(^{29}\) and there was the Ascou famine of 1322.\(^{30}\) These were only sporadic, local shortages, which typified the insular quality of mountain life; sometimes, however, the towns, if not necessarily the


\(^{29}\)Registre, p. 854.

\(^{30}\)Registre, p. 729.
villages, suffered from disastrous harvests that were wider in scope. A famine was reported in the town of Foix in 1374-1375.\textsuperscript{31} No doubt this was tied to the bad harvests and resultant food shortages that struck the entire Midi that season.\textsuperscript{32}

These sorts of problems persisted in the early modern period. In 1670, one of Colbert's ministers, Louis de Froidour, observed that the haut Comté de Foix could produce only one half, or maybe even one quarter, of the food the inhabitants required.\textsuperscript{33} If it had not been for its other natural resources—the rivers, forests, mines and pastures—the mountain could not have supported the population it did.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{31}Llobet, \textit{Foix Médiévale}, p. 109. Interestingly, Llobet claims there were no famines in Foix before 1360. Another famine struck Foix in 1482-83.

\textsuperscript{32}cf. Marie-Josèphe Larenaudie, "Les Famines en Languedoc aux XIVe et XVe siècles," \textit{Annales du Midi} 64 (1952), 32-35.

\textsuperscript{33}Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Réformation des Eaux et Forêts, Maîtrise de Pamiers, Tome I, f° 130.

\textsuperscript{34}Nonetheless, even these supplementary activities were primarily a local affair. See Chapter V.
CHAPTER II
ORIGINS OF THE COMTÉ DE FOIX

Introduction

The mountain shaped the culture of the Ariège in the same way that biology shapes the human being: life is predetermined at birth, but only to a degree. Geography, like genetics, provides a range of possible responses to external stimuli. Ultimately the personality of an individual, or a society, is formed by the interaction of external forces with internal predispositions.

The indigenous culture of the upper Ariège was profoundly affected by the crystallization of administrative and ecclesiastical structures. In the early Middle Ages the Sabartès was not yet integrated into a clearly defined principality. Most of the land was owned outright as allods; some belonged to the peasants, some to the nobles. The ruling families from the neighboring counties—Carcassone, Toulouse, Couserans, Cerdagne—all had interests in the region. None had hegemony, and frequently they were absentee landlords; consequently, villagers were often left to their own devices in the absence of any effective government. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the haut pays de Foix
was slowly transformed into the haut Comté de Foix, and as the house of Foix carved out a principality for itself, the lives of their subjects became more complicated. The appearance of a strong seigneurial family changed peasant culture in the upper Ariège and this trend intensified in the aftermath of the Albigensian crusades.

External forces brought significant changes in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The appearance of Catharism in Languedoc provided opportunities for a newly invigorated papal monarchy to extend its influence; and when the French crown recognized the same possibilities, church and state joined forces, unleashing the Albigensian crusades. The haut pays de Foix was relatively unaffected by the wars themselves, but the aftermath had a tremendous impact. Defense of the realm had cost the house of Foix a lot of money in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and the counts tried to recoup their losses. They did so by increasing taxes—or at least the efficiency of tax-collecting—and by farming out taxable units—e.g. mills, bridges, villages, seigneuries—for immediate cash loans. It was a process of economic sub-infeudation.

In addition, the defeat of the southern coalition opened the way for an influx of church officials devoted to eradicating heresy and collecting the tithe. Administrative centralization followed, and the peasants paid the price. The mountain communities eventually succumbed to the same flood of
armies, tax-collectors, bureaucrats and laws that inundated the rest of Languedoc during the course of the thirteenth century. The Ariégeois held out the longest because they were on the highest ground, but they could not hold out forever.

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A modern history of the Comte de Foix has yet to be written. The last complete, scholarly account devoted to the region was published in 1852; ¹ consequently, the story of the steady ascendance of the house of Foix--its slow rise from provincial obscurity to the throne of France²--is not widely known. It deserves to be. A history of the Comte de Foix will help illuminate the bewildering variety of southern French political, administrative and judicial structures; provide new perspectives on the "feudal revolution" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; lead to new evaluations of the success or failure of Capetian policies in the Midi; add to our understanding of the effects of geography and economics on local government; and force us to reconsider some of our

¹H. Castillon d'Aspet, Histoire du comté de Foix (Toulouse: J.-B. Cazaux, 1852), 2 volumes, reissued by Laffitte Reprints, Marseille, 1978. In addition, there are two earlier histories, Pierre Olhagary, Histoire de Foix, Béarn et Navarre (Paris: D. Douceur, 1609) and Bertrand Hélie, Historia Fuxensium comitum (Toulouse: N. Viellardus, 1540). The Histoire générale de Languedoc, ed. Devic and Vaisssete (Toulouse: Privat, 1875) also contains important sections on the Comte de Foix, especially in volumes 2, 4 and 12.

²King Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610) inherited not only Navarre, Béarn and Bigorre, but also the Comte de Foix.
comfortable assumptions concerning lay lordship and class structure in the Middle Ages.

Most modern historians of the Middle Ages are introduced to the house of Foix by Froissart. In the fall of 1388 the chronicler spent twelve weeks at the court of Count Gaston-Febus (1343-1391) in Orthez (Béarn). Béarn, part of what is today the Departement of Pyrénees-Atlantiques, lies far to the west of the Ariège basin. The counts had moved their administration to Orthez in the late thirteenth century following the marriage in 1257 of Roger-Bernard III to Marguerite de Montcade, daughter of the viscount of Béarn. Froissart describes the habits and character of Gaston-Febus, relates the events leading to his murdering his own son, entertains us with the tale of the haunting of Sir Peter, the count's bastard brother, and tells of the count's death: wonderful stories all,—but they do not explain how the house of Foix gained such a strong position in southern France by the late fourteenth century.

Those historians with more than a passing interest in Languedoc know that the counts of Foix were supporters of Raymond VI and Raymond VII of Toulouse during the Albigensian crusades (1208-1226). Few scholars, however, know how the

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3 Histoire générale de Languedoc (HGL), vol. 6, p. 889.
beginning of the Hundred Years' War, and this was the crucial period, not only for this family, but also for the region as a whole.

In the late thirteenth century it was all the counts could do to maintain their family's position because they were squeezed between the kings of France and Aragon, both of whom had designs on the eastern Pyrenees. Roger-Bernard III (1265-1302), for example, struggled against Philip IV of France and Pedro III of Aragon throughout his reign, playing one off against the other in an ongoing bid to keep his inheritance intact. Along the way he had the opportunity to carve his name on dungeon walls in both Carcassonne and Barcelona. Nonetheless, he persevered. By the late fourteenth century the counts of Foix had become major players in France and Spain. They had lost their long-defended political independence, but they gained much more: working within the system of French alliances—as opposed to fighting against it—allowed the counts of Foix to increase their wealth, power and prestige in ways that would have been impossible had they not given in to the pressure exerted by Philip IV and his successors.

Naturally the haut pays de Foix was greatly affected by the gradual transformation of the counts from independent, local rulers who were sympathetic to local needs, to distant, national figures, who were fully integrated into the system of French political alliances. This development began in the twelfth century with the establishment of the Comté de Foix
and was completed by the late fourteenth century. It was the context within which the inhabitants of the upper Ariège struggled to maintain their traditional freedoms, and it was one of the mechanisms through which external political and economic pressures were brought to bear upon the mountain communities. For this reason, the emergence of the house of Foix and the establishment of the county of Foix—not the same thing—must be examined in some detail. In addition, it is necessary to touch upon some of the earliest developments in the region, because they set the stage for and help explain what followed in the Middle Ages.

Past Approaches

Although the history of the Ariège in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is unfamiliar to many scholars, it is nonetheless discernible: beginning with the Albigensian crusades, the political and legal developments of the Comté de Foix can be traced in significant detail; on the contrary, our knowledge of the region before the thirteenth century is incomplete at best: little is known of the early history of the Ariège basin or the process through which it was incorporated into a county. This may be an insurmountable problem.

No one will be surprised to learn that we suffer from a lack of written sources and that this is the chief obstacle to research. Save for several dozen place-names, the infrequent
literary reference and a handful of artifacts, we have few rock-solid sources to which our inquiries might be anchored. No local records exist before the late ninth century, and consistent written evidence is available only from the mid-to-late eleventh. We do not even know the name of this pays before 870, which is the first time the upper Ariège is specifically referred to as a territorial unit. In the ninth century the mountainous country between the Pas de Labarre and the Spanish border was called the Sabartès; only in the twelfth century did it come to be known as the haut Comté de Foix. Thus we are dealing with a tiny, poorly-documented region, and in general specialists on southern France overlook the Ariège. Those historians who give more than a passing reference to the Comté de Foix tend to lump it together with the pays Toulousain, and sometimes this can be misleading.

6 Little archaeological research has been done in the Ariège mountains except for the studies on mining discussed in Chapter V. In nearby regions, however, two projects geared toward gathering socio-economic data have yielded some interesting results: through a study of twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century funeral monuments, J. Bordenave and M. Vialelle have concluded that the peasants between Albi and Castres, south of the Tarn river, understood Christianity as only one of the components of their magico-religious universe, La mentalité religieuse des paysans de l'Aïbigeois médiéval (Toulouse, 1973). In addition, there has been some work done at Montségur by André Czeski, "Quelques aspects de la vie quotidienne à Montségur aux XIIIème et XIVème siècles révélés par les témoignages archéologiques exhumés," Société Ariégeoise Sciences, Lettres et Arts 37 (1982), 31-36 and "Montségur (Ariège); travaux de recherches archéologiques 1980-1983: premiers résultats," Société Ariégeoise Sciences, Lettres et Arts 40 (1985), 109-136.

7 See discussion below, pp. 61-63.

8 This is true, for example, of Thomas Bisson, Archibald Lewis and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier.
The challenge, then, in writing a history of this region, is to disentangle those events unique to the Comté de Foix from those characteristic of southern France and Catalonia as a whole. Their history is shared—the Ariège basin underwent many of the same fundamental changes as the Toulousain, Septimania and the Marche d'Espagne; yet the Ariège had important distinctive features. Idiosyncratic up close, such regional features become illuminating at a distance where they can be compared with findings from other areas. We are still in need of monographs. We still must take care to pluck local realities from the nearly irresistible stream of historical consensus. When general opinion swells to a torrent, when it runs too fast and too deep, it washes over and buries regional differences. Ironically, unique regional characteristics are usually revealed through the very same tributary monographs.

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9 This is the same conclusion that Etienne Delaruelle came to while examining Couserans, which is adjacent to the Comté de Foix and which comprises the western half of the Department of Ariège. He provides some illustrative examples in "Couserans," Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, ed. A. De Meyer and Ét. Van Cauwenbergh (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1956), vol. 13, cc. 960-969. "It is true that the general events which make up the history of Novempopulana in this epoch [early Middle Ages] were felt in the Couserans, but, in fact, nothing was known of Priscillianism, the heresy of Vigilance, Arianism or the invasions of the barbarians in this region." Note how far removed this is from the attitude of the editors of the Histoire Générale de Languedoc (vol. 12, p. 225) who write "... for a very long time the ancient regions of Bigorre, Comminges and Couserans had had such a constant connection with Languedoc properly speaking that we can overlook them altogether in a work of synthesis."
that feed the main stream consensus. But what do we hold onto? How do we anchor ourselves to avoid being swept away?

As noted above, the last complete, narrative history of the Comté de Foix was published in 1852, but it did not stand alone. It appeared during the most active period of Fuxean scholarship. Between the revolutions of 1848 and World War I a small group of dedicated local scholars produced a series of articles and monographs on various aspects of the history of the Ariège; in addition, they organized a forum for sharing their research by establishing the Bulletin périodique de la Société Ariégeoise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts (printed 1882-1938). This body of work is indispensable to anyone interested in the Comté de Foix during the Middle Ages; however, these studies also suffer from the pitfalls described above. In moments of uncertainty the authors borrowed too readily both from earlier works and from histories of other regions; as a result, they sometimes misinterpreted the

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10 Léopold Genicot has recently made a forceful appeal for new regional studies. He underscores the complexity of the medieval European countryside and even provides an outline for a monograph that young scholars may use in their investigations of specific manors or villages. Rural Communities in the Medieval West (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

11 This journal is essential for studies of the Ariège. It should be noted, however, that the post-war issues were greatly diminished in size and content and that publication was halted from 1939 until 1959. In 1960 the journal was reissued as Société Ariégeoise. Sciences, Lettres et Arts. Along with the new name there has been a return to the quality of the early years. The first three volumes of the journal (1882-1886) are now available as reprints from F. Soula et fils, Pamiers (Ariège).
documentation that their own painstaking research had brought to light.

Adolphe Garrigou, H. Duclos, H. Castillon d'Aspet, Hippolyte Marcaillhou d'Aymeric, Charles Baudon de Mony, Felix Pasquier: all were fine scholars without whose research mine would be impossible. Likewise, all were men of their age. They wrote history in a nineteenth-century style, a style which allowed them to take open pride in their pays natal.

Garrigou was the most prolific of the group. His major books were Études historiques sur l'ancien pays de Foix et le Couseran (Toulouse, 1846); Sabar: histoire de l'église de Sabar dans le canton de Tarascon-sur-Ariège (Toulouse: Imprimerie Laboisse-Rochefort, 1849); Les Sotiates (Toulouse, 1856) and Histoire des populations pastorales de l'ancien consulate de Tarascon (Toulouse: Imprimerie de Calmettes, 1857). Abbé H. Duclos wrote a seven volume series, Histoire des Ariégeois (Paris, 1885-1887). H. Castillon d'Aspet's most ambitious and most important work was Histoire du comte de Foix (Toulouse: J.-B. Cazaux, 1852), 2 volumes; but he also produced Histoire d'Ax et de la vallée d'Andorre (Toulouse: J. Pitet, 1851). Among these scholars Castillon d'Aspet is the most modern in his approach and, along with Baudon de Mony, the most conservative and reliable in his analyses. Hippolyte Marcaillou d'Aymeric's studies of Ax include broader discussions of the entire haut pays de Foix, Monographie de la ville d'Ax (Toulouse: Imprimerie Viallelle, 1886) and Notice historique sur les villages composant le canton d'Ax (Foix, 1909). These histories exhibit most strongly the tendencies described in this paragraph. Charles Baudon de Mony is somewhat more modern: his approach is cautious, and he tries not to stray too far from the MSS. Relations politiques des comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne jusqu'au commencement du XIVe siècle (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1896), 2 volumes, is the most important book that I have listed. In part this is because Baudon de Mony could make use of the Devic and Vaisette edition (1872+) of the Histoire Générale de Languedoc. Finally, Felix Pasquier was more of an archivist and paleographer than a historian. Most of his research was published in the Bulletin périodique de la Société Ariégeoise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts. Pasquier edited, among other things, the customs of Ornolac (1415), Foix (1387), Fossat (1274), and Ax (1241). When Pasquier extrapolates from his texts, his comments are similar to those of the above authors.
They painted the Ariège in bold colors. They revelled in it, glorified it. They made its inhabitants heroic. Concerned primarily with genealogies, place-names and local legends, they ended up by establishing a place for Foix in the official history of France. A touch of romanticism, some regional chauvinism, a good portion of historicism, a base of loosely transcribed charters, the veneration of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century masters: this was the palette these historians used to create their collective portrait of the Comté de Foix; and their tableau was done on a grand scale, chivalrous, idyllic, narrative, quasi-mythological, treating of things noble. It would have found favor with the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

Adolphe Garrigou epitomized this genre of historical writing. His version of the early history of the pays de Foix is straightforward and unambiguous . . . if not always sure-footed.13 His conclusion can be summed up in a phrase: "the loss of independence." Before the Romans arrived, Garrigou wrote, the mountains of the upper Ariège were inhabited by independent tribes, isolated in their high valleys. These tribes, whom he identifies as the Sotiates and Tarusates of Caesar's Gallic War14, bravely resisted yet ultimately succumbed to Publius Crassus. The Romans, however, permitted the mountain dwellers to retain their traditional customs and

13 The following description is an abstract of the body of Garrigou's work listed in footnote #12.
14 Book III, Chapters 20-27.
freedom. If anything Roman law, which Garrigou venerated, served to protect long-standing usages by regularizing and recording them. Only the names changed. Clan chiefs became consuls, "in the name of the republic," as patriarchal institutions were replaced by municipal ones. These customary freedoms, Garrigou states without explaining, were also preserved by the Visigoths.

The Saracens were the spoilers, invariably portrayed as savage, undisciplined hordes bent on reducing the indigenous population to slavery. Garrigou's description of the Arab domination, which he lifts in its entirety from an earlier work by Claude Fauriel, thus sets the stage for the triumphant victory of the conquering savior-hero Charlemagne. Charlemagne vanquishes the Saracens in a climactic battle on the plain of Tarascon where he erects a chapel, endows a monastery and establishes a viguerie, all of which, Garrigou affirms, served to re-establish and support the progressive legislative work begun by the Romans. Unfortunately, the author concludes, "[Charlemagne's] successors make a travesty of the great king's humanitarian and regenerative designs: his work remained incomplete."
This sort of heroic tableau was fine for the Académie Royale, but our tastes have changed since the nineteenth century. Garrigou's picture is evocative and, in many ways, reasonably accurate, but today we demand more rigorous analyses. We are not content simply with a beautiful or dramatic rendering of the past; we want to see it as it really was in all of its imperfections. Today we examine the past from a variety of angles. We have learned to stomach ambiguity. While we remain deferential to those scholars who have preceded us, indebted to them for uncovering and identifying our sources, we do not think it wrong to re-evaluate their conclusions. The historians of the nineteenth have stretched the canvas and sketched the design, now it is left to us to execute the work in our own pluralistic, post-modern fashion.

The Pre-Roman and Gallo-Roman eras

The paleolithic occupation of the haut pays de Foix is well documented; indeed, the confluence of the Vicdessos and the Ariège was one of the most heavily populated prehistoric sites in the Pyrenees. There are over one hundred caves in the Tarascon area alone.\textsuperscript{19} During the Neolithic era, at least by the second millenium B.C., pre-Celtic groups formed permanent

agricultural and pastoral settlements in the upper Ariège. The number of megalithic monuments confirm this. It is theorized that these megaliths marked the earliest transhumance routes, although their precise function—were they primarily sepulchral?—remains uncertain. Significantly, the population sites chosen by the pre-Celtic peoples became the location of subsequent hamlets and villages, not only during the Roman and Visigothic periods, but also throughout the Middle Ages. This gives new meaning to P. H. Sawyers's observation that medieval settlement patterns are "much older than most scholars have been prepared to recognize."2

Towards the end of the second millennium B.C. (c. 1400), proto-Celts appeared in the eastern Pyrenees ("la civilisation des champs d'urnes"), soon to be followed by the first Celts properly speaking ("La Tène culture"), who arrived during the first millenium. These Celtic migrations continued for hundreds of years, the last important migrations taking place

20 Bahn, Pyrenean Prehistory, pp. 282-296. In view of some of my own observations, Bahn makes a particularly interesting remark in his conclusion (pp. 296-297). "It should be stressed," he writes, "that the Ariège uplands are relatively isolated from cultural currents which flowed more readily at the two ends of the chain; this, enhanced by the innate conservatism of mountain peoples, helps to explain the great continuity seen in various aspects of prehistoric life."

21 Personal communication from Professor Jean-Paul Métaillé, geographer, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, November 28, 1988.

between the late fifth and mid-second centuries B.C.. The Tectosages—Garigou's "Tarusates"—were among this final group. In addition, Iberian tribes were present during this period. Either they arrived at the same time, moving northward from Spain in response to the Celtic emigration, or else they were already there, indigenous to the region.\(^{23}\)

The Celtic presence was strong in the haut pays de Foix. Celtic place-names frequently end in -ac or -at, and the Ariège region is rich in such endings (eg. Lordat, Ornolac, Rabat, Unac, Junac, Tignac). The Iberian groups were found primarily in the Couserans to the west. This becomes more significant when it is understood that the Massif de l'Ariège and the Massif des Trois-Seigneurs—mountains separating the pays de Foix from the Couserans—also served as linguistic barriers, and remained so well into the Middle Ages. In the pays de Foix the Langue d'Oc was spoken; in the Couserans, the local peoples spoke Gascon. "The Massif des Trois Seigneurs marks the south-eastern limit of Gascon."\(^{24}\) This is still

\(^{23}\)Xavier de Planhol, Géographie Historique de la France (Paris Fayard, 1988). pp. 16-20. The author argues that the Celts did not completely cover over and assimilate the pre-existing local populations, citing as evidence the continued use of pre-Celtic place-names such as Tarascon. It should be noted, however, that toponymic arguments of this kind can sometimes be misleading if such factors as the size and social status of the incoming groups are not closely considered, cf. G. R. J. Jones, "Multiple Estates and Early Settlement," Medieval Settlement, pp. 15-40. Then too toponymic arguments can be misleading in and of themselves, see my discussion of the word Sabartès, pp. 61-63.

\(^{24}\)Pierre Bec, Les interferences linguistiques entre Gascon et Languedocien dans les parlers du Comminges et Couserans: essai d'aréologie systematique (Paris: Presses Universitaires
true today for those peasants who speak patois.

It is certain, therefore, that immediately prior to the arrival of the Romans the upper Ariège basin was inhabited by various pre-Celtic, Celtic and perhaps also Iberian peoples, but it is unlikely that we will ever be able to identify individual tribes isolated in the high mountain valleys as some historians have attempted to do. Outside of the very broad and sometimes confused writings of Strabo, Livy, Ptolemy and other ancient historians and geographers, place-name evidence is all we have to guide us, and it does not permit us to match any of the tribes mentioned by Caesar with specific mountain locations. (The sole exception was the Tarusconienses, a pre-Celtic tribe mentioned by Pliny, and the source of the place-name Tarascon.) At any rate, as the conqueror of Gaul was setting out to fulfill his destiny, our region remained remote, backward and relatively unattractive; it was only just at that moment, in the mid-first century B.C., that this section of the eastern Pyrenees showed any sign of being pulled into a larger economic circle, and even then the archaeological evidence is tentative: the few coins and pieces of pottery that have been found come primarily from

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the valley of the Hers river which is not part of the haut pays de Foix properly speaking. Nothing was found in the Ariège above Saint-Jean-de-Verges, located on the Plantaurel at the northern end of the Pas de Labarre. These meagre finds are bolstered, however, by the fact that Pliny was writing during this same period. The area was gaining at least a modicum of attention. It is also interesting that one of the most renowned Paleolithic caves is also found at Saint-Jean-de-Verges, further confirming the continuity of settlement at favorable sites. Nonetheless, more intensive exploration of the upper Ariège basin must be undertaken before any firm conclusions can be reached. Currently the best we can do is to identify the Fuxean tribes as part of that wider, amorphous group, the Volcae Tectosages.

Unfortunately, the arrival of Roman legions in southern Gaul did not herald more written evidence for future historians: to Strabo, Polybius, even Caesar, the region remained an insignificant backwater in what was already a remote and backward province. True, the haut pays de Foix became part of Gallia Narbonensis---by default---but it was not part of the theatre of operations: the struggle between the

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28 Personal communication from Dr. Hans Keller, Ohio State University, January, 1991.
29 Bahn, Pyrenean Prehistory, pp. 216-219.
Romans and the Gauls took place in the plains to the north. The ancient historians and geographers paid scant attention to the distant mountains except near the Mediterranean coast or in the West where there were important military passes.

There was a Roman presence south of the Pas de Labarre, but it was an economic/administrative presence, not a military one; furthermore, its impact on the local tribes seems to have been negligible. (To be fair the lack of evidence likely underrepresents the cultural contact that did occur.) In any case, there are no written records dealing specifically with the upper Ariège; the archaeological evidence is minimal; and the place-name evidence tells us only that the Romans ascended the valley—hardly an earth-shattering revelation. We know what took place elsewhere, but extrapolation risks distortion.

To the extent that this study focuses on the origins and especially the development of these mountain communities, two questions are paramount in regard to the Gallo-Roman period. First, the ancient landholding system needs to be examined because this will provide clues to social and agricultural organization in the early Middle Ages. If *villae* were widespread—and here I intend *villae* in the narrower, traditional sense of estates held by leading citizens and worked by *coloni*—it suggests a steep social hierarchy,

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unfree labor and proto-manorialism. Second, in the same vein, it is important to determine the impact of the Romans on the political/legal status of the indigenous population, again, with an eye to interpreting later changes. Did the tribes gain or lose independence?

The first issue is addressed in an important new book by A. L. F. Rivet wherein the author uses extensive archaeological analyses to re-examine hypotheses built around the standard written sources. Rivet provides a map of the territory around Tolosa (Toulouse) which details all known Gallo-Roman sites including cities, temples, milestones, roads, mines, quarries, villas and "probable" villas. He concludes that there were no villas in the upper Ariège basin. This means that the landholding patterns which later fed into manorialism in many parts of western Europe, especially those with a strong Roman presence, were not in place in this part of the Pyrenees. One would expect, therefore, that manorialism would never fully develop in such a region which, in fact, turns out to be the case. Admittedly, a negative argument like this can never be conclusive, and a more thorough archaeological investigation including aerial photography must be undertaken; nonetheless, Rivet's findings are instructive.

33 Gallia Narbonensis, p. 120.
The second issue has been answered with a reasonably high degree of unanimity among scholars interested in the problem: without exception historians have concluded that the Roman impact on local, tribal independence was minimal. (The reader will recall that Garrigou's conclusions were similar, albeit overstated.) The Roman occupation in the mountains was light, and it was principally of an economic nature. There have been small archaeological finds at Ax (presumably Aquae from the Peutinger table), Tarascon and Foix, but nothing which suggests a well developed administrative system. Rather, it appears that, as elsewhere in Gaul, "[Caesar] left the tribal governments practically undisturbed, and the tribute which he imposed was little more than minimal." Similarly, the editors of the Histoire Générale de Languedoc conclude that after the Roman conquest the various regional tribes of southern France continued to enjoy their traditional freedoms and usages. All of this is tentative---it may remain so forever; yet, these observations fit in well with the overall pattern of developments in this region both prior to and following the Gallo-Roman period.

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34 Rivet, Gallia Narbonensis, pp. 122, 125.  
The Early Middle Ages

It is frequently remarked that conservatism and continuity are universal features of tribal and peasant cultures, attributes which become even more pronounced in mountain communities. What little information we have concerning the Ariège in the early medieval period tends to confirm these widely held assumptions; nothing indicates a radical break with the past. Garrigou and his contemporaries readily accepted the notion of continuity and characterized the new Gothic and Frankish overlords as distant and relatively benevolent. Clovis, most noted, was a signal exception. Castillon d'Aspet, the last historian to attempt a full history of the Comte de Foix, is typical. He confidently asserted that the Visigoths were not despots, that they left Gaul how they found it and that they maintained the local peoples in their enjoyment of Roman law. More recent scholarship has confirmed that this was the case in important towns such as Narbonne and Carcassonne, but we must reserve judgement concerning the more remote sections of southern Gaul which include the haut pays de Foix. This is not to say that the distant and benevolent overlord theory is wrong; rather, I am simply noting that the evidence these scholars used comes primarily from legal codes such as the Lex Salica and from chronicles and histories, especially the History of the Franks

39Geary, Before France and Germany, pp. 89-90.
by Gregory of Tours. In other words, they are talking about mainstream developments and assuming the same went on in the highlands.

Sometimes this leads to erroneous conclusions. Castillon d'Aspet made a leap of faith that was not uncommon among nineteenth-century historians— he traced the origins of village consuls and liberal thirteenth-century charters back to the Romans and Visigoths. This is mistaken. He went on to portray the peoples of Foix, Andorra, Couserans and Comminges as tribes living on the frontier of Clovis's kingdom. He argued that in Aquitaine and Novempopulana Clovis's conquest penetrated less than elsewhere, and that after Clovis's death, the Conserani and Convenae were more or less left alone "in the heart of a country which enjoyed a profound calm and peace." Perhaps, but how do we test such a hypothesis? All we can say for certain is that the Franks were the dominant power in the region at one time. Some Merovingian coins have been found carrying the words Castro Fuxi.

Occasionally beacons of certitude cut through the haze that obscures the history of these mountains in the early

40 Histoire du comté de Foix, p. 100.
41 Castillon d'Aspet, pp. 109-120.
Middle Ages. One such ray of light comes from Gregory of Tours and clarifies the conditions in the region around Foix as the Merovingians were pushing southward. Before Clovis defeated Alaric near Poitiers in 507,\(^4\) the Visigoths and their allies were still in a position of strength in the Pyrenees: witness the raids of Euric and his men from the other side of the mountains. More specifically, Alaric's men were still operating in the Ariège in the last decade of the fifth century for it was they who gave the local Christians their first martyr.\(^4\) Alaric had become suspicious of Volusianus, ninth Bishop of Tours, accusing him of collaborating with the Franks, and in the seventh year of his episcopate, he was exiled to Toulouse. (This unfortunate bishop is also noted for having had a particularly ill-tempered wife. It is reported that Ruricius, Bishop of Limoges, once advised Volusianus that he ought to fear her more than the Goths.\(^4\)) In retrospect, Ruricius's jibe seems exceedingly harsh. Not long after his initial exile, the Visigoths decided to move Volusianus to Spain, and the poor bishop died—or was executed—not far from Pamiers on the road south from Toulouse.\(^4\)


\(^4\)On the story of St. Volusien see Chapter IV.
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eleventh or twelfth century, St. Volusien became the vocable of the Augustinian monastery at Foix.

Another glimmer of solid information comes from the eighth century. As noted above, Charlemagne was seen as a savior-hero by many local monographers, and all recount the climactic battle between the Franks and the Saracens. As noted above, Charlemagne was seen as a savior-hero by many local monographers, and all recount the climactic battle between the Franks and the Saracens. As it turns out, this oft repeated story does have some basis in reality. Toponymic and archaeological evidence suggests that the Muslims did penetrate the Ariège mountains. As far as I know, this has never before been demonstrated. First, there are names of certain geographical features such as fields, rocks and springs which recall the Saracen presence. Genicot has termed

47 Castillon d'Aspet is an exception. In his words, "the spirit of absolute domination of Aquitaine began, not with the [Merovingian] conquest, but only with the reign of Charlemagne; before that, and under the Visigoths, this province obeyed only chiefs elected from their midst, outside of any Frankish influence." Histoire du Comté de Foix, p. 128. This is in marked contrast to Garrigou's celebration of Charlemagne as a liberator. He blames Charlemagne's successors for any hardships the Fuxeans suffered.

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this "microtoponymy." So, for example, at the northern entrance of the Pas de Labarre on the left bank of the Ariège, across from St. Jean de Verges, there is a source of water called the Fount Sarrasine. Likewise, there is a stretch of hillside in the valley of Genat, southwest of Tarascon, known as del camp Sarrasi. Other place-names reflect the memory of Charlemagne. Just outside the village of Amplaing, there is an outcrop called the Roc de Carol, and there is another Roc de Carol near Quié. At the southern limit of the haut pays de Foix, high in the mountains, not far from Andorra, there is a valley of Carol. Finally, at the entrance to the gorge of Niaux, there is a hillside called del prat den bataillo. The origins of these place-names and the era when they were first used are unknown, so the etymologies may be false; however,

49 Rural Communities, pp. 9-10. "Macrotoponymy" examines the names of villages and hamlets.
50 This and the following place-names come from Garrigou, Sabar, pp. 27-37. I have no reason to doubt the veracity of these place-names, but they still require independent confirmation. The conclusions that Garrigou himself draws from this evidence are greatly exaggerated. His description of the arrival of Charlemagne's troops at the confluence of the Ariège and the Vicdessos is typical of his analyses (p. 32). I have left it in the original French because, although Garrigou's history is at times dubious, his prose is beautiful:

A la gauche on aperçoit, à l'est, la petite cité des anciens Tarusconienses assise sur la croupe bastionnée d'un accident granitique, dont le pied est mouillé par les flots réunis des deux rivières supérieures. Derrière les murs épais de leurs remparts, les indigènes attendent depuis bien longtemps le secours providentiel que le ciel leur envoie. Ils ont perdu, pris, perdu encore, puis enfin repris cette place, une des plus importantes du Sabartes. De quels cris de joie vont-ils saluer la venue des Francs, libérateurs et alliés!
there is additional evidence which shows that the place-names are significant.

In the late nineteenth century a local historian discovered an ax (scramas axe) and a knife (grand couteau or poignard) in a field in the commune of Miglos, a high valley (avg. 800 meters) located on the mountain separating the Ariège from the Vicdessos. The Saracens and the Franks may well have done battle on this mountaintop at the end of the eighth century. At the very least, the Franks seem to have passed through the area unless the weapons belonged to an individual or were lost there at a later date. I have not examined the artifacts personally, but I have seen the sketches and read descriptions of the weapons and the conditions of their discovery. At this juncture I accept them as genuine.

Even if we decide to reserve judgement concerning the Saracens, we can be certain that Charlemagne and his successors were involved in Foix and the mountains to the south because, finally, in the late ninth century, we are blessed with some solid documentary evidence. A property dispute settled by Count Bernard of Toulouse turns out to be the earliest reference to the small Pyrenean district that will eventually become the haut Comté de Foix.

In 870, during an assembly in Narbonne, the religious of St. Thibery (near Agde) brought before the count a complaint against two vassals of Charles the Bald (vassi domenici).\(^5\)

The dispute was over the abbey of St. Volusien (Foix). The monks argued that the king himself had given St. Volusien to the monastery of St. Thibery in 849.\(^3\)

Bernard, the count, satisfied the monks by ruling in their favor; Isirbertus, the scribe, satisfied future historians by recording the proceedings. This case provides clear evidence that the Carolingians were exerting influence in the Ariège no later than the second quarter of the ninth century and probably since the late eighth century. Sometime between Charlemagne's invasion of Spain (778) and Charles the Bald's pious donation to the monks of St. Thibéry (849), a Benedictine monastery was established at Foix and dedicated to the fifth century martyr St. Volusien.\(^4\)

This document from the archives of St. Thibéry is significant on another level as well: it is the first

\(^{52}\)HGL, vol. 2, cc. 355-357.

\(^{53}\)The original act of donation of 849 has been lost. On the calculation of this date see Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, ed. Arthur Giry, Maurice Prou, Ferdinand Lot, Clovis Brunel and Georges Tessier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), Vol. 1, p. 517, no. 203; Vol. 2, p. 519, no. 120 bis.

\(^{54}\)According to Gallia Christiana (Vol. 13, c. 180), the Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique (Vol. 17, c. 729) and Dom L. H. Cottineau, Répertoire topobibliographique des abbayes et prieurés (Vol. 1, c. 1165), St. Volusien was founded by Charlemagne; however, the earliest mention of the abbey is in the lost donation of 849. Where, I wonder, did Cottineau come up with the date of 799? Did he get it from de la Coudre's "Vie de St. Volusien" (1722)?
acknowledgement of the upper Ariège as a territorial unit. Prior to the ninth century we have precious few references to this section of the Pyrenees, and when we find them, they invariably concern a tribe, road, language or specific population site. Here, for the first time, the mountains, forests, river valleys and people south of the Pas de Labarre are recognized as an organic whole, as a geographical/cultural/political entity. While arguing their position, the monks of St. Thibéry place the abbey of St. Volusien "in supradicto territorio Tolosano, suburbio Savartense, super fluvium Arega," or, elsewhere, "in pago Tolosano, suburbio Savartense."55 This was not a merchant settlement connected to a town--there were no walled cities in the Ariège at this time; rather, in this instance the suburbio of Sabartès was a subdivision of the pagus of Toulouse.56 It was a region, a pays in its own right.

The etymology of the name Sabartès has been the subject of considerable debate. Writers have advanced an assortment of imaginative derivations with varying degrees of probability.57 The word Sabartès has been linked, among other

57 For a toponymic tally see Garrigou, Sabar, pp. 1-11 and M. l'abbé Authier, Études historiques et religieuses sur le pays de la haute vallée de l'Ariège (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1870), p. 17. Garrigou summarizes the situation with a phrase which, in his day, may not yet have been a cliché: "L'origine de la dénomination de Sabar se perd dans le nuit des temps." In addition, it should be noted that the word is given a false etymology in Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et
things, to a company of Charlemagne's troops whose home was near the Save river (de Sabaria), to the Arab word for mountain pass (el Bortat), to the Basque word for lower forest (bessabar), to the Latin for an atrium of a temple (sabarium), and to a combination of the abbreviation of the Latin word for forest (sa for saltus) + the patois for pine trees (bar) = stand of pine trees (sabar).

The most plausible derivation is the one from the Basque, in which case the word was transmitted by the Iberian peoples who trickled into the Vicdessos valley from the west. Castillon d'Aspet suggested the following derivation. The Basque word for a low forest was bess or bessa, and behar (pronounced bár) meant lower; and in the center of the communal forest of Tarascon, which is low when compared to the upper valleys of the Ariège and the Vicdessos, there is a large outcrop called the rock of Sabar, and it was here that the legendary chapel, Notre Dame de la Victoire, was supposed to have been built.

According to Hans-Erich Keller, the origin of the word is indeed Basque, but Castillon d'Aspet's etymology is a false one. In Basque sapar, or zapar, means "low evergreen oak

infimae latinitatis, vol. 7, p. 317. The entry under "Savartesium" identifies it as deriving from the town of Saverdun, but this is incorrect.
58Histoire d'Ax et de la vallée d'Andorre (Foix: Pomiès frères, 1851), p. 15.
59Personal communication, Ohio State University, January 1991.
bush. "Sabartès, then, is composed of sabar (< Basque sapar) + -t(t)-, a Basque diminutive suffix, + -èes (< Latin -ensis), a suffix that was frequently used for designating a region. The word was recorded for the first time in 870, and the region south of the Pas de Labarre was called the Sabartès until the establishment of the Comté de Foix in the twelfth century when "pays de Foix" replaced it as the official name of the region; nonetheless, Sabartès never completely disappeared, and the two names are synonymous today for all intents and purposes. In any case, the etymology of Sabartès is a minor issue, the crucial noun remains suburbium; it qualifies Savartense as a territorial unit.

Until these last few pages I have referred to this region as the haut pays de Foix because it was expedient, because this is what it came to be called in the high Middle Ages, but this is an anachronism. In reality it was only with the advent of some sort of governmental super-structure, be it Roman or Frankish, that this region began to take on a corporate form. The pre-Celtic and Iberian tribes were isolated in their high mountain valleys. They were self-governing clans. They had no need to look beyond their valleys and their extended families either for protection or identification; there was no impetus toward a wider political or cultural affiliation; and if there

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61 Hubschmid, Thesaurus Praeromanicus, p. 158.
was no name for the upper Ariège as a whole it was because none was required.

When the Celts, Romans, Visigoths and Franks arrived, the mountain tribes suddenly found a need for wider political association and broader cultural identification, and they banded together to resist the invaders. In other words, when a "them" began to move up the valley, the previously independent tribes necessarily coalesced into an "us." Consequently, over time, the territorial designation Sabartès slowly found a voice, probably sometime during the Merovingian period, and this natural geographic unit began to develop into a political, social and cultural unit, and this is the important point. Toponomy, after all, is a tool for exploring historical change and not an end in itself. The appearance of the word Sabartès is significant because it is a faint echo of changes that were very real for the shepherds and farmers living in these mountain valleys in the early Middle Ages.

The designation of the haut pays de Foix as a territorial unit signals the gradual permutation of tribal groups into peasant communities. Over the course of several centuries the once independent and isolated tribes were supplanted by hamlets and villages that eventually comprised a larger group which corresponded to the natural geographic unit created by the upper Ariège basin. The mountain dwellers were transformed from members of tribes to members of rural communities. Moreover, the mechanism which affected this transformation--
the arrival of foreign invaders—is also the circumstance which defines the indigenous peoples as peasants. Thus the appearance of the word "Sabartès," that is, the identification of the haut pays de Foix as a territorial unit, signals the emplacement of a governmental super-structure, however feeble and ineffective, upon a substratum of agricultural producers, thereby creating a peasantry. The name Sabartès appeared for the first time in 870; after this, however, there is a lacuna of 132 years.

The Creation of the Comté de Foix: 1002-1167

The next reference to the upper Ariège basin as a territorial unit occurs in the testament of Roger I, Count of Carcassonne, in 1002. Thus, while the fog begins to lift in the late ninth century as the socio-political structure of the upper Ariège takes shape, we still have a long way to go before we get anything close to a clear picture. As mentioned in the introduction, consistent written evidence is available only from the mid-to-late eleventh century, when the Sabartès is on the verge of becoming the haut Comté de Foix.

As with the document on the St. Thibéry dispute, the testament of Roger I reveals a great deal: by backtracking from 1002 we can tentatively reconstruct developments in the haut pays de Foix during the tenth century. Ostensibly,

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62 Eric Wolf, Europe and the People without History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
following the collapse of the fragile Carolingian political superstructure, the territory directly south of Toulouse, including the septentrional slopes of the Pyrenees, fell into the hands of the increasingly independent and increasingly weak counts of Toulouse and Carcassonne;\textsuperscript{63} in reality, the small Pyrenean states such as Capcir, the Donnezan, the pays de Sault, the haut pays de Foix and Andorra, roused by the clash between the Saracens and the Franks, were once again left to their own devices, and they quickly slipped back into political hibernation: the traditional socio-political structure was shaken—the isolated mountain communities would never be able to completely resume their pristine station—but several generations of peasant families were once again permitted to forget about the outside world.\textsuperscript{64}

They could not, however, prevent the outside world from eventually closing in on them any more than a third world country can reject foreign capital and new technology once it has been introduced from industrialized nations. In this regard, the period from 870 to 1002 proved to be an important formative stage in the history of the region; it was during these decades that marriage alliances were concluded among the


houses of Carcassonne, Comminges and Couserans, eventually forming the house of Foix. Just as important, it was during these same years that many of the châteaux were built and that the Sabartès was made into a viguerie. In short, the tenth century was the period of gestation for the Comté de Foix. Some of the steps in this process are more evident than others; yet taken together the overall effect of these slow changes is perfectly clear: the haut Comté de Foix was conceived.

The most important component of what came to be the house of Foix in the eleventh century emanated from the family of the counts of Carcassonne. In 873 Oliba II, Count of Carcassonne, and his brother Acfred, Count of Razès, helped consecrate a church in the small Pyrenean village of Formiguera (Capcir). Already, in the mid-ninth century, the house of Carcassonne had considerable interests in the Pyrenees east of the Ariège river. Razès was located in the mountains east of the Sabartès and west of Rousillon, and from this beginning the descendants of Oliba and Acfred continued to deepen their involvement in the mountains, even as the house of Carcassonne itself was being overshadowed in the mid-eleventh century by the Trencevals and their feudal overlords,

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66 HGL, vol. 2, cc. 372-373. "... comitibus Olibano et fratre ejus Ayfredo comitus illorum [i.e. in comitatu Redensi] ... "
the Counts of Barcelona.

Acfred married Adelinde, sister of William the Pious, Count of Auvergne. They had three sons, Bernard, who died young, Guillaume and Acfred II. Guillaume succeeded his uncle, became Count of Auvergne in 918 and died childless in 927. His brother, Acfred, became Count of Gevaudan then duke of Aquitaine after Guillaume, but he died the following year in 928, also childless. Thus the County of Razès reverted to the Counts of Carcassonne and came under control of Acfred II. Acfred II, son of Oliba II, had one daughter, Arsinde, and it was her marriage to Arnaud, Count of Couserans and Comminges, that brought the haut pays de Foix into the patrimony of the house of Carcassonne.67 We learn of this marriage from a donation made by Arnaud "et uxore sua Arsendis" to the abbey of Lezat in 944.68

Still, it is difficult to specify the nature of Arnaud's rights south of the Pas de Labarre. As discussed above, there are no mentions of the haut pays de Foix as a region in the tenth century. For this we have to wait until the testament of the son and successor of Arnaud and Arsinde, Count Roger I of Carcassonne.69 This document, dated 1002, provides the second designation of the haut pays de Foix as a territorial unit and


68HGL, vol. 5, cc. 194-195. Eventuay Lezat played a decisive role in the bas Comté de Foix.

gives an indication of the political status of the mountain region in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Roger I, Count of Carcassonne (c. 957-1012),70 and his wife Adélaïde, had three sons, Raymond, Bernard and Pierre, and one daughter, Ermessinde. In 1001 Ermessinde married the count of Barcelona,71 presumably taking her dowry with her, and in the following year, 1002, her father wrote his testament. Not surprisingly, the city of Carcassonne and the counties of Carcassonne and Razés were supposed to go to the eldest son, Raymond, but Roger I wanted to provide for several other members of his family as well.72 To do this, he found it necessary to divide his lands among his heirs and he tried to secure their promise to follow his wishes by making them parties to a convenientia. Just as important, in the process of dividing his holdings, Roger I found it expedient and sensible to single out the upper Ariège basin as a specific portion of his patrimony, calling it the "vigaria de Savartes."

"Et ipsa vigaria de Savartense, post obitum Adalais, remaneat ad Bernardo filio meo, si ille non lo forsà, et si o forsà et emendare o voluerit, ipsa convenientia de Savartense et de Castellopendente, quae ego habui ab Odone fratre meo et Arnaldo filio suó, post obitum illorum remaneat ad Bernardo filio meo."73

71HGL, vol. 4, p. 113.
72As it turned out, Raymond died in 1010, two years before his father, and much of the county of Carcassonne fell into the hands of Ermessinde's husband.
73HGL, vol. 5, c. 345.
While they were still alive, Roger wanted his wife, Adélaïde, his brother, Eudes, and his nephew, Arnaud, to enjoy their customary rights of usufruct in the viguerie of Sabartès. At some earlier date he had made an agreement with them, a convenientia, to that effect. The three had made a similar agreement concerning land in Razès, which was part of Raymond's inheritance. Upon their deaths, however, Roger desired that these rights and lands revert to his second son, Bernard. The agreement concerning the Sabartès and Castelpendent that Roger had with Eudes and Arnaud was to stand even if Bernard wanted to change it, literally, "whether or not he strengthens it or wants to improve upon it." This is the sense of permanency over time that the convenientia suggests.

A "convenientia" was a type of agreement commonly found in acts of pareage among comital families in tenth century Languedoc: "more than a contract, the convenientia was a promise or an order; it expressed the will, the declared will, but also the obeyed will... It implied that nothing else was permitted other than what had been ordered." It was an

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74 HGL, vol. 5, c. 345. "Et dono ad ipsum Raimundum ipsa convenientia de comitatu Redense, quae ego habeo cum fratre meo Odone comite, et cum filio suo Arnaldo. Et si Odo moritur et filio suo Arnaldo, remaneat ad te Raimundo ipsa convenientia de ipso comitatu.

75 Paul Ourliac, "La 'Convenientia'" in Études d'histoire du droit privé offertes à Pierre Petot (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, éditions Montchrestien, 1959), pp. 413-422. Ourliac notes that the term's meaning changes and is imprecise.
agreement with a time component.

Elsewhere in the testament, there were more specific references to the sharing of rights among family members. For example, Roger wished Bernard and his mother Adélaide to enjoy, as co-seigneurs, the county and diocese of Couserans, and the castle and lands of Foix. Significantly, in 1002 Foix was not yet considered a county in its own right; rather, the castle of Foix was the most important château in the viguerie of Sabartès.

Far more important than the word convenientia is the designation vigaria; it is a clear indication of political evolution in the mountains. We must be cautious not to assert too much on the basis of a single, somewhat ambiguous word, but it provides irrefutable evidence of at least a rudimentary political organization above the level of the village. It reflects the presence of a foreign or external power in the valley. Sometime between 870 and 1002 the suburbio Savartense, in pago Tholosano, was made into the vigaria de Savartense, an administrative unit of some sort, perhaps a district of the county of Toulouse.

Garrigou and many of his contemporaries assumed the institution of the viguerie (vicaria)--along with the office of viguier (vicarius)--dated back to the reign of Charlemagne.

\[76^{HGL},\text{ vol. 5, cc. 345-346. }"\text{Dono ipsum comitatu de Cosoragno cum ipso episcopato, et cum ipsa medietate de Bolbastreso, et ipso castello de Fuxo cum ipsa terra Fuxense, dono ad Adalais uxor mea et Bernardo filio meo insimul.}"\]
or Louis the Pious. 77 The establishment of such an institution seemed perfectly consistent with the founding of St. Volusien and the legends of the battles between the Franks and the Saracens. Today, however, now that all the documents concerning the vicaria and the vicarius have been collected, it is no longer certain how early or how powerful the first viguiers were. 78

The oldest viguiers found in Languedoc are those of Arisiense (804) and Alzonne (870), and we know of three from the tenth century, Saissac (950), Colia (957) and Popian (968). 79 The problem is that while viguiers are mentioned, no information is provided as to the nature of the institution. This is true in Roger's testament as well: vigaria de Savartense stands alone.

Later documents provide some clues. Magnou-Nortier found six texts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries which shed some light on the origins and functions of the viguiers in Languedoc. 80 For example, in 1071 the count of Barcelona and the lord of Narbonne heard a case pitting Raymond of Malviès and his son against Guillaume Baron and his sons over control of the "vicaria de Malvers" (Aude). 81 The settlement allowed both families to continue drawing profits

77Garrigou, Sabar, pp. 42-45.
78For a concise and penetrating discussion of this problem see E. Magnou-Nortier, La société laïque, pp. 183-189.
79Magnou-Nortier, La société laïque, pp. 183-184.
80La société laïque, pp. 184-189.
81HGL, vol. 5, c. 593.
from the viguerie, but it strictly limited them to demanding only one day of plowing with oxen (bobus) and another of carting with donkeys (asinis) per year from any given manse. Moreover, it limited the profits the viguiers could take for settling local disputes. Evidently then the viguiers functioned as local administrators for counts and viscounts in the late eleventh century; moreover, they were under pressure from their superiors who were trying to keep the viguiers from expanding their powers.

To take another example, in 1078 Raimond de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, settled an ongoing conflict between Stephan, abbot of Conques, and Bermond of Agde, viguier of Pallas (Herault). Raimond stripped the recalcitrant viguier of his rights, destroyed his houses, and reached a severe agreement between the abbot and Bermond's son, Pierre. Because of his father's misdeeds (malos usus), Pierre was forced to relinquish to the abbot half of his fallow land, half of the revenues from court cases as well as half of any appurtenances, half of the pork-shoulders and the lambs, the entire mill along with all of the houses and courtyards, half of the community oven and also the fee the monks had formerly paid to use it. In return for these concessions Pierre received 500 sous, was allowed to swear fidelity to the abbot and was granted the continued enjoyment of his considerably

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82 HGL, vol. 5, c. 592. "... jornalem unum de bobus et alium de asinis semel in anno de unoquoque manso ..."  
83 HGL, vol. 5, cc. 642-643.
reduced viguerie. Interestingly, Pierre's promise to the abbot was affirmed through a convenientia. Here too we see the viguier's once substantial wealth and power being chipped away. Still, it would be risky to generalize too much from so few examples. Magnou-Nortier is cautious. After examining the other four texts she concludes that "the viguier was a modest comital agent in the ninth century who, during the course of the tenth century, enriched himself sufficiently to break the ties uniting him to the comital power. . . . After which, a more vigilant guardianship weighed progressively heavier upon him to the end of the eleventh century."  

It seems likely that the haut pays de Foix was somewhat en retard in this as with other political and economic developments. On the basis of the above texts, because they include some details, we get a sense of how vigueries were constituted in the Narbonnaise in the late eleventh century; we do not get this sense on the basis of a single mention of

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85 La société laïque, p. 189. Or, on p. 24, "All that we have learned concerning the vigueries of the eleventh century is that the viguiers, whether they were from Malviès, Pallas or Saint-Laurent-de-Loupiac, behaved like local potentates that only the comital authority could control or punish if necessary."
the vigaria de Savartense in the testament of Roger I (1002). Indeed, this is the only extant mention of the viguerie of Sabartès. In my opinion it was still relatively poor and loosely organized in 1002. In all likelihood, by the time the viguier of Sabartès "enriched himself sufficiently to break the ties uniting him to the comital power," he was the comital power.

To begin with, the geo-political circumstances were not the same in the mountains as they were in the plains of Bas Languedoc. Consider, for example, that Malviès was a villa at the time it was made into a viguerie. And it was near

86In the pareage (1034) between Peter, bishop of Gérone, and Roger of Foix discussed below, "ipsa vicarias" is referred to but not specifically identified, HGL, vol. 5, c. 406.
87From the same case of 1071, HGL, vol. 5, c. 592, "villae de Malvers." This is not the place to enter into a debate over the meaning of the term villa, but since I used it in its traditional sense in my discussion of the Gallo-Roman period (pp. 15-16), and because it comes up again near the end of this chapter (p. 53), I must address the issue briefly. In 1962 Georges Duby, feeling slightly uncomfortable, described the villa as the "régime domanial classique," L'Economie rurale, vol. 1, p. 106. This was the mainstream consensus. More recently, however, scholars have eschewed this definition, prompting Robert Fossier to write: "The Merovingian or Carolingian "système domanial" does not exist... in the last fifteen years there hasn't been a single local researcher who, while paying tribute to the venerable remains of this dead horse, has not proclaimed that it was not found in his or her region." Enfance de l'Europe (Xe-XIIe siècles): aspects économiques et sociaux, vol. 1, p. 142. Today medievalists are still divided and undecided. Re-examining Duby's region, François Bange concludes, tentatively, that the villa was a territorial cell where the landed properties were distributed among a series of masters from the wealthiest stratum of society, "L'ager et la villa: structures du paysage et du peuplement dans la région mâconnaise à la fin du haut moyen âge (IXe-XIe siècles)," Annales: économie, sociétés, civilisations 39 (1984), 529-569. After examining more than 2000 southern charters, Elisabeth
Carcassonne, which meant there was good potential for trade and agriculture and that the comital power was nearby. The viguerie of Pallas was in an even more favored position. It was situated on the Mediterranean coast, in a bay between Agde and Frontignan, in the commune of Mèze. Pallas was also a villa. From at least 960 it was an allod belonging to the house of Rouergue which had a saltworks there, and in the early eleventh century Count Raimond promised Pallas, along with the saltworks, as an allod to the monastery of Conques.88 This was very different from the situation in the

Magnou-Nortier emphasizes the fiscal nature of the villa. She describes it as an administrative unit upon which taxes and rents were levied; nonetheless, she warns that villae in the mountains, in this case in the Massif Central, were very different from those found in the plains of Bas-Languedoc, "La terre, la rente et le pouvoir dans les pays du Languedoc pendant le haut moyen âge," première partie, "La villa: une nouvelle problématique," Francia 9 (1981), 79-115. See also the second part of her article where she focuses on the manse which, in the mountains, takes on the characteristics of a miniature villa, "La terre, la rente et le pouvoir dans les pays du Languedoc pendant le haut moyen âge," deuxième partie, "La question du manse et de la fiscalité foncière en Languedoc pendant le haut moyen âge," Francia 10 (1982), 21-66. Paul Ourliac argues that by the tenth century the villa was simply the territory of a village, "Les communautés villageoises dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge," in Les communautés villageoises en Europe occidentale du Moyen Âge aux temps modernes (Quatrième journées internationales d'histoire du Centre Culturel de l'Abbaye de Flaran. (Auch, 1984), p. 14. For the latest word on the villa see Genicot, Rural Communities, pp. 3-29. He cites the above works, as well as others, and suggests that while the term villa had multiple meanings in the Middle Ages, it can be considered, in general, as a framework for rural society. "It was the nucleus that gradually incorporated free peasants and free properties into one collectivity (p. 23)."

88HGL, vol. 5, cc. 346-347 (1002), "dono sancti Salvatoris [Conchas monasterii] et sanctae Fide illo allode meo de Palais, post mortem meam, totum et ab integrum, cum campos, cum vineas, cum boscos, cum piscatoria, cum salinas, cum
mountains above Foix.

The Sabartès was a region rather than a specific village or estate. It comprised the entire haut pays de Foix, and this alone means it was fundamentally different from the vigueries of Malviès and Pallas. If it was an administrative division of the county of Toulouse, it was much larger than the other two vigueries. But this does not necessarily mean it was more powerful. We do not know if the viguiers of Sabartès had the same rights to tax and judge cases as those in the Narbonnaise seventy years later. They may have, but there is no way to confirm or deny it at this point.

The competition for control of the vigueries of Malviès and Pallas was relatively intense. In the first case, two different viguiers were making claims to it, and in the second a viguier was punished for plundering the lands under his control, including those belonging to the monks of Conques. He had become a nuisance both to the locals and to the ruling families. There is no evidence of this kind of friction in the Sabartès. Once more we have a situation where a specific case in the mountains does not conform to generalizations formed in regard to evidence from the plains.

It was not long before the designation viguerie disappeared from the Ariège anyway, for it was in the eleventh

terras cultus et incultus etc." For other references see HGL, vol. 5, c. 359 (1013), "villa quae vocatur Palaiz;" vol. 5, c. 319, (990), "de villa Palas;" vol. 5, c. 242, (961), "alode de Palagio;" vol. 5, c. 13, (c.960), "curtem quam nominant Palatium cum salinas."
and twelfth centuries, during the reigns of the sons and
grandsons of Roger I of Carcassonne, that the viguerie of
Sabartès became the haut Comté de Foix. Presumably, the haut
pays de Foix had already gained the designation viguerie by
the time Arnaud and Arsinde were married in the mid-tenth
century. This suggests that the house of Comminges/Couserans
either held the haut pays de Foix as a benefice from the
counts of Toulouse, or else possessed it as an allod. This
same family also controlled, perhaps they even built, most of
the eight or nine châteaux in the region, and in this sense
the Sabartès looked much more like a loosely organized county
in its own right than a viguerie of the type found in the
Narbonnaise. Unlike the villa of Pallas with its saltworks and
access to the sea and interior trade routes, the Sabartès was
large, wild, poor, firmly in the hands of a single family.

There was little internal competition for its resources.
The properties and rights in the mountains were consolation
prizes compared to the holdings the various family members had
elsewhere. Evidently it was not worth fighting one's own
family over the Sabartès. Rather than fight, the various
branches of this widespread family bought and traded,
negotiated and intermarried; we can trace their negotiations
and pacific machinations over the entire tenth century and
beyond. The internal competition for land and rents in the

89 The editors of the HGL (vol. 3, pp. 228-232) argue for the
first scenario; Baudon de Mony (Relations politiques, vol. 1,
pp. 17-25) promotes the second.
Ariège was minimized because the area was not that lucrative to begin with and because one family, sometimes one person, administered, or at least had the right to administer, the whole region. The pacts of *convenientia* and the sharing of rights are ample evidence of cooperation.

This can also be seen in acts of pareage concluded between family members. In 1034 Pierre, son of Roger I of Carcassonne and bishop of Gérone, and Roger I of Foix (ruled c. 1034-1064), Pierre's nephew, concluded a pact of mutual inheritance.⁹⁰ They divided their territories into two lots and agreed that should one of them die, the other would inherit his holdings. It was a mutual, amicable agreement and not uncommon at this time. "At the start of the high Middle Ages it was customary to leave certain possessions undivided among several children and to disseminate the domains of an heir in different parts of the same county."⁹¹ This was a mechanism for keeping the family wealth intact. The goal was the same among the peasants who practiced strict primogeniture, but political relations and the vastly superior holdings of the aristocrats forced, or allowed, them to attack the problem in a different way. As it turned out, Pierre died first, and the churches, allods and rights he held in the mountains and in the northern plains all added to the

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⁹⁰ *HGL*, vol. 5, cc. 405-411 (1034), two acts. Also see Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques*, vol. 1, pp. 11-13, and *HGL*, vol. 3, pp. 274-278.
⁹¹ Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques*, vol. 1, p. 10.
patrimony of the house of Foix. In addition, Roger and his heirs obtained important lands and rights in the counties of Carcassonne and Razès.

**TABLE 1. COUNTS OF FOIX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count of Foix</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roger I of Carcassonne</td>
<td>(957-1012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>(1012-1034)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger I*</td>
<td>(1034-1064)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre</td>
<td>(1064-1071)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger II</td>
<td>(1071-1124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger III</td>
<td>(1124-1149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger-Bernard I</td>
<td>(1149-1188)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond-Roger</td>
<td>(1188-1223)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger-Bernard II</td>
<td>(1223-1241)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger IV</td>
<td>(1241-1265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger-Bernard III</td>
<td>(1265-1302)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaston I</td>
<td>(1302-1315)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaston II</td>
<td>(1315-1343)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaston III Febus</td>
<td>(1343-1391)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In 1060 Roger was the first to use the title "count of Foix."*
Over time, through negotiations, by default, inheritances, purchases, marriages, donations, luck, death--BUT NOT BY WAR--the holdings in the Sabartès came into the hands of one strong family, as if several generations had worked at disentangling the multifarious arrangement created by their ancestors during the tenth century. And in fact, what happened was exactly what the counts of Carcassonne--Oliba II, Arnaud and Roger I--had feared: as their descendants jockeyed for position, the house of Carcassonne broke up into a number of smaller units. With hindsight, however, we can see that this was not necessarily a bad thing, that is, if political domination is the long term goal. Even though the house of Carcassonne was one of the major players in the south in the early Middle Ages, some of its junior branches, particularly the houses of Barcelona and Foix, eventually spawned dynasties of unprecedented scope and power.

The process was gradual. It took generations of remembering and forgetting before the Sabartès, only two centuries a territorial unit, was likewise perceived by all as a political unit. In 1060 we see the words _comes Fuxensis_ for the first time, but it would be entirely misleading to equate the development of a political institution--the establishment of the Comté de Foix--with the appearance of an individual word in a given text. The process was slow. The metamorphosis from viguerie to county took over 150 years. It began around the time of Roger I's testament and was not completed until
the last quarter of the twelfth century. More than anything, it was a perceptual shift.

As discussed above, the house of Carcassonne went into decline after the death of Roger I to the benefit of its junior branches. More than anyone, this disintegration benefitted the count of Barcelona who had married Roger's daughter Ermissende in 1001, but he was not the only one: it was during the next sixty to ninety years that Ermissende's older brother, Bernard, and his descendants came to be regarded as the counts of Foix. It was another seventy to one hundred years beyond that before the Sabartès was widely regarded as the haut Comtè de Foix.

The men who possessed the château of Foix and the viguerie of Sabartès were counts by birth who, for awhile, did not have a county as the core of their temporal power. That they initially lacked a county seems a somewhat odd juxtaposition; that they were counts nonetheless is not so strange at all when one considers the milieu from which they issued. The house of Foix could boast of direct blood ties to the comital families of Carcassonne, Couserans, Comminges, Razès, Bigorre and Barcelona. Their social and "professional" circle was even broader, including close associations with the houses of Cerdagne and Toulouse. Over time, as their familial fortunes were restructured, the upper Ariège basin became the military and psychological center for Bernard and his heirs. It was during this process of becoming that the rulers of the
region, all members of the nascent house of Foix, came to consider themselves and to be considered by others as counts of Foix. It was only after this development, this perceptual shift, that the mountains and the adjoining plains took on the attributes of a medieval county. Perceptual change preceded political change. This is the opposite of what one would expect. Generally speaking, mentalité lags behind developments in material culture. Not here. This is easily confirmed by tracing the terminology.

Throughout the tenth century there was considerable terminological confusion and ambiguity in the way the Fuxean lords and their Ariège lands were denoted. In the pareage of 1034 between Pierre and Roger I, the scribes used phrases such as "castrum de Fox" or "abbadia de Fox" but they did not refer to a comitatus Fuxensis, or even a comes Fuxensis—it did not occur to them to do so; and yet, at the very end of the document we find the Occitan phrase: "... lo comaus Rodgers lo coms iag sia d'aquel qui tenra Fox (Count Roger, the count who holds Foix)." In this case "Fox" meant the "castella de Fuxo cum ipsa terra Fuxense" as expressed in the testament of 1002. Why not describe him as the count of Foix? The

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92 Niermeyer, comes, p. 206, #12, "Since the aristocracy formed by the counts had become a distinct social group, some powerful lords who belonged to this group but did not possess any old county, styled themselves counts."

93 HGL, vol. 5, c. 407 and note 1. Regrettably, according to the editors of the new edition of the HGL, the original MS has been lost and so it is impossible to check the obscure passages in dom Vaisssete's transcription.
explanation is simple. Holding the château and lands of Foix was not what made Roger a count; Roger was a count because he inherited parts of the counties of Carcassonne, Couserans and even Bigorre upon the death of his father Bernard. On another level, he was popularly esteemed a count for the reasons given in the paragraph above, a notion validated by the fact that the designation appears in Occitan: the locals, including obviously this scribe, viewed those who lived in the château as a race of counts ("coms"). Although the editors of the Histoire Général de Languedoc never made this specific argument, they anticipated it: "All the members of a comital family, even the youngest, proudly adorned themselves [with the title of count]; but in fact, these titles did not have a precise value." So in 1034 Roger's peers and subjects considered him a count, but they did not yet consider him the count of Foix nor the pays de Foix a county. The first condition would be met during Roger's lifetime; the second, not until the twelfth century.

After the pareage of 1034, there are no further references to Roger until 1060. That year, in a letter to Hugh, abbot of Cluny, Roger referred to himself as "comes de

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94 Roger's mother, Garsinde, was daughter of the count of Bigorre.

95 The phrase "race of counts" occurs to me because some of the villagers of Montaillou used to refer to Pierre Clergue as belonging to a "race of priests."

96 Vol. 12, p. 226.
for the first time. Sometime during the previous twenty-six years he came to consider himself as such. It was only natural. During Roger's lifetime the complex network of land and power established by the counts of Carcassonne in the tenth century began to come apart. Roger understood clearly that the center of his power had devolved to the château of Foix and the territories attached to it; in addition, he probably felt that his position demanded a formal title.

This becomes evident when we examine other acts concerning the upper Ariège, especially those which did not emanate from Roger's court. In 1054 the bishop of Béziers donated to Saint-Pierre of Rodez, "... aliquid de allode nostro, quod habemus in comitatu Tolosano, in suburbio castro Fuxensis, in territorio vel intus in villa quae vocant Solano." Likewise, in 1074, Roger's son, Roger II, while referring to himself as "comes Fuxensis," in a donation made to the abbey of Saint-Pons (Thomières) described the allod, or aprisio, as being located "in pago Tolosano, in suburbio

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97 HGL, vol. 5, c. 510.  
98 HGL, vol. 5, c. 478. It might be objected that this contradicts what I said earlier concerning the absence of villae in the haut pays de Foix during the Gallo-Roman period, but I believe that here, in the late eleventh century, villa meant village or proto-village, cf. p. 41, note 83. In any case, Soula is located on the Plantaurel (Solano=soulane=hillside with southern exposure=Soula), 7 1/2 kilometers directly east of Foix, and in this sense was not in the Ariège valley strictly speaking. Indeed, once the Comte de Foix was incorporated, so to speak, the village of Soula seems to have fallen outside its domaines.
Fossensi. In both instances the territory associated with Foix is regarded as a subdivision of the county or pays of Toulouse. In the second example the phrasing is nearly identical to that found in the St-Thibéry document of 870 except that Fossensi has been substituted for Savartense. Moreover, it is particularly significant that in 1074 the count of Foix himself should have considered the pays of Foix as being part of the larger pays of Toulouse.

Similar and equally telling examples come from the other side of the Pyrenees. They illustrate well the terminological and perceptual ambiguity which surrounded the upper Ariège in the mid-eleventh century. In his testament of 1076 Raymond Berengar, Count of Barcelona, left to his sons, among many other things, "... hoc totum quod habebat in comitatu Tolosano et in Menerbes et in Narbones et in Foxes et in Comenge et in Sabartes et in toto alio honore de Rodgario, comite de Fox, aut per compram aut per genitorem aut per vocem parentorum suorum tam per donum quam conveniencias aut per cunctas alias res." Roger is recognized as the count of

99HGL, vol. 5, c. 608. Five years later, in 1079, Duke William IV of Toulouse confirmed ("dono, laudo et confirmo") Roger's donation as well as my hypothesis when he referred to the "villis et mansis et ajacentis ac pertinentii suis, quae Rogerius comes Fossensis dedit praedicto coenobio in episcopatu Tolosano, in suburbio Fossensi etc."

100Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas sección de estudios medievales de Barcelona, 1955), vol. 1, p. 525.
Foix, but Foix and the Sabartès (not to mention Narbonne and Comminges) were put on the same footing. No distinction is made between châteaux, counties, towns or pays.

Likewise, during the same period, sometime between 1068 and 1095, an agreement was made between Raymond Berengar and the Count of Cerdagne, Raymond Arnold, concerning the château of Ax as well as other property on the northern side of the mountains. In this agreement Raymond Berengar referred to certain properties that the Count of Cerdagne held from "the count of Sabartès." He knows Roger II is a count, but he is not sure of what. From his side of the mountain the only thing that looks anything like a political unit is the Sabartès with the château of Foix as its chef-lieu. Roger may have called himself the count of Foix, but the news had not yet gotten out: outsiders were not sure how to refer either to him or his territory.

As time went on the usage comes Fuxensis or some variation thereof gained ground—it appeared in a number of documents in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and became commonplace afterwards—but even as late as 1095 Roger II was not ready to take the final step and declare his "terra Fuxense" a county in its own right. In 1095 Roger was a widower who had not yet remarried and the family was concerned for the fate of his lands. Consequently, he drew up a

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101 Liber Feudorum Maior, vol. 2, p. 133, "... illuc adquisitam habes a Savarteso comite." The date of this text is uncertain.
convenientia with his cousin, the viscountess Ermengarde. Roger and Ermengarde agreed that if he married and had children the relations between the two branches of the family should continue as they had in their own generation; however, should he die without heirs, he promised that his properties and rights would go to her and her son, Bernard Aton. The wording here is crucial, so I have provided the full passage in the notes. In the first sentence Roger indicated possessions in the counties of Carcassonne, Toulouse, Comminges and Couserans; in the second, he listed six of his châteaux by name, along with "totos ipsos castellos alios, villas et honores quos habeo debeo in suprascriptis comitatibus (italics mine)." All six of these châteaux were later part of the Comté de Foix: Foix, Lordat, Castelpendent and Châteauverdun were located in the haut Comté de Foix.

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102 HGL, vol. 5, cc. 734-738. "Si habuero infantes de uxore nuptialiter ducta, habeant et teneant ipsos suprascriptos meos honores, et ipsis mei infantes similiter teneant istas suprascriptas convenientias vobis et infantibus vestris de omnibus honoribus istis suprascriptis quos habeo et habere debeo in comitatu Carcassensi atque Tolosano et in comitatu Comenge et in Conserano et in omnibus finibus suis: id est castella, villas, ecclesias, abbatias cum omnibus suis honoribus, loca rustica et urbana, culta et inculta, silvas, garricias, pascua, aquas, aquarum ductus et reductus, atque vias, et omnia in omnibus. Si vero de me Rogerio infans non apparuerit de muliere nuptialiter accepta, dono vobis et infantibus vestris istos honores suprascriptos post mortem meam, id est Fuxum et Frezales et Lordad et Castrum-pendent et ipsum castellum de Dun et ipsum castellum de Mirapeix, et totos castellos alios, villas et honores quos habeo et habere debeo in suprascriptos comitatibus."
while the châteaux of Pamiers (Frezelas) and Mirepoix\textsuperscript{103} were found in the bas Comté de Foix. In this document, however, the designation \textit{comitatus Fuxensis} is conspicuously absent. Had it been in use, Roger would have worded this section in the same way he worded the one above it. In lieu of this, he resorted to specifying individual châteaux which seem to have existed in some sort of territorial limbo. If pressed, he likely would have had to admit—as he did in the donation of 1074—that they were circumscribed \textit{in pago Tolosano}.

Given the scenario I have just laid out, it is curious that the final, anti-climactic step in this process is signalled not by a document from the house of Foix but by one from the court of Toulouse (1167). Perhaps this is merely a function of chance. There may well have been earlier documents, now lost, that named the Comté de Foix. But how intriguing if it were by design, if the impetus for the county's creation came from outside. Among the nineteenth century scholars that I listed at the beginning of this chapter, there was an ongoing debate concerning the feudal relationship between the counts of Foix and Toulouse, an issue I shall take up next. If the formal recognition of the Comté de Foix as such was in fact initiated from Toulouse and not a

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\textsuperscript{103}In 1063 two-thirds of the chateau of Mirepoix was held as an allod by Rangarde, the widow of Roger's cousin Pierre, son of Bernard's older brother Raimond and his wife Garsinde, \textit{HGL}, vol. 5, cc. 516-517; however, neither the count nor the county of Foix is mentioned in the act of donation. Sometime between 1063 and 1095 the counts of Foix established, or re-established, their control over the château.
function of a lost manuscript, then it is clearly relevant to this debate. Some thought that this was in fact the case. It has been suggested, for example, that the Comte de Foix was erected by the counts of Toulouse for the benefit of Bernard (d. 1034), son of Roger I of Carcassonne. Others disagree.¹⁰⁴ Without the appearance of some new records, which does not seem likely, we may never know the truth.

In any case, as far as we do know, the first mention of the Comte de Foix appears in an act issued in December, 1167, by Raymond V, count of Toulouse. In July of that year, Raymond Trenceval, viscount of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi and Razès, had been assassinated in the church of Saint Mary Magdalene of Béziers by a group of angry bourgeois.¹⁰⁵ His eldest son Roger, age eighteen, succeeded him. Roger swore to avenge his father's death and immediately set about contracting alliances and plotting his revenge. Rashly, he sought the support of King Alphonse of Aragon, long time enemy of Raymond V, and in order to obtain Alphonse's aid, Roger recognized him as his lord, thereby breaking faith with the count of Toulouse, his rightful seigneur. As a result, Raymond V deprived the young Roger of all of his lands and ceded them instead to Roger's brother-in-law, Count Roger-Bernard of Foix.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, in order to insure his loyalty, Raymond gave to Roger-

¹⁰⁴ This argument is discussed in HGL, vol. 4, p. 120.
¹⁰⁵ HGL, vol. 6, pp. 27-32.
¹⁰⁶ HGL, vol. 8, cc. 273-275. As we shall see below, this turned out to be a legal fiction.
Bernard "omnia castra quae habeo et habere debo in comitatu Fuxensi."
CHAPTER III
THE COMTÉ DE FOIX TO THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

In the course of the eleventh century descendants of Roger I of Carcassonne came into possession of the viguerie of Sabartès and became the counts of Foix; then, in the twelfth century, the clusters of châteaux and villae from which the counts drew their revenue and authority materialized into the Comté de Foix. This is not to say, however, that the limits of the county were clearly defined by 1167. Nor is it to say that by then the counts of Foix had gathered round them a cordon of powerful knights, capable judges and efficient clerks. Far from it. The process of consolidating power and nurturing an administrative system was carried out over several generations. In the beginning, it was all the counts could do to sustain their position in the struggle for regional hegemony.

The outcome of this struggle is important to my study because it will shed light on political conditions at the village level. I am trying to understand what it meant to be part of a medieval mountain community which was in the process of being incorporated against its will into a larger political
unit, and this demands some reflection on the nature of the
count's power. To that end, before turning to the villages
themselves, I must briefly examine the position of the counts
of Foix within the larger political context.

The liberties that the peasants of the Ariège enjoyed
were protected as long as the counts were successful at
preserving their own independence, and they were successful at
it for a long time. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the
counts of Foix skillfully steered a middle course through the
turbulence of the protracted rivalry between the houses of
Barcelona and Toulouse.¹ In the early thirteenth century they
weathered the Albigensian crusades. Playing one power against
another proved a wise policy which met with particular success
in the mountainous Sabartès. During this period the counts
established and maintained unassailable control of the haut
pays de Foix, free from the military pressure that forced
lords elsewhere to raise cash and troops by infeudating their
demesnes. Consequently, the peasants were spared the
oppression that accompanied the rise of a castellan class in
other parts of Catalonia and Languedoc.

The domestic peace that the counts enjoyed allowed them
to pursue a policy of modest aggrandizement. During these

¹On the origins and outcome of this struggle see Charles
Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XIIe siècle: la
rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour le
prépondérance méridionale," in Mélanges d'histoire du moyen
âge dédiés à la memoire de Louis Halphen (Paris: Presses
years the house of Foix established a strong position for itself in the Midi, at the same time obtaining châteaux, lands and alliances in the Cerdagne, Urgell and Andorra. For a time this strategy worked well. Eventually, however, the world caught up with the counts at home, in the Comté de Foix itself. This was the result of long term pan-European developments. The demographic and economic growth that characterized Europe in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries began to have an impact even in marginal areas. This trend was reinforced by parallel political changes in the high Middle Ages. More wealth meant more power. It was true then as it is now. The French, the Aragonese and the papacy were all becoming more powerful in this period, and in the thirteenth century their aggressive expansion had increasingly serious repercussions throughout Europe.

The external pressures to which the Comté de Foix eventually succumbed had grown steadily, and when space became limited in the rest of Europe, when new markets and new conquests were required, the previously unattractive Pyrenees began to look appealing to rulers who were compelled by circumstances to expand their empires and increase their fortunes. The papal, French and Aragonese monarchs, not to mention the Germans, were all willing to expend vast amounts of money and energy in order to dominate Sicily; the small, quarreling principalities of Provence and Languedoc were less costly, more accessible and just as valuable. So, when Roger-
Bernard III (1265-1302) tried to steer a middle course in the contest between the kings of France and Aragon by pursuing his family's time tested policy of playing greater forces against each other, he lost. As we shall see, this also resulted in a significant loss of liberty for the mountain communities. Roger-Bernard unknowingly mortgaged their future independence in a bid to keep his inheritance intact.

The Haut Pays de Foix before the Albigensian Crusades

The eventual outcome notwithstanding, the counts of Foix did their best to defend all of their interests, those that lay outside the county as much as those that lay within it. Nowhere was this effort more successful than in the Sabartès. In the first place, the upper Ariège was less attractive to foreign powers than the fertile plains below because there was less material wealth. Secondly, it was far easier to mount an offensive in the plains than in the mountains; by comparison, the mountain offered fewer rewards at a much greater cost. Finally, the overarching regional conflicts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries created some breathing room for the counts of Foix and they were able to secure a solid legal claim to the highlands. Neither Barcelona nor Toulouse could afford to have the counts of Foix as enemies, so both sides made concessions to the Fuxeans in order to dissuade them from

\[2\] This remained true until 1272 when Philip III decided it was worth the effort and expense to humble the recalcitrant Roger-Bernard.
throwing their weight to the enemy camp. The agreement of 1167, whereby the count of Toulouse ceded Raymond Trenceval's lands in Carcassonne and Razès to Roger-Bernard I of Foix, is a good example of this sort of concession. Furthermore, when push came to shove, it made more sense for these outside powers to relinquish rights and property in the mountains than it did for them to loosen their grip in the plains to the north and northeast where the struggle was most active. The haut pays de Foix never served as a battleground for this overarching regional conflict; Provence and the Narbonnaise did. In the long run the counts of Barcelona and Toulouse gave up their claims to the haut pays de Foix as the descendants of Roger I strengthened their position through every means at their disposal.

Until now it has been easier to trace the evolution of the Comté de Foix than to discuss its inner workings or its relation to other territories. This is not surprising when one remembers that titles, boundaries and jurisdictions were not much clearer to contemporaries than they are to us.³ Judging from the frequency of property transactions and subsequent lawsuits; the complex lattice of political alliances; the inconsistent terminology in the documents; and the general

³On the vagueness of territorial limits see Peter Sahlins, Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Sahlins focuses on the idea of national territorial sovereignty in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the theoretical model he outlines in the first chapter is useful for the Middle Ages as well.
carelessness with which some records were treated—the inhabitants of Ax, for example, lost their charter of liberties—it is evident that there was considerable ambiguity in contemporary usage. Fortunately, beginning in the mid-to-late eleventh century, the number of written records increases, an indication in itself of political development. The larger picture comes into focus only in the aftermath of the Albigensian crusades, especially with the aid of chroniclers such as Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay and Guillaume de Puylaurens, but the growing body of accords, feudal oaths, 

4 The count of Foix ordered a charter to be drawn up for the town of Ax in 1391 at the request of the inhabitants; by the late fourteenth century they had only an imperfect knowledge of the privileges which their ancestors had first obtained in 1241, H. Castillon d'Aspet, Histoire d'Ax et de la vallée d'Andorre (Foix: Pomiès frères, 1851), pp. 74-75.

5 Marc Bloch warns scholars not to be misled by the often inconsistent vocabulary of legal documents, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française, nouvelle édition, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1952), vol. 1, pp. 93-95.

6 Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, Hystoria Albigensis, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon (Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926-1939), 3 volumes; Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, ed. and tran. Jean Duvernoy (Paris: CNRS, 1976). Duvernoy gives the Latin text on the even numbered pages and provides a French translation on the odd numbered pages. An earlier and less satisfactory edition of the Chronica, entitled "Historia Albigenium," can be found in Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1880), vol. 19, pp. 193-235 and vol. 20, pp. 764-766. This chronicle, completed between 1273 and 1276, is our best source for events in the Midi after 1219, which is when the Chanson de la Croisade ends. The Hystoria Albigensis of Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay ends with the siege of Toulouse in the summer of 1216. In addition to these chronicles there is a history of the Albigensian Crusades which was written by two anonymous authors in Languedocien in the fourteenth century. This version of the events, which concludes with a copy of the treaty of Paris (April, 1229), is published in HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1-198. It does not add much to the accounts left by earlier chroniclers, but it is interesting because the first
court cases, land contracts, letters, papal bulls and official
decrees provides an indication of conditions in the eleventh,
twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most importantly for the
Sabartès and its inhabitants, this growing body of evidence
reveals that the counts of Foix held the region in *franc-
alleu*, free from obligations to the count of Toulouse or
anyone else.

This issue engendered a lengthy debate among local
scholars. The earliest historians of this region sensed the
independence of haut pays de Foix even if their analysis of
the process was inexact. In the sixteenth and early
seventeenth centuries it was thought that the Comté de Foix
had been established by the counts of Toulouse for Bernard (d.
1034), the second son of Roger I of Carcassonne. This was
disproven in 1640 by de Marca who, nonetheless, still wanted
to demonstrate that the highlands were held in *franc-alleu*. He
concluded that the château of Foix and the lands attached to
it must have been part of the county of Couserans and that
this was why the Fuxeans did homage to the counts of Toulouse
solely for their holdings north of the Plantaurel (i.e. the
bas Comté de Foix).7 Dom Vaissete, the original editor of the

7P. de Marca, *Histoire de Béarn, contenant l'origine des
rois de Navarre, des ducs de Gascogne, marquis de Gothie,
princes de Béarn, comtes de Carcassonne, de Foix et de Bigorre
(Paris, 1640)*, p. 713, cited in *HGL*, vol. 4, p. 120. A new
edition of P. de Marca's book was published by A. Dubarat
Histoire Générale de Languedoc, attacked de Marca's position in 1730, and rightly so: a significant portion of the haut pays de Foix was indeed possessed by the ruling family of Couserans in the early Middle Ages; yet there is no indication that it was ever formally incorporated into the county of Couserans. Instead, the scant evidence we possess suggests that the upper Ariège was part of the pagus Tholosani; moreover, it is certain that other noble families, such as those of Carcassone, Cerdagne and Barcelona, held property and honores (feudal rights) in the mountains.

For his part, however, Dom Vaissete swung too far in the other direction, arguing that the counts of Foix held all of their lands—including the Sabartès—as fiefs from the counts of Toulouse. As evidence the Benedictine scholar cites a land contract and a related accord which were concluded on 2

(Pau, 1894-1912).

8 HGL, vol. 4, pp. 120-121.
9 Occasionally the word directum is used to refer to seigneurial rights, Doat, vol. 83, f. 32r; Toulouse MS 638, f. 77.
10 HGL, Vol. 4, pp. 120-121. In 1889 the editors of the new edition of the HGL (Vol. 12, p. 239) conceded that the counts of Toulouse had trouble enforcing their will in the Sabartès, but imply that they were the rightful feudal overlords just the same: "The division of the Comté de Foix into two unequal parts, one in the north, the other south of the Pas de Labarre, dates back at least to the twelfth century, and if the kings of France were not able to make their sovereignty felt on the southern half before Philip III, the counts of Toulouse were no more fortunate in this regard than their sovereigns."
March 1067. The party of the first part was Raymond-Bernard Trenceval, viscount of Albi and Nîmes, and his wife, Ermengarde; the party of the second part was Raymond Berengar I, count of Barcelona (1035-1076). At issue was nothing less than the counties of Carcassonne and Razès along with their appurtenances: towns, villages, markets, mills, fields, pastures, churches, châteaux, abbeys, dîmes, taxes, courts and men. Most notable among these appurtenances were the town of Carcassonne itself, the château of Conflent and the abbeys of La Grasse and Sainte-Hilaire.

In the years leading up to these transactions, several of the region's most important lords had died: Pierre-Raymond, co-seigneur of Carcassonne and viscount of Beziers and Agde, died in 1060; his son and heir, Roger III, died in 1067; Roger I, count of Foix, died in 1064; and Raymond II, count of Razès died in 1065. In the aftermath descendants bought, sold and traded their inheritances, and a new political order emerged. The count of Barcelona, well positioned at the beginning, came out on top. He did this by systematically buying whatever territories he could from relatives and rivals alike. This was

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1HGL, Vol. 5, cc. 548-551 and cc. 551-554. The land contract can also be found in the Liber Feudorum, Vol. 2, pp. 300-302. Here the date is given as March 2, 1068.

12The counts of Foix and Razès died childless, as did Roger III, but he was survived by his sister, Ermengarde, and she and her husband, Raymond Bernard Trenceval, inherited his lands. The count of Barcelona was her second cousin, and he too had a claim on parts of these territories. His grandmother was Ermessinde, daughter of Roger I of Carcassonne, who had married Raymond Borrel, count of Barcelona (d. 1018).
the context surrounding the transaction of 1067.13

In the first part of the transaction, Raymond Bernard and Ermengarde sold to the count of Barcelona nearly all their rights to the territories she had inherited from her brother (Roger III), her father (Pierre-Raimond) and her father's cousin, (Roger I, count of Foix). It was more than the sale of a seigneurie: Ermengarde and her husband completely abandoned their claims ("evacuamus et diffinimus et guirpimus") so that the count of Barcelona might have the land in franc-alleu, to dispose of as he pleased ("ut sit vester proprius alodus ad faciendum quodcumque volueritis"). The couple were well paid, adding 2100 ounces of gold to their coffers. In the second part of the transaction, the count gave back to them portions of these lands in return for their oath of fealty. In effect, he had purchased for himself sovereignty over the counties of Carcassonne and Razès. Such transactions were common in Languedoc during the high Middle Ages.

Dom Vaissete asserted that the language of the land contract and the accord revealed, indirectly, the feudal relationship between the counts of Foix and Toulouse. He cited two passages. The first is in the land contract. Ermengarde and her husband sold to Raymond Berengar I "all the fiefs that the count of Carcassonne held in whatever manner from the

count of Toulouse in the county of Carcassonne, and all the fiefs that Pierre-Raymond held from the count of Toulouse in the Carcassèz and the pays de Toulouse, and all the allods, fiefs and all of the honores that Roger, count of Foix, had and held, and the men that went with those [allods and fiefs] in those places, while Pierre Raymond and his son Roger were still alive.""14 The second passage is in the accord. Raymond Berengar gave to the couple "as fiefs all of the fiefs, men and honores that Count Pierre-Raymond and his son Roger held and had from the count of Toulouse in the counties of Carcassonne and Toulouse."15

"It follows from this," wrote Dom Vaissète, "that the entire domain of the houses of Carcassonne and Foix had been held until then as fiefs [en fief] from the counts of Toulouse, and consequently the entire Comté de Foix was still, in 1067, dependent upon this prince."16 Aside from the fact that the Comté de Foix properly speaking did not yet exist in

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14c. 549 "totos ipsos fevos quos comes de Carcassona tenuit qualicumque modo per comitem de Tolosa in comitatu de Carcassez, et totos ipsos fevos quos Petrus-Raymundi comes tenuit per comitem de Tolosa in Carcassez et in Tolosano, et totos ipsos alodios et fevos et totam ipsam honorem quem Rodgarius comes de Fox habuit et tenuit aut homines per illum in cunctis locis, in diebus Petri-Raymundi comitis et de Rodgario filio suo."

15c. 552, "[Dono vobis] ad fevum totos ipsos fevos et totam ipsam honorem, quod Petrus-Raymundi comes et Rodgarius filius ejus tenuerunt et habuerunt et homines per illos in comitatu Carcassonense et in comitatu Tolosano per comitem Tolosanum. There then follows a long list of exempt lands and honores and a number of conditions under which the rest of the grant is to be held.

16HGL, vol. 4, p. 121.
1067, this argument is clearly flawed. To begin with, despite the fact that the verbs habere and tenere are in the perfect rather than the imperfect tense, the sense is that the land in question used to be held by the counts of Carcassonne from the counts of Toulouse; otherwise, these parties could not have made such an important transaction without the express consent of the counts of Toulouse themselves. A few years later, when Count Roger II of Foix made a donation to the abbey of Saint-Pons (Thomières), the monks made sure that the exchange was ratified by Duke William IV of Toulouse. I have found no such ratification in this case, which indicates that the feudal tie had by then dissolved. Moreover, while the passage in question does explicitly state that the count of Carcassonne and Count Pierre-Raymond held fiefs from the count of Toulouse, the phrase "per comitem de Tolosa" is not applied to Roger of Foix. In any case, to say that all the fiefs that were held of the count of Toulouse were covered by this contract does not exclude the possibility that there were other properties and honores in the Carcasses and the pays de Foix that were not dependent upon that prince.

17 The original donation was made in 1074 (HGL, vol. 5, c. 608) and it was confirmed by the duke in 1079 (HGL, vol. 5, c. 649).
18 Baudon de Mony notes that there was no allusion to the authority of the counts of Toulouse in Roger I's testament (1002) either. "The parties appear to dispose of their domaines in full possession of their rights, and the [counts of Toulouse] do not seem to have demanded the recognition of their sovereignty in any fashion." Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 18.
Even more telling is the reference to "allods and fiefs." Dom Vaissete argued that all of the aforesaid lands, "the entire domain," was held *en fief* from the counts of Toulouse, but allods, by definition, are held *franc-alleu*, free and clear. The allods of Count Roger of Foix were his to dispose of as he pleased, exactly like those lands that the count of Barcelona was in the process of buying. The term *alodios* (or *alodus*) is used in both cases, and the references are from the very same document. And in the second instance, as we have just seen, *alodus* is qualified by the phrase "*ad faciendum quodcumque volueritis.*" Then too it is significant that while the wording of the two citations is similar, the accord mentions neither allodial lands nor Count Roger of Foix, a tacit recognition by both parties that certain lands fell outside the scope of their agreement. Even if Roger had held the entire Comté de Foix from the count of Toulouse, which is doubtful, he would not have done hommage for allodial lands,19 which we know he possessed in the Sabartès.

Moving beyond the observations of Dom Vaissete, there are other indications of the independence of the counts of Foix in the Sabartès. In concert with the active land market and shifting political alliances in southern France and Catalonia in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a number of *sacramentales* have survived which provide some insights into

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feudal relations. Sacramentales are simply the written records of oaths of fealty, oaths which were frequently given following some sort of land transaction. The sacramentales often contained exemption clauses, permitting the vassal to abstain from conflicts with lords to whom they had feudal ties in other contexts. So, for example, when the viscount of Razès, Raimond Gausbert, swore an oath of fidelity to the count of Barcelona in 1067—a direct consequence of the transactions just described—he promised to defend the city of Carcassonne and the county of Razès against anyone who threatened the count or his lands "except Roger, count of Foix and his brother Pierre-Bernard and Bernard Othon de Niort and their sons and their men, who are and always will be more important to me than any other honor." Raimond Gausbert's primary obligations were to the lords of Foix and Bernard Othon; both controlled significant portions of the Carcassès and the Razès. 

Occasionally the counts of Carcassonne made similar exemptions, which indicates that in the eleventh century they held some of their most important fiefs from the counts of

\[20\text{Liber Feudorum Maior, vol. 1, p. 315, #831, (1067), \"excepto Rodgario, comite de Fox, et Petro Bernardi, fratre eius,et Bernardo Otonis de [A]niort et filiis suis et illis hominibus, qui plus sunt vel erunt mei quam de nullo alio honore.\}\\]

Toulouse. In 1037 Count Guillaume, co-seigneur of Carcassonne, swore to assist the viscount of Narbonne against all except the count of Toulouse and three others.\textsuperscript{22} And in 1063, Roger III, count of Carcassonne, promised to aid the count of Foix against all who threatened his possessions in the county of Carcassonne, except against the counts of Toulouse or his own family.\textsuperscript{23}

These acts are significant because the counts of Foix did not make such exemptions.\textsuperscript{24} At least we have no records of them. Earlier I mentioned the pact of mutual inheritance concluded between Roger of Foix and his uncle Pierre, bishop of Gerona.\textsuperscript{25} It was signed in 1034, which is in the same period as the oaths cited above, but no special reservations were made toward the counts of Toulouse or anyone else. There is nothing to indicate a dependent feudal relationship.

The first evidence of such a relationship is found in an act of 1167, the same document that provided the first mention of the Comté de Foix.\textsuperscript{26} This act is also important because it sheds some light on the relationship between the counts of Foix and Toulouse. As we saw, when the young Raymond Trenceval did homage to King Alphonse of Aragon in July, 1167, Count Raymond V of Toulouse ceded Trenceval's lands to Roger-Bernard

\textsuperscript{22}HGL, vol. 5, c. 427.
\textsuperscript{23}HGL, vol. 5, c. 526. Roger III and Roger I, his father's cousin, were co-seigneurs in Carcassonne.
\textsuperscript{24}Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 18 and note 1.
\textsuperscript{25}HGL, vol. 5, cc. 405-411.
\textsuperscript{26}HGL, vol. 8, cc. 273-275.
I of Foix. More specifically, Roger-Bernard received Carcassonne, Albi, the Razès and other territories as fiefs from the count of Toulouse;\(^2^7\) as one would expect, he then swore an oath of fealty to his benefactor.\(^2^8\) We also saw that Raymond gave to Roger-Bernard, as fiefs, "all the châteaux that he held or ought to hold in the Comté de Foix," but the châteaux were not specified. As it turns out, the most important among them was the château of Saverdun, fifteen kilometers east of the abbey of Lezat in the bas Comté de Foix. We know this because Count Raimond-Roger did homage to the count of Toulouse for the château of Saverdun in 1202.\(^2^9\) Still, it must be admitted that the vague reference in the act of 1167 may have included some small châteaux in the upper Ariège; as we shall see below, the possibility cannot be ruled out. As it stands, however, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—literally, between 1002 and 1202—there is no direct evidence that the counts of Foix held any portion of

\(^{2^7}\) Quod ego Raimundus comes Tholose per me et per meos successores dono, laudo et concedo in feudum tibi Rogerio Bernardi Fuxensi comiti . . . omnem illum honorem et omnem illam terram, quam Rogerius frater supranominati Trencavelli in fine vite sue tenebat et habebat, scilicet Carcassonam et Carcassensem patriam, Redas et Reddensem patriam [etc.] . . ."

\(^{2^8}\) Et ego Rogerius Bernardi, comes Fuxensis, recognosco tibi Raimundo comiti Tholose, quod propter hoc predictum feudum debo esse tuus homo, et propter donum istius feudi quod mihi facis convenio tibi, quod ero tibi fidelis adjutor et deffensor contra Rogerium filium Trencavelli et contra omnes infantes Trencavelli, excepta Cecilia . . ."

the Sabartès as a fief from the counts of Toulouse. Toward the end of this period a feudal relationship developed between the two barons; however, it involved only lands in the bas Comté de Foix and in the counties of Carcassonne and Razès.  

Everything changed dramatically in the thirteenth century.

The Albigensian Crusades and their Aftermath

Beginning in the early thirteenth century, the quantity and quality of the documentation in the Midi improves considerably. This is especially true following the outbreak of the Albigensian crusades. On one hand, the chroniclers give us a great deal of information on the Comté de Foix, more than that provided by all the documents I have thus far cited.

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30 Dom Vaisssete (HGL, vol. 4, p. 120) claimed that Mérens, in the southernmost part of the Haut Comté de Foix, "depended on the county of Toulouse." He cites an unidentified charter of 1047, found among the pièces justicatives in P. de Marca, Marca hispanica sive limes hispanicus (Paris, 1688), p. 1092. I have not had the opportunity of examining this document, but I have some reservations concerning its significance. To begin with, Dom Vaisssete's wording is odd. Vassals depended on counts rather than "counties:" I wonder if the document in question reads "in comitatu Tolosano" as it does in a donation of 1054 (HGL, vol. 5, c.478). Because the Comté de Foix was not yet formally constituted in the eleventh century, holdings located in the highlands were identified as being in the county or pays of Toulouse, but this is not the equivalent of a lord-vassal relationship. Secondly, in the mid-eleventh century Mérens was caught in a tug-of-war between the viscount of Cerdagne and his suzerain, Count Raimond of Cerdagne (cf. Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, pp. 26-32), and later it became part of the Comté de Foix. As far as I can tell the counts of Toulouse had little or no influence there. Finally, even if Mérens and its château was a fief held from the count of Toulouse in 1047, the rest of the Sabartès was not; and in any case, it soon came under the control of the house of Foix.
combined; on the other hand, the Albigensian crusades rapidly
drew the counts of Foix into a broader and more powerful
political milieu, and this brought about frequent diplomatic
contacts outside the county and more organized attempts to
collect revenues within it. Both developments—external and
internal—led to a marked increase in the quantity of records
kept by the house of Foix during the thirteenth century. Among
these records and chronicles there are a number of references
that help clarify the status of the Sabartès within the feudal
framework of Languedoc.

The French invasion of Languedoc set in motion a series
of events that would make the period 1208 to 1325 the most
volatile in the history of the Comté de Foix. In the spring of
1208, following the assassination of the papal legate Pierre
de Castelnau, the abbey of Citeaux urged Pope Innocent III to
grant indulgences for a crusade in the Midi.31 The French
nobility, lured as much by the prospect of profits as by the
promise of redemption for their sins, took up the cross and
the sword. Thus began more than a century of violence against
religious dissenters and the southern communities where they
lived. For the Comté de Foix the period came to a close in
June 1325 when Jacques Fournier made his final inquests in the
haut pays de Foix.

31 La chanson de la croisade albigeoise, ed. and tran. Eugène
215, cc. 1354-1361, Bull of March 10, 1208.
At first, these upheavals affected mostly the house of Foix and their lands north of the Pas de Labarre—for two generations the counts struggled to maintain their position against the church and the kings of France and Aragon. Ultimately, however, the Fuxeans were forced to swear allegiance to the French crown; and beginning in the 1240's, the burden of the conflict shifted from the plains to the mountains and from the nobility to the peasantry. The death of Count Roger-Bernard of Foix (May 1241), the defection of his son Roger IV (January 1243) to the royal camp, the assassination of two inquisitors at Avignonet (May 1242), and the taking of Montségur (March 1244) all symbolize this turning point.

The inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix paid the price when the counts of Foix succumbed to external pressures. Roger IV and his successors were forced to mortgage the customary liberties of the villages of the Sabartès in order to maintain relations with the church, preserve their freedom of action, sustain aggressive policies in Catalonia and pay for wars fought for their new seigneurs, the kings of France, in the late thirteenth century. The consequences of this policy

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32 Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 164-165.
33 Homage of Roger IV to Louis IX, HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1108-1110.
34 Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 166-167.
35 Chronique de l'abbaye de Berdouez (Auch), HGL, vol. 8, cc. 214-216; Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 172-177. The chronicle of Berdouez is a short list of events and dates which was compiled in the late thirteenth century.
varied from village to village. Some communities, especially the larger ones—Ax, Tarascon, Foix—were able to insure the continued enjoyment of their liberties by obtaining a charter, often in return for a one-time payment which might be as high as 300 solidi tolosani. Other communities, such as Miglos, suffered at the hands of rapacious landlords who, in exchange for a loan to the count of Foix, were given rights to collect taxes and administer justice. This was the worst possible outcome. The villagers then had to buy back their customary liberties one by one, and they ended up making a series of payments that added up to far more than the cost of a charter of liberties. Worse still, the villagers were constantly harassed by the immediate presence of a seigneurial power that had never been there before. These are issues I will return to in my concluding chapter. The Albigensian crusades set the stage for the oppression of the peasantry which followed.

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The counts of Foix were true sons of the south. When the Albigensian crusades began in 1208 they hastened to defend the Midi against the northern invaders. From the beginning of the conflict they threw all of their resources behind Raymond VII,

36 Charter of Vicdessos (1272), p. 128.
count of Toulouse, and Pedro II, king of Aragon. Count Raymond-Roger of Foix (1188-1223) fought at Muret in September 1213. He also suffered the consequences of that defeat. Along with the other allies, the count of Foix was forced to submit to the Church, and the abbot of St. Thibéry was given custody of the château of Foix. The abbot's nephew actually took possession as the "domicellum castellani."³⁸

This sort of arrangement was typical of the resolution of conflicts throughout the thirteenth century: even when the counts of Foix were defeated—sometimes even when they were thrown into prison as in 1272 and 1280—their châteaux were remitted to friendly parties. The abbey of St. Thibéry, for example, had connections with the village of Foix, and its rulers, dating back to the mid-ninth century,³⁹ so the remission of the château to the monks did not necessarily move it outside the scope of the count's influence. Raymond-Roger's subsequent participation in the reconquest of Languedoc demonstrates that he remained in control of the Comté de Foix if not the château itself. This was precisely the case in 1167 when the count of Toulouse deprived the rebellious Roger Trenceval of his lands by giving them as fiefs---on paper---to Roger Bernard of Foix. The donation was fictive. As Michel

³⁸Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, p. 90.
Roquebert so eloquently put it, "Roger Trenceval restait bel et bien maitre chez lui."\textsuperscript{40} The counts of Foix were adept at securing such lenient arrangements. They were often able to maintain a \textit{de facto} independence even after submitting to the church or to higher feudal powers. It was part of the secret of their success.

By the spring of 1214 Simon de Montfort had established firm control over the Carcassès and the Razès; moreover, both Innocent III and Philip Augustus officially recognized Simon as the new count of Toulouse. But Simon lacked strong local support. Consequently, a little over two years after the disaster at Muret, Raymond VI and the southern barons sought their return to power. Local hatred of Simon provided a springboard for Raymond when, in May 1216, the town of Beaucaire put itself under his lordship. The counter-offensive had begun. With the aid of his allies, chief among them the count of Foix, Raymond retook Toulouse in September 1217. The following summer, in an attempt to force a siege to its conclusion, Simon de Montfort was killed by a rock hurled from the city walls.\textsuperscript{41} At the end of the second phase of the conflict Raymond Roger of Foix was still \textit{maitre chez lui} which meant, among other things, that he had a free hand in the Sabartès. At this point there is no evidence to the contrary.


Raymond VI and Raymond-Roger steadily reconquered the Midi until their deaths in 1222 and 1223, but their struggle did not die with them. The new generation of allied leaders--Raymond VII of Toulouse (1222-1249) and Roger-Bernard II of Foix (1223-1241)--continued to push the advantage seized by their fathers. By 1224 Raymond had occupied Béziers and Carcassonne without resistance, and on April 7th of that year his officials took possession of Agde. Scores of châteaux were restored to a generation of exiled southern lords, and Languedoc once more looked as it did in 1208. Still, ecclesiastics in Rome and Paris were implacably arrayed against the barons of Languedoc, especially against Raymond VII. The count had regained Toulouse and most of his lands, but he was finding it impossible to regain his official recognition as the rightful ruler, even when he tried to submit to the papacy.

Philip Augustus also died in 1223. Therefore, when the curtain rose on the third act of the struggle for Languedoc, there were three new actors on the stage. Louis VIII took his place beside the counts of Toulouse and Foix, and events moved toward a conclusion. Almost immediately Pope Honorius III sought the king's support for a new crusade against the southern heretics, but Louis put him off in order first to secure his position in Poitou. Eventually, however, the Church

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made sufficient promises to lure Louis into action, and when the papal legate Romanus orchestrated the excommunication of a number of southern barons in January 1226, including the counts of Toulouse and Foix, the king finally agreed to take up the cross. He would recover Languedoc for God and the French crown. The campaigns and negotiations that followed provide insights into the feudal relationship between Foix and Toulouse.

In the spring of 1226 Louis VIII and his troops gathered in Bourges and began moving southward. At first they met with great success: towns capitulated at the very news the knights were on their way. But when the crusaders reached Avignon in June, they were denied admittance to the city. The ensuing siege took three months—the entire campaigning season. In the end, the Avignonese capitulated, but the cost was high for the king. For one, disease had taken a toll on his troops: many died during the siege. Second, the customary forty days service had been used up, and when the king left Avignon for western Languedoc, many others "returned to France." Consequently, although the royal troops

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44 On events from 1226 to 1230 see Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, pp. 118-143.
45 The legate Romanus pronounced his sentence of excommunication against the citizens on 9 June 1226, *HGL*, vol. 8, cc. 838-840.
46 Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, p. 120-121.
48 "Multi autem, recedente rege, in Franciam sunt reversi." Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, p. 120.
invested the Carcasses, the Razès and the Toulousain, they were not prepared to undertake a siege of Toulouse. The king could claim a victory in that he had reconquered much of the south, but the counts of Foix and Toulouse remained secure in their possessions. In late September they renewed their solidarity with a pact of mutual assistance.\(^4\)

Two months later Louis VIII was dead. According to Guillaume de Puylaurens the king had intended to return to Toulouse in the spring, but the Lord had other plans and Louis IX, age fourteen, came to the throne.\(^5\) This ended efforts to conquer Languedoc for the time being although skirmishes continued for two more years. Each side had some successes, but ultimately the French and their allies proved themselves too strong for Raymond VII. In the summer of 1228 a host of knights, soldiers, ecclesiastics and various and sundry hangers-on ravaged the vineyards of Toulouse for three months.\(^6\) Neither the counts nor the consuls were able to do anything about it.

When the destruction was complete, the prelates, barons, knights and people of Gascony returned to their homes. Those who remained armed themselves and marched upstream toward Pamiers, invading the lands of the count of Foix all the way to the Pas de Labarre. (italics mine)\(^7\)

\(^4\)De Marca, *Histoire de Béarn*, l. 8, ch. 21, n. 3; cited in HGL, vol. 6, p. 615.
\(^5\)Chronica, pp. 122-125.
\(^6\)Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, pp. 128-131.
\(^7\)Chronica, pp. 130-134.
This action forced the count of Toulouse to come to the bargaining table. A conference was held in Meaux, and on
12 April 1229 a treaty was signed in Paris. Raymond VII was officially recognized as count of Toulouse, and
Raymond's daughter, Jeanne, was betrothed to the king's brother, Alphonse of Poitiers. Peace was achieved, at
least temporarily, but the terms of the treaty were harsh, even by the standards of the day. Guillaume de Puylaurens commented, in a fashion indicative of his relatively balanced judgement, that the results could not have been much worse for the count of Toulouse if had been captured and held for ransom by the king. It seemed to Guillaume that the amends the count had to pay could have ransomed him several times over.

Two points should be noted. First, Roger-Bernard of Foix neither participated in the negotiations nor signed the treaty. Despite the fact that Raymond VII, his nominal overlord, had surrendered, the count of Foix was able to remain aloof. Second, it is extremely significant that the crusaders halted their advance at the Pas de Labarre.

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53 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 883-893.
54 The treaty was signed on April 12th and the marriage contract was completed June 25th, HGL, vol. 8, cc. 900-901. For a good summary of the terms of the treaty see Sumption, The Albigensian Crusade, pp. 223-225. The size of the principality was greatly reduced: "Raymond was left with most of the diocese of Toulouse and the northern Albigeois together with Quercy, the Rouergue, and the Agenais, about half the empire over which Raymond VI had reigned in 1209."
55 Chronica, pp. 130-135.
Their goal was to defeat the count of Toulouse, and Saint-Jean de Verge, where the army made its camp, marked the southern limit of his sovereignty.

The count of Foix did not hold out much longer. On June 16th he made his submission to the king and the church, and a treaty was signed in September. The terms were considerably more lenient than those given to Raymond VII. Not only was the count allowed to remain in possession of his lands, with the signal exceptions of Foix, Lordat and Montgrenier, he was indemnified for these remissions with an annual pension of 1000 livres tournois taken from lands in the Carcassès. Moreover, Guillaume de Puylaurens states explicitly that immediately following the settlement, "the count of Toulouse remitted to the

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56 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 903-906.  
57 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 906-909.  
58 Jean Richard is certainly right to say that this treaty was less onerous than the treaty of Paris, Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1983), pp. 99-100; but he is wrong to say that the king contented himself with two châteaux: the château, bourg, and ville of Foix were also held for a time by agents of the king, HGL, vol. 8, c. 908. In addition, Richard makes a chronological error in claiming that the count of Foix made his submission because he was "threatened by an army of crusaders who had been joined by the people of Toulouse." This episode took place late in the summer of 1228, following the destruction of the vineyards, Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 130-143. Instead, Roger Bernard made his submission because he was under considerable pressure from the count of Toulouse who, once he had made his own submission to the king, was charged with bringing his unruly vassal to order. This comes out in a letter the count of Toulouse wrote to the count of Foix on 25 April 1229, a copy of which is included in Roger Bernard's submission to the king and church, June 16th. HGL, vol. 8, cc. 903-904.
count of Foix, as a protectorate [ex commenda], the lands situated below the Pas de Labarre."\(^{59}\)

Shortly thereafter, on October 1, the count of Toulouse further rewarded Roger Bernard—both for his support during the war and for his relatively quick submission to Raymond's new overlord the king—by confirming him in his possessions. He recognized his homage and oath of fealty for the château of Saverdun and all of the lands that Roger Bernard held "in episcopatu Tholosano usque ad Barram."\(^{60}\) One year later, this act was solemnly reaffirmed.\(^{61}\)

Nestled between these two documents is a third dated 27 June 1230.\(^{62}\) It is important because it specifies for the first and only time the unnamed châteaux that were referred to in the donation of 1167 which I examined above; in addition, it provides the sole exception to my assertion that the counts of Foix held the entire Sabartès in franc-alleu. It is an act of donation. Reserving for himself only homage and fealty, Raymond VII gave to the count of Foix all of the rights he held on the châteaux of Péreille, Châteauverdun, Quié and Rabat. These strongholds were all located in the haut pays de Foix. Although Raymond did not possess exclusive rights in these places,

\(^{59}\)Chronica, p. 136. Ex commenda suggests that the count of Foix took possession of the land. It was entrusted to him.
\(^{60}\)HGL, vol. 8, c. 923.
\(^{61}\)September 26, 1230, HGL, vol. 8, c. 926.
\(^{62}\)HGL, vol. 8, cc. 925-926.
he held some *honores* there from at least the mid-twelfth century. We do not know how they came into the possession of the house of Toulouse. All things considered, this is an isolated exception which, in itself, does not significantly undermine the notion that the house of Foix enjoyed a free hand in the Sabartès. In any case, Raymond gave up his claims in 1230, and the evidence which follows in the 1240's provides incontrovertible proof that the haut pays de Foix was an alod held by the counts.

Despite the treaties signed by the allied leaders, southern military resistance sputtered on for another forty-two years. (Cultural and economic resistance continued unabated, and still exists today in the form of the Occitania movement. The Occitan flag flies in front of the hôtel de ville in Toulouse, and some southerners refer to themselves, proudly, as Cathars. They do so in the same spirit as American southerners who display the Confederate flag and call themselves rebels.) Raymond VII continued to chafe under the terms of the treaty of Meaux-Paris, especially as he and his daughter grew older. The treaty stipulated that upon Raymond's death, the county of Toulouse would pass into the hands of Jeanne's husband, Alphonse of Poitiers; furthermore, it stated that should Jeanne and Alphonse die childless, everything would revert

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to the crown. For these reasons the aging count of Toulouse felt that he was running out of time to re-establish his family's claims on the region.

Raymond knew that even such formal agreements as the treaty of Meaux-Paris were by no means immutable. When he signed it in 1229, he was hoping that its terms could somehow be circumvented in the years that lay ahead. If a son was born to him, the boy almost certainly would have recovered at least part of his father's inheritance. Raymond himself had managed to obtain much of his own father's territories despite the fact that both Innocent III and Philip Augustus had ruled against him during the war. Moreover, "If Jeanne had had a child she would have started a new dynasty that, in two or three generations, might have forgotten its obligations to its distant cousins in Paris and renewed the independent traditions of the Raymonds." As it turned out, however, Raymond had no more children and Jeanne and Alphonse did not have any at all, so as the years passed Raymond became increasingly anxious and in 1242 he once more began to foment trouble in Languedoc. He had for allies no less than Hugh of Lusignan, count of La Marche, and Henry III of England.

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64HGL, vol. 8, c. 887.
This time, however, the count of Foix deserted him. Roger IV abandoned the rebellious policies of his father and grandfather and came to a separate agreement with the king. Not only did this go against feudal custom, but also against the pact of mutual assistance that Roger-Bernard and Raymond VII had concluded during the war. Moreover, only the year before, following his accession, Roger IV had sworn an oath of fealty to Raymond for the château of Saverdun and all the lands that he held "below the Pas de Labarre in the diocese of Toulouse." Nonetheless, the young count of Foix decided it was in his best interests to desert his lord and make peace with Louis IX. Perhaps he remembered that Raymond VII had set a precedent by doing exactly the same thing in 1228.

Raymond responded angrily. He tried to punish the count of Foix for his disloyalty by demanding the remission of the fiefs that his family held from the house of Toulouse. He made the request twice, first in October 1242, then again in June 1245. This was exactly what Raymond V had done in 1167 when the young Roger Trenceval
had broken his oath of fealty to the count of Toulouse by recognizing Alphonse of Aragon as his lord.73

The wording of the demand leaves no doubt as to the status of the Sabartès. The letter of 1242 asked only for the remission of the château of Saverdun. Had Roger IV held any other châteaux from the count of Toulouse, they certainly would have been demanded because Raymond VII was at war with the king, and Roger IV had broken his feudal oath by coming to an agreement with the enemy.74 Nonetheless, no châteaux or lands in the Sabartès were mentioned. The subsequent request is even more explicit. Using a phrase that had by then become standard, the summons demanded once more the remission of "all of the lands you hold from us below the Pas de Labarre in the diocese of Toulouse."75 A clear distinction is drawn between the haut and bas Comté de Foix. The lands above the Pas de Labarre were held by the counts of Foix in franc-alleu.

Although allodial status is implied rather than stated explicitly, an accord reached between the count of Toulouse and Bernard of Comminges suggests that had the counts of Foix and Toulouse been acting under normal, friendly conditions—as they had been for nearly a century prior to 1242—the status of the haut pays de Foix would

73 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 273-275.
74 Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 22.
75 HGL, vol. 8, c. 1172.
have been spelled out. When Bernard swore liege homage to Raymond VII for the county of Comminges in 1244, he made it clear that he was receiving the property from Raymond as a fief for the very first time, that "his ancestors had not held it as a fief from any secular or religious person, that it had been his own allod, and that his ancestors had held it as an allod from time immemorial." Would that we had such a clear declaration for the haut pays de Foix, but the county of Comminges, located just west of the Sabartès, makes an instructive parallel example.

Despite his efforts, the count of Toulouse was in no position to enforce his claims: on 20 October 1242, only ten days after the initial letter to Foix, Raymond VII signed the first of a series of peace settlements with the king of France that were drawn up at Lorris. Technically speaking, Raymond's demands of the count of Foix were superfluous anyway: Roger IV's pact with Louis IX absolved him of any obligations to his former lord.

76 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1165-1167; "... quod feoda predicta, que modo recepit a sepedicto domino comite Tolosano, ipse vel antecessores ejus non tenuerant in feodum ab aliqua seculari vel ecclesiastica persona, immo erat alodium proprium, et ita ipse et antecessores ejus tenuerant pro alodio a tempore cujus memoria non exstabat."
77 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1097-1105.
78 Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, p. 168; "Sed inventum est quod comes Fuxi nonobstante promissione quam comiti super consilio impenso sibi fecerat, cum domino rege compositum sine eo, in qua compositione ut regi contra comitem adheret optimuit, ut ipse et omnes successores eius cum tota terra quam tunc tenebat a dicto comite etiam ex comenda, essent
And when Raymond died in 1249, the county of Toulouse—and its suzerainty—reverted to Alphonse of Poitiers. When Alphonse became count of Toulouse, he also became Roger-Bernard's immediate overlord for the bas Comté de Foix. This furthered a trend that had begun when Roger-Bernard swore liege homage to the king in 1229 for lands in the Carcassès and the Razès. For all intents and purposes, the counts of Foix now held the northern half of their county directly from the crown. This would become a legal reality in 1271 upon the deaths of the childless Jeanne and Alphonse, an event that would spark the final phase of the submission of the count of Foix to the king; for the time being, however, a workable status quo had been established.

This state of affairs is revealed by a dénombrement of 1263. That summer Louis IX ordered the count of Foix to prepare a list of all of the châteaux, villages and other properties that he held from the crown. It was part of the administrative reforms that Louis had initiated in 1254 following his return from the seventh crusade. Roger IV duly complied with the king's request and delivered the

exempti perpetuo a iugo comitis Tholosani."

79HGL, vol. 8, cc. 906-909.
80Alphonse died of an illness on 21 August in the port of Genoa during a return trip from Naples. His wife and heir, Jeanne, daughter of Raymond VII of Toulouse, died only four days later, and some suspect that she was poisoned; HGL, Vol. 6, pp. 927-928.
dénombrement to the sénéchal of Carcassonne in September. Among the multitude of properties that the count of Foix listed were Saverdun, Pamiers and a number of other places in the bas Comté de Foix, but not a single château or village in the haut Comté de Foix was mentioned—irrefutable proof that the counts of Foix held the Sabartès independently. Had the dénombrement been falsified, the king’s agents surely would have made some sort of formal protest. There was none.

The final chapter in the submission of the counts of Foix to the French crown came in the 1270's. Roger IV died in 1265; Louis IX, in 1270; and the last major conflict between the two families was played out by their sons—Roger-Bernard III (1265-1302) and Philip III (1270-1285).

Following the death of his uncle Alphonse in 1271, Philip set about securing his position in the south. He was in fact somewhat vulnerable. Both Pedro, son of King

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82 HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1510-1514.
85 For an understanding of this process and the events of 1271, the following work is indispensable: Saisimentum Comitatus Tholosani, ed. Yves Dossat (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1966).
Jaime I of Aragon, and Henry III of England showed signs of wanting to exploit the leaderless condition in which the region suddenly found itself. Consequently, Philip left Paris for the Midi in February 1272 in order to show himself to his new subjects and to ensure that they lived up to the oaths they had recently given to his most important local representative, the sénéchal of Carcassonne. After all, it was the first time that most of these territories had come under the direct control of the crown and Philip, like his great-grandfather Philip Augustus, was nothing if not a shrewd politician.

He had gotten no farther than Saintes (Charente-Maritime) when the news reached him that the count of Foix, Roger-Bernard III, along with his brother-in-law, Géraud V, count of Armagnac, had just destroyed the château of Sompuy (Gers) and massacred the population. Only weeks before, the seigneur of Sompuy, Géraud de Casaubon, had delivered the château into the hands of the sénéchal of Toulouse, and the sénéchal had then circulated a sauvegarde which forbade anyone to attack it. Needless to say Philip was determined to make an example of his bellicose southern vassals; moreover, there was always the danger that the southern barons might stir up a broader revolt or, worse still, that King Jaime I of Aragon (1213-1276) might come to their aid as his father Pedro II had in 1213. Philip immediately published a ban and an
arrière-ban which called to arms all who owed him military service, and he summoned the counts of Foix and Armagnac to appear before him. Géraud V relented and was condemned to pay 15,000 livres tournois in damages. Roger-Bernard ignored the citation and put his realm in a state of defense.86

At first glance it seems exceedingly reckless for the count of Foix to have so precipitously defied the combined strength of the peers of France, but his position was stronger than is readily apparent. It would be inaccurate to view Roger Bernard III as the last holdout in a country otherwise fully committed to the Capetian monarchy. The Comté de Foix was not part of France. The Fuxeans held the northern half of their county from the king, along with a number of possessions in the Carcassès and the Razès, but all the same these lands were part of "Languedoc," a loose confederation of principalities with a different language and a distinct cultural heritage. The term "Languedoc" came into use only in the thirteenth century as a result of the cultural clash engendered by the crusades: during the fighting the men of the north and those of the Midi found language to be the most obvious way to distinguish one from the other.87

86 All this is recounted by Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 202-207.
87 Paul Dognon, Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIIe siècle aux guerres de religion (Toulouse: Privat, 1895), pp. 9-10. As far as I have been able
Guillaume de Puylaurens, who completed the Chronica between 1273 and 1276, was an eyewitness to the events. Repeatedly he refers to certain individuals "returning to France" (rediret in Franciam); to others who were "born and raised in France" (nato in Franciam et nutrito); or, following a defeat in 1272, to Roger-Bernard III, who was "captured and taken to France" (captum ducit in Franciam). Writing in 1461 Arnaud Esquerrier used the exact same language in his Chroniques Romanes des Comtes de Foix, even when discussing events that took place in the late fourteenth century.

Above and beyond these linguistic and geographic
to determine the term appeared in written form for the first time on 2 February 1291 when a notary for the lord of Montpellier referred to certain merchants of Provence who spoke a language "que vulgariter appellatur Lingua d'Oc." HGL, Vol. 10, c. 245. For more on this issue see Paul Meyer, "La langue romane du Midi de la France et ses différents noms," Annales du Midi 1 (1889), 1-15; and the comments of Auguste Molinier, HGL, Vol. 12, pp. 130-134.

See for example pp. 25, 37, 46 and 84. The first chronicle of the counts of Foix was begun in 1445 by Michel de Vernis's (Archives des Pyrénées-Atlantiques E 392, fol. 1-26; a copy can be found in the Collection Doat, vol. 164). This work was continued and greatly expanded by de Vernis' successor, Arnaud Esquerrier, whose Chroniques Romanes des Comtes de Foix was edited and published by Félix Pasquier and Henri Courteault under the auspices of the Société Ariégeoise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts (Toulouse: Privat, 1895). For more information on the manuscript tradition see Claude Denjean, "Chroniques des comtes de Foix aux XVe et XVIe siècles (1445-1609)" in Pyrénées Ariégeoises (Saint-Girons: Imprimerie Y. Mauri, 1983), pp. 101-107. Incidentally, the first sentence of Denjean's article is instructive. He wrote, "When the house of Foix reached its apogee, but also the end of its de facto independence [i.e. in the period 1445-1609], the counts commissioned biographies of their ancestors."
considerations, it must be remembered that the possessions of the counts of Foix did not end at the crest of the Pyrenees. Throughout the thirteenth century, even as they struggled to defend the Midi from the encroachments of the French, the counts of Foix pursued an acquisitive policy south of the Sabartès. One of the primary theses of Baudon de Mony's book, Relations politiques des comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne jusqu'au commencement du XIVe siècle (1896), is that holding the Sabartès in franc-alleu was the mechanism that permitted the counts of Foix to extend their holdings in Cerdagne, Urgel and Andorra. Secure at home, free from the internal rebellions that plagued other barons, the counts of Foix were able to aggrandize their territories. Throughout most of this chapter I have been discussing the political and legal status of the house of Foix within the context of the steady erosion of Languedocian independence, yet as the nobles of France moved southward, so too did the counts of Foix. In the previous chapter I analyzed the gradual transformation of a junior branch of the house of Carcassonne into the comtes Fuxensis, but they did not stop there. Roger Bernard II (1223-1241), sixth count of Foix, added the title viscount of Castlebon; and the descendants of Roger-Bernard III, following his advantageous marriage to Marguerite de Montcada, daughter of the viscount of Béarn, moved their administration to Pau and soon added this third appellation
to their growing string of titles. At the dawn of the thirteenth century the count of Foix had been one among many powerful southern barons; as the century drew to a close he was the single most powerful lord south of the Loire.\footnote{In 1425 Charles VII conceded Bigorre to Jean de Grailly, then count of Foix. In 1447 Jean's son, Gaston IV, bought the viscounty of Narbonne and eventually married the heiress to the kingdom of Navarre. Next, Catherine of Foix married Jean d'Albret, and her great, great grandson, became Henry IV, who carried the titles king of France, king of Navarre, count of Bigorre, viscount of Narbonne, viscount of Béarn, viscount of Castlebon and count of Foix! cf. HGL, vol. 9.}

As such he also had powerful allies, not the least of whom was Jaime I of Aragon. In addition, there were a number of lesser nobles in the Carcassès, the Razès, Catalonia and elsewhere who held fiefs from, and had done homage to, the counts of Foix. So, for example, when Guillaume-Raimond of Josa, an Aragonese knight, swore homage to Jaime II in 1292, he promised to aid the king against everyone "except the count of Foix against whom not only I will not give you aid and counsel, but whom I would aid if he makes war against you."\footnote{Citation from Duvernoy, La noblesse, p. 6.} Such loyalty is impressive in any age.

Returning, then, to the events of 1272, Roger-Bernard's decision to defy the king of France does not seem quite so reckless; all the same, the eventual outcome was less than ideal. Initially the count sought support from the Catalan nobility, and he may have hoped that
Jaime I of Aragon would also stand behind him. After all, there was a precedent in the alliance of Raymond-Roger and Pedro II during the Albigensian crusades. In addition, the count of Foix had considerable interests in Cerdagne, and his ties to the court of Aragon were growing. Judging from the alacrity of his response Philip III was also thinking of Aragonese intervention. Nonetheless, when push came to shove, the king of Aragon decided he did not want to risk another Muret, and he forbade the Catalan nobility to aid the count of Foix. Roger-Bernard had little choice but to retreat to his château.\(^9\)\(^2\)

From there the affair was brought swiftly to a conclusion. The king’s sénéchal occupied the bas Comté de Foix up to the Pas de Labarre,\(^9\)\(^3\) and Philip III arrived in Pamiers on June 1st. Two days later, when Roger Bernard stubbornly refused to submit, the king and his army devastated the mountainous countryside south of the Pas de Labarre and laid siege to the château of Foix.\(^9\)\(^4\)

Perched on a steep rock cut by the confluence of the Arget and the Ariège, the château of Foix was impregnable. According to the *Chanson de la Croisade*, even when the pays de Foix was occupied by foreign troops, the château

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\(^9\)\(^2\)Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques*, vol. 1, p. 217 and vol. 2, pièce justificative n° 58. Also, see the discussion of these events and those that followed in HGL, vol. 10, pp. 9-14.

\(^9\)\(^3\)Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, pp. 202-207.

\(^9\)\(^4\)HGL, Vol. 9, pp. 11-16.
was never taken nor was an attempt ever made "because it was so strong it defended itself." Philip knew the siege would be difficult. One chronicler, Guillaume de Nangis, reported that he had hired a large number of workers to cut away the rock. Whether or not the story is true, it reflects the king's concerns and the château's reputation. Within days, however, Jaime I arrived on the scene along with Gaston de Béarn, Roger-Bernard's brother-in-law, and together they convinced the count that it was in his best interest not to resist Philip. (They may well have encouraged him to give in because they had a plan whereby he could retain his lands.) Whatever they said, it worked, for on June 5th Roger-Bernard made his submission to the king and was imprisoned in one of the towers of Carcassonne. Although the formal declaration would have to wait, from this point on the counts of Foix relinquished their independence in the Sabartès. They no longer held the upper Ariège in franc-alleu.

The ensuing diplomacy epitomizes the Fuxean's political machismo. Roger-Bernard allowed himself to be taken captive, but he made sure that his family's possessions were in the hands of friends. On June 7th

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95Cited by Felix Pasquier, Promenade historique et archéologique au château de Foix (Foix: Gadrat Aîné, 1925), p. 4.
97Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica, pp. 206-207 and note 3; HGL, vol. 9, p. 17.
Pierre de Durban, one of Roger-Bernard's men, transferred the château of Foix to Gaufrid de Roquebertin, who accepted it for the king of Aragon. In this case the prize was passed on to Philip's sénéchal one month later, but the king of Aragon retained possession of the rest of the haut pays de Foix. Cleverly, Roger-Bernard had managed to deliver the Sabartès to his closest allies. So, for example, Montréal de Sos, Ax, Mérens and Lordat went to Ramon Folc IV, viscount of Cardona and one of Roger-Bernard's most loyal supporters. Furthermore, like the rest of the Sabartès, these places were being held in the name of Jaime I. The count of Foix had made an extremely astute move, "by remitting his person to Philip the Bold and his châteaux to Jaime of Aragon, in the long run, he saved them both." Chances are all of this was planned by Roger-Bernard, Jaime and Gaston de Béarn when they met at the beginning of June. Whether it was or not, the strategy paid off, although it was eighteen months before the count was freed.

The diplomatic maneuvering that took place in the interim is worth examining because it reveals a great deal
about the motives of the parties involved. On 7 July 1202 Philip ordered his sénéchals to conduct an inquest on the limits of the Comté de Foix.\textsuperscript{102} He wanted to know exactly what it was he had conquered and what kind of legal claims he could make on it. Particularly close attention was paid to a description of the upper half of the county, the "terra Savartesii;" in fact, after a detailed enumeration of the châteaux, villages and lands of the haut Comté de Foix, the enquêteurs contented themselves with adding, "and all the other châteaux, villages and places in the bas Comté de Foix (\textit{in parte inferiori dicti comitatus Fuxensi}), here not named which the king recognizes as fiefs held of him by count Roger."\textsuperscript{103} Then, in their complaint of August 2nd,\textsuperscript{104} the French sénéchals assert that the châteaux of the Sabartès that the viscount of Cardona was holding for the king of Aragon were actually situated in the Comté de Foix which was part of the kingdom of France ("\textit{in comitatu Fuxensi, in regno Francie et diocesi Tolosano}"). They went on to argue that Jaime I

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\textsuperscript{102}HGL, vol. 10, cc. 88-93.  \\
\textsuperscript{103}The reference is to Roger Bernard's father, Roger IV (1241-1265). In 1263 Saint Louis requested that the count prepare a \textit{dénombrement} (1263) of the fiefs he held from the crown. HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1510-1514. At that time, nothing in the Sabartès was listed. Combined with the inquest of 1272 now under consideration, it provides additional evidence of the differences between the status of the upper and lower halves of the county. \\
\textsuperscript{104}HGL, vol. 10, cc. 102-107.
\end{flushright}
had ceded the comté de Foix to Louis IX,\textsuperscript{105} and that the inhabitants testified the châteaux had always been part of the Comté de Foix (as opposed to belonging to Aragon).\textsuperscript{106}

This same document sheds some light on the designs of Roger-Bernard. It explains that he actually wrote a letter from his prison cell in Carcassonne to Ramon Folc asking that he give the château of Lordat—the strongest in the Sabartès after that of Foix—to Pierre-Roger of Mirepoix who, significantly, was supposed to do homage for it "according to the Catalan tradition."\textsuperscript{107} Clearly Roger-Bernard was trying to distance his lands from Philip III. Such actions, distressing to the French under any circumstances, were particularly bothersome in this instance because Pierre-Roger had been one of the defenders of Montségur.\textsuperscript{108} It is another reminder that many southern families with Cathar connections survived the Albigensian crusades.

Jaime of Aragon responded to all this activity by

\textsuperscript{105}The sénéchals were referring to the Treaty of Corbeil (1258) wherein the king of Aragon gave up his claims to lands in southern France and Louis IX renounced French claims to Rousillon and the counties of Barcelona and Urgell. \textit{Layettes du Trésor des Chartes}, vol. 3, \#4411, pp. 405-409, 422-427; and \#4412, pp. 433-435. See also Margaret Wade Labarge, \textit{Saint Louis: The Life of Louis IX of France} (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968), pp. 193-194.

\textsuperscript{106}"Cum etiam sit vox communis et fama populorum et testium fide dignorum, quod dicta castra sunt in comitatu Fuxensi [etc.]." \textit{HGL}, vol. 10, c. 105.

\textsuperscript{107}"cum homaggio ad morem Catalonie," \textit{HGL}, vol. 10, c. 104.

writing a series of letters in September and October praising Ramon Folc for holding firm against Philip's demands, and ordering him not to give up the châteaux or anything else. This is further confirmation that the count of Foix, the viscount of Cardona and the king of Aragon were conspiring to preserve Roger-Bernard's patrimony and to maintain their position with respect to the king of France. It also confirms that the count of Foix knew what he was doing when he came down from his impregnable château: better to suffer arrest and humiliation and to regain one's châteaux and lands later, than to risk life and property resisting the king in an unwinnable war. Roger-Bernard did not want his family to suffer the same fate as the Trencevals.

The stalemate over the Sabartès continued through the winter, but the king of Aragon was in the process of preparing a new campaign against the Muslims, so he began to make compromises in order to free himself from this entanglement before turning his full attention elsewhere. On 8 February 1273 he made arrangements for the haut Comté de Foix to be handed over to the sénéchal of Carcassonne. Ultimately it was remitted to

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110 Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 220.
Brunissende of Cardona, Roger-Bernard's mother.\textsuperscript{112} The king of France had agreed to this when the count of Foix made his submission.\textsuperscript{113} For some reason, however, Jaime I had a change of heart and decided that he might still be able to negotiate a better deal, for little more than a week later, on February 17th, he asked one of his men, Guillaume-Raimond de Josa, to conduct an inquest concerning the château of Lordat and its nearby villages.\textsuperscript{114} Despite the Treaty of Corbeil (1258), the angry proclamations of Philip's sénéchaux, and his own promises, the Aragonese king launched a new effort to prove that certain possessions in the haut pays de Foix had been held from Aragon for as long as anyone could remember— at least this is how the document reads; yet it becomes apparent, once the diplomatic veneer is stripped away, that what the king of Aragon and his men were really trying to do was to guard Roger-Bernard's lands while the count waited to get out of prison.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{112}Guillaume de Puylaurens, \textit{Chronica}, p. 206, note 3.
\textsuperscript{113}HGL, vol. 9, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{114}Baudon de Mony, \textit{Relations politiques}, vol. 2, pièce justicative 64, pp. 149-152. Guillaume-Raimond de Josa was the same Aragonese knight that I mentioned above (p. 39) as an example of someone who was particularly loyal to the count of Foix.
\textsuperscript{115}While it is true that the count of Foix held some possessions from the King of Aragon, none were in the haut pays de Foix. Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay mentions them: "Nec pretermittendum quod rex Aragonum, a quo comes Fuxi tenebat pro parte maxima terram suam;" \textit{Hystoria Albigensis}, vol. 2, p. 198. But these lands were all located in Donnezan, Capcir, Conflent and Cerdagne, small Pyrenean territories to the south and east of the haut Comté de Foix. Raymond-Roger had done
Personally, I suspect that Roger-Bernard knew exactly what Jaume and the others were doing. The notary charged with aiding Guillaume-Raimond de Josa was none other than Pierre Authié of Ax-les-Thermes, the same man who later journeyed to Lombardy and then reintroduced Catharism in the haut pays de Foix in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Is it too much to suppose that the imprisoned count might have written to the notary in the same way he had written to Ramon Folc? For that matter, Authié may well have spoken with the count in person. Pierre's ties with Roger-Bernard of Foix are well established. Pierre, along with his brother Guillaume and their brother-in-law Guillaume de Rodes, was one of the count's trusted notaries. In addition to the inquest of 1273, his signature appears on an act dated 6 May 1275 wherein the men of the valley of Andorra give to Roger Bernard III the rights of justice in their valley, and

on a treaty signed by the count of Foix, the count of Paillars and the viscount of Cardona in 1284.\footnote{Baudon de Mony, \textit{Relations politiques}, vol. 2, pièce justicative, 110, pp. 212-217.} His name also appears throughout the Registers of Geoffroy d'Ablis and Jacques Fournier as one would expect considering his heretical activity. Less expected yet more interesting, one of Fournier's witnesses links Pierre Authié directly with the count of Foix. Sibille Sabartès of Arques testified that Pierre had participated in the heretication of Count Roger-Bernard on his deathbed in the château of Tarascon in 1302.\footnote{Registre, p. 585.}

Duvernoy suggests that the notary from Ax-les-Thermes was another Guillaume de Nogaret.\footnote{La noblesse, p. 7.} In other words, Authié was willing to falsify evidence and prepare documentation to support his patron in the same way that Nogaret had fabricated charges against Boniface VIII for the benefit of Philip IV. With this in mind, it becomes obvious that the Aragonese inquest of 1273 was in reality a well conceived feint. All the evidence indicates that either Roger-Bernard himself or his friends orchestrated the inquest in order to help preserve the count's rights in the haut pays de Foix. Therefore, far from championing the claims of Aragon to the detriment of Foix, Pierre

\begin{verbatim}
notarii publici Taraschonis. Guillelmus de Rodesio, notarius publicus Taraschonis, subscritpsit."
\end{verbatim}
Authié helped prepare a document stating that certain châteaux were held from Jaime I because the notary was a loyal supporter of Roger-Bernard. Like his master and their allies, Authié hoped for a favorable settlement to the conflict, one that would leave the count of Foix with as much autonomy as possible. Pierre Authié, notary and future Cathar perfect, loved the Sabartès, his pays natal.

Considering the circumstances, things turned out about as well for the southerners as they could have hoped. The count had to spend more time in prison than he would have liked, but he came out of the crisis in a much better position than numerous other Languedocian and Catalonian lords who had been deprived of their possessions or even killed under similar circumstances. Despite the inquest of February 17th, Jaime of Aragon eventually delivered the haut pays de Foix to the sénéchal of Carcassonne who, in turn, remitted it to Roger-Bernard's mother, Brunissende of Cardona.¹²² Then, sometime after June 5th, the date he had been taken prisoner the previous summer, the count of Foix was finally released from the tower at Carcassonne.

At this point the king of France took pains to guarantee the future loyalty of the house of Foix. He wanted to prevent any further rebellions in the Midi, and he knew that when Roger-Bernard regained his county he

would once again be one of the most powerful barons between the Loire and the Ebro. In order to insure his good behavior, Philip decided that his newest vassal, who was probably in his mid-20's,\textsuperscript{123} needed to be indoctrinated in the traditions of Capetian chivalry. To this end, Philip did not allow the count to return directly to his beloved mountains; instead, according to Guillaume de Nangis, Roger-Bernard was brought to Philip's palace, presumably in Paris, where he stayed for at least a year. There the royal magistrates and household knights introduced their provincial charge to tournaments and court life; in short, they tried to mold him into a loyal and respectable chevalier. Grudgingly or otherwise, Roger-Bernard committed himself to the Parisian program like a medieval Julien Sorrel, and before long he had managed to obtain the king's good graces. Finally, at the end of his stay, Philip made Roger-Bernard a knight, returned all his lands and permitted him to go home.\textsuperscript{124} With hindsight we

\textsuperscript{123}We know that Roger-Bernard was not yet 25 when he succeeded his father in 1265 because in March of that year he swore an oath to uphold the customs and liberties of the town of Saverdun, and the act is performed with the consent of the count's tutors, the archbishop of Auch and the abbot of Mas-d'Asil (Castillon d'Aspet, Histoire du Comté de Foix, vol. 1, pp. 333-334); therefore, while he could have been no older than 32 when he was taken to Paris in 1273, he may in fact have been considerably younger.

can see that the king’s policy was extremely prudent. Over the course of the next several decades Philip and his successors relied heavily upon the counts of Foix to support them in their wars in Navarre, Catalonia, Gascony and Flanders.

The formal restitution of Roger-Bernard’s territories was carried out in two stages. A letter from the king to the abbot of Moissac and the viguier of Toulouse indicates that the count recovered his lands north of the Pas de Labarre—the bas Comté de Foix—in early 1275,125 shortly after he left Paris;126 yet the haut Comté de Foix was not returned to the count until March 1277. Baudon de Mony suggests that Philip hesitated to restore Roger-Bernard completely to power until he was sure he could trust him, until he had proven himself a reliable vassal. He adds that the count seized his opportunity to do so when he participated in the French expedition to Navarre in 1276

\[ \text{regum Francorum benignitate ac liberalitate terram suam illi reddens totaliter, liberum ad propria ire permisit.} \]

125De Marca, Histoire de Béarn, p. 780, cited by Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 223.
126Indeed, the restitution of Roger-Bernard's lands may well have been in conjunction with his departure the king's court. We know from an infeudation of 9 October 1274 that the haut pays de Foix had not yet been restored to the count at that date (Archives départementales de l'Ariège, Inventaire générale de Foix, p. 285, caisse 18, n° 29, cited by Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 223), so I presume that the final events described by Guillaume de Nangis took place sometime during the winter of 1274-1275. This means that the count was first taken prisoner in June 1272; released to Paris in the summer or fall of 1273; then allowed to return to Foix a little over a year later.
and that Philip rewarded his efforts the following spring by investing the count with the upper half of his county. Baudon de Mony's argument is almost certainly correct. Although Philip's motivations are not spelled out either in the king's act of restitution or in Roger-Bernard's avowal, both dated 9 March 1277, they are implied in a letter the king wrote later that same year. What we can say with certainty is that after this five year episode (1272-1277) the counts of Foix no longer held the Sabartès in franc-alleu. Roger-Bernard explicitly acknowledges that he has received the lands above the Pas de Labarre from the king ("totam terram ejusdem comitatus ultra Passum Barre in manu sua teneret") and that he and his successors would henceforth owe liege homage for the Comté de Foix to Philip and his successors against all other men living or dead.

127 Relations politiques, vol. 1, p. 223. Baudon de Mony convincingly cites the chronicler Guillaume Anelier, who praised Roger-Bernard for his valor during the siege of Pamplona, as evidence of the count's willingness to support the French crown.

128 HGL, vol. 10, cc. 138-139. In a letter to Roger-Bernard (11 May 1277) Philip thanks the count for offering to serve him on a crusade to the Holy Land, but says his services may be needed instead in Navarre, "scientes quod antequam vestras recepissemus litteras, vobis scripseramus ut in Navarram iretis pro nostro servitio."

130 HGL, vol. 10, c. 138-139. "quod nos eidem domino Regi de toto predicto comitatu Fuxensi, fortaliciis et pertinentiis universis ejusdem, ubicunque sint, homagium ligium fecimus contra omnes homines qui possint vivere vel mori, ac heredes et successores nostri eidem domino Regi et suis successoribus simile homagium tenebuntur facere de premissis."
The outcome of Roger-Bernard's conflict with the king of France attests to his and his family's political genius. In the short run, he suffered some difficult years; in the long run, he maintained possession of his county. As we have seen, not all who defied the crown were so fortunate. Roger-Bernard finally lost the political independence his family had so stubbornly protected; yet he preserved the family itself, and put it in a position to prosper in the fourteenth century.

This does not mean, however, that the Fuxeans were great innovators, and I think this is important to keep in mind. Roger-Bernard acted as many barons would have—and did. The counts of Foix may have been more adept than many at saving their own skins, but their strategies were well within the southern military/diplomatic tradition; likewise, the reactions such rebellious strategies provoked were the same everywhere.

In 1273 King Jaime I of Aragon (1213-1276) summoned his vassals to military service in Granada, and the Catalonian barons rose up in revolt. As a result, one of the leaders of the rebellion, Viscount Ramon Folc IV of Cardona, was ordered to turn over his castles. It was standard practice. When he refused, the king's son Pedro undertook a punitive expedition against him and his
supporters.\textsuperscript{131} We have seen this pattern several times in the dealings of the French kings with their uncooperative vassals. (Ironically, it was the same Ramon Folc who had been on the opposite end of such a maneuver when he took possession of certain châteaux in the haut pays de Foix the year before.\textsuperscript{132})

Such conflicts were "settled" in similar ways as well. When Jaime's heir Pedro III (1276-1285) came to power, these same barons complained that he had failed to take the customary oath upholding the liberties of Catalonia; therefore, they refused to pay an accession-tax, the bovatge. As before, Pedro led a punitive expedition against them. This time the leaders were none other than the king's own brother, Jaume II of Majorca, and, remarkably, Roger-Bernard of Foix, who still had considerable interests on the southern side of the Pyrenees. After two years of fighting the rebels were captured at Balaguer in 1280. Pedro demanded that his brother Jaume do homage and swear fealty for all of his possessions.\textsuperscript{133} Again, this was exactly what Philip III had demanded of Roger-Bernard during their conflict.

\textsuperscript{132}See above p. 42.
As for the unfortunate count of Foix, he was once again thrown into prison (20 July 1280). So too were the new viscount of Cardona, Arnaud-Roger, his brother Raimond-Roger, count of Paillars, and several other Catalanian castellans. The king was lenient with his own men: he released them in May 1281 and returned their lands as fiefs. Consequently, most of the former rebels served him loyally during the French invasion of 1285. As we have just seen, this was exactly the sort of loyalty Philip III had recently instilled in the count of Foix in a nearly identical fashion.

In his dealings with the king of Aragon, however, the count of Foix was not so lucky. Pedro III demanded that Roger-Bernard return to him all of the châteaux and lands that he had been given as fiefs. Furthermore, he wanted the count's daughter handed over as a hostage, and he ordered his captive to remit the viscounty of Castelbon to the crown of Aragon. But true to his nature, Roger-Bernard remained as obstinate as he was belligerent. Despite repeated deputations from friends and family, the count held out for three years until Pedro agreed to somewhat lighter conditions. Following his "victory," Roger-Bernard was finally released from prison on 10 December 1283.

135 Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, vol. 1, pp. 250-259. The records of the negotiations that took place during Roger-Bernard's captivity are found in the Archives of Aragon.
Free but none too grateful, both he and his former ally, Jaume II of Majorca, supported the king of France in his invasion of Aragon in 1285. These events provide ample evidence that the time spent in Paris had convinced Roger-Bernard that it was in his best interest to remain loyal to the French; subsequent events would prove that his decision was absolutely correct.

[Barcelona?], and Baudon de Mony has edited a number of them and included them among his pièces justicatives, vol. 2, no. 88-103, pp. 189-218.

136 The French invasion of Aragon came in the aftermath of the Sicilian Vespers (31 March 1282). On that date the Sicilians rose up against their king, Charles of Anjou, and offered the crown to Pedro III of Aragon. When he accepted it, Pope Martin IV, a Frenchman, excommunicated him, declared that he had forfeited the kingdom of Aragon and offered the vacated throne to Charles of Valois, third son of Philip III of France. Naturally Pedro III was uncooperative in this matter, and when the pope granted indulgences for a crusade against him, the king of France mounted an expedition and invaded Catalonia in 1285. It was a fiasco. The French managed a successful siege of Gerona but that was all. Immediately afterwards they were forced into retreat and Philip III died in Perpignan on October 5th. Ironically, Pedro III died less than one month later on 2 November 1285. Hilda Johnstone, "France: The Last Capetians," in The Cambridge Medieval History (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932), vol. 7, pp. 308-309 and Rafael Altamira, "Spain, 1252-1410," in CMH, Vol. 7, pp. 583-587.
Figure 2. Occitania in the Thirteenth Century
CHAPTER IV
THE CHURCH IN THE HAUT PAYS DE FOIX

PAST APPROACHES

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's celebrated *Montaillou: village occitan* (1975) captured the attention of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic and renewed interest in the religious history of medieval Languedoc.¹ This history had been approached in a variety of ways. Some historians concentrated on institutions, others on doctrines. Some examined the relationship of church to state; others focused on heresy and the inquisition. Le Roy Ladurie initiated a multi-national discussion about mentalités. In a study such as mine, all these categories are relevant. The establishment of village churches; the proximity of monasteries; the number, size and origins of the parishes; the distribution of ecclesiastical wealth; the internal organization of the diocese; the presence (or absence) of friars; the existence of

heresy; the nature of repression; the strength of local seigneurs; the character of local religious traditions: each had a significant bearing on the religious history of the haut pays de Foix. All, in turn, were constrained by geographic, demographic and economic forces.

Some scholars have weighed the relative importance of these various factors and analyzed their impact on specific communities or regions. Several solid historical monographs have this in common. Yet while such studies have appeared concerning other parts of the Pyrenees, none has been devoted to the upper Ariège.

Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* is not a monograph. It is not an in-depth, historical analysis of the fundamental

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institutions, structures and forces that simultaneously define and change a society.\(^4\) Despite the panegyrical reviews the book received,\(^5\) it remains impressionistic—many difficult questions about the fundamental social structures are answered perfunctorily or not at all. In a bibliographic essay devoted to recent research on the social and economic history of the high and late Middle Ages, Robert Fossier divided books into categories: methodological studies, collections of sources, general overviews, major monographs, regional studies, 

\(^4\)In his new book, *Rural Communities in the Medieval West*, Léopold Genicot provides, in the form of an outline, a comprehensive breakdown of the institutions, structures, and various geographic, economic and social forces which ought to be considered in a first-rate monograph (pp. 125-130). Each region or village will present its own methodological limitations, but Genicot has given us a useful model.


This is a stunning book and to read it is to experience something like Keats's emotions upon first looking into Chapman's Homer. . . . From jobs to sexuality, little escapes Le Roy Ladurie's attention, and he uses each monographic detail patiently to build an all-encompassing picture of Montaillou that deepens and transforms our understanding of medieval life. Like the novels of Kazantzakis, this book stands as a monument to the perserverance of the human spirit.

economic studies and social studies.\textsuperscript{6} Montaillou was relegated to the last category, and rightly so. Above all else it concerns mentalités which, in the realm of church history, means the study of popular religion. Several chapters are devoted to this topic; by contrast, only a single paragraph is given to the diocese of Pamiers upon which the parish of Montaillou depended. Likewise, Le Roy Ladurie writes pages and pages on the sexual adventures of the village priest, but not a word about his religious education or the history of the local church. For this reason Montaillou is not a monograph.

Properly speaking, Montaillou is a historical ethnography. Indeed, the foreword is subtitled, "De l'Inquisition à l'ethnographie." Ethnography is the study of the behaviors, beliefs, understandings, attitudes and values of a group of interacting people; in short, a description of the culture of a society, or in this case a single village.\textsuperscript{7} Historical ethnography is a description of a past stage of a society based on contemporary written evidence.\textsuperscript{8} It is static. There is no time component. Le Roy Ladurie has described a village as it appeared between 1294 and 1324, and even then most of the events described by witnesses in the early 1320's

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{6}"Economies et sociétés rurales: France et Angleterre (onzième-quinzième siècles)" \textit{Revue historiques} 261 (1979), 383-440.
\item \textsuperscript{7}Gerald D. Berreman, "Ethnography: Method and Product" in \textit{Introduction to Cultural Anthropology}, pp. 337-373.
\end{itemize}
actually took place over the course of only a few years, say, from 1300 to 1308. In order to put these events into context the history of this village must also be examined. A monograph provides such a history. It allows the reader to interpret events which, in this case, took place in the early fourteenth century, by providing sufficient background data. The distinction between a monograph and a historical ethnography is important because it reveals the differences between my approach to the religious history of the Sabartès and the one taken by Le Roy Ladurie.

Montserrat was an important book because it examined popular religion in a fresh, close-to-the-ground fashion. The raw data is available to every reader of the Fournier Register, but Le Roy Ladurie sifted through the testimony, picked out the choice passages, rinsed them with cultural anthropology, organized them and presented them in a style accessible to non-specialists. Unfortunately, this means that specialists are left wanting. Scholars interested in rural and religious history will not find the fundamental monographic information by which more ethereal discussions of mentalités may be judged; so it remains difficult to gauge the "generalizability" of the testimony contained in the Fournier Register. The basic structures of these mountain communities must still be examined in detail. That should be the starting point for all other analyses.

One wonders, for example, how opposition to newly imposed
church taxes—the tithe on animals and animal products (dimes des carnelages)\(^9\)—affected the character of popular religion in the Sabartès in the early fourteenth century. And it would be interesting to know if the Cistercians, who owned mountain granges and village churches, had anything other than an economic impact on the Ariège. It would be instructive to have

\(^9\)For information on the conflict over the imposition of the dimes des carnelages which took place in the haut pays de Foix in the early fourteenth century see Jean-Marie Vidal, Histoire des évêques de Pamiers—II, quatorzième et quinzième siècles (1312-1467) (Castillon (Ariège): Bureaux de Bulletin Historique du Diocèse de Pamiers, 1932), pp. 40-46. In 1311 there was a charter or contract agreed upon between Bernard Saisset, first bishop of Pamiers, and the nobles and syndics of the haut pays de Foix concerning the nature of the tithe and other ecclesiastical rights in the Sabartès (Doat 96, f. 333). See also the comments of R. Roger and A. Gardes, "Notice sur l'église et la paroisse d'Unac et sur leur annexe Luzenac," BSA 6 (1897), 137-190. However, the agreement did not hold up. In 1313 Philip IV tried to resolve the conflict by writing to the sénéchal of Carcassonne, the abbot of St. Volusien and various priors and rectors in the haut pays de Foix. cf. Joseph Poux, "Lettres de Philippe le Bel, pour le pays de Sabart, dans le haut Comté de Foix (1313-1314)," Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1900), pp. 252-258. The final settlement, at least on paper, was concluded in 1323 between the bishop and inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix and is preserved in Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, MS G68, no. 2-3. (MS G68, no. 4 is a copy made in 1708.) The agreement describes in detail the process by which the tithe was supposed to be collected. For example, clause 7 states that for every ten lambs a peasant owned, one was to be given to the church. If the man owned fewer than five lambs, he paid 1 denier Toulousain. If he had between five and ten lambs, he owed one half of a lamb. Two men were supposed to agree on the fair market value of one half of a lamb and the peasant then paid a cash equivalent. The tithe on lambs was supposed to be collected between Pentecost and the feast of St. Ivan the farmer. If the bishop or his representative failed to collect by then, he could no longer collect the tithe on lambs from the proprietor. As far as choosing the lambs to be taken went, out of each lot of ten, the owner was allowed to pick out the best four, and the tither (dimaire) got his choice of the remaining six.
a clear understanding of the origins and jurisdiction of the archpriestship of the Sabartès. And one wonders, certainly, if Montaillou, with more than its fair share of heretics and its one-of-a-kind cure, is really representative of the entire haut pays de Foix.

Parallels can be drawn, to be sure. Le Roy Ladurie's excellent analysis of the domus does apply, to a great extent, to the entire haut pays de Foix.\textsuperscript{10} Still, it must be remembered that there were some stone houses in the mountains, and that housing varied considerably in the "villes" of Ax, Tarascon and Foix.\textsuperscript{11} If housing was different, this probably means that the family structure varied too. On the soulanes, which were the high mountain plateaux, living arrangements reflected the independent character of the inhabitants of the Sabartès. Houses had private living spaces for parents, children and animals, and this suggests the same thing that I have confirmed elsewhere: there was a strong individualist spirit among the montagnards. There were even large spaces between individual dwellings and a high percentage of families were in full possession of their domus and the attached gardens and fields. In the villes, especially in Foix, living arrangements were more compact. Fewer people owned homes; there was more stone construction; dwellings were more

\textsuperscript{10}Montaillou, pp. 51-87.

\textsuperscript{11}The inhabitants of the high altitude villages internalized the differences between their communities and the relatively larger and lower villes of Ax, Tarascon and Foix; and they expressed this attitude in their daily language.
permanent; there was less internal space; houses were less compartmentalized. Taken together, this points to a greater tolerance for, and awareness of, community living. I suspect that in Foix familial relations existed on a level somewhere between that which Le Roy Ladurie describes for Montaillou and the more complex patterns John Hine Mundy has uncovered in Toulouse.¹²

Other approaches

These varied socio-cultural patterns must always be kept in mind; otherwise, generalizing from the Montaillou example can be misleading at the very least. In a recent book, peasant specialists Monique Bourin and Robert Durand allowed their theoretical framework to obscure Montaillou's essentially unique character.¹³ Bourin and Durand are devoted to examining the evolution of village solidarity in southern France and Iberia during the high Middle Ages, and their work, especially this collaboration, is an important contribution to the social history of medieval Europe. In some places, however, their eagerness to support their thesis has caused their attention to flag, and Montaillou has been set forth as an example of peasant solidarity in spite of, and in contradiction to, the historical context in which the village

¹²Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990).
Where the authors use Montaillou as an example of family solidarity, it works; indeed, this is where Le Roy Ladurie is at his best too. But Montaillou cannot be used as an example of village solidarity, especially in the early fourteenth century. It was a viper's nest. Bourin and Durand acknowledge what they call a "system of alliances,"\(^{14}\) but this does not do justice to the bitter and sometimes bloody rivalries that afflicted Montaillou between 1294 and 1324. Nor is it in line with the individualist spirit that was particularly strong in the mountains. What is more, the authors argue convincingly that a certain symbiosis often existed between villages and their seigneurs, that village solidarity was strengthened, even created, by the immediate presence of a seigneur.\(^{15}\) Yet Montaillou did not have a resident seigneur after the châtelain, Bérenger de Roquefort, died around 1300.\(^{16}\) In short, while I agree with much of what Bourin and Durand have concluded concerning the evolution of village solidarity, Montaillou is a poor example of this. To take this argument to a higher level of analysis, the haut pays de Foix, in general, is a poor example of the tightening of community relations in reaction to increased seigneurial pressure. It does happen, eventually, but imperfectly and with considerable local variation. Pierre Bonnassie's description of Catalonia in the

\(^{14}\)Vivre au village, pp. 51-53.

\(^{15}\)Vivre au village, pp. 99-137, 241-244.

\(^{16}\)Registre, p. 305.
eleventh century fits much more neatly with the theoretical model that Bourin and Durand have constructed. This explains why, as one moves through *Vivre au Village*, the citations of Le Roy Ladurie's book diminish and those of Bonnassie's increase. The early part of *Vivre au village* deals with the family, the house, the church and the cemetery—Montaillou applies to these subjects; the last half of the book concerns the seigneurie, justice, economics, and local government—Montaillou does not apply to these.

Likewise, the religious history of the haut pays de Foix cannot be generalized from Montaillou. This is especially true on the level of mentalités. The community of Montaillou was a deviation. That is why it is interesting. That is why we possess such fascinating testimony. But it was a deviation all the same. In Montaillou, Catharism was stronger than Catholicism; the reverse was true among all the rest of these mountain communities. The entire adult population of Montaillou was arrested and imprisoned at Carcassonne in 1308!17 Needless to say, throughout the rest of the upper Ariège, expressions of popular religion were, on the whole, more subdued and less unorthodox. On the level of ecclesiastical organization, church property and parish structure—that is, on a more mundane level—Montaillou is probably less of a deviation, and some reliable generalizations could be made. Unfortunately, Le Roy Ladurie

did not explore these themes in his book, so the fundamental research has yet to be done.

There is a need for this type of monographic information. Not only is data on the history of local churches, the tithe, monastic property and parish organization important in and of itself, but also it is a prerequisite for understanding mentalités. To date, the haut pays de Foix has gained the attention of scholars interested in heresy and the Inquisition, but the Catholic history of the haut pays de Foix, the institutional/organizational history of the region, has been largely ignored. I believe the Sabartès holds some important lessons for historians in these areas as well. It deserves a solid treatment such as Magnou-Nortier gave the Narbonnaise. Here I would like to begin the process. This chapter is devoted to collecting and organizing the relevant data and identifying the important sources. As I proceed, gaps in the evidence will become apparent and some questions will remain unanswered. Nonetheless, I hope this brief study can at least serve as a point of departure for a more detailed examination of the religious and social history of the haut pays de Foix.

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

The early religious history of the haut pays de Foix—prior to the eleventh century—is even more inscrutable than
the region's political history. We possess few reliable pieces of information and these have been obscured by local legends. Attempts to separate the two have sometimes made matters worse. Ultimately, once the facts have been extracted from the commentary, there is little to guide us.

All the same, these morsels have the merit of existing. Even better, they accumulate over time. And those who are patient will find that, like the political narrative of the previous chapter, this story becomes richer in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the historical developments become relatively clear.

There is a link—or at least a parallel—between religious and political developments in the upper Ariège: the quantity and quality of the documentation increases steadily beginning around the time of the testament of Roger I of Carcassonne (1002), and this reflects the steadily increasing presence of church officials in the mountains. In addition—again, we have already seen a similar process vis-à-vis changes in the political climate—more bishops, inquisitors and clerics meant more taxes and greater financial pressure for the peasantry. The peasants resisted these incursions, and this is an important part of the story: the language, culture, religious sentiments and political values of the medieval Ariège communities were all interconnected. As the political history of the haut pays de Foix becomes more certain in the high Middle Ages, so too does its religious history.
As I suggested above, certain scholars managed to obscure rather than clarify the early religious history of this region. A case in point is the history of St. Volusien, the earliest Fuxean church for which we have documentation and the only monastery south of the Pas de Labarre. According to Hippolyte Marcailhou-d'Aymeric, a nineteenth-century scholar from Ax, Charlemagne founded an order of military abbeys c. 778-779 as he moved southward pushing the Saracens back over the Pyrenees. Furthermore, Marcailhou-d'Aymeric asserts, a record of a royal case held at Narbonne in 867 "proves incontestably" that Charlemagne established the first of these military abbeys under the vocable "Saint-Volusien-du-Savartès" and thereby endowed the high river valleys of the Ariège out of the royal treasury. He argues that the king possessed by title and right of conquest over the Saracens the valleys which took the name Savartès. By way of evidence he cites a charter from the Histoire Générale de Languedoc.

The notion that Charlemagne set up military abbeys as he travelled through the south is an invention of the author. He fails to provide any evidence, and I have never heard of such an institution from any other source, secondary or primary. In the case of St. Volusien, Marcailhou-d' Aymeric completely botched his analysis. The citation, for example, is incorrect. The footnote reads HGL, III, p. 357, when in fact the charter

is found in vol. II, cc. 355-357. He even gets the date wrong: it was written in 870 rather than 867. Most serious of all, he fails to understand the document. At issue is the control of the abbey of St. Volusien. The religious of St. Thibéry (near Agde) brought a complaint before an assembly held at Narbonne charging that two vassi domenici had unjustly deprived them of their rights to the monastery at Foix. Testimony was given, and the monks claimed that St. Volusien had been entrusted to them by King Charles in the ninth year of his reign. But the Karolus rex in question was not Charlemagne; it was Charles the Bald! Therefore, the religious of St. Thibery had obtained the monastery of St. Volusien not in c. 778-779 but in 849, ninth year of the reign of Charles the Bald.¹⁹

By itself, such a miscalculation might be reasonably innocuous, but Marcailhou-d'Aymeric embellished a previously established tradition,²⁰ and thereafter the idea that Charlemagne founded the abbey of St. Volusien seems to have

¹⁹Here, too, Marcailhou-d'Aymeric commits a dating error, the ninth year of the reign of Charlemagne would have been 777-778. Charlemagne's father, Pepin the Short, died in Paris on 24 September 768, Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, Two Lives of Charlemagne tran. Lewis Thorpe, (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 57, note 11. The original act of donation of 849 has been lost. On the calculation of this date see Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, ed. Arthur Giry, Maurice Prou, Ferdinand Lot, Clovis Brunel and Georges Tessier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), vol. 1, p. 517, no. 203; vol. 2, p. 519, no. 120 bis.

²⁰cf. de la Coudre, "Vie de St. Volusien" (1722) and especially Gallia Christiana (vol. 13, c. 180): "In oppido Fuxensi ad Aurigeram fluvium octavo seculo exstitisse S. martyris et episcopi Turonensis Volusiani titulo insignitam, et quidem a Carolo Magno conditam, in monumentum victorie a Saracensis reportatæ, nonnulli autumant. (italics mine)"
taken on a life of its own. It is later reported, for example, that the abbey was founded by Charlemagne c. 799.\textsuperscript{21} It is possible, but it cannot be proven. The earliest record we have is the document of 870.

Even the legend of the martyrdom of St. Volusien has been distorted. According to Gregory of Tours--our only true source for the story--Volusianus, seventh bishop of Tours, "was exiled [by the Visigoths] to the town of Toulouse and there he died."\textsuperscript{22} Yet a tradition developed that Volusien was actually beheaded as he was being transferred to Spain, putting the place where he was martyred somewhere between Pamiers and Foix.\textsuperscript{23} (Incidentally, this same story promotes Volusien from a bishop to an archbishop.) If the truth be told, not even Gregory of Tours was consistent, because in an earlier chapter

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21} Dom L. H. Cottineau, \textit{Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés} (vol. 1, c. 1165).


\textsuperscript{23} This comes from an act of 1384 from the monastery of Foix, HGL, vol. 2, cc. 38-39. "Fuit tunc sanctus Volusianus supradictus in loco qui dicitur Corona, prope villam Petrosam nuncupatam fere uno milliario, ab eisdem nequissimis decollatus, et per eos sibi truncato capite martyrio coronatus." This place has not been identified, but it may be the village of Cos near St. Pierre-de-Riviere, five kilometers westsouthwest of Foix. Gabriel Llobet explains this divergent tradition slightly differently. He claims that the date of the martyrdom was also moved to 11 or 12 October 507, but I am not sure where he gets this date, \textit{Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie éclésiastique} (vol. 17, c. 729). See also René Borius, "Volusiano," in \textit{Bibliotheca Sanctorum}, vol. 12 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontifica Università Lateranense, 1969), cc. 1350-1352. According to Borius: "After stopping in Toulouse, Volusianus was conducted toward Spain and, in the course of the journey he was executed near Foix."
\end{flushright}
he wrote that Volusien "was dragged off as a captive to Spain and there he soon died."24

At any rate, the moral of this story is to tread lightly. Combined with the problems in calculating the date of the foundation of the monastery of St. Volusien, it points up the difficulties in separating fact from fiction as discussed in the introduction to this section. One solid clue remains: once all of the erroneous commentary has been boiled down, the first mention of the abbey of St. Volusien dates from 870. This morsel is all we have to go on. I will spare the reader similar analyses of the mess stirred up by other well-meaning nineteenth-century scholars. The morsels of fact are gathered in Appendix A.

Needless to say, I have treated this data with severity. The religious history of the haut pays de Foix begins before 870, but it is impossible to say anything concrete about it. Certainly the Visigoths, who were Arians, had at least a modest religious impact on the region. We know too, for instance, that Christianity was established in the plains of Toulouse and along the coast of the Mediterranean from at least the early fifth century. The story of the martyrdom of St. Volusien suggests that the cult had spread south from Toulouse into the mountains, but there is no independent archaeological evidence, no inscriptions for instance, to back this up. Because the upper Ariège was near the Mediterranean,

it seems likely that the Christian influence was felt at a relatively early date, yet inaccessible regions were converted at a slower pace—there is no telling what sort of setback to missionary activity the Saracen presence caused in the Pyrenees. In terms of accessibility and "convertibility" the culture of the upper Ariège was very different from that of the Narbonnaise. At least one researcher has noted that the relatively late carving-up of the southern portion of the diocese of Toulouse for the purpose of creating the bishopric of Pamiers suggests a tardy and rather slow Christianization of the mountain. In the end, all that can be said is that "the rarity of documents obliges us to prolong the period of origins until the late ninth century." Etienne Delaruelle makes this statement concerning the diocese of Couserans, which actually included the western part of the bas Comté de Foix until 1295, but the same must be said of the Sabartès: for lack of sources we can begin the story only in the late ninth century.

CHURCH AND CROWN

Impact on the Comté de Foix

In Chapter 3 I argued that the 1240's marked, for the inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix, a turning point in the

26Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, vol. 13, c. 961.
struggle against the northern invaders. The burden of the conflict moved up the mountainsides and down the social ladder. The nobles, many of whom had openly sheltered heretics, knew that they were defeated, and they took pains to assert their loyalty to church and crown. The peasants, artisans and petty nobles were left to suffer at the hands of the dominican inquisitors. Until the mid-thirteenth century it had been the counts of Foix themselves who were under the most pressure, and fighting within the Comté de Foix had been restricted almost exclusively to the plains between Pamiers and Saint Jean-des-Verges; in 1243, however, Count Roger IV did homage to Louis IX for the lands he held north of the Pas de Labarre,\(^{27}\) and a slow process of assimilation began, which would result by 1300 in a rapprochement between the house of Foix and the royal court. In other words, during the 1240's the focus of external pressure shifted away from the counts, their important vassals and their lowland holdings.

The onus of external pressure shifted too, from the French crown to the church. The overall goal of the campaign—the political, economic and religious domination of Languedoc—remained the same; however, the responsibility for the effort was passed from the knights to the clerics. To be sure, the former placed a greater emphasis on sous; the latter, on souls. But promoting the faith and filling the coffers were hardly mutually exclusive in the Middle Ages: many churchmen, \(^{27}\)HGL, vol. 8, cc. 1108-1110.
Jacques Fournier among them, identified resistance to the tithe as heretical in and of itself, quite apart from whatever religious opinions the offender might hold. Disobeying the papacy, by definition, was an act of heresy.

At any rate, it was during the 1240's that crusade turned to inquisition. This shift, as a historical development, is relatively easy to recognize. The diminution of the aggressive role of the French crown is signalled by the miserable failure of Raymond VII's final revolt (1241-1242), his death (1249) and the reversion of his county of Toulouse to the king's brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, under the terms of the treaty of Meaux-Paris (1229). The escalation of the role of the Church, and the increased opposition to it, is signalled, among other things, by the assassination of two inquisitors at Avignonet (May 1242); by the executions at Montsegur (March 1244); and by the renewal of inquisitorial proceedings at Toulouse, marked, above all, by the well known inquests of Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre (1245-1246).

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28 For a discussion of the events which I am describing as the shift from crusade to inquisition see Walter L. Wakefield, Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France (1100-1250) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 130-194.

29 These inquests, which were undertaken, for the most part, between May 1245 and August 1246, concerned the inhabitants of the Lauragais, a region between Toulouse and Carcassonne. Ten registers of depositions were recorded. The originals have been lost, but two of the registers were copied sometime between 1258 and 1263 on the orders of the inquisitors William Bernard and Reginald de Chartres. These two registers, which contain the testimony of more than 5500 witnesses, form MS 609 of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse. Today they are
It is less easy to recognize that the waning of the crusade and the waxing of the inquisition was really a continuation of the same conflict in a different form; nonetheless, this was the situation, and it will be one of the primary themes of this chapter. The power of the Catholic church increased steadily in the haut pays de Foix during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; and the impact on the mountain communities was similar to that of the abandonment by the counts of Foix of the struggle to remain independent of the French monarchy. Both developments led, in general, to a diminution of political, economic and cultural freedom in the mountains; although, for those in a position to take advantage of the situation—the clergy and petty nobility—, these changes proved salutary.

Political developments affected the peasantry in an indirect, delayed fashion. It was not a question of the French sénéchals, or, for that matter, of the Fuxean bayles, arriving in villages, demanding exorbitant taxes and taking control of local justice and its profits; rather, the Sabartès lost its protector when the count of Foix submitted to the king because the attention of the counts was henceforth turned elsewhere, and the Sabartès, once the military stronghold and spiritual...
center of the house of Foix, was gradually reduced to a mere source of income. "The preoccupations of the Pyrenean dynasty moved from the banks of the Ariège toward the frontiers of Armagnac." Over time, because of their costly commitment to Capetian projects and the transfer of their base of operations to Béarn, the counts of Foix, beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, rented or ceded (temporarily) most of their rights to collect taxes and administer justice in the upper Ariège; and it was the new, poor, avaricious officials who were responsible for bringing greater pressures to bear on the mountain communities, despite the fact that these petty tyrants also tended to come from the Ariège region.

The impact of the church, however, was of a more direct nature. The counts of Foix were slowly fading from the picture, but the immediate presence of the clergy grew as the

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31 Jean Duvernoy, *Inquisition à Pamiers* (Toulouse: Privat, 1966), p. 9. This work is a selection and translation of depositions from the Fournier Register, a precursor to the complete translation which appeared in 1978. The introductory remarks, the running commentary in the form of footnotes, the care with which the depositions were selected, the low cost and the availability of this work make it an excellent vehicle for initial forays into the material.

32 Sometimes the term "arrentement" is used, and sometimes "bail à ferme," as in the following examples from MS 638, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse:

"7 Juin 1330 Arrentement fait par Gaston de Foix à Raimond de Pagés M. d'Ax du pas d'Ax en Sabarthez pour le terme d'un an et le prix de 400 sōus." (f° 120)

"18 Aout 1333 Bail a ferme pour 20 ans moyennant 1500 sōus fait par led. comte aud. Elie du forestage de la forest d'Endarest, et l'exploitation du dovis d'Endrona entre la Riviere de Larget [l'Arget] et le Ruisseau de fournels jusqu'à la Montagne." (f° 259)
crusades subsided. All sorts of ecclesiastics were climbing up and down the mountains who had never been there before. The most hated among them were the inquisitors, the bishops and their officers. (Sometimes these were the same people.) Collectively, the ecclesiastical representatives strove to increase church revenues, obtain property and extinguish heresy wherever it existed. Viewed from the perspective of those affected by these policies, this was not much different from the treatment they were receiving from the French and their agents. Boniface VIII and Philip IV clashed over Languedoc, but they both sought to dominate the region; and when it served his purpose, Philip was quite willing to close his eyes to inquisitorial abuses in the Midi, despite the fact that his own enquêteurs were often trying to subvert the power of the inquisitors.  

In other words, all things being equal, although the forms of constraint brought about by political and religious forces differed, the end result, if not the intent, was the same, and most Southerners were keenly aware of this.

Local Reactions

This was true, certainly, throughout the Comté de Foix. Knights, merchants, artisans, miners and peasants all recognized that if the church and the French crown sometimes clashed, it was chiefly because they were both trying to

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33Strayer, Reign of Philip the Fair, pp. 14, 260-266.
dominate the same region; in this regard, resentment of the foreigners was just as strong on either side of the Pas de Labarre. This resentment, the notion that the clerics were greedy and unreliable, was expressed from time to time by Bertrand de Taïx, a chevalier from Pamiers. During a posthumous investigation into Bertrand's heretical activities two witnesses testified that he used to recite two blasphemous coblases (stanzas) against the priests:

Li clercs se fan pastor
E son galiador,
E par de gran sanctor
Qui les vetz revestir,
E pres me asouvevir
Que'n Alengris un dia
Ad un partec venia;
Mays pels cas que temia
Pel de moto vestic,
[Ab que los escarnic.]35
Pueys maniec e trasic
Tot quant li abelic.

The clerks call themselves pastors
And they are deceivers,
And they appear very holy
When they put on their vestments,
And I seem to remember
That one day Isengrin36

34The first witness was Jean Davy, a leading bourgeois and a devout catholic, Registre, pp. 1175-1178 and pp. 1185-1186, notes 10 and 16. He had good reasons for hating Cathar sympathizers. His father, Bonet, had been murdered in 1290, and the sénéchal of Carcassonne had accused Count Roger-Bernard of sheltering the killers in Foix, HGL, vol. 10, c. 260. Presumably the murder was politically and religiously motivated and the assassins were credentes. The second witness to confirm this story was a young nobleman, Guillaume-Bernard de Luzenac, Registre, pp. 1182-1184.

35The witness, or perhaps the scribe, left out a line.

36This is an allusion to the wolf in Le Roman du Renard. See especially Chant I. I have consulted the edition of Ch. Potvin, (Paris: Librairie Marpon and Flammarion, 1891).
Came to a corral;
But because of the dogs which he feared
He wore a sheepskin
[Thanks to which he deceived them.]
Then he ate and gobbled down
All that he was able.

That two witnesses, independently of each other, were able to recite the verses twenty years after the fact with only a slight deviation suggests that the coblas were as well known in 1324, the year of the depositions, as they had been in 1304, when Bertrand first learned and repeated them.\textsuperscript{37} And well they might have been. These lines had been popular in the south for nearly one hundred years, ever since they were first composed by the famous troubadour Peire Cardenal around 1230. It was a variation on his poem "Clergues."\textsuperscript{38}

More interesting still is the context within which Bertrand learned the inflammatory lines which so delighted him. He first heard the coblas on a feast day in the church of Saint-Antonin in Pamiers during a mass which was being celebrated by Bishop Saisset. According to the witness, Jean Davy, he, Bertrand and a third man were sitting in the first pews to the right of the choir, and it was this third man, a chevalier, who recited the verses.\textsuperscript{39} Then, Davy reports, after having heard the poem Bertrand asked the chevalier,

\textsuperscript{37}The only difference between the versions of the two witnesses is that Davy omits the line, "Mays pels cas que temia."
\textsuperscript{39}Registre, III, pp. 319-320.
whose name was Guillaume, to teach it to him: "Because," Bertrand said, "not only did the clerics have the bad traits mentioned in the cobla, they had many others, lots of them." Jean Davy, a good Catholic bourgeois, was scandalized by the blatant irreverence of these jaded chevaliers, but the noblemen had a good laugh. What makes this little drama even more interesting is that for once it is we who have the last laugh—the chevalier in question was none other than Guillaume Saisset, the bishop's brother!

I like to believe that the lord bishop would have enjoyed the poem as well, for apparently he and Bertrand exchanged pleasantries from time to time. The following example, provided by the second witness, epitomizes the attitude of many inhabitants of the Comté de Foix, credentes and Catholics alike. According to Guillaume-Bernard de Luzenac, damoiseau of Luzenac, Bertrand claimed that Bishop Saisset once asked him who he hated the most, the clerics or the French. "Bertrand answered that he hated the clerics most because they had brought the French into the region, and if the clerics had not done this, the French never would have come." In his mind,  

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40"Quam coblam cum audivisset dictus dominus Bertrandus, rogavit dictum dominum Guillelmum ut doceret eam sibi, quia non solum modo, ut dixit, dicta mala que in dicta cobla erant contenta erant in clericis, set etiam multa alia, plura."

41"Et cum ipse loquens reprehenderet dictum dominum Bertrandum, dicendo quod taceret in infortune, quia adhuc mala aventus etiam ei propter blasfemias quas dicebat contra clericos, . . . ."

at least there was a direct link between the designs of the Church, and those of the French crown.

He was not alone in this opinion. Bertrand was a chevalier from Pamiers, yet many peasants of the haut Comté de Foix had similar attitudes. This is not at all surprising; it is expected. Peasant societies are traditionally conservative, hostile to authority, to change, to any individuals or institutions that threaten to alter their customary ways of living;\textsuperscript{43} moreover, as we have seen, this phenomena is usually magnified by altitude. So, for example, when Raimonde Testanière of Montaillou described her first, frightening encounter with the inquisition, she told how she was questioned by the notary of the lord inquisitor who, she pointed out, was French ("notarius domini inquisitoris qui est gallicus inquisivit ipsam loquentem").\textsuperscript{44} It was a significant fact for this peasant, worthy of mention. She associated the church, particularly the oppressive arm of the church—the inquisition—, with the foreigners—the French.

Likewise, when Guillaume Maurs threatened to kill his sworn enemy Pierre Clergue, the priest of Montaillou


\textsuperscript{44} Registre, I, pp. 468-469. Duvernoy identifies the notary as Menet de Robécourt, originally from the diocese of Toul. Registre, p. 465, note 12.
responded: "Do you think you can fight against the Church and the king of France?" Duvernoy notes that one hundred years after the crusade the idea of "war against the church and the king" remained present in the Southern conscience, at least to the extent that it reflected the will of those such as Pierre Clergue who wanted to maintain the status quo. In other words, Duvernoy is suggesting that it was in the best interest of those in control to emphasize the combined power of church and state in order to insure the obedience of the less powerful. However, I would take the argument a step further. It seems to me that those resisting the system saw the world in much the same way.

The most eloquent expression of this viewpoint is found in the testimony of Arnaud Sicre of Ax, a Catholic spy and bounty hunter. Because of his biases, Arnaud's statements ought not to be used alone, but the words he attributed to his prisoner, a parfait, are consistent with the evidence I have just presented. In 1318 Arnaud left the Sabartès and entered Spain in order to seek out and capture certain heretics who were fugitives from the inquisitor of Carcassonne and the bishop of Pamiers. His mission was successful. In the spring of the following year he was able to trick Raimond de Castelnau into accompanying him to Tirvia near Lerida, which was a possession of the count of Foix. There he had the Cathar

\[45\text{Registre, p. 803.}\]
\[46\text{Registre, p. 820 and note 2.}\]
arrested. Arnaud reported that the parfait was furious, that he called him all sorts of names: a traitor, a Judas, a Pharisee, a viper and the son of the devil. In addition, Arnaud continued, the heretic had some words for the Church and the crown as well. "He said that there were four great devils who ruled and governed the world, namely the lord Pope, who was the greatest devil, and whom he called Satan, and the lord King of France was the second devil, and the bishop of Pamiers the third, and the lord inquisitor of Carcassonne was the fourth." There was no doubt in the heretic's mind that all of these devils were working together, and many inhabitants of the Comté de Foix felt the same way.

THE DIOCESE OF PAMIERS

Creation of the Diocese

In the fourteenth century the parishes of the Sabartès were part of the diocese of Pamiers. Formerly, they had been administered by the bishop of Toulouse, but his see was significantly reduced by Popes Boniface VIII (1294-1303),

47 Because the inquisition was being directed from Carcassonne and Pamiers, Arnaud could not have heretics arrested in territories belonging to the king of Aragon, where he did not have the proper jurisdiction.
48 Registre, II, p. 78.

Figure 3. The Diocese of Pamiers
Clement V (1305-1314) and John XXII (1316-1334). The largest division was the first: on 23 July 1295 Boniface VIII amputated the southern third of the bishopric of Toulouse and created the diocese of Pamiers, which nearly conforms to the limits of the Comté de Foix. The following day Boniface named the abbot of St. Antonin as the new bishop of Pamiers. It was the pope's friend, Bernard Saisset. Saisset filled the office from 1295 until 1311 and spent much of his time and energy arguing with Philip IV. He was succeeded by Pelfort de Rabastens (1312-1317), Jacques Fournier (1317-1326) and Dominique Grima (1326-1347).

Reasons for its Creation

There is disagreement as to why Boniface VIII created the new diocese. In one of his books Vidal suggested that the pope did it, at least in part, because he was convinced that more methodical and more intense inquisitorial actions were needed in the region. Others have suggested that the pope was searching for more revenues, that he was primarily interested in making sure that the tithe was collected. Neither of these

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50 For the early history of this new bishopric see J.-M. Vidal, Catalogues épiscopaux et listes de bénéfices des anciens diocèses ariégeois (Foix: Imprimerie J. Fra, 1933) and Histoire des évêques de Pamiers; Gallia Christiana XIII, cc. 150-185; HGL, vol. 9, pp. 187-192 and vol. 10, pp. 49-50; François Baby, "Les limites des anciens diocèses ariégeois," BSA (1979), 39-51.

explanations is particularly satisfying. Boniface VIII could have increased inquisitorial pressure without establishing a new bishopric. For instance, he could have given more assistance to the inquisitors at Carcassonne and Toulouse. Indeed, this is where the increased activity came from in the first decade of the fourteenth century: Geoffroy d'Ablis was the inquisitor of Carcassonne. Moreover, Clement V's bull, Multorum Querela, which gave inquisitorial powers to the bishops, was not issued until 1312. As far as the tithe theory is concerned, it seems unlikely because the Comté de Foix was a singularly unprofitable district. In 1317 Pope John XXII was forced to send Bishop Fournier a supplement of 1600 livres. More than twenty years after its creation the diocese of Pamiers was not even generating enough income to support itself. Celestin Douais felt that the diocese was established simply in order to improve pastoral care, but if this was true, there were other reasons as well.

This bishopric was created for political reasons. The abbey of St. Antonin was founded in the tenth century by the counts of Carcassonne and later became a possession of the

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52Duvernoy, Registre, p. 9.
56It is also known as the abbey of Frédelas.
counts of Foix. Next to the abbey they built a château, and it was around this church and this fortress that the town of Pamiers was slowly formed. In the wake of the Gregorian reform movement pressure was put on the counts to relinquish their hold on the monastery. Count Roger II (1071-1124) was excommunicated by Pope Urban II (1088-1099) for his refusal to restore certain lands to the abbey, and in 1149 the count of Foix and the abbot of St. Antonin signed an act of paréage; henceforth they were to share control of the growing town of Pamiers. This agreement was maintained until the Albigensian Crusades when the monastery renewed the act of paréage not with the count, but with Simon de Montfort. In the aftermath of the war, the house of Foix kept up the struggle against royal encroachment, and the monks of St. Antonin found it prudent to maintain their relationship with de Montfort's son, Amauri, who in turn ceded his rights in Pamiers to Louis VIII. Eventually, however, the counts of Foix gave up the fight and recognized the suzerainty of the king. Better still, Count Roger-Bernard III (1265-1302) fought for Philip III (1270-1285) against the Aragonese. As a reward, Philip returned to the house of Foix all of their former rights in Pamiers.57

Immediately a quarrel erupted between the monks of St. Antonin and the count of Foix. It was in the context of this quarrel that the diocese of Pamiers was created, and this is why Dom Vaissette was right to emphasize the essentially

57HGL, vol. 9, pp. 111-112. This took place in 1285.
political nature of the act. The abbot, Bernard Saisset, refused to consent to this new arrangement and used every means at his disposal to frustrate the plans of the count and the king. In 1293 Philip IV (1285-1314) ordered Saisset to agree to the *pareage*, but the abbot remained intransigent. (The enmity between these two went back farther than most realize.) The king responded by having the sénéchal of Bigorre deliver the château of Pamiers to the count of Foix. Saisset turned to his friend—and soon Philip's enemy—Boniface VIII. In July of 1295 the pope wrote to Philip demanding that he force the count of Foix to return to the monastery all of the property he had obtained as a result of the new *pareage*. Then, on two successive days, 23 and 24 July 1295, Boniface created the diocese of Pamiers and made Bernard Saisset its first bishop.\(^{58}\) Not long after, at the abbot's request, the pope

\(^{58}\)The bishop of Toulouse was furious and did everything in his power to regain control over the territory that had been removed from his jurisdiction. He railed against Bernard Saisset and contested Boniface VIII's decision. Nonetheless, he failed to gain any sympathy from the papacy until Clement V (1305-1314), who was also hostile to Saisset, came to power. In 1308 Clement had the boundaries redrawn and the bishop of Toulouse recovered about two-thirds of the lands he had lost (Vidal, "Les origines," pp. 294-328; Baby, "les limites," pp. 39-45). It was a temporary victory. When Clement died it took twenty seven months and a forty-eight day conclave before Jacques Douze de Cahors, bishop of Porto, was elected as Pope Jean XXII (1316-1334). Anxious to push through his own vision of church reform, he created sixteen new dioceses in the Midi in only eight months! Six of them were taken from the diocese of Toulouse: Montauban, Rieux, Lombez, Saint-Papoul, Mirepoix and Lavaur. At the same time, Toulouse was elevated to the level of an archdiocese, which was little consolation for the formerly wealthy bishop. It seems strange at first, but the explanation for the pope's actions is quite simple. (For the details of the story see Vidal, "Les origines," pp. 469-492.)
excommunicated Count Roger-Bernard III and put an interdict on his lands.

With this in mind, the attitudes the locals had toward the bishop are readily understandable, all the more so because Count Roger-Bernard reigned for thirty-seven years and was a hero to many of his subjects. Not only had he defended them against the aggressions of the church and the kings of France, but he was also said to have been sympathetic to the heretics. He was remembered fondly by peasants testifying before the inquisitors, especially because his successors, Gaston I (1302-1315) and Gaston II (1315-1343), were weak and ineffective. It seemed to many people that had the good count still been living, he would not have allowed Geoffroy d'Ablis and Jacques Fournier to operate as they did. 59

Jean recognized that the diocese of Toulouse was enormous. He claimed that the pastoral duties of the district were too much for one man to handle, that more bishops were needed to watch over the flock. If these were his true feelings, he had other motives as well. By carving up the diocese of Toulouse he was able, at a single stroke, to collect the revenues from the "sale" of the new bishoprics and to create enough new cardinals—Languedocian cardinals at that—to insure the swift election of a French candidate during the next papal election. It was none other than Jacques Fournier who, after being made bishop of Mirepoix (3 March 1326), then a cardinal (18 December 1327), was elected pope on 26 December 1334 after a brief conclave of only sixteen days. He ruled as Benedict XII from 1334 until his death on 25 April 1342. 59

59 Complaining of Fournier's attempts to impose the dîme des carnelages, a new tax on animals and animal products, Pierre Guilhelm the Elder of Unac remembered how things used to be and lamented that the count and his subjects were unable to unite against the Church. "Et, ut dixit, clerici deberen fugari, et si ipsi convenirent hoc cum domino comite Fuxi, ipsi custodirent bene quod aliquis clericus non ascenderet paasum Barre. Et, ut dixit, bene ostendunt clericii quod non est dominus in terra ista, quia si viveret probus comes, non
Defining the Parish

French scholars have always been interested in the history of the parish, and rightly so, for it was of keen interest both to Church and State: bishops and barons alike used the parish as one of their basic units of taxation and administration. Furthermore, parish records are extensive, especially in the early modern period, and naturally this has long attracted the attention of historians.

At first parishes were examined primarily from a legal/administrative/institutional perspective. How were they formed? What was their status according to canon law? Were they independent or held by seigneurs? How much territory did they cover? Who collected the revenues? In 1900 Imbart de la Tour answered all of these questions in his frequently cited book, *Les paroisses rurales du 4e au 11e siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1900). But he says little about those from whom revenues were collected. Imbart de la Tour's parishes are uninhabited save for lonely curates with no souls to care for.

To the extent that he discusses the priests at all, he describes how they are chosen, examines their position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and regrets that some aspired to

*ita peterent clerici decimas carnalagiorum sicut petunt, et tempore dicti comitis debuissent petiisse.* "Registre, III, p. 331. Pierre Guilhelm was not a believer in the Cathars, and in this sense he was not really a heretic; rather, he was bitterly anti-clerical primarily for economic reasons: he deeply resented the imposition of the new tithe.
independence; some went so far, he complains, as to accept their churches from the hands of local seigneurs thus "breaking the regular ties of the hierarchy and the beautiful order of the legislative work of the Carolingian councils." He does not tell us if these humble curates could read and write. And herein lies the problem with this work: it relies almost exclusively upon canons, capitularies, cartularies and commentaries. Certainly the work of the Carolingian councils was beautiful to a scholar who loved canon law, but Imbert de la Tour's parishes are bloodless.

A generation later, during the years the Annales school was establishing itself, scholars began to look at the parish, particularly the rural parish, in a new way. At the start of a long career devoted to religion and religious institutions Gabriel Le Bras, who also loved canon law, observed that the parish was simultaneously a "living world," a "juridical person" and a "historical being." Le Bras was summarizing the reports given at the Second Congress of the Ecclesiastical History of France (1937). There was a growing sense among historians that a parish could not exist outside of the collective conscience and spiritual requirements of a village community. This new realization led Le Bras to write: "A

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60p. 142.
62The authors of the other reports are identified as MM. Huar, Lesort, Sevestre and Bruley.
parish is a people, plebs, around a church, under the
government of a rector."\(^{63}\)

More recently scholars have elevated the importance of
the parish even further: they see in it the fundamental
structure of rural society, the force which transformed
hamlets into communities, the source of village solidarity. Le
Goff and Toubert call the parish "the globalizing structure of
society."\(^{64}\) For Bourin and Durand the parish was "the most
visible manifestation of village collectivity;" parish life,
"the fundamental form of peasant solidarities."\(^{65}\)

The most satisfying analyses come from scholars who
combine the best of the old with the best of the new. When
they filled those empty parishes with people, the Annalistes
blurred the clean, legal definitions constructed by preceding
generations of historians. The parish appeared vague at a time
when Marc Bloch was cautioning his colleagues against overly
rigid definitions.\(^{66}\) Jean Gaudemet, Le Bras' colleague,
summed this up neatly in 1979: "If the reality of parish life
in the Middle Ages is a given, the juridical notion of the

\(^{63}\) "Pour l'étude," p. 488.
\(^{64}\) J. Le Goff and P. Toubert, "Une histoire sociale du
moyen âge est-elle possible?" in Centième congrès national des
Genicot, Rural Communities, p. 90.
\(^{65}\) Monique Bourin and Robert Durand, Vivre au village au
moyen âge: les solidarités paysannes du 11e au 13e siècle
\(^{66}\) Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française,
parish is far less certain."\textsuperscript{67}

As it turned out, bringing additional factors into play made it increasingly difficult to pin down the parish— all the more so because those additional factors were human. Like most early medieval institutions the parish was, to begin with, a personal formation. Then, as western Europe organized itself, as it became more complex, the village church took on a new aspect as the "parish ceased being personal and became territorial,"\textsuperscript{68} a development associated with the need to collect the tithe. "Ut terminum habeat unaquaque ecclesia de quibus villis decimas recipiat."\textsuperscript{69} Ever since Gabriel Le Bras divulged that the parish was a living world and a historical being as well as a juridical person, scholars have been careful to emphasize the importance of the human element in the development of the medieval parish while examining its changing status as a legal/administrative institution.

This is the approach taken by Michel Aubrun.\textsuperscript{70} Rather than defining "parish" and tracing the institution's development, Aubrun traces its development first; then he lets the history of the parish speak for itself, providing a


summation only in the conclusion of his book. He too finds that the parish was both personal and territorial; and he emphasizes its natural formation, suggesting that it was not something that was imposed from outside the village community. He discusses the phases of parochial evolution and admits, like Imbart de la Tour, that he uses "church" and "parish" interchangeably, that before the Carolingian era "parish" is an anachronism, that in this instance facts preceded legal definitions. He looks at the internal configurations of medieval parishes, pointing out the numerous variations. He describes the clergy, the parishioners, their baptismal fonts and their cemeteries. He discusses the impact of the tithe. Finally he enters upon his brief conclusion with a passage from Georges Duby: "The parish... a perfect framework for the gathering together of rural folk." This is the approach I have adopted in my analysis: by describing my investigation of the Ariège churches, I hope to sketch a picture of the mountain parish.

Before turning to church/parish structure of the haut pays de Foix, however, there is a final point that needs to be made. The researchers that I have cited agree that the growth period for medieval parishes, roughly speaking, was the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. There was regional variation, to be sure, but these centuries, on average,
account for the blossoming of the medieval parish which corresponded to the demographic, economic and institutional growth that characterized the high Middle Ages as a whole. Attempts have been made to demonstrate this by compiling references to churches and parishes, the idea being that the number of references per century are an indication of the growth of rural parishes. So, for example, "in the archdeaconry of Xanten (Cologne), there [were] eight churches mentioned before 900, twelve in the tenth and eleventh centuries, twenty-eight in the twelfth, and forty-three in the fourteenth."72 Similarly, in the diocese of Tuy "the parish constituted the most frequently mentioned community in virtually all matters. ... It occurred as the basic structure of reference in all kinds of business four times in the twelfth century, twelve in the first half of the thirteenth, and thirty-one in the second half."73 The period of growth was slightly earlier in the mountains of southwestern Germany. In the region of Bades forty-eight rural churches ("parishes") appeared from the sixth through the tenth centuries, and thirty-three in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries alone. Only nineteen appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making the years 1000-1300 the period of the most rapid expansion.74 This was true for urban areas as well: twenty-four parishes were created in

72 Genicot, Rural Communities, p. 91.
73 Genicot, Rural Communities, p. 94.
74 Guademet, Le gouvernement de l'église, p. 226.
Paris between 1080 and 1290.\textsuperscript{75} And in southeastern France, the parish structure that emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would hardly be modified thereafter, and then only in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{76} As we shall see below, this pattern also held true for the haut pays de Foix although, as with other developments in the mountains, the process was slightly en retard.

Churches and Parishes in the Haut Pays de Foix

There is more information on the medieval parishes of the Sabartès than one might think. By the late fourteenth century we have a detailed if incomplete picture of their number and size. It is less certain, however, exactly what constituted a parish in the upper Ariège; nor is the pattern of parochial development entirely clear. These issues can be approached from different angles: quantitative, chronological and terminological.

One way to understand the ecclesiastical structure of the haut pays de Foix is to follow the method outlined above; in other words, the frequency with which parishes are first mentioned should give some indication of the pattern of parochial development. In order to test this theory I collected all of the references to churches, parishes and

\textsuperscript{76} Gaudemet, \textit{Le gouvernement de l'église}, p. 227.
priests from the mid-ninth to the late fourteenth centuries (Appendix A), and the pattern that emerged is very similar to that found in other regions. St. Volusien was the only church mentioned in the ninth century, but there were three mentioned for the first time in the tenth century, eleven in the eleventh, eight in the twelfth, nine in the thirteenth, and twenty seven in the fourteenth.

The same pattern emerged, but not for the same reasons. It is not a reflection of parochial growth. The numbers for the Sabartés are misleading because the mention of a church or parish is not equivalent to its foundation. Let us consider, for a moment, the political developments of the late thirteenth century. In 1272 the counts of Foix submitted to the French crown, and in the following decades they suffered a significant financial crisis which they took measures to correct. Similarly, the diocese of Pamiers was created in 1295, and the bishops of Pamiers were directed by the papacy to raise the revenues of the tithe and to increase the regularity with which it was collected. The burden of meeting these demands fell to the peasants, and in the early fourteenth century the number of mentions of parishes increased dramatically. This may have been due, in part, to the nature of the documentation: the Fournier Register is exceptionally rich. Nonetheless, the data suggests that the parishes were mentioned more frequently because it suited the fiscal needs of both the church and the state to have
identifiable units to count and tax.\textsuperscript{77}

Conversely, I have found no evidence of an increase in the number of people, churches or villages in the haut pays de Foix in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There is evidence that repairs were being made to old churches, but it is unlikely that any new ones were being built.\textsuperscript{78} More than anything the data in Appendix A suggests that we are seeing a shift in terminology in the early fourteenth century, and this shift reflects external political developments. The personal aspect of the mountain parish had existed for hundreds of years; its territorial aspect became important only after 1272.

This shift in terminology is confirmed by the chronological appearance of the word \textit{parochia}. The last two documents I used in Appendix A—the Fournier Register (1318-1324) and the Rôle des Feux (1390)—include references to priests. Before this, however, references were only to churches and parishes. As far as the churches are concerned, the personal aspect of the mountain parish had existed for hundreds of years; its territorial aspect became important only after 1272.

\textsuperscript{77}This was the situation Magnou-Nortier found in the Narbonnaise in the late-ninth and early-tenth centuries (\textit{La société laïque}, pp. 423-424). In the context of decisions taken by the council of Portus in 898 (Mansi, vol. 18, cc. 179-182; Cart. of Beziers, n. 9), the term \textit{parrochia} signified "ecclesiastical revenues accruing to a church on a determined territory." Likewise, in Beziers, in the same year, "\textit{parrochia} defined the \textit{dimiare} of a church" (i.e. the territory upon which the tithe was assessed).

\textsuperscript{78}cf. Robert Roger, \textit{Les églises romanes du pays de Foix et du Couserans} (Foix: Gadrat, 1908). The small churches of this region were all built in a Romanesque style similar to that found in neighboring areas of Catalogne, Andorra and Roussillon. Robert Roger, "Le clocher de l'église Saint-Michel de Tarascon-sur-Ariège," \textit{BSA} 13 (1913), 382-383.
seventeen were named by vocable (e.g. ecclesiam Sancti Vincentii de Lassur), and the remaining fifteen by location only (e.g. ecclesiam de Savarto or ecclesiam de Unaco). The word parochia, however, appeared for the first time in 1160, and not again until 1323, and in both cases it is used in connection with seigneurial privileges.

In 1160 Roger of Ravat and his brother Guillaume gave to the abbey of Boulbonne all that they possessed on the Pic des Trois-Seigneurs, "reserving for themselves the directum of the parish of Ravat."\(^7\)\(^9\) These seigneurial rights are not specified. Did Roger and Guillaume possess the right to collect the tithe? If so, they used the term parochia because of its fiscal/territorial association. It is quite possible that they did possess such rights. For one, the private ownership of churches was common.\(^8\)\(^0\) In addition, volume 83 of the Doat collection is devoted to acts pertaining to the abbey of Boulbonne between 962 and 1220, and many of the entries immediately prior to and immediately following this one mention proprietorship of the tithe. Even if the tithe was not included in the directum of the parish of Ravat, some sort of fiscal/territorial demarcation is implied; and in any case, the link is clear-cut in the act of 1323.\(^8\)\(^1\) Parochia was used because the collection of the tithe was at issue. It was a terminological shift and not the result of the growth of rural

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\(^7\)\(^9\)Collection Doat, vol. 83, f. 32r.
\(^8\)\(^0\)Aubrun, La paroisse en France, pp. 69-105.
\(^8\)\(^1\)Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, G68, no. 2-4.
parishes.

In conclusion, then, Aubrun and Imbart de la Tour were right: the terms "church" and "parish" may be used more or less interchangeably. As in the eastern Pyrenees, as elsewhere, communities formed around village churches long before the parish became a legal entity. Naturally there were exceptions. In the haut pays de Foix some churches—or perhaps I should say chapels—were dependent upon nearby parishes. I discuss this in the next section. Nonetheless, as a general rule Aubrun's observations apply.

Priests in the Haut Pays de Foix

Another issue of terminology arises in regard to the clergy: the language used to designate priests was imprecise. As I mentioned above, the Fournier Register and the Rôle des Feux differ from the other documents because they provide lists of clergymen as well as the names and locations of specific churches; therefore, when I began looking into the parochial structure of the haut pays de Foix my initial impulse was to determine which priests headed parishes in order to more accurately identify and count the parishes themselves. It seemed a straightforward process—now made

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82 Speaking of the Carolingian era, Aubrun explains: "Nous disons paroisse plutôt qu'église tant it est vrai qu'à partir de cette époque, les faits ayant précédé le droit—quid leges sine moribus?—il n'est plus guère d'église qui ne devienne très rapidement paroissiale." La paroisse en France, p. 39. As for Imbart de la Tour, this notion is one of the central themes of his book.
superfluous— but it led me to some unexpected discoveries.

According to Imbart de la Tour: "It was a well-established principle and often inscribed in the law that each parish had its chef. He was called the rector of the church, rector ecclesiae." The author provided sound documentary evidence. Note 1, p. 127 reads, verbatim: "Rectores ecclesiarum.' Concile d'Arles, 813, c. 24." For me this seemed perfect. It was the exact phrasing I had found in Fournier's Register (e.g. "rectoris ecclesie de Hugenoce").

To my chagrin, however, when I went to confirm the citation I found that the 24th canon of the Council of Arles (813) did not say what Imbart de la Tour claimed it did. The canon directs bishops to survey the priests and deacons of their dioceses— in this case parochia is best translated as diocese— and to return fugitive clerics to their superiors. The phrase "rectores ecclesiarum" is nowhere to be found; nor is there an expression of the principle that every parish must have a rector as its chef.

Ironically, as it turns out, Imbart de la Tour's

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83 Les paroisses rurales, p. 127.
84 Registre, III, p. 267.

Canon 24: Ut unusquisque episcopus in sua parrochia presbyteros vel diacones diligenter inquirat, et fugitivos omnes clericos ad loca sua redire jubeat, et propriis episcopis, aut rectoribus querentibus reddat.
assertion was reasonably accurate here too, even if his
citation was not. As mentioned above, Gabriel Le Bras
ultimately came to the same conclusion: "A parish is a people,
plebs, around a church, under the government of a rector."86
It was a distinction that the editor of the Rôle des Feux,
Dufau de Maluquer, had also made: he consistently associated
rector with parish.87 In pursuing my investigation of the
haut pays de Foix I discovered that parishes were generally
headed by rectors, but not always; furthermore, it became
apparent that the peasants were not consistent in their use of
terms such as "rector". For that matter, I found that modern
scholars are not very consistent either.

In looking at Dufau de Maluquer's analysis of the Rôle
des Feux I was struck by the fact that he translated the
Occitan lo rector as "cure." "Curé" was the word Duvernoy had
been using for the Latin cappelanus, and the Latin rector
meant simply "recteur." Looking back to Dufau de Maluquer, I
was further confused when I found that he translated the
Occitan lo capela as "chaplain."

Dufau de Maluquer:

lo rector or rictor = curé
lo capela or capera = chapelain

86 "Pour l'étude," p. 488.
87 Introduction to Rôle des Feux, p. 10.
lo vicari = vicaire
lo pestre = prêtre

Duvernoy:

capellanus = curé,
rector = recteur
subcappelanus = vicaire
presbiter = prêtre

To further complicate matters, Paul Adam, who claims to have examined every synodal statute from the fourteenth century, translates curatus as "curé." But the word curatus does not appear anywhere in my documents.

The explanation for this conundrum lies partly in the fact that there is no good English equivalent for "curé," which is a relatively pliable French noun. As a native English speaker and historian by trade I desired precision, and I was bothered that rector and capellanus were both translated as "curé." Beyond this, the problem at hand, the identification of parishes, compelled me to search for clear distinctions. My English orientation asked: can either a rector or a chapelain serve as the chef of a parish?

88 In at least one instance Duvernoy translates "rector ecclesia" as "curé." cf. Registre, I, p. 243 and Registre, p. 280.
In this case the language and culture of the researcher is in danger of distorting reality for the answer to my question is yes: either a rector or a chaplain may serve as the *chef* of a parish because the problem, in many ways, is a false one. Le Bras got around it by begging the question. In his words, "the priest charged with the administration of a parish always merits the title rector, (i.e., pastor)." "It is the term which I shall use to designate them," he declared. 90 In fact, there were many different terms used by the church to designate parochial officials: *parochus, plebanus, persona, curatus, rector ecclesiae, pastor, curio.* 91 Le Bras felt that of those available *rector* was best because it is neither too broad, like *persona*, nor too narrow, like *plebanus*. As for Duvernoy and Dufau de Maluquer, their translations are certainly permissible because the peasants themselves used the Occitan words *rector* and *capela* indiscriminately. During the high Middle Ages educated medieval people may have made clear distinctions between the two, but most inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix did not. A few examples should suffice.

In March, 1320, Barthélemy de Lagleize, a *presbiter* from Sorgeat who was then *subcapellano* of Ax, testified against a

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woman accused of making a blasphemous statement at the count's mill. The vicar's evidence was hearsay, but the court wanted it nonetheless; so, Barthélemy testified that the suspect, Jacqueline, "had sworn by the flower of her flour that 'There would never be another age than this one, and that men and women would never rise from the dead.'" He learned this, Barthélemy explained, from one Gaillarde, a twelve-year-old serving girl who was living in the house of Pierre Rouche, *capellanus* of Mérens. The house in question was in Ax, where Pierre occasionally celebrated mass, and he and the vicar were friends. It is informative, therefore, that Barthélemy called Pierre a *"capellanus."*

It is especially interesting when compared to the language used by the serving girl Gaillarde, who testified the same day. When asked if she had repeated the suspect's words to anyone, she confirmed that she had told everything to the two priests one day when "she was in the home of Pierre Rouche, *rector* of Mérens, where she lived." Here is a case where two individuals, both intimate acquaintances of the priest from Mérens, each gave him a different title. It suggests that it is a distortion to think of "chaplain" and

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92 *Registre*, I, 151. "et dicta Jacoba dixit iurando per florem ipsius farine: 'Nunquam erit aliud seculum nisi istud, nec homines et mulieres mortui resurgent.'"

93 *Registre*, I, 151. "dixit se audivisse dici a quadam puella que est XII annorum vel circa, et hospitatur in domo Petri Rubei capellani de Merenchis in domo sua in villa de Ax." Mérens is 5 km upstream from Ax.

94 *Registre*, I, 152. "erat in domo Petri Rubei rectoris de Merenchis in qua hospitabitur."
"rector" as titles at all, at least where the parishioners were concerned. If these terms had specific legal connotations, it was lost on the inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix. They used the terms interchangeably. When the inquisitor's scribe introduced the testimony of the priest himself, he used Imbart de la Tour's phrase: "Dominus Petrus Rubeus, rector ecclesie de Merenchis."\(^{95}\)

There are other examples as well. One of the clearest comes from the testimony of Béatrice de Planissoles. "When she was staying in the village of Prades, after the death of her first husband, she was living in a little house which was between the house of Jean Clergue, rector of Prades, and the inn of Pierre Guilhem of the said place; and because this house was connected to the house of the said chaplain of Prades, whatever was done in it at once was heard or would be able to be heard by those who were in the home of the chaplain of Prades. (italics mine)"\(^{96}\) Here too the words were used as if they were synonyms, and it is another reason that I favor a flexible understanding of the parish as a village community with a church, a clergyman and recognizable

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\(^{95}\)\textit{Registre}, I, 153.

\(^{96}\)\textit{Registre}, I, p. 243. "Item dixit quod illo tempore quo ipsa morabatur apud villam de Pradis, post mortem mariti sui primi, ipsa habitavit in quadam domuncula que erat inter domum Iohannis Clerici, \textit{rectoris} de Pradis, et hospicium Petri Guillelmi dicti loci; et quia dicta domus sic erat coniuncta domui dicti \textit{capellani} de Pradis quod quicquid fiebat in ea statim audiebatur vel poterat audiri ab illis qui erant in domo \textit{capellani} de Pradis. (italics mine)"
territorial limits upon which the tithe was assessed.\footnote{Other factors such as the existence of a baptismal font were also important.}

This does not mean, however, that every local church fit this abstract definition. In the early fourteenth century the parishes of the haut pays de Foix varied considerably in terms of structure, jurisdiction and size. We have already seen in an example given above that the rector of Mérens, Pierre Rouche, shared with the vicar of Ax the task of celebrating mass and serving the parishioners in Ax. The priest from Mérens was in Ax frequently enough to require his own house there. The fees he collected in the village likely helped defray the expense. But where was the rector of Ax? Was he an absentee clergyman or was the bishop slow in finding a replacement? I cannot answer this. It is worth noting though because it shows that not every parish had a rector to serve it at all times.

At the same time, this passage reminds us that some parishes were large enough to require an assistant priest (\textit{subcapellanus}). In addition to Ax, Montaillou and Ornolac had vicars,\footnote{\textit{Registre}, I, p. 200, "capellanus de Ornolac et subcapellanus eius." and I, p. 419, "Interrogata si ... fuerat citata per subcapellanum de Monte Alionis."} and many of the other parishes probably did as well. In 1390 there were fourteen priests living in Foix serving approximately 3500 inhabitants not including the neighboring villages that depended on this parish; and in the
early fourteenth century both the population and the number of clergymen were higher. 99

In two cases it is evident that not every village was considered a parish. This is what I meant when I said that the jurisdictional structure varied. Tarascon-sur-Ariège is located on the right bank of the river. Across from it, on the left bank, there is a suburb called Tête de Pont. In the Middle Ages Tête de Pont was dependent on the parish of Quié, a community located on the same side of the river (i.e. opposite Tarascon). 100 Evidently Tête de Pont did not have a church, so its dependent status is understandable. There was another nearby church however: Notre Dame de Sabart was a short walk upstream at the confluence of the Ariège and the Vicdessos. What makes this even more intriguing is that inhabitants from both Quié and Tarascon used to go to mass there. 101

Elsewhere there are phrases that indicate, perhaps, that villages such as Ascou were dependent upon the parish of Ax, for example: "contra Ramundum Sicredi seniorem de Asco, parrochie de Ax." 102 Yet this seems suspect because Ascou

99 Rôle des Feux, pp. 38-72. Also see Appendix B.
100 Registre, I, p. 160, "[Dixit] transivit per pontem Tarasconis, et quando fuit in capite dicti pontis, quod est in parochia de Querio:" I, p. 165, "ipse erat in Capite Pontis de Trascone in parochia de Querio." There are also designations such as the following, I, 161, "Petrus de Maishelaco de Tarascone parochie de Querio:" I, 163, "Arnaldus de Savinhao de Tarascone parochie de Querio."

101 Registre, pp. 1053, 1251.
102 Registre, II, p. 357.
had a population of approximately 250 in the early fourteenth century,\textsuperscript{103} easily large enough to be a parish of its own. Perhaps "d'Ascou," in this case, was simply part of Raimond Sicre's name and he was actually residing in Ax. All the same, I have not found any evidence of either a church or a rector at Ascou, and the smaller village is nearly on top of Ax, only an hour's climb up the mountainside, so it is possible that Ascou did have a dependent status.

Furthermore, there are other similar which demonstrate that this sort of arrangement did exist, that there were smaller villages which were part of larger, neighboring parishes. "Guillelmus den Home de Lassur" reported some blasphemous words to the rector of Garranou, "his chapelain" ("ipse loquens predicta verba dicte Aladaycis revelavit rectori ecclesie de Garanone capellano suo").\textsuperscript{104} The construction of the man's name—a prenom followed by a possessive "de" or "den" then a place-name—is identical to the Ascou example in the previous paragraph; yet in this case there is proof that the witness, Guillaume, was living in the village of Lassur at the time he referred to the rector of Garanou as "his chapelain."\textsuperscript{105} The village of Lassur was dependent upon the parish of Garanou. What makes this even

\textsuperscript{103}Dufau de Maluquer, "Rôle des Feux," p. 13.
\textsuperscript{104}Registre, II, p. 348.
\textsuperscript{105}Registre, II, p. 348. "Dixit [Guillelmus] enim quod decem dies esse possunt, aliter non recordatur de tempore, cum Aladaycis filia Aycredì Boreti de Caussone, qui venerat ad dictam villam de Lassur pro messibus, hospitaretur in domo ipsius loquentis."
more interesting is that the village of Lassur had a church, St. Vincent.\textsuperscript{106} Therefore a church alone did not suffice to create a parish. Beyond this, the simple phrase used by the witness—"I revealed Alazaïs' words to the rector of Garanou, my chapelain"—is a most succinct expression of the looseness with which terms such as "rector" and "chapelain" were employed by the villagers of the Sabartès.

For these reasons, instead of trying to distinguish parishes from dependent villages, which I am now convinced would not be a very productive exercise anyway, I have left the references in Appendix A exactly as I found them: churches, parishes and priests are all included and they all carry equal weight. Also for these reasons I have used a generic "parish" to head column one in Appendix B. I am more interested in the number and size of these mountain communities than the terms the tax-collectors used to designate them.

The Number and Size of Parishes in the Haut Pays de Foix

Thanks to the Rôle des Feux of 1390, initial population estimates can be made. They are not very accurate, but it is a start, and at the very least it allows us to compare the relative size of these communities and this alone helps explain the social, economic and political developments

\textsuperscript{106}Registre, III, p. 297, "ecclesiam Sancti Vincentii de Lassur."
that are coming to light.

When King Philip IV (1285-1314) came to power, he was blessed with a reasonably balanced financial situation: the regular revenues he received from the royal domain were sufficient to meet his expenses. Before long, however, he and his advisers came to the conclusion that projected expenses were going to surpass their average annual revenues, and they began searching for extraordinary sources of income. One of the first solutions that they hit upon was the imposition of a tax on hearths called the *fouage* and in 1294 a charge of six sous tournois (6 s.t.) per *feu* (L. *focus*) was levied on Languedoc. A *feu*, or hearth, was, in the simplest terms, a house and the family who lived in it. Technically, this new tax was supposed to be a substitute for armed service—in this case in Aquitaine, later in Flanders—

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108 After Languedoc had submitted to the French crown the first royal levies came in the form of gifts by the large towns to Louis IX in order to defray the cost of his misadventures in the Holy Land. Likewise, Philip III and his successors occasionally demanded feudal levies, for example, for the knighting of a son or the marriage of a daughter. However, Philip IV was the first to formally establish a *fouage* in order to pay for a war. *HGL*, vol. 9, p. 1170. Consistent with other crucial terms such as *comes*, *villa* and *parochia*, scholars disagree as to what exactly constituted a *feu*. Mostly the argument concerns the value of these *feux*, the rate at which they were taxed. For a concise summary of the issues involved see Paul Dognon, *Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIIe siècle aux guerres de religion* (Toulouse: Privat, 1895), Appendix 3, part A, "Variations du sens du mot 'feu' du XIIIe siècle au XVe," pp. 619-631.

but in reality the king and his administrators wanted their new southern vassals to buy off the hearth tax with one-time, lump-sum payments. "Even a great lord like the count of Foix, who could have supplied (and later did supply) troops for the war, was asked for money instead of service."\textsuperscript{110}

Regardless of the relative success or failure of this first hearth tax, the king's expenses were on the rise; therefore, the attempts to collect the tax—as well as other extraordinary levies—continued, and it was not long before the king and his counsellors decided that they would best be served by an accurate count of the number of hearths in the realm. To that end, in 1303 the king ordered his bayles and seneschals to "fere escrire touz les feus du reaume." Three or four men were to be elected "en chascune paroisse ou en chascune rue, diront le nombre et la condition des feux de icelle paroisse ou de cele rue."\textsuperscript{111} Later, under Charles V (1364-1380), in the aftermath of population loss due to plague and war, a "reparation" was deemed necessary, and the king's agents set about re-counting the "feus de reaume" and re-figuring the taxes owed by each parish.\textsuperscript{112}

This same pattern of taxation produced, on a more modest scale, the Rôles des Feux of 1390 for the Comté de Foix. This document of more than ninety folios, Archives Pyrénéennes-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{110}Strayer, \textit{Philip the Fair}, pp. 149, 319.
\item \textsuperscript{111}Archives Nationales, série J, 1030, 65 cited by A. Spont, "La taille en Languedoc de 1450 à 1515," \textit{Annales du Midi} 2 (1900), 384, note 1.
\item \textsuperscript{112}Dognon, \textit{Les institutions}, p. 621.
\end{itemize}
Atlantiques E414, was first edited and published by C. Barrière-Flavy. Unfortunately, as the subsequent editor Armand de Dufau de Maluquer was quick to point out, the manuscript was published "avec une précipitation regrettable," and his edition, which appeared only a few years later, is the better one.

In 1320, Jeanne d'Artois, widow of Count Gaston I (1302-1315) and regent for Gaston II (1315-1343), initiated a reformation of the comital domains, and sometime before the death of her son a hearth count (dénombrement de feux) was carried out in the Comté de Foix. Although it is mentioned in subsequent documents, the register itself did not survive.

Then, in the mid-fourteenth century, the pays de Foix, like the rest of Languedoc, was hit with the plague, not to mention the combined effects of war and peasant uprisings, and Gaston Phoebus (1343-1391), like Charles V, came to the conclusion that some sort of "reparation" was required, so a new hearth count was undertaken in 1368. This is revealed by an eighteenth-century inventory of the archives of the château of Foix. The inventory entry reveals that a count was made, parish by parish, of the inhabitants of the Comté de Foix in

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115On the early attempts to estimate and collect the hearth tax see Dufau de Maluquer's introduction, pp. 1-8.
order to calculate the tax owed by the occupants of each house. The fourteenth-century document containing the hearth count was destroyed when the Hôtel de la Préfecture at Foix was burned down in 1803, but a revised and corrected version was completed just prior to Gaston Phoebus' death. This, the Rôle des Feux of 1390, survives in Pau as Archives Pyrénées-Atlantiques E414.

The Rôle of 1390 consists of a list of villages. For each village, the count's commissioners recorded the number of houses (hearth), the names of the owners, and the amount of taxes owed by the community as a whole. The Rôle is interesting on a number of different levels. For example, we get an indication of the demographic decline that occurred in the haut pays de Foix because the commissioners were careful to signal with the abbreviation "va." houses which stood empty. Thus, at Ax, they noted that out of the 252 feux that they counted in 1390, more than 100 were vacant. This is the highest number of empty houses of all of the parishes.

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116 The entry reads as follows: 1368.—Registre contenant le dénombrement des habitans du comté de Foix, consulat par consulat, ou son dénommés les habitans d'un chacun desdits consulats, fait pour fixer le fouage qu'un chacun fait. Archives de l'Ariège, Inventaire général des archives de la tour ronde du château de Foix, commencé le 14 mai 1760, p. 40, cited by Dufau de Maluquer, p. 5. My translation is not word-for-word because I feel that the eighteenth century archivist did not express accurately the spirit of the original document. I prefer "parish" to "consulate" because consulate is a specific legal term denoting a village which had a chosen body of representatives (consuls) who took some responsibility for governing local affairs. Every village in the Comté de Foix may have had consulates in 1760, but this was not the case in 1368.
mentioned, so it is not necessarily indicative of population loss everywhere in the Sabartès, but 22 out of 82 houses were listed as vacant in Vicdessos, so a significant population decline was experienced elsewhere as well. Furthermore, there are data on the number of forges, mills and dye-works. Clear distinctions are made between families who owed their taxes directly to the count and those whose first obligation was to a local seigneur. Possessions of the abbeys of St. Volusien and Boulbonne are signaled. Distinctions are made between knights, bourgeois and peasants. Dozens of different professions are recorded. And there is no evidence whatsoever of serfdom.

At the moment, however, I am most interested in what the Rôle of 1390 can tell us about the number and size of these parishes. My population estimates for 1390 and the years of the Fournier Register (1318-1324) are contained in Appendix B. It must be stressed that these figures, except for those in the first column (Number of Hearths: 1390) are preliminary. Much remains to be done with this data. Nonetheless, even these preliminary estimates reveal significant information about the organization of the haut pays de Foix in the high Middle Ages.

One of the problems with my list of churches, parishes and priests (Appendix A) is that it is incomplete. I noted this previously in connection with the century-by-century breakdown of the frequency with which these ecclesiastical
institutions were mentioned. At that point I suggested that the steadily increasing number of citations could only be considered an approximation of the overall pattern of village and ecclesiastical development between 849 and 1390. I was concerned that many parishes might have been missed because references to them have not been preserved in the documentation. Despite these reservations, I am persuaded that an approximation of the overall pattern of parochial development based solely upon the 49 parishes in the list is reasonably accurate because they represented all of the largest and most important villages in the region.

To begin with, the Rôle des Feux of 1390 contains information on a total of 104 villages in the haut pays de Foix. Of these 104 mountain communities, 45 also appear in the list of churches, parishes and priests and 4 appear only in that list. The remaining 59 villages show up as place-names in the Rôle des Feux, that is, there is no independent evidence to prove that they had a church or resident clergyman. Many of these same communities are mentioned in the Fournier Register too, but none in conjunction with an ecclesiastical institution. All the same, I presume that at least some of these villages had churches. There may have been other cases similar to Lassur: a community with a church—chapel of ease—which was dependent on another parish.

Without going to the village sites and doing the necessary archaeological work, it is impossible to know how
common the Lassur pattern was. Nonetheless, we can get a sense of the overall parochial structure in the Sabartès by comparing the list of 49 churches, parishes and priests with the remaining 59 villages which appear as place-names in the Rôle des Feux. This comparison is particularly interesting because I have been able to determine the total number of villages in the haut pays de Foix; therefore, we know what portion of the mountain communities is represented in the list of churches, parishes and priests. When this data is then compared to the population estimates, we see that the 49 villages for which we have information on ecclesiastical institutions were clearly the most populous in the upper Ariège. For this reason, generalizations based upon this data have a relatively high degree of validity.

I was able to determine the total number of villages in the Sabartès by employing the Chronique Romane des Comtes de Foix. Esquerrier wrote it in the late fifteenth century, and at the very end of the work he added a "Descriptio del Comtat de Foix." First, he discussed the limits of the Comté de Foix which, by then, were fairly well established; in

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117 pp. 84-90. The editors of the chronicle, Felix Pasquier and Henri Courteault, provide an invaluable analysis of this section along with a significant bibliography, pp. 91-118. Among other things, they identify all of the place-names, and this will help when more sophisticated population estimates are undertaken.

118 In 1263 Louis IX requested and obtained from the count of Foix an accounting of all of the lands that he held from the crown, HGL, Vol. 8, cc. 1510-1514. Inquests into the limits of the county were undertaken in 1272 and 1295, HGL, Vol. 10, cc. 88-93, 323-327.
addition, he listed the seventeen castellanies into which the Comté de Foix had been divided. Finally, he enumerated all of the villages in each castellany. He included the names of a total of 121 and all but 21 appear in the Rôle des Feux and/or the compiled list of churches, parishes and priests. When these 21 villages are added to the 59 which appear in the Rôle des Feux but not on the ecclesiastical list and the 49 from the list, I have been able to identify a total of 129 villages in the haut pays de Foix. Today there are 114. This indicates that the figure of 129 is reliable because some villages have disappeared and the population of the region is actually lower now than it was in the Middle Ages.

This means that my list of churches, parishes and priests contains 38% of the total number of villages in the haut pays de Foix, a reasonably large percentage. It shows that the pattern of parochial development observed above is fairly representative, even if the interpretation of this pattern remains uncertain. This impression is strengthened when the size of these parishes is compared with the size of the other villages for which we have data on the number of feux. Of the 129 villages in the Sabartès, 104 are listed in the the Rôle des Feux, so here too this makes a happily large sample (81%).

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119 This administrative division was made sometime in the early fifteenth century.  
Of the 45 villages in Appendix A for which population estimates are possible, only 20 (44.4%) had less than 100 inhabitants; 22 (48.8%) had between 100 and 500 inhabitants; and 3 (6.7%) had more than 500 inhabitants. Of the 59 other villages, a surprising 51 (86.6%) had less than 100 inhabitants; 8 (13.6%) had between 100 and 500 inhabitants; and none had more than 500. The villages that we know had ecclesiastical institutions were the most populous; therefore, the pattern of development observed above becomes even more representative because most of the 59 villages where institutions were not mentioned probably did not have a church or a clergyman. Because they were the smallest communities, it indicates that there were only a few that had churches or chapels for which we do not have a record, and it is likely, if this occurred at all, that these villages were among the 7 which had more than 100 inhabitants. As common sense dictates, the most populous villages were those that were slowly reclassified as parishes.

This entire argument could be strengthened by a more sophisticated analysis of the size of the households in these villages. As I stressed before, the population estimates I have made can only be used for relative comparisons at this point. This is because I have used a standard coefficient of

\[121\] Ax, including the old village, had 1161 inhabitants in 1390; Tarascon had 905; and Foix had 3348.
4.5 individuals per feux.\textsuperscript{122} The number may well have been higher or lower. The size of the village, its altitude, the quality of the land, the social status of the family, their wealth, their sources of income: all of these factors affected the average number of inhabitants per feux. The Sabartès is particularly well suited for a more sophisticated demographic study because the efforts of Pasquier and Courteault to identify these villages makes it possible to create an extraordinarily detailed map of the area. When this is done, soil maps and geographic information on average yearly sunlight, rainfall and temperatures can be employed to estimate the agricultural productivity of individual villages; this, in turn, will enable us to make a much more accurate assessment of the number of inhabitants per feu. It must also be remembered that the size of these households varied from village to village and even within villages, especially within the larger ones such as Ax, Tarascon and Foix.\textsuperscript{123}

Even with these detailed records, it is still too early to arrive at a population estimate for the entire Sabartès. As

\textsuperscript{122}This was the coefficient that Dufau de Maluquer used, \textit{Rôle des Feux}, p. 12.
I mentioned above, there is no data for 25 of the villages, and this means a premature estimate might be off by several thousand. MS E414 is severely damaged, so information on some of the parishes has been lost. This margin of error could be reduced significantly by using the oldest records available for these villages. One manuscript collection that looks interesting is Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, série C, "Administrations provinciales et contrôle des actes avant 1790." Another place to look is Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques MS E484, "Réformation du domaine de Foix, faite à Varilhes et à la Terrasse, du 21 janvier au 16 avril 1500, par Pey Senier, juge-mage du comté de Foix, commissaire de Catherine, reine de Navarre." The most promising documents are located in the Vatican Archives. Volume 233 of the Collectoriae contains a record of taxes owed to the sixteenth bishop of Pamiers, Guillaume Le Bayla (1351-1365); and volume 349 of the Introitus et exitus includes the account books of the eighteenth bishop of Pamiers, Raymond Dachon (1371-1380). If these records prove incomplete, there are others from the

124 In his bibliography Peter Sahlins lists numerous MSS which he classifies as "Intendance du Roussillon et pays de Foix," Boundaries, p. 321.
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even modern censuses could help estimate the relative size of these communities, but records from before the industrial revolution would be more reliable: some sections of the upper Ariège were changed considerably when the railroads were built and still others when the local thermal baths became popular tourist spots. In any case, I suspect that most of the villages for which there is no data had less than 100 inhabitants in the late fourteenth century. If any of them were larger, it would show up through an examination of records from a later period.

A final difficulty with my population estimates is that I do not know the severity of the demographic decline that took place in the mid-to-late fourteenth century. Clearly there was a substantial loss of population in those years. The number of homes listed as vacant is ample evidence for this. There were some devastating plagues in the mountains, especially in 1361, but I suspect it was less devastating in a region where the population density was much lower than in the plains or along the coasts.

For lack of more precise information, I have adopted the 50% figure that Le Roy Ladurie used to estimate the population of Montaillou at the time of Bishop Fournier's inquests. In other words, the population declined by approximately 50% 

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127 Dufau de Maluquer, Rôle des Feux, p. 4.
128 Montaillou: village occitan, p. 25.
in the mid-fourteenth century. According to him, this figure was valid for most of southern France. He arrived at the number of 200-250 inhabitants for Montaillou by multiplying the 23 hearths recorded in 1390 by 4.5 inhabitants per hearth (=104) then doubling this figure to account for the 50% population loss (=208). He then drew the brackets 200-250 around the sum of 208 inhabitants in order to round off the figure and account for indigents, nobles and priests who were not included in the Rôle des Feux. As it turns out, his numbers seem remarkably reliable; there are 204 Montaillonais named in the Fournier Register.\footnote{Le Roy Ladurie, \textit{Montaillou: village occitan}, p. 627.} For my estimates of the number of inhabitants per village I did all but the final step. Ultimately I never will be able to determine exactly how many people lived in each of the villages of the haut pays de Foix at the time of Fournier's inquest; however, by applying the techniques I have just discussed we can make more reliable and informed estimates. Once this is done, the data can be integrated into the analyses of social, economic and legal structures which follow.

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This chapter is only an introduction to the history of the church in the haut pays de Foix. For one, the demographic analysis must be completed. In addition, there were monastic
priories in the villages of Arnave, Axiat, Celles, Miglos, Montgaillard, Ravat, Unac and Vicdessos. An examination is needed of their role in the religious development of the Sabartès. Some were dependent on St. Sernin of Toulouse, some on St. Volusien of Foix, and some on other outlying religious houses such as the Cistercian abbey at Combelongue. The dynamics of these connections should be explored also. Likewise, an analysis of all ecclesiastical properties in the mountains would further our understanding of the relationship of the villages to seigneurial powers. This is an issue that I take up in chapter V.

Ultimately, when all of this data is compiled, mentalités may be re-examined. Popular religion can be understood only within the framework of complete monographic information. Le Roy Ladurie contented himself with two local sources: Archives départementales de l'Ariège J 79 and records contained in the communal archives of Montaillou. MS J 79 is a list of the seigneurial rights of the king of France in 1672 which, Le Roy Ladurie assures us, "were typically medieval." This is absurd. By now it should be clear that the seigneurial structure of the haut pays de Foix changed dramatically in the high and late Middle Ages and Montaillou was no exception. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the village and surrounding

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131 Montaillou: village occitan, p. 628.
countryside, the pays d'Alion, were controlled by petty nobles with ties to the king of Aragon. In 1209 Pedro II confiscated the lands of Bernard d'Alion for failure to render feudal services, and he gave them as fiefs to Count Raymond-Roger of Foix.\textsuperscript{132} In the mid-thirteenth the counts of Foix increased their control over the region as their power grew,\textsuperscript{133} and in 1295 the church increased its presence and demanded new and higher taxes.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Montaillou and its château were held from the count of Foix by Bérenger de Roquefort, and when he died it was left to the local bayle, Bernard Clergue.\textsuperscript{134} In 1310 the last claims to Montaillou, still held by descendants of vassals of Bernard d'Alion, were purchased by Count Gaston I (1302-1315), and the village passed directly into the domains of the house of Foix.\textsuperscript{135} In 1338 Count Gaston II (1315-1343) gave the territory in perpetuity to his brother Robert, bishop of Lavaur.\textsuperscript{136} By the fifteenth century the village of Montaillou once again had the count of Foix, Jean I de Grailly (1412-1436) as its seigneur, but in 1445 Jean's son, Gaston IV (1436-1454), renounced his seigneurial rights and gave the villagers a charter which

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{132}Baudon de Mony, \textit{Relations politiques}, vol. 1, pp. 136-138.  
\textsuperscript{133}Castillon d'Aspet, \textit{Histoire du Comté de Foix}, pp. 292-309.  
\textsuperscript{134}Duvernoy, \textit{La noblesse}, p. 17.  
\textsuperscript{135}Jean Duvernoy, "Le Donnezan à l'époque cathare," \textit{Heresis} 10 (1988), 54.  
\textsuperscript{136}Duvernoy, "Le Donnezan," p. 54.}
lists, in detail, the taxes and rents they owed as a result of the new arrangement.\textsuperscript{137}

With this in mind, it is irresponsible to describe the seigneurial regime in the early fourteenth century based upon assessments made by the king of France in 1672.\textsuperscript{138} As for the records contained in the communal archives of Montaillou--fiscal lists, citizen roles, tax registers, etc.--they are from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Enough said. My point is that a solid foundation must be built before more ethereal investigations of mentalités may be properly conducted. This chapter begins the process.

\textsuperscript{137} Felix Pasquier, "Traces de servage dans le haut pays de Foix au XVe siècle," BSA 10 (1905), 31-38. The title of this article is misleading. Its merit is that Pasquier edited and published the document. However, as I mentioned in chapter I, he has misinterpreted it.

\textsuperscript{138} Le Roy Ladurie, Montaillou: village occitan, pp. 45-47. See pp. 18-20 in the English version.
CHAPTER V
ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE HAUT PAYS DE FOIX

Introduction

In the first chapter I described the mountains and valleys of the upper Ariège basin and suggested that during the Middle Ages the geography of the haut pays de Foix had a tremendous impact on peasant culture. I went on to explore the difficulties of mountain agriculture. I argued that the shortage of farmland, the poor quality of the soil and the vagaries of the climate limited food production and population growth. One consequence was that manorialism never developed in the Sabartès, a theme I will discuss in my conclusion. Another consequence of the difficulties of farming was that the peasants were forced to rely on alternative economic strategies. They had to make use of all of their natural resources—not to prosper, but simply in order to survive. This too had a major impact on the social and even the mental structure of these isolated mountain communities. Fortunately the upper Ariège was blessed with an abundance of rivers, forests, minerals and pastures.
Figure 4. The Haut Pays de Foix

Duvernay, "Introduction," Registre, p. 29.
The Rivers

In terms of natural resources, the Ariège and its tributaries, most notably the Vicdessos, were invaluable for the inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix. The rivers provided fish, power for mills, and occasionally transportation—in that order of importance. Fish was an indispensable component of the local diet.¹ In part, this was because of the limits of agriculture described above. The montagnards had to supplement their daily bread with fish and meat whenever possible. In that sense it was less of a luxury in the mountains than a necessity, and the rivers played a vital role.

Fish was also important for religious reasons. Clearly Catholics ate fish on Fridays and during Lent—at least they were supposed to—but Catharism required a steady supply of fish as well. Cathar perfects were not supposed to eat red meat at all. They did not even like to touch it. One Cathar used to buy meat every Sunday and Thursday as a cover, but then he would wash his hands three times before touching any "food."²

Indeed, we are particularly well informed about dietary habits in the haut pays de Foix precisely because the inquisitors used food as a test for heresy. Everyone knew

²Registre, pp. 759-760.
about this. One peasant even teased his friend about it when they were in a tavern together and his dinner companion was eating nothing but sardines (sardae): "How come you're not eating any meat? Don't be a heretic." Not only did the perfects buy fish for themselves, the believers bought it too—or caught it—in order to give it to the heretics as a sympathetic act. Among this segment of the mountain population fish was a sort of "spiritual commodity." Because they ate only fish the perfects were particularly welcome as dinner guests. Most peasants preferred red meat and that was always more expensive for the hostess.

Much of the fish was obtained locally, either from village markets or directly from the abundant mountain lakes and streams. The charters granted by the counts of Foix guaranteed villagers the right to fish in the nearby waters free of charge. Such provisions were included in the charters of Ax (1241), Montgailhard (1259), Foix (1290 and 1387) and the valley of Vicdessos (1293). The frequency and liberality

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3 Registre, II, 376.
4 Registre, p. 372.
6 Charter of Ax (1241), articles 1 & 2, ed. Felix Pasquier, BSA 2 (1886-1888), 209-218; Coutumes de Montgaillard (1259), article 6, ed. Guy Trouillard, Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger 24 (1900), 537-548; On Charter of Foix (1290) see Llobet, Foix médiéval, p. 39; Costumas de Foys (1387), article 41, ed. Felix Pasquier, Revue des Pyrénées et de la France méridionale 3 (1891), 311-322; Charter of Vicdessos (1293), p. 125, ed. Henri Rouzaud, Histoire d'une mine au mineur: la mine de Rancié depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à la révolution (Toulouse: Privat, 1908), pp. 115-130.
of these privileges confirm the importance of fish to the mountain population. This is further proven through attempts at conservation. In Foix the inhabitants were allowed to take what fish they desired from the Ariège except where there was a threat of over-fishing or in those times and places where fish were spawning. So, for example, they were not allowed to use nets and boats near the mill, nor could they fish between Riufret and Labarre during cold weather7 (i.e. when the fish were laying their eggs.)8

The upper Ariège river was a particularly good source for trout—as one would expect from a cold, mountain stream9—and many peasants caught their own fish for personal consumption. A meal might consist of trout pâté along with meat, cheese, bread and wine.10 Professional pescators were almost unknown; fishermen are not included among the wide variety of

7"Item les homes de Foys han usatge de pescar e de carrasejar e portar fustas en les fluvis e aygas del Comtat de Foys, exceptat que de Ribafrayta entro a la Barra, no i a hom a pescar en les frexs, en temps de fregazos, e exceptat que en les gorxs dels molis, quinhs que sian, els ni autres estranhs, ab escanas ni naus lunhtemps no devo pescar." Charter of Foix (1387), article 41. Loup de Foix gave the villagers similar privileges in 1317, Doat, vol. 96, ff.66r.-v. .
10"... et ibi comederunt troytas in pastillis, et carnes et caseum, panem et vinum que acceperant de domo dicte Sybilie." Registre, III, 158.
occupations listed in the Fournier register. The single mention of a professional fisherman in the Sabartès is contained in a rouleau (1331) in the Municipal Archives of Foix.\textsuperscript{11} Twenty-four years later there were no fishermen listed. There must have been at least a few part-time fishermen in the mountains, for certainly fish were bought and sold at local markets, but there is no evidence that fish were exported from the region.\textsuperscript{12}

If anything, fish were imported. Salted mullet is mentioned more than any other variety of fish in the Fournier Register, and the fact that it was salted suggests that it was preserved and carried into the back country.\textsuperscript{13} Sometimes too the montagnards obtained eel, sardines, cod and skates (a type of ray) and these definitely came from the sea, probably from the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{14} The English imported herring from the Atlantic, and this was an important commodity in the plains, especially around Toulouse, but there are no records of herring reaching the haut pays de Foix.\textsuperscript{15} Finally, in the early fifteenth century, iron merchants from Toulouse obtained metal in the haut pays de Foix in exchange for a variety of

\textsuperscript{11}Llobet, Foix Médiévale, p. 211.
\textsuperscript{12}Registre, pp. 759-760, 573-574, 946. It seems that even in the larger, northern towns, fishing was not a particularly lucrative occupation. Of the fifteen professional fishermen that Wolff finds in Toulouse in 1398, nearly all belong to the lowest and poorest class, the nichils, Commerces et marchands, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{13}Registre, pp. 573-574, 1143.
\textsuperscript{14}Registre, pp. 581, 759, 825, 986; Wolff, Commerces, p. 214, shows that eel was coming from the Mediterranean.
\textsuperscript{15}Wolff, Commerces et Marchands, p. 119, nos. 7-9.
merchandise, notably wheat and fish.\textsuperscript{16} Thus, to the extent there was a fish market in the mountains, it was an import market. The consumption of sardines suggests the same thing. It is clear that the Ariège was an indispensable natural resource for the inhabitants of the mountain in terms of the food it supplied individuals and local markets, but the rivers apparently did not serve as a basis for significant economic development.

The same holds true when we examine the rivers as a source of transportation. The upper Ariège did not normally serve as a means of commercial transportation (not that there was a lot of merchandise to be shipped anyway). In 1670 one of Colbert's réformateurs, Louis de Froidour, reported that the inhabitants of the canton of Ax "were able to transport commercial goods neither by the rivers because they were too shallow and rocky nor by land because the terrain was too difficult."\textsuperscript{17} This contrasts sharply with a seventeenth century description of the mountains of Cerdagne wherein they

\textsuperscript{16}Wolff, Commerces et marchands, p. 287-288. If Atlantic seafood was brought into the mountains it would have been through such exchanges.

\textsuperscript{17}"[The inhabitants of the canton of Ax] non peuvent faire aucune commerce par ce qu'on ne peut voiturer n'y par eau parce que les Ruisseaux sont trop foibles et trop entre couppés de rochers, n'y par terre à cause De La Rudesse et Aspreté dud. Pays." The canton of Ax included Ax itself and the villages of Orlu, Orgeis, Ascou, Sorjat, Ignaux, Vachis, Tignac, Savignac, Castelet and Perles. Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Réformation des Eaux et Forêts, Maîtrise de Pamiers, Tome I, f° 56.
are characterized as permeable and open to invasion and trade.\(^{18}\) Commercial traffic was possible only north of Tarascon where the river levels out and deepens slightly, and then only after heavy spring rains, if at all.\(^{19}\) Sometimes the Ariège was unnavigable even in the bas Comté de Foix. In 1322 the consuls of Pamiers had the bed of the Ariège dredged between Pamiers and Saverdun so that boats could once again pass up and down the river.\(^{20}\)

The most economically significant function of the Ariège and its tributaries was as a source of power for the local mills, of which there were more than a dozen in the haut Pays de Foix. The profitability of these mills is rather uncertain, but it is clear that what profits there were went to the count, the abbot of St. Volusien and to two or three bourgeois from Foix, Tarascon and Ax.\(^{21}\)

Beginning at the top of the mountain and working our way down, we know that there were at least two mills near Ax in the early fourteenth century. The smaller had two millstones, lay outside the town proper and was probably built before

\(^{18}\) See above p. 3 and note 11; Sahlins, *Boundaries*, pp. 17-18.

\(^{19}\) Maitrise de Pamiers, Tome I, f° 131.


It is not clear who drew the profits from this mill, but it is certain that the Count of Foix ultimately owned the rights to it and was collecting at least a percentage. The larger of the two known mills had three millstones, was within the town of Ax, was probably built after 1240 and was owned and operated by the count himself.\textsuperscript{23}

It must have been a notable source of income for the count, for he collected a sixteenth of the flour ground there. Not only the inhabitants of Ax, but also those living in the villages perched on the soulanes, far from the river, came to Ax to grind their grain. Some came from as far away as Montaillou and Prades in the Pays d'Alion in order to use the mills. This was an entire day's journey over the mountain and back, and peasants often stayed the night.\textsuperscript{24} An additional three-wheel mill was built in Ax in 1398.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22}The mill is described as having two wheels in Registre, p. 192. I suspect this was the old mill that served "Old Ax" before the fire of 1240 destroyed the village. On the date of the fire see Hippolyte Marcaillou-d'Aymeric, Monographie de la Ville d'Ax (Toulouse: Imprimerie Vialelle et Cie., 1886), p. 172.

\textsuperscript{23}Registre, pp. 192-195.

\textsuperscript{24}Registre, pp. 331, 368, 950.

\textsuperscript{25}Toulouse MS 638, f° 121. MS 638 of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse is a copy of the Inventaire des Archives de la Tour de Foix. It is an annotated inventory and contains entries dating from the early twelfth century. This particular French copy was made in the second half of the seventeenth century according to "Cartulaire des archives de Foix pour l'abbaye de Bolbonne," in Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des d'jÉpartements, vol. 7, (Toulouse-Nîmes: Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, 1885), p. 391. The original archives of the tower of Foix were destroyed in a fire on the night of October 28, 1803. On the causes and results of this tragic fire see Joseph Poux, L'incendie de l'hôtel de la préfecture à Foix (nuit du 5 au 6
did not get its own mill until the fifteenth century when the count gave permission to Pierre Befait to build one in Prades in 1414.26 There was at least one more mill on the Ariège downstream from Ax. It was near the cross of Bouan, south of Lordat.27

Even farther downstream the count began constructing two mills in 1310 to serve Tarascon and the surrounding villages. The first, called simply "moulin eau," was built on the Ariège and another was built on the Vicdessos near the village of Quié. There had been at least one there already. In order to compensate for fiscal damages the count was causing to a mill on the Ariège in which the judge of Tarascon, André Danhaus, owned a one-third interest, the count agreed to allow the judge to operate and draw profits from the new mills in return for a censive of nineteen septiers of flour, half in wheat and half in oats.28 (Incidentally, this demonstrates that Tarascon, the second town of the haut Pays de Foix, was large enough to have its own measures.)

South of Tarascon there was a mill at Montgaillard, which was also owned outright by the Count of Foix. This particular mill is significant because the inhabitants were required to have their grain ground there at the cost of one sixteenth of

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brumaire an XII) (Foix: Imprimerie Gadrat Ainé, 1899).

26Toulouse MS 638, ff° 162-163.
27Registre, p. 622.
28Toulouse MS 638, ff° 77, 126, 129.
the flour. Whether or not this was required at Ax or Tarascon is unknown. In Foix the townspeople were allowed to take their grain wherever they pleased.

Foix, of course, had more mills than any other town or village in the haut pays de Foix, but they were not always very profitable. In addition to the undetermined number of mills that were already situated on the Ariège, the count granted to entrepreneurs the right to construct and operate additional mills, and a number of them sprang up along the Arget, a small tributary of the Ariège that feeds into it from the left (west). Some of these were run by the monastery of St. Volusien, which operated a total of eight wheels in the early fourteenth century. In at least one case the abbot shared the profits with the count. Likewise, the consuls of Foix owned a mill with two millstones on the Arget. Even private citizens owned mills. In 1331 a minter from Foix, Pierre Elie, was drawing profits from the nearby Moulins des Blanquefort. Evidently, however, speculation went too far, because by 1340 there was not enough grain to keep all of the mills busy. Competition forced some of the Arget mills to

29"Item voluimus et statuimus quod omnes et singuli predicti habitatores molant in molendis nostris, quisque pro vice sua, pro sexdecima parte bladi." Coutumes de Montgaillard, article 44.
30Costumas de Foys (1387), article 44. Apparently this right existed already in 1290, Llobet, Foix médiéval, p. 88 and note 47.
32Toulouse MS 638, f° 258.
lower their rates to one thirtieth as opposed to the usual one sixteenth, and some of them were operating at less than half capacity.\textsuperscript{33}

Finally, the rivers provided power to another kind of mill as well--iron mills (hydraulic forges?). There is no telling how many iron mills there were altogether. There must have been a concentration of them in the mining region of the valley of Vicdessos. Nonetheless, our only evidence comes from another tributary of the upper Ariège, the Oriège. In 1336 an iron merchant from Luzenac was given permission to construct a "moline de fer a deux feux" at Orgeix, a small village on the Oriège river, south-east of Ax. In return, he was to pay to the seigneur of Orgeix an annual censive of forty-five quintals of iron.\textsuperscript{34} (Ax had its own measures too.) At any rate, all things considered, it is clear that water as a source of power was the most important economic role that the Ariège river and its tributaries played in the haut pays de Foix in the high Middle Ages.

\textbf{The Forests}

\textsuperscript{33}Llobet, Foix Médiévale, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{34}Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, Réformation des Eaux et Forêts, Maitrise de Pamiers, sac C 9. It is not clear where the iron ore was coming from, but the fact that there was a mill here suggests that there was some mining activity in this part of the Ariège basin too. Jérôme Bonhôte believes there was a mine at Orlu, just upstream from Orgeix. cf. "Mines, métallurgie et commerce de fer à la fin du XIIIe siècle dans le Haut Comté de Foix (Sabarthès)," unpublished article.
Another natural resource upon which the Ariégeois depended was the abundant mountain forests. During the Middle Ages the eastern Pyrenees were covered with dense oak forests which gave way to a beech-fir mix at higher altitudes. Still, as we saw above, their function was primarily to serve the montagnards. Even in the spring when the rivers swelled and logs could be floated downstream the demand was purely local: there is little evidence that there was a market for lumber from the Ariège in the lowlands. Certainly the bas Comté de Foix was well supplied, for there were large, accessible forests along the lower Ariège and the middle Garonne.

Further evidence, albeit indirect, of the insular quality of the uplands wood trade comes from the regulations for

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carpenters in the Archives Municipales de Toulouse. The rules
governing the measuring and cutting of timber extended into
the bas Comté de Foix but not beyond. This indicates that the
Toulousains either were not interested in, or were unable to
control, the carpentarii or fusterii working in the
mountains.37 Evidently the Toulouse guilds did not fear
competition from their Pyrenean counterparts, otherwise they
would have attempted to control them in some fashion or at the
very least there would have been some sort of litigation or
inquest. Furthermore, when the Toulousains needed to import
wood for building needs, they got it from the forests of
Cousseran, Comminges and Barousse, and not from the upper
Ariège.38

Even local sales of wood in the haut Comté de Foix must
have been limited because many villagers were allowed to take
what they needed from the woods. In the charter that Count
Roger-Bernard III granted to the inhabitants of the valley of
Vicdessos (1293) he states explicitly that they were to enjoy
complete and unimpeded freedom to use the woods according to
their needs. This included but was not limited to making
charcoal (for the forges), stripping the trees and pasturing

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37 Archives Municipales de Toulouse, AA4:12, ff° 11-12.
38 Wolff, Commerces, p. 280. It should be noted that the
regional supply of wood seems to have been sufficient in
Toulouse until the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century
but after that there were shortages, Wolff, p. 283. This does
not mean, however, that the upper Ariège filled the breach.
their flocks in the forests.\textsuperscript{39}

Despite the limited commercial exploitation of the Ariège forests, the liberal rights that the peasants enjoyed reflect the importance of the woods to their survival. Because agricultural land was so limited, the eastern Pyrenees could not possibly have supported the population it did in the Middle Ages if the peasants had not had extensive access to the woods. Indeed, perhaps their liberal privileges were inversely related to the lack of arable land. In lieu of sufficient farmland it was absolutely critical to make extensive use of the forests.\textsuperscript{40}

The uses that the \textit{montagnards} made of the forests has led some researchers to label theirs a "wood civilization," and

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{39} "Damus et concedimus ac statuimus, consulibus, universitati et omnibus et singulis habitatoribus dicte vallis . . . totum territorium cultum et incultum montaneas,ripparias, pascua, nemora, barthas etc. . . . prædictis hominibus et habitatoribus et eorum cuilibet concedentes ad fontes, aquas, flumina nec non plenam et liberam potestatem piscandi, balneandi, aquam hauriendi, aquandi, scindendi, carbones faciendi, arbores excoriandi ac depascendi cum suis animalibus ac utendi etc. . . ." (italics mine), Charter of Vicedosso (1293). See Toulouse MS 638, ff° 77-78 on similar privileges for inhabitants of Vic, Nabe and Sos in 1301.

\textsuperscript{40}cf. The comments of Dr. Bordes-Pagès concerning the privileges that King Philip III granted to the village of Seix (Coussersans) in 1280, Dr. Bordes-Pagès, "Le Droit de chasse sur le terrain domanial dont la commune de Seix est usagère" in \textit{BSA} 4, no. 10 (1893), 249-253. The author undoubtedly goes too far (à la Justus Möser) when he describes the peasants's rights as "primordial", but his point is well taken nonetheless. For an edition of this charter see Felix Pasquier, "Coutumes municipales de Seix en Couserans confirmées par Philippe-le-Hardi" in \textit{BSA} 4, no. 10 (1893), 253-263.
\end{quote}
rightly so. To begin with, of course, the peasants needed the trees for heating, cooking and building materials. Most houses in the haut Comté de Foix were constructed of wood and meals were prepared over a wood fire. Most of their furniture and tools were also made of wood. Casks, tables, benches, fences, shovels, ax handles, equipment for making cheeses, troughs for kneading dough (naucus de noquerio cum copertoriis), looms, wool combs, dishes, kitchen utensils, plows: everything imaginable was made of wood, even shoes.

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43 Registre, passim; The reference to the bread trough along with several other wooden items comes from an "Inventaire des meubles du prieuré de Miglos (1328)," Archives de la Haute-Garonne, Fonds de Saint-Sernin, no. 4, liasse 13, titre 7, ed. C. Barrière-Flavy, La baronnie de miglos: étude historique sur une seigneurie du haut Comté de Foix (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1894), pp. 184-186; see also Wolff's description of wood products in Toulouse, Commerces, pp. 280-287; and Krüger, Die Hochpyrenäen, pp. 136-355. Krüger's work is extremely informative. In addition to describing peasant furniture, he makes an inventory of house and garden tools and explains how they were used. On wooden shoes (sabots) see Joseph Vézian, Carnets ariégeois, réunis et présentés par O. de Marliave (Toulouse: Association E.S.P.E.R., 1988), pp. 13-15. Clearly wooden shoes have long been a tradition in the eastern Pyrenees--the Bethmalais sabots are renowned and purported to have been invented in the Middle Ages--but it is not entirely clear when they were first used in the Haute Ariège. However, a reference to sotulares (i.e. leather shoes) suggests that there were other types of shoes as well, perhaps wooden ones, Registre, vol. 2, p. 184. Perhaps the best insight into this "wood civilization" comes from a visit either to the Museum of the Ariège in the château of Foix (put together by the former archivist for the
The inhabitants of the Sabartès were usually free to gather food as well, and they were blessed with such items as hazelnuts, chestnuts, strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, various roots (and herbs?), mushrooms, snails, honey from bees etc. They hunted too, not only for small game, but for deer, wild boar and bear. The inhabitants of Foix were free to hunt, even with dogs and birds, as early as 1290. They were constrained only to share a piece of the catch with the seigneur (i.e. the count). This was probably a symbolic gesture more than anything else.

Then too the forests provided essential food for the flocks, not only the traditional acorns for the pigs, but also for cows and especially for sheep. This was particularly important in the haut Comté de Foix in the spring and in the fall. In the spring the shepherds pastured their flocks in the oak and beech forests—preferable to the pine—when the winter's hay was gone but it was still too cold to take the flocks to the estives (summer pastures). In the fall they did the same thing after the weather forced them down off the high

department of Ariège, Odon de Saint-Blanquat) where there is a recreation of a peasant cottage, or to the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires (Niaux); one might also consult the Atlas du musée des arts et traditions populaires compiled by G. H. Rivière.

46On peasant access to the forests for these purposes see Charter of 1293, Valley of Vicdessos; Costumas de Foys (1387), article 39; Archives de la Haute-Garonne, série B, Maîtrise de Pamiers, sac FI, also concerns Vicdessos (1304).
mountains but it was still too early to corral the beasts for the winter. In addition, the woods were an important source of protection for the flocks during bad weather. There they could hide from hail, storms and even the hot sun.47

There were at least two forges in the haut Comté de Foix in the thirteenth century, and this would not have been possible if the forests did not supply the needed charbon de bois.48 Thus the forests provided a livelihood for the families of the men who worked in the forges and for the charbonnier who manufactured the charcoal. Production was strictly for use in the local forges until the mid-seventeenth century when the charbonniers could no longer supply even those, at which point people were forced to import charcoal. As Bonhôte put it, making charcoal was an activity "très localisée."49 It should be noted that charcoal production was nothing new—it existed as early as the late sixth century—and therefore it is not necessarily a sign of increased economic activity in the high Middle Ages. It is more difficult to say when the first forges appeared, but

metallurgy was evident since Gallo-Roman times.\textsuperscript{50}

The forests of the haut pays de Foix were also the site of some small iron and silver mines.\textsuperscript{51} The iron mines were located in the valley of the Vicdessos and in Château-Verdun. They provided raw materials mostly for local forges. In the early fourteenth century, for example, the procurer for the count of Foix, Pierre Arnaud de Chateau-Verdun, granted some of his land—as the contract states: "tant pour lui que pour ledit Comte"—to three local entrepreneurs who wanted to build a forge. The contract specified that the men could use the public roads and take whatever wood and iron they needed from the forests and mines of Château-Verdun. In return, they were supposed to deliver to Pierre two quintals of raw iron per week and a percentage of their profits on the forge.\textsuperscript{52} In other words, the forge and the mine were to be run in tandem as a single operation. Does this mean that only three men were needed to extract the ore, build the forge and operate it? Probably not. It is more likely that part-time laborers helped with the work, and different forge owners may have been exploiting the same mine at the same time.


\textsuperscript{51} On the mines in the Ariège see M. Raymond Barbe, Recueil de titres authentiques concernant les mines de fer de Rancié (Ariège) (Toulouse: typ. de Bonnal et Gibrac, 1865) and Felix Pasquier, "Les mines de Château-Verdun au XIIIe siècle" BSA 10 (1905), 63–69, which includes an edition of an accord (1293) between the count of Foix and the coseigneurs of Château-Verdun concerning the mines.

\textsuperscript{52} Toulouse MS 638 f. 3.
This contract is also an indication of the sorts of ventures the count of Foix and his agents entered into in order to bolster their finances, and one wonders what circumstances led Pierre the procurer to enter into such an arrangement. It may have been that the mining operation at Château-Verdun was unproductive or under-utilized. Maybe Pierre recruited the three entrepreneurs in order to make the mine more viable. The possibility suggests itself to me because this happened with some of the silver and iron mines in the valley of Vicdessos. In 1341 Count Gaston II gave the right to work the silver mines to the youngest son (damoiseau) of a local seigneur and to some of the boy’s friends. Apparently the arrangement was something less than successful. Two years later Gaston wrote letters to the sénéchal and the treasurer of Foix ordering them to take possession of the silver mines "from those who are not working them in order to infeudate them to someone else." Perhaps this was what happened with the iron mines of Château-Verdun.

There is another example. The very same day, 17 April 1343, the count of Foix wrote separate letters to his sénéchal and treasurer directing them to put the iron mines of

53Toulouse MS 638, f. 77. It is interesting to note that the boy’s partners were not from the petty nobility. These sorts of cross-class associations were very common in the haut pays de Foix in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nobles and non-nobles swore oaths for each other in court, went into business together, dabbled in heresy together and sometimes made love to each other. Béatrice de Planissoles had several non-noble lovers, mostly priests.
54Toulouse MS 638, f. 62.
Vicdessos into production. Clearly Gaston decided in the spring of 1343 that his mines were not as productive as they should be and took measures to correct the situation. Perhaps this is what Pierre had done in Château-Verdun. It may be an indication of a growing awareness and sophistication on the part of the count and his agents in regard to finances and the management of their territories. Perhaps too it is an indication of a continuing need to raise more cash.

There was, in fact, an export market for iron from the Ariège. Some of it went to Cerdagne, and some to other parts of the Midi. We know, for example, that iron was being exported to the south through the high Port de Puymorens because the king of France attempted to put an end to this traffic in 1293. We also know that as early as 1295 royal agents were buying metal from the eastern Pyrenees for Philip IV's crossbows. Some of this came from Foix, but apparently the best iron—like the best timber—came from the Comminges. By the early fifteenth century (and probably earlier) the metalworkers from Toulouse were obtaining some of their raw materials from the upper Ariège. Péages (i.e. trade tariffs) were collected on iron at Saverdun, Pamiers, Le Mas d'Azil, Mazères in the bas Comté de Foix and at Ax, Tarascon and Foix in the haut Comté de Foix. In exchange for raw iron the Toulousains brought to the mountains fish and,

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55 Toulouse MS 638, f° 77.
56 Wolff, Commerces, pp. 287-288.
significantly, wheat. Still, all things considered, it is likely that the export trade was a modest one. Local organization and administration did not lend itself to large scale production and distribution. By far the most significant and startling result of the mining activity in the Ariège was that the miners and their neighbors enjoyed significant personal freedoms to exploit the mines as they saw fit.

Pastoralism

The deficiency of agricultural production in the Pyrenees mountains made pastoralism more than a supplementary economic activity: the peasants could not have survived without it. Louis de Froidour made this assertion in no uncertain terms in his report to Minister Colbert:

Without recourse to the mountains near the high passes, where the flocks are taken from St. John's (June 24) through the end of autumn, it would be

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57 Wolff, Commerces, p. 287-288.
58 Henri Rouzaud, Histoire d'une mine au mineur: la mine de Rancié depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à La Révolution (Toulouse: Privat, 1908) which includes editions of the charters of the valley of Vicdessos (1272, 1293, 1355).
necessary to desert this region.\textsuperscript{60} Even today animal husbandry represents 85\% of mountain production.\textsuperscript{61} Because of the lack of arable land and the severe climate, the haut pays de Foix, more than any other section of the Pyrenees chain, was particularly dependent upon sheep-raising: it was the \textit{sina qua non} of mountain life in the Middle Ages. To put it another way, the inhabitants of the upper Ariège were farmers by necessity and shepherds by vocation.\textsuperscript{62}

Naturally the Ariégeois bred animals other than sheep. The villagers of Ascou had a communal herd of cows.\textsuperscript{63} The regulations (1323) that the bishop of Pamiers set forth for the controversial \textit{dîmes des carnalaqes}\textsuperscript{64} also reveal the existence of all types of livestock in the Sabartès. For example, the inhabitants owed two cheeses for each herdsman that they "sent into the plains with a flock of sheep, cows or


\textsuperscript{62} Here I have paraphrased Jean-François Soulet whose discussion of Pyrenean pastoralism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well worth reading, \textit{La vie quotidienne dans les Pyrénées sous l'Ancien Régime} (Paris: Hachette, 1974) pp. 101-121.

\textsuperscript{63} Registre, p. 724.

\textsuperscript{64} The \textit{dîme des carnelage} was a charge on animals and animal products, a resented innovation in a region where until then the church had limited itself to collecting taxes only on agricultural products.
Likewise, the abbot of Saint-Sernin charged his parishioners one denier tournois every year if they kept pigs or geese or chickens in their gardens. A few people owned mules too, which they used to haul wheat to the mill or manure to the fields.

This inventory of farm animals is not at all surprising for a rural society; however, the Fournier Register allows us to make some important distinctions which bring this picture of mountain life into sharper focus. First of all, only the wealthiest villagers possessed large farm animals such as cows. For instance, the heretic Pierre Authié, who sold some cattle at the fair in Tarascon, was a notary, a member of the bourgeoisie. Pierre Bernard d'Alavac owned some cows too, but he was clearly well-to-do: he could afford to hire a full-time cowherd as well as two men to harvest his millet. The brothers Guillaume and Arnaud Marty sold two oxen before moving from their mountain village (Junac) to Toulouse; in addition they sold a mule, twenty "merlins" of iron and a

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65 Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, MS 68, no. G4. The bishop was attempting to tax the flocks that were brought down from the mountains each winter (inverse transhumance).
66 This comes from an agreement of 1321 between the inhabitants of the valley of Miglos (Sabartès) and the abbot of Saint-Sernin (Toulouse) who held the rights to certain churches above the Pas de Labarre, including the priory of Miglos which was created only in 1299. Archives de la Haute-Garonne, fonds de Malte, Gabre et Capoulet, liasse 8, article 10, ed. C. Barrier-Flavy, La baronnie de Miglos: étude historique sur une seigneurie du Haut Comté de Foix (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1894), pp. 20-24.
67 Registre, pp. 712, 1146.
68 Registre, pp. 312, 595.
69 Registre, pp. 1274-1277.
large quantity of coal they obtained from one of their forges.\textsuperscript{70} Guillemette Benet possessed some oxen which she used for plowing, but the Benets were one of the wealthiest families of Montaillou.\textsuperscript{71}

Secondly, these large farm animals were extremely rare. The paragraphs above relate every reference to cows and oxen in the Fournier Register; mules are mentioned only slightly more often; and goats appear only twice. Horses are never mentioned, either in the Register or in any of the other documents. The smaller farm animals—the menu bétail\textsuperscript{72}—were found in many peasant households (often literally), but even the pigs and chickens and geese were far outnumbered by the sheep. This is still true today,\textsuperscript{73} a statistic which reaffirms the significant impact of geography on marginal economies: even modern technology has not been able to swing the balance in favor of cattle.

The importance of raising sheep in the medieval economy of the haut pays de Foix is verified at every turn. The

\textsuperscript{70}Registre, p. 1154. A "merlin" is a measure of iron, but the precise quantity is not clear.


\textsuperscript{72}1321 dime agreement, valley of Miglos, article 10.

Fournier Register is filled with references—direct and indirect—to shepherds and sheep-raising. All of the town and village charters provided the peasants with access to pastures and forests. The records of the lowland abbeys of Boulbonne, Grandselve and Lezat contain donations of mountain granges. Legal documents reveal the fact that the villagers, the monks and the count's agents struggled with one another over grazing rights for their flocks. Most important of all, the physical geography of the haut pays de Foix makes it obvious that it was a pastoral region above all else: its abundant forests and sufficient pastures made sheep-raising the obvious solution to the shortcomings of mountain agriculture.

I use the qualifier "sufficient" because the haut pays de Foix is not a pastoral region par excellence as some have suggested—to the east (Rousillon and Cerdagne), south (Catalonia and Andorra) and west (Aragon) there are richer and more abundant grazing grounds. In the Ariège, the high summer pastures, called estives, are sometimes so steep and dangerous that they are inaccessible even to the sheep. Moreover, this section of the Pyrenees chain is particularly abrupt: it lacks the easily accessible, low mountains that are found to the east and west. Pastures below 5000 feet are rare and small, and where they do exist they are covered with

ferns, brooms and heather, all of which can be harmful to livestock.

Even the larger and more abundant pastures at higher altitudes are mediocre. The soil is sandy and the quality of the herbage is compromised by junipers, bayberries, rushés, spikenards, myrtle and rhododendrons, plants that lack nutrition and are unappealing to the flocks. Despite all of the drawbacks these pastures were used throughout the Middle Ages. The peasants had little choice. The poor quality of the pastures helps explain why the region is not particularly renowned for its milk or cheese compared to other parts of the Pyrenees.

The rich forests compensated for the mediocre pastures. It is well known that medieval peasants fed their pigs by sending them into the woods to eat acorns; in the mountains sheep and cattle were allowed to graze there as well. Again, it was more a necessity than an option. This practice is reflected in the Customs of Foix (1387) wherein the locals are given permission to "pasture their oxen, cows and other beasts freely and without [paying] forestage."

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75 A broom, or furze, is a leguminous shrub closely related to bramble.
76 Arqué, Géographie, p. 34; Taillefer, L'Ariège et l'Andorre, p. 113; Chevalier, La vie humaine, pp. 358-363. See also H. Gaussen, Végétation de la moitié orientale des Pyrénées (Toulouse: Imprimerie Bonnet, 1926).
78 Costumas de Foys (1387), article 40, "Item, en las meteyshas montanhas, han utsage de apastencar lor bestiar, boeus, vaccas, e outras bestias, quinhas que sian, francament
In the early spring, after the shearing had been done but before the grass was ready in the mountains, the shepherds allowed their flocks to graze in the woods. It was an essential source of food for sheep and cattle alike. The peasants tried to improve the foraging in these woods by setting fires in order to promote the growth of additional grass in the interstices. They still do this today and it is proving difficult for the French government to break them of the habit. The shepherds relied on the forests in the same way at the end of the season when the high pastures were covered by the first snow. In addition, the woods served as protection for the flocks in bad weather. The trees sheltered the animals from rain and snow and hail in the spring and fall, and from the hot sun during the summer months. The woods, therefore, were indispensable to the survival of the flocks and, by extension, to that of the peasants themselves.

There were two types of pastoralism in the haut pays de Foix in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one small-

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82 From here on references to "pastoralism" concern sheep and shepherds only, in the strict English sense of the term, as opposed to the broader, French understanding of pastoralism which includes other types of herds.
scale and purely local, the other large-scale and long-distance. The first type was more immediately vital to the peasant families; the second type, called transhumance, primarily served the interests of the wealthier landowners, many of whom lived in the plains. Its impact on the local peasantry was slight and somewhat indirect. More than anything, transhumance served as a source of employment for younger, landless sons, but there were some residual cultural and economic consequences as well.

The inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix did not engage in pastoralism with an eye to making a profit; families kept sheep in order to provide for themselves the basic necessities of food and clothing, and this goes a long way toward explaining this medieval mountain culture. Although there was an exchange of ovine products at local markets, it nonetheless remains true that local production was for local consumption. It is precisely this salient economic feature, this type of production, which defines a specifically peasant culture, and more than anything else family-oriented, small-scale pastoralism defined Ariege society in the high Middle Ages.

All but the most destitute villagers owned a few sheep and this situation is reflected in the communal privileges that they enjoyed. In 1241, for example, the inhabitants of Ax obtained from the Count of Foix a charter granting them rights of usage to the woods and pastures on the surrounding mountainside, a privilege for which they did not have to pay
and without which they could not have sustained themselves.\(^3\) Broad and free rights of usage and a dependence on pastoralism required such liberties—the two went hand in hand. The provisions in the charters (and elsewhere) for the use of pastures and forests spoke to this local need.\(^4\)

In some cases the precise purposes for which the land was to be used and the free enjoyment thereof were spelled out unambiguously. In 1415 the inhabitants of the mountain village of Ornolac were granted "the freedom to lead their animals, large or small, into the pastures of Ornolac without having to pay any tax to the lord."\(^5\) Similar privileges with varying degrees of specificity were granted to the villages of Montagaillard (1259), Auzat, Goulier, Gestiès, Saleix, Sem, Orus, Siguer, Suc and Sentenac (1272) and of course Foix (1387).\(^6\) The other villages of the haut pays de Foix enjoyed the same sort of liberties, although we do not have charters

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\(^3\) Charter of Ax (1241), articles 1 & 2.

\(^4\) cf. Garrigou, *Populations pastorales*, p. 18; Aubadie-Ladrix, "Etude historique," pp. 9-10; Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 38, note 60. Of course Pirenne and others have long argued the same thing in regards to the importance of political liberties to the merchant class.

\(^5\) Coutumes de Ornolac (1415), article 10, ed. Felix Pasquier B.S.A. 2 (1886-1888), pp. 158-168. "Item a donat e autregat lodit senhor alz ditz habitantz d'Ornolac e a cada ung delz presentz e à veni libertat e permisio de fer paisser e pastengar lor bestiar propri, tant gros que menut, de quina conditio que se sia, en lo loc, juridictio, appertenencias d'Ornolac, sens ne pagar degun premi al dit senhor."

\(^6\) Coutumes de Montgaillard (1259), article 6; Charte de Vicdessos (1272), paragraph 1; Costumas de Foys (1387), articles 39 & 40. I suspect that both the Charter of Tarascon (1222), Archives des Basses-Pyrénées, MS E 483, and the earlier Charter of Foix (1290), Doat, vol. 96, contain similar provisions.
to attest to this.

These privileges were jealously guarded and the locals sometimes took matters into their own hands. In 1305, for example, the judge for the Comté de Foix exculpated the communities of Vicdessos and Auzat and several other villages when they were accused of having invaded some pastures belonging to the inhabitants of Laburat. Allegedly the defendants had armed themselves, invaded the said lands and forcibly pastured their own animals there. Perhaps the judge considered the following article from the Charter of Vicdessos (1293) before rendering his decision:

We wish and confirm that no one will conduct his animals or those of others onto the mountains of Vicdessos if they are not inhabitants of the aforesaid valley, and if someone does do this, we grant to the inhabitants of the valley the power and the full right to drive out these animals under their own authority.

Perhaps the inhabitants of Vicdessos not only drove out the interlopers but also took it upon themselves to seek restitution, which may have been why the judge acquitted them. There was a strong sense of personal justice in the mountains that is reflected in several different charters.

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87 Unidentified but possibly either Labaure (commune of Lescure) or Laborie (commune of Castelnau-Durban), both of which were in the Bas Comté de Foix near la Bastide-de-Serou. 88 MS 638, f° 147. For other conflicts between villages over pastures see MS 638 f° 146.
All too frequently analyses of medieval agricultural and pastoral techniques are strictly limited to an annunciation of privileges such as I have just done—our sources are stingy. In this case, however, the Fournier Register allows us to examine more closely the daily regimen of these farmer-shepherds.

Small-scale or "indigenous" pastoralism was, above all else, a family concern, and the members of the household shared the responsibilities of raising the animals as well as the fruits of their labor. This close connection between families and their livestock can be seen in the very construction of the houses, for these modest, one-story wooden dwellings sheltered both man and beast. Cows, sheep, pigs and goats were all kept indoors at night—the peasants took care to protect their precious investment. Sometimes there was a separate chamber for the animals, although there was no separate entrance; rather, there was a room, much like a bedroom, adjacent to the main living area. This room served as animal pen and fodder storage bin. Still today there are houses in

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89"Indigenous" as opposed to "transhumant," H. Cavaillès, "La géographie montagneuse du pays de Foix, haute et moyenne Ariège," Annales de géographie 21 (1912), 119-120. In Spain there were three categories of pastoralism: the estantes were sedentary flocks that supported the peasants at the local level; the riveriegos were sheep taken on short, semi-annual migrations between valleys and peaks on the same mountain; the transhumants undertook much longer migrations, Carrier, Water and Grass, p. 78.

90Registre, p. 568.
small mountain villages such as Ignaux that include a stable on the first floor that is reached only through the main entrance of the house. 91 If there was no separate, enclosed chamber, the sheep and other animals were allowed to sleep where they pleased in the foganha, which served as kitchen, family room, storage area, guest bedroom and, in these cases, nighttime livestock pen. 92

When weather and herbage permitted (i.e., generally between May and November) the sheep would be let out first thing in the morning and the young boys, 10-14 years old, would lead them to the nearby mountainsides to graze for the day. 93 These were the communal pastures to which the villagers had free access through long-standing custom.

91 In the Basque region such storied houses are called "maison-en-haut." As Carrier (Water and Grass, p. 158) explains: "Among the pastoral highlanders it is so usual to find both men and animals sleeping on the same floor, if not in the same stables, that it seemed necessary to find a term to mark occasions when the habitation contains an extra storey devoted to the family."

92 Registre, p. 568. The following description is from the Latin edition of the Registre, Vol. 3, p. 128, "Et postquam per pausum ipse loquens stetisset cum dictis mulieribus in dicto solier [a room on the second floor], descendit ad dictum sellarium [ground floor] . . . Et deinde ipse loquens aperuit portam cortalis quod erat contiguum dicto cellario . . . " This was an unusually large house in Argues (Aude). For more on house construction in the Pays d'Alion see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324 (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 69-80. Many houses in the Haut Pays de Foix were similar to the ones Le Roy Ladurie describes in Montaillou; however, there were other types as well. Some houses were constructed of stone, and those in the towns of Ax, Tarascon and Foix were larger and more permanent, especially those belonging to artisans, notaries and other relatively wealthy individuals.

93 Registre, pp. 847, 871, 1089.
Their rights were assured by the charters mentioned above.

There is no way of knowing how many sheep were kept in each household because there are no inventories. Ideally, however, each family owned sufficient domestic animals to supply themselves with milk, cheese, wool and fertilizer. In any case, the numbers were small, necessarily so because space was limited and winter feed scarce. Two or more families would sometimes combine their sheep and their younger sons and send them into the communal pastures together. These pastures were not far away, certainly within a morning's walk, for the routine was a daily one. In the evening the young shepherds and their flocks returned to the village and the sheep were shut in for the night.94

In lieu of such easily accessible fields, some villages had to utilize pastures that were farther away, either because the communal land was inadequate or because it was the wrong season. In mid-summer, for example, it was best to take full advantage of the high pastures so that the nearby fields and meadows had a chance to rejuvenate.95 In these instances, flocks were brought home only intermittently—for example at market time—and cortals (corrals) were constructed. These cortals served the same function as the peasant home in that the sheep

94 Registre, pp. 474, 1131, 1138.
95 Chevalier, La vie humaine, pp. 425-427.
were led out in the morning and penned up at night in order to protect them from the wolves, bears, lynx and thieves. The shepherds slept in the cortals as well.\textsuperscript{96} Bread was baked in the village and then delivered to the shepherds who were on duty.\textsuperscript{97} Thus there was a constant coming and going all summer long as the teenage boys formed a relay team, taking turns variously watching sheep and delivering food and messages to those at home and in the fields. Perhaps the girls also took part in this as they did in the pastures of Couserans in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{98}

From November to mid-May the routine changed. Regardless of whether they were near or far, the high pastures were abandoned as the cold and snow advanced, and the flocks were brought home. In the dead of winter they were kept in the indoor stables and fed on whatever fodder had been stored throughout the rest of the year. This was also the season when lambs were born and weaned. Whenever possible, weather permitting, the flocks were taken to forage in the forests and meadows, and fallow fields near the village. The leaves, twigs and wild grasses growing in the forests, and the stubble in the fields and meadows were crucial resources at a critical time of year.

\textsuperscript{96}On the cortals see Registre, p. 847, and editor's note 6, p. 866.  
\textsuperscript{97}Registre, p. 474.  
\textsuperscript{98}Chevalier, La vie humaine, p. 415.
There was a limited supply of winter fodder, and once the summer grasses were gone, the peasants strove to avoid as long as possible breaking into their stored supplies. They did this by grazing their beasts wherever they could. In some instances this meant grazing them on the fields of nearby villages. Some inhabitants of the villages of Vic and Nabe were cited for doing just that in 1301.\(^9^9\) (Was it an intentional act of revenge for some perceived injustice?)

The right to "\textit{segar herba}" (cut grass) was specifically guaranteed by the Customs of Foix (1387) and once again emphasizes the close connection, one might even say cause and effect relationship, between pastoral economies and liberal privileges.\(^1^0^0\) The process of grazing animals on low-quality herbs was repeated in the spring when the winter fodder was gone and the grasses of the \textit{estives} had not yet matured.\(^1^0^1\)

This type of spring and autumn grazing served a dual purpose, for the sheep had a symbiotic relationship with the land: they nourished the fields which nourished them. Sheep manure is high quality fertilizer and a valuable commodity in a region with poor, overworked soil.\(^1^0^2\) The

\(^{9^9}\)Toulouse MS 638, ff. 77-78.
\(^{1^0^0}\)Costumas de Poys, article 39.
\(^{1^0^1}\)On the importance of alternative forage areas in the late fall and early spring see Chevalier, \textit{La vie humaine}, pp. 267-271, 424-427.
\(^{1^0^2}\)cf. Carrier, \textit{Water and Grass}, pp. 384-386.
peasants built temporary, wooden enclosures around the communal fields that were farthest from the village nucleus, fields to which it was difficult to transport manure. The sheep were then led into these enclosures and left there overnight to glean and fertilize. Family gardens and fields close to the village could be fertilized with manure collected in the stables.\footnote{Incidentally, I suspect human waste was collected and used for the same purpose. In the nineteenth century the peasants of the haut pays de Foix used human feces as a remedy for sick cows, although I'm not sure how it was applied, (cf. Joseph Vézian, \textit{Carnets Ariégeois}, réunis et présentés par O. de Marliave, (Toulouse: Association E.S.P.E.R., 1988), p. 79), and peasants of the Aran Islands are known to have used their excrement for fertilization, (cf. John C. Messenger, \textit{Inis Beag: Isle of Ireland} (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press Inc., 1969), p. 29.} Indeed, supplying manure may well have been the primary reason for indigenous pastoralism. In 1750 the inhabitants of Ax reported that "the only reason they raised flocks was in order to obtain the droppings which served to fertilize the fields."\footnote{Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, MS C100, cited by Chevalier, \textit{La vie humaine}, p. 268.}

In addition the sheep provided milk, cheese, wool and occasionally meat. These products were normally consumed by the family but they could also be bartered at the local market for wine or shoes or some specialized service such as weaving or anything else the household required. In general the inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix ate well, thanks in part to the dominant role of pastoralism in the
region. Certainly they ate more meat than most poor Europeans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They consumed salted pork and fish, but also a good deal of mutton. This is not to say that they ate meat every day or even every week. Nor did they raise sheep specifically for butchering. Animals were slaughtered on holidays for traditional family feasts, but meals of mutton were usually the result of the unforeseen demise of one of the sheep, an economic setback but a culinary windfall.\textsuperscript{105} The professional shepherds involved with the transhumance ate best of all. It has been estimated that they and their artisan friends, living as exiles in Catalonia, ate meat as often as twice a week.\textsuperscript{106}

Sheep's milk and the cheese made from it were also staples in the mountains, adding to a diet that was relatively nutritious when compared to that of peasants in northern France. Cheese was eaten regularly at meals, and travellers often carried it with them to eat along the way. Sometimes \textit{raustidors} were made, which is a roasted cheese, and sometimes cheese and flour were mixed together and baked into a cake called a \textit{calhat} in Occitan (L. \textit{caseata}). Both were considered delicacies. What the family did not itself consume might be sold at the local market,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{105}Registre, p. 966.
\item \textsuperscript{106}Le Roy Ladurie, \textit{Montaillou}, p. 32.
\end{itemize}
given as a gift or traded with a neighbor.\textsuperscript{107} The best cheeses were said to come from the tiny villages above Ax, especially those produced on the mountains around Orlu and Mérens,\textsuperscript{108} although this comment may have been more a matter of local pride than anything else: traditionally the villages at the headwaters of the Vicdessos are renowned for making the best regional cheese. Their pastures and the breed of sheep they raise are particularly well suited to it. Remember, however, that these are comparisons of cheese within the haut pays de Foix; these mountain cheeses were despised by those outside the region.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{107}For cheese as a traveller's snack see Registre, p. 590, as a gift see p. 1181; for private individuals selling cheese see p. 308 (Luzenac); on the calhat see p. 574 and the explanation given by Duvernoy, La nourriture, p. 5. Food in general was an important item of gift giving (cf. pp. 376-377) and made up part of the peasants's "ceremonial fund." This is the portion of surplus production exchanged within a community and around which social relations are built. Marginal economies and restricted social circles require goodwill between neighbors in order to ensure at least a minimum of cooperation, and the establishment of a family's ceremonial fund helped guarantee the future loan of a cow or a marriage alliance or surety in a court case or similar aid of this nature, cf. Eric R. Wolf, Peasants (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), pp. 7-9. In an individualistic, urban environment we can afford to ignore and mistreat our neighbors; peasants cannot.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{109}Registre, p. 728.

\textsuperscript{108}The Central and western Pyrenees are the best cheese producing regions both in terms of quality and quantity, and Ariège cheese was slated strictly for local consumption as Chevalier explains (p. 297):

\ldots the production of milk products in the basin of the Ariège would be practically nil if it was not for sheep's cheese, which was fabricated only in the estives, where it is mentioned beginning in the thirteenth century. Some of
mountains rarely found their way to the plains below.\textsuperscript{110}

This was true of wool as well—its quality was poor; its market, purely local. As with the mountain's "execrable" cheese, low quality wool was also the result of inadequate herbage and an inferior breed of sheep.\textsuperscript{111} Wool from indigenous pastoralism primarily went to clothing the family. The men sheared it, the women spun it, the weaver made it into cloth.\textsuperscript{112} It was coarse, ugly and odiferous . . . and everyone wore it. Gloves, hats, capes, undergarments, blankets, pants, tunics: all were made of wool.\textsuperscript{113} Often they had it dyed. Sibille Peyre, for example, took a piece of wool cloth with her to Limoux to have it dyed yellow.\textsuperscript{114} Blue was a popular color for

\begin{itemize}
\item these cheeses enjoyed a local reputation, such as those of Gesties, in the valley of Siguer [Vicdessos], and especially the parsley cheese of Auzat [Vicdessos] . . . But beyond that, the sheep's cheese was "execrable," according to the inhabitants of the canton of Ax in 1888, and there was practically no commerce in it . . . A note from an agricultural inquest (1882) concerning Cazenave (Tarascon) can be applied to the entire haut pays de Foix: "If they make a little butter or cheese, it is not with an eye toward industry or commerce; they consume it fresh in their homes."
\item Chevalier, \textit{La vie humaine}, pp. 297-299; Aubadie-Ladrix, "Etude historique," p. 12. Local production for local consumption remained a feature of mountain life well beyond the Middle Ages. E. H. Carrier, \textit{Water and Grass}, p. 151 comments: "For several centuries until the present one, the milk produce of the region was consumed at home, the Pyrenaen folk not aspiring to an export trade."
\item \textit{Registre}, pp. 419, 501, 582, 812-813, 922, 942, 1201.
\item In addition the villagers grew and utilized flax and hemp. The animals' skins were also valued, especially as material for shoes.
\item \textit{Registre}, p. 573.
\end{itemize}
tunics.\textsuperscript{115} This is not at all surprising because the plains beyond the Pas de Labarre, especially around Toulouse, were renowned for pastel production in the high Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{116}

Sometimes wool was given as a gift, or as alms to heretics, or as a payment to the parish priest for performing a wedding ceremony or for blessing the sheep when they left for the \textit{estives} in the spring.\textsuperscript{117} In these ways wool functioned as a form of currency in its own right, but wool was also a commodity with high liquidity: it was not hard to turn a skein of wool into ready cash. Private buyers and sellers met informally at taverns where clandestine deals were struck, away from the village market and away from the eyes of revenue-conscious government and church officials.\textsuperscript{118} In a pinch, wool could be used to bribe those same local officials.\textsuperscript{119} Despite such exchanges, the intra-mountain wool exchange was on a small-scale compared to the operations run by the wealthy landowners of the plains who annually brought their flocks

\textsuperscript{115}\textit{Registre}, p. 339.
\textsuperscript{117}For giving wool as alms see \textit{Registre}, p. 922. In 1280 the bishop of Couserans set up a regular schedule of payments for church services, Doat 95 ff. 244-245.
\textsuperscript{118}\textit{Registre}, pp. 961, 1204, 1225.
\textsuperscript{119}\textit{Registre}, p. 506.
into the Sabartès as part of the seasonal movement of sheep known as transhumance.

**Transhumance**

To the extent that wool was being exported from the Sabartès, most of it was still on the backs of the transhumant sheep. Therefore the profits went to the owners, who did not live in the mountains. Even when Ariège wool was exported, the villagers did not reap the benefits: the profits accrued to large landowners like the count himself and certain wealthy bourgeois. Ironically, the owners of the large flocks and the large tracts of land were the only inhabitants of the haut pays de Foix who could afford to buy fine wool, which they had to import. The small proprietors produced for themselves and their neighbors.¹²⁰ They engaged in indigenous

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¹²⁰ *Registre*, pp. 922, 942. See also the remarks of Cavaillès, *La vie pastorale*, pp. 129-136, on commerce in the western Pyrenees during the Ancien Régime. He states, among other things, that: "Chaque famille produisait sur son domaine le plus possible de ce qui était nécessaires à sa subsistance, et, dans chaque maison, on filait et l'on tissait le lin et la laine." (p. 130). This type of dichotomy between peasants producing wool for personal use and wealthier manufacturers producing wool for profit was not a phenomenon unique to the Pyrenees. Writing about the 'Law of the weavers and fullers of Beverley' (1209), K. G. Ponting notes that "Most cloth [in England] was made for personal use, being spun and woven in villages throughout the land; it was only in cities such as Beverley, York, Northampton, Stamford, Winchester and Bristol where the trade was selling to a national or international market . . . ." "Introduction" to Baines's *Account of the Woolen Manufacture of England* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1970), p. 10.
pastoralism; the wealthy engaged in transhumance.

Transhumance, or long-distance pastoralism, is practiced all over the world, including Southwest Asia, China, India, Africa and South and North America. In Europe it has existed since neolithic times in Spain, northern Italy, Provence and the Pyrenees, and although transhumance is in decline as a result of industrialization and modern farm science, it is still practiced in all of these regions.\textsuperscript{121} Some research has been done on this phenomenon as it exists today, but relatively little has been done concerning transhumance in the ancient and medieval worlds.\textsuperscript{122} It is impossible to give a precise statistical comparison between the volumes of transhumant and indigenous pastoralism in the haut pays de Foix in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

\textsuperscript{121} cf. E. Estyn Evans, "Transhumance in Europe," \textit{Geography} 25 (1940), 172-180.

\textsuperscript{122} Chevalier, \textit{La vie humaine}, p. 385, note 1, comments that: "Except for brief allusions in medieval texts, in the work of Froidour and in the documents of the eighteenth century, we know practically nothing of the pastoral system practiced before the nineteenth century." Chevalier, however, did not have the Fournier Register at his disposal; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie did. There are four chapters in \textit{Montaillou} on pastoralism (pp. 108-198). Three of these chapters are devoted to the lifestyle and mentalité of the shepherds, especially their ties to Catharism. The fourth is devoted to transhumance. Unfortunately Le Roy Ladurie's occasionally penetrating insights are frequently marred by erroneous conclusions and gross overgeneralizations; moreover, the author overlooks additional sources such as the Doat Collection, the local charters, the records of the abbey of Boulbonne, the Maitrise de Pamiers and the Archives of the Tower of Foix. For these reasons, \textit{Montaillou} cannot be used as a faithful analysis of transhumance in the Pyrenees mountains in the high Middle Ages.
Such numbers have not been possible even in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The best we can do is to glean some sort of overall impression from the available sources, and it seems to me that the itinerant sheep moving back and forth, up and down, between plain and mountain significantly outnumbered the locally owned variety.

Surprising as it may seem at first, indigenous pastoralism and transhumance were nearly unconnected phenomena—they were linked only at a few relatively disparate points, and these were determined by nature rather than by man. As with any ecological system, the most salient feature of these two different types of stock-raising is that men and beasts were competing for natural resources which were always finite. The relations between local farmer-shepherds and long-distance, large-scale stock breeders were not unlike relations between small, family-run farms and corporate farms in Europe today. The large, corporate farms have financial and political clout. They manipulate the system, squeeze out competition and make handsome profits. The small proprietor strives simply to protect his family's livelihood. The difference between the modern world and the Middle Ages is the arena of competition for these mismatched adversaries. Today family farms compete with

conglomerates for government subsidies and market share; in the Middle Ages—to the extent that the small proprietors and the owners of the transhumant flocks were in competition with each other at all—it was in the pastures, and not in the market place.

Transhumance is "the alternating seasonal movement of live-stock and shepherds between areas of permanent and temporary settlement situated at different elevations and having appreciably different climatic conditions." In less technical parlance, this means that animals—in this case sheep—are herded from one grazing area to another depending upon the season and the location of pasturage. Different types of transhumance are then classified according to direction and distance of travel, reasons for movement, number of people and animals involved, whether or not there is a permanent village site, how many there are etc., and naturally this has led to a great deal of confusion and disagreement among specialists and non-specialists alike. Only a portion of the ongoing academic debate is relevant to transhumance as it existed in the Pyrenees mountains in the high Middle Ages.

Some researchers classify transhumance according to direction. When flocks are brought from the plains into the mountains for the summer, it is called "normal" 

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125 cf. Rafiullah, Geography of Transhumance, pp. 5-7.
transhumance; when flocks that dwell in the mountains are sent down to the plains for the winter it is called "inverse" transhumance. This type of classification is inadequate for two reasons. First, direction is all it describes: it says nothing about the impetus behind the process. "[It groups] together movements which arise from dissimilar causes and have diverse economic and social implications."\textsuperscript{126} Secondly, these are not clean classifications. Some villages send their flocks in both directions every year, a process called "double" transhumance.\textsuperscript{127} Nonetheless, because I am concerned precisely with the commercial and cultural relation of mountain to plain, I will retain these terms as sub-classifications of a more general type of transhumance called "intra-mountain" or "vertical" transhumance, that is, a movement of flocks that is essentially up and down.\textsuperscript{128}

There was another type of transhumance affecting this section of the Pyrenees, "horizontal" transhumance, which

\textsuperscript{126}Elwyn Davies, "The Patterns of Transhumance in Europe," \textit{Geography} 26 (1941), 156.
\textsuperscript{127}Carrier, \textit{Water and Grass}, p. 8. See also her two chapters on "complex migrations," pp. 317-329.
\textsuperscript{128}I have adopted this terminology from Marinella Pasquinucci, "La transumanza nell'Italia romana," in \textit{Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana (II-I sec.a.C.)}, ed. Emilio Gabba, (Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori, 1979), pp. 81-83. The footnotes of Pasquinucci's article form a reasonably up-to-date bibliography of historical transhumance, which has been studied more in Italy than anywhere else.
was the counterpart to the "vertical" variety. Horizontal transhumance took place over much greater distances. Whereas vertical movement occurred, say, between the bas and haut Comtés de Foix, horizontal movement connected the haut Comté de Foix with plains as far away as Valencia. It was a back and forth displacement as opposed to going up and down. At the end of the northward spring journey these sheep also ascended the Pyrenees, although the major part of the trip was across relatively flat or gently sloping land, hence "horizontal." In the Middle Ages this type of transhumance might also be subdivided into "normal" and "inverse" because some of the stock-breeders lived in upper Catalonia or the haut pays de Foix and sent their flocks far south for the winter.

In the early fourteenth century Barthélemy Bourrel of Ax used to send his sheep south to the plains near Tortosa for the winter. This is an example of inverse, horizontal transhumance. Around Pentecost, the seventh Sunday after Easter, the sheep were sheared and marked, the wool was sold and the return trip was begun. The flocks spent the summer in the mountains of the Sabartès. Other flocks might remain in upper Cerdagne or go to Andorra. This type of transhumance still exists today although now the sheep are transported by rail.

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129Registre, p. 943.
130Davies, "Patterns of Transhumance," p. 158.
Between November and June there was no connection between Bourrel's flocks and those of the Ariège. Things were different in the summer. When his sheep were in the estives there was the potential for conflict with local herds. Fights among rival shepherds were not uncommon. They had to compete for pasturage. Economically, however, the indigenous and transhumant flocks remained relatively unconnected as suggested above. The transhumant wool was sold in Spain, not in the mountains. Even when Bourrel sought new rams, he did not buy them on the mountain; rather, he sent his chief shepherd to Loroque d'Olmes in the bas Comté de Foix to make the requisite purchases. The annual fair was held there during the feast of Saints Cyrice and Juliette (June 16).

There was an additional connection between the system of long-distance, horizontal transhumance and the inhabitants of the northern versant of the Pyrenees: the seasonal ebb and flow of the herds required full-time shepherds and thereby functioned as a drain-off for the propertyless younger sons of the mountain. This was a classic scenario that could be found throughout the Pyrenees in the Middle Ages. According to Pirenne's theory, younger sons drifted to the cities and became

\[131\] Registre, p. 875.
\[132\] Registre, p. 943.
\[133\] Carrier, Water and Grass, p. 170.
artisans and merchants. This was true in northern France; in the rural south there was a different outlet.

Like many mountain communities where fields are scarce and families large, the rules of inheritance were strict in the haut pays de Foix; unfortunately, no peasant wills have come down to us, so it is difficult to know about the transmission of property from one generation to the next. Throughout Europe different laws of inheritance were practiced in different regions. Around Paris and Orleans, for example, attempts were made in the late thirteenth century to insure an equal distribution of property among heirs, although a certain amount of favoritism was accepted. In addition, female heirs who had been endowed at the time of their marriage sometimes had the option of returning their marriage gifts in exchange for a share in the family inheritance, but they were not allowed to have both.134

In Normandy, customary law demanded strict equality of partition. The father's disposition of his goods held only during his lifetime. Upon his death, endowed children were to return all of their gifts and then the property was re-divided among them. In the mid-thirteenth century even Norman daughters were required to return their settlements at their father's death, as were any persons

who were to be heirs.\textsuperscript{135}

In the Midi the father often had the right to dispose of his property as he chose, a tradition which was reinforced by Roman law. He could favor one child to the disadvantage of others. One child could be both heir and legatee.\textsuperscript{136} Judging from the region's geography and economy, I believe that this was the situation in the haut pays de Foix in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To begin with, geography itself demanded impartible inheritance: as discussed above, agricultural opportunities were extremely limited and l'indivision was crucial to the survival of the family. With this in mind, the predominance of nuclear families in the area suggests that the eldest child inherited the property and the younger children remained unmarried or moved out of the village.\textsuperscript{135} In a country with limited agricultural resources

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Yver, Égalité entre héritiers, pp. 91-154.
\item Yver, Égalité entre héritiers, pp. 155-226.
\item This goes against conventional wisdom but the analyses of George Homans (\textit{English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century}, 1941) are inapplicable to a mountainous region in the high Middle Ages: the geographic, economic and demographic rules are completely different. See for instance the comments on Homans made by Barbara Hanawalt, \textit{The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 68-78. She rightly points out that peasants readily put aside customary rules in favor of family needs, and in the mountains they needed to preserve the integrity of their holdings. See also the analysis of Michel Bourin-Derruau, \textit{Villages médiévaux en Bas-Languedoc: genèse d'une sociabilité (Xe-XIVe siècle)} (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1987) vol. 1, pp. 143-161. Bourin-Derruau found that in a world of essentially nuclear families--she calls them conjugal units--there was an increased tendency towards primogeniture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as population pressure
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
and virtually no possibility of défrichement, this was the obvious solution.

At this point there is no way of knowing how far these liberal inheritance customs may have gone. Were daughters excluded from inheritances as they were in many parts of Europe? Probably, but the economic conditions were tenuous enough that one wonders if the Ariégeois may have practiced the droit d'âinesse absolu or strict primogeniture. At Bayonne, for example, parents could do whatever they chose by testament.136 And in the western Pyrenees the practice of strict primogeniture is well documented. Land was so scarce that it became imperative for the oldest child to inherit everything, regardless of that child's gender.137 Eldest daughters could inherit all of the family property if the parents chose to make such an arrangement. Because of the many economic, geographic and cultural parallels, it is possible that similar customs were found in the eastern Pyrenees as well. It is certain, at any rate, that partible inheritance was not the norm in the haut pays de Foix. Landless sons went to work for men like Barthélemy Bourrel of Ax. They became

increased and land availability diminished. Women were the losers in this system. In the mountains, however, strict primogeniture had been the rule for a long time because population had long been at saturation levels, even before the demographic growth following the Agricultural Revolution. 136Yver, Égalité entre héritiers, pp. 155-226. 137Jacques Poumared, Recherches sur les successions dans le sud-ouest de la France au Moyen Age (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), pp. 315-320.
professional shepherds.\textsuperscript{138}

There was a residual impact from this on the society of the haut pays de Foix. The \textit{montagnards} travelled as much as, if not more than, most medieval peasants, but the communication networks set up by their participation in horizontal transhumance considerably broadened cultural contacts and resulted in cultural diffusion. An interesting detail from the Fournier Register helps us to see this. During the \textit{estivage}, that is, when the sheep were grazing in the high, summer pastures, the shepherds constructed \textit{cabanes}, which were small huts used for making cheese. These \textit{cabanes} served as meeting places for the itinerant shepherds, and it was not unusual to find there men of different nationalities. Ariégeois, Gascons, Catalans, Spanish Muslims: all might gather together to share a meal and some stories.\textsuperscript{139} A degree of acculturation was inevitable.\textsuperscript{140} Cultural diffusion also took place—in two directions. When the professional shepherds returned home, as they did nearly every year,

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{138} As it turns out, the Basque's solved this dilemma in exactly the same way, as Carrier (\textit{Water and Grass}, p. 170) explains: "[In the western Pyrenees], as in the highland zone of south-eastern France, the traditional laws of inheritance result in the farm passing on the death of its owner to his eldest son or daughter, so that the younger members of the family, the cadets, are without land and cannot grow forage for a winter stabulation. These cadets, known by reason of their occupation as \textit{pasteurs}, are forced to practise the calling of salaried shepherds."

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{139} Reaistre, pp. 807, 836, 955.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{140} Cf. Melville J. Herskovitz, \textit{Acculturation, The Study of Cultural Contact} (Gloucester, Mass., 1958).
they brought with them new customs and new ideas. Conversely, the shepherds' familiarity with Catalonia, combined with the pressure of the inquisition in the early fourteenth century and the economic attractiveness of towns such as San Mateo, sometimes led them to emigrate from the haut pays de Foix to the southern plains.¹⁴¹

Turning to vertical transhumance, we see that many of the forces just described were at work here too—the hiring of younger sons as professional shepherds in particular—but there were some differences between the two systems as well. Vertical transhumance operated between the haut pays de Foix and the plains north of the Plantaurel, in the bas Comté de Foix and elsewhere such as in the valley of the Hers river (Aude). Cultural exchange vis-à-vis vertical transhumance was less significant than with long-distance herding both because of the relative proximity of the northern plains and because people (other than professional shepherds) from the Sabartès tended to travel in that direction—they journeyed north to places like Carcassonne, Arques (Aude) and Pamiers, so there were fewer cultural differences to begin with. Whereas cultural diffusion was less pronounced with vertical transhumance, the potential for rivalry over pastures was much greater because of the volume of traffic. The corporate herdsman

(i.e. the wealthy stock-breeders) of the bas Comté de Foix had fewer grazing options available to them than did their Catalanian counterparts, thus the Ariège mountains loomed larger in their entrepreneurial schemes. This needs to be examined in greater detail because it reveals a number of things about the impact of this type of pastoralism on the mountain villages.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the inhabitants of the Midi practiced both normal (ascending) and inverse (descending) vertical transhumance: flocks from the plains were sent into the mountains during the summer; flocks from the mountains were sent into the plains during the winter. Contrary to what has been written on the subject, the former variety--normal transhumance--was the dominant mode of large-scale pastoralism.\textsuperscript{142}

When, on All Saints Day (November 1), villagers practicing indigenous pastoralism had too many sheep and not enough fodder in their stable, they could do one of two things. Either they sold their excess sheep, or they joined together with some of their neighbors, appointed a shepherd and sent their flocks into the plains of the bas

\textsuperscript{142}Le Roy Ladurie (Montaillou, p. 160) is mistaken when he writes that inverse transhumance predominated. He comes to this conclusion by employing in a comparative fashion the study of P. Coste on Provence ("La vie pastorale en Provence au XIVe siècle," Études rurales, (1972)), but conditions were different in the Comté de Foix as the records of the abbey of Boulbonne demonstrate.
Comte de Foix for the winter. A provision in the tithe agreement with the bishop of Pamiers (1323) reveals this: "Each inhabitant sending a shepherd into the plains to watch his flocks . . . must pay two cheeses per year. If several inhabitants join together, up to seven, to send a shepherd, they only have to pay one cheese . . . "143 This banding together was a common practice, but the bishop gives the small proprietors a discount. The majority of the sheep coming down off the mountain belonged to people like the abbot of Saint-Volusien and other well-to-do individuals. The very next clause of the Bishop's tithe provisions makes this abundantly clear: "... but if an individual has more than one shepherd, he must pay two cheeses for each flock." The large, individually owned flocks were more numerous and more profitable for the church.

Many of these large flocks belonged to the count of Foix and his family and were involved in double transhumance: they sent their sheep into the plains during the winter, as we have just seen, but they were also forced to send them into the mountains during the summer. The town of Foix was at the base of the mountain, just south of the Pas de Labarre. It was an intermediate zone, high enough so that it was too cold to pasture the sheep

143 Archives Départementale d'Ariège, MS G 68, number 4, article 9.
there during the winter, low enough that it lacked sufficient nearby pasturage in the summer. Therefore, the large flock owners had to practice double transhumance. The count and his family and their supporters sent their sheep to the estives of the haut pays de Foix during the summer. These large herds are specifically mentioned in the Charter of the Valley of Vicdessos (1293).

We reserve for ourselves and our [friends and relatives] the right to establish on the aforesaid mountains two cabanes containing one thousand wool sheep apiece belonging to us or others.144

Numerically, the double transhumance thus cancels itself out in terms of weighing the volume of ascending versus descending sheep; above and beyond this, there were the communal, village flocks mentioned above that arrived in the bas Comté de Foix each November or December.145 This suggests that inverse transhumance was slightly more significant, but there is another factor to be added into the equation.

The large flocks owned by the abbey of Boulbonne tipped the scales in favor of normal transhumance in the haut pays de Foix in the twelfth, thirteenth and

144"Charter of Vicdessos (1293), "... retento tamen nobis et nostris quod nos possumus mittere tenere et afforestare in dictis montanis duas cabanas animalium lanarium nostrarum vel alienorum in qua vel in quibus mille animalia lanaria existant."

145Similarly, those small, private flocks owned by villagers from Montaillou and Prades (Pays d'Allon) were sent into the valley of Arques (Aude) during the winter, (Registre, pp. 923, 934) but the volume was modest, and this does not significantly change my argument.
fourteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{146} In this case the movement of sheep was strictly uni-directional—kept near the abbey during the winter, the animals were sent into the mountains of Foix, Andorra, Catalonia and Aragon during the summer. The volume of this large-scale pastoralism is reflected in the upland possessions of Boulbonne, which were grouped into areas of agricultural or pastoral exploitation called granges (grangia).\textsuperscript{147} Lowland granges were devoted to growing crops; upland granges were devoted to raising sheep. Even in the mountains, however, buildings were constructed and fields set aside for growing small amounts of grain and vegetables, all in order to support the brothers charged with guarding the sheep.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{146} Other abbeys had interests in the Ariège mountains as well. The abbey of Grandsele, for example, possessed pasturage rights in Ravat and near Foix, cf. Mireille Mousnier, \textit{L'abbaye de Grandsele et sa place dans la société et l'économie méridionale (XIIe-debut XIVe siècles)}, Thèse du doctorat de troisième cycle sous la direction de Pierre Bonnassie, Toulouse-Le Mirail (Juin, 1982), p. 433. In addition, a perusal of the records of the abbeys of Lezat, Saint-Antonin and Calers and the priories of Camon and Combelongue would probably indicate that these institutions also had some interests south of the Pas de Labarre. Even the abbey of Saint-Sernin held some rights in the mountains, cf. C. Douais, \textit{Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sernin de Toulouse (844-1200)} (Paris-Toulouse, 1887), pp. 188-202.


The period of growth for the abbey of Boulbonne was the second quarter of the twelfth century when the monks began to receive donations of land and rights of usage in the mountains. As early as 1154 the abbey had obtained some land near Genat. For the next one hundred years Boulbonne was able to collect enough granges in the haut pays de Foix to meet its transhumance needs. Sometimes the flocks were pastured in the granges around Tarascon and Château-Verdun; sometimes these served as layovers in the journey to Andorra or Aragon. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this system as it was practiced between c.1150 and c.1350.

A series of papal bulls and royal letters give some indication of both the location of Boulbonne's granges and the timeframe within which these donations were received. Thus, in 1182 Pope Lucius III put under his protection, among other things, the lands that the abbey had obtained in the haut Pays de Foix, including the "grange of Sabartès" and pastures in the mountains of Quié. Similar bulls were issued throughout the last decades of the twelfth and the entire thirteenth

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149 Maciotta, L'abbaye de Boulbonne, p. 10.
150 Doat, vol. 83, f° 27.
151 Normal transhumance.
152 Doat, vol. 83, ff° 147r-153v, "... Grangiam de Savartes cum omnibus earum pertinentiis, Domum quam habetis in appamia [Pamiers], Pascua quae habetis in Montanas de Quier . ."
century. In the early fourteenth century the Kings of France performed the same role. Letters from the administrations of Louis X (1315), Charles IV (1323) and Philip VI (1329) confirmed Boulbonne in its Ariège possessions and placed those lands under the protection of the crown.

Other records from Boulbonne show the provenance of the abbey's possessions and indicate the sorts of privileges it enjoyed in the mountains and at what cost. In 1187 Bernard Amelius of Pallars (Aragon) donated to Abbot Odo and the monks the right to pasture their beasts on land he held near Rabat.

In 1209 Bernard's son ceded to the abbey a vineyard near Tarascon at the price of one denarius per year. In 1198 and 1241 respectively the Counts of Foix Raymond Roger and his son Roger Bernard II gave to Boulbonne, for the redemption of their souls, rights to pasturage etc. and exemption from the leude and peage throughout the

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153 The dates of the bulls and the names of popes are followed by citations from the Doat Collection: 1186, Urban III (vol. 83, ff8 185r-186v); 1244, Innocent IV (vol. 84, ff8 166r-167v); 1286, Honorius IV (vol. 85, ff8 175r-176r); 1288, Nicholas IV (vol. 85, ff8 191r-192r); 1294, Celestine V (vol. 85, ff8 227r-235r).

154 Doat, vol. 85, f8 339r.

155 Doat, vol. 83, ff8 192r-193r.

156 Doat, vol. 83, ff8 193v-194r, "... pro qua terra praetaxata Ecclesia faciet unum denarium serviciun [every year at the feast] sanctorum Raimundo de Cumba ..."
county. Pierre de Durban de Montagut did the same for lands he held near Château-Verdun. In 1295, however, the co-seigneurs of Rabat allowed the monks to pasture their sheep on the mountain only after arbitration and only at the price of six denarii per year.

This last instance is especially interesting. Because the disagreement had to be settled in court, it gives us a few more particulars concerning the nature of these rights of usage and the volume of normal transhumance; in addition, it shows that relations between the abbey and its benefactors were strained in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. So, for example, the monks were allowed a cabane of 1000-1300 sheep, but they were not allowed to pasture any other kinds of animals on the mountain and they were forbidden either to cultivate grain or to cut hay. Moreover, the people of Rabat were given the right to seize without indemnification any stray animals found on the mountain. This was a dubious provision in the hands of such volatile people, and it is curious because the arbiters chosen for the case included

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157 Doat, vol. 95, ff° 149r-153v, " . . . omnem affranquimentum, et omnem libertatem per omnem comitatum in leudis, et in pedagis in pascuis et in nemoribus ad ligna inscidenda ad quodcum videlicet opus vobis fuerint necessaria, et in acquis, et in riparis, in eisque piscari, et in montanis, in herbis, in pascuis, et dono vobis in omni comitatu . . ." No wonder the peasants were anti-clerical.
158 Doat, vol. 84, ff° 130r-130v.
159 Doat, vol. 85, ff° 236r-288v.
160 Doat, vol. 85, f° 237v, "seu cultiva, seu prata."
161 Doat, vol. 85, f° 238r.
two monks from Boulbonne and two bourgeois from Tarascon. A final indication of increased tensions and the volume of ovine traffic is found in a letter (1313) from Gaston, count of Foix, to the consuls of the valley of Vicdessos mandating that they must abide by their charter and accept each summer 2000 sheep from the abbey of Boulbonne.\textsuperscript{162} Such a letter would not have been necessary if there had not been some resistance on the part of the villagers.

There is no doubt then that normal transhumance was the rule and inverse transhumance the exception in the haut pays de Foix in the high Middle Ages, yet it would be premature to attempt to estimate the relative proportion of one to the other. Before this can be done, a thorough examination of records from lowland abbeys, priories and lay seigneuries is required. It is possible, however, to make some judgements as to the impact of transhumance on the inhabitants of the upland villages.

First, it must be kept in mind that despite the high altitude granges of Boulbonne just described, the abbey owned far more property north of the Pas de Labarre, in the bas Comté de Foix. Its mountain holdings were important; its property in the plains, indispensable. The

\textsuperscript{162}Doat, vol. 85, ff\textsuperscript{2} 323r-323v, "Mandamus vobis quatinnus duæ mille ov[e]s cum agnis suis monasterii Bolbona cum ad vos venerint recipiatis in montaneis, et locis, in quibus de mandato Domini Rogerii Bernardi bonae memoriae patris nostri . . . ."
same was true of other nearby ecclesiastical institutions. Their wealth and influence were based upon the rich agricultural land in the flat, well-irrigated northern half of the county; their interests in the upper Ariège were significant but secondary.

Secondly, the profits resulting from normal transhumance flowed, like the Ariège itself, into the plains. Wealthy landowners of the mountains, of which there were precious few beyond the count himself, profited more than anything else from leasing their land for summer pasturing; indeed, those who were fortunate enough to own large tracts of land in the mountains often found it easier and more profitable to rent it to lowland stock breeders such as the abbey of Boulbonne than to invest in raising their own sheep. In any case, it was an important source of income for seigneurs who otherwise would have had a difficult time making much of a profit from terrain that was rocky, steep, forest-covered and generally difficult and costly to put into production. Maybe in this sense transhumance served to alleviate some of the tax pressures on the peasantry. Perhaps this helps explain why the counts of Foix could afford to grant such liberal rights of usage to the small proprietors without charging them.

The montagnards also profited from transhumance to the extent that they were hired on as shepherds or were
able to make money through support activities such as selling surplus grain or hay to itinerant shepherds passing through the area. Later on, in the early modern period, villages themselves would rent estives over which they had gained communal control to large stock-breeders, but this lay in the future. On the whole, given the crucial importance of the pastures to indigenous pastoralism in the Middle Ages, transhumance was more than anything a threat to the locals as the increasingly frequent conflicts over grazing land demonstrate. The relationship might be likened to that between third world countries and multi-national corporations today—the latter tend to exploit local resources while extracting nearly all of the resultant profits.

Finally, a word about the relationship between transhumance and the political situation in the mountains. As with pastoralism in general, transhumance required a certain amount of political stability and personal freedom. Obviously a shepherd could not escort flocks on long journeys if he was tied to the land. Pierre Maury, for example, the heretical shepherd from Montaillou, was a free man—not to mention a free spirit—and he and his

163 On shepherds buying grain from locals see Registre, p. 942.
colleagues were careful to avoid any political/military disturbances. When, for example, the shepherds learned that there was an ongoing war between two seigneurs, they skirted the area.\textsuperscript{165}

The counts of Foix and even the powers farther north had an interest in keeping the peace in the pasture lands. They were making money from the sheep trade and had a certain stake in maintaining the status quo. It would have been economic folly either to limit access to mountain resources or to set up a boundary at the crest of the mountain. Indeed, the "foreign policy" of the counts of Foix, when it was aggressive, tended toward creating a trans-Pyrenean state by absorbing land in Catalonia and Andorra.\textsuperscript{166} It was only in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when the house of Foix began to succumb to a mounting fiscal deficit and when regional resources became strained, that the interested parties began to compete for economic and political control of the mountains. It was only then that the peasants of the haut pays de Foix truly began to suffer from the effects of increased political and economic domination.

\textsuperscript{165}This particular example comes from Catalonia (c. 1320) where there was a conflict between the lord of Castelldans, Guillaume den Tenza, and the lord of Arteso, Registre, p. 857.
CONCLUSION: MOUNTAIN LIBERTIES

Past Approaches

The customary freedoms enjoyed in the mountains of the Sabartès were more liberal than those found throughout most of Europe. Since the late nineteenth century scholars have been analyzing the legal and economic status of the medieval peasant. At first there was a measure of agreement concerning manorial organization, but when regional specialist examined the problem, it became apparent that the legal and economic status of European peasants varied widely during the Middle Ages. Recently scholars have demonstrated that the customs in Catalonia and Languedoc were different from those that earlier historians had described for northern Europe.

Prior to World War II scholars accepted the general conclusions reached by Marc Bloch and Henri Pirenne. Bloch and Pirenne argued that the manorial system, nearly ubiquitous in Western Europe, gradually broke up in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries because of the agricultural revolution. According to them, population growth and the development of a money economy encouraged lords to put more land into production. The lords found men to drain the swamps and clear the forests by granting charters of liberties to
serfs willing to do the work. Existing cities were reinvigorated and new ones were created as peasants were lured by the cry "town air makes free." Consequently, Bloch and Pirenne suggested, the quality of life improved for these former serfs. Even those serfs who stayed on the manor found their lives less onerous as labor services were commuted to rent payments and they were raised to the status of tenants. This model is still the only one presented in many textbooks today.¹

Since the 1930's, however, these generalizations—sound in their essentials—have been modified considerably. For one, the picture scholars paint is no longer so idyllic. We now know that personal freedom did not necessarily lead to higher standards of living. Georges Duby demonstrated that one of the chief results of enfranchisement was to transfer whatever cash the peasants had managed to acquire directly into the seigneurial coffers through the sale of charters, the imposition of new taxes and the control of justice. In other

words, political oppression gave way to economic oppression.²

More importantly, scholars have discovered that manorialism was not ubiquitous at all and that the earlier model of the evolution of peasant liberties worked best only in the Frankish heartland, those regions that fell within the scope of the Carolingian polyptyques. Of course earlier researchers fully acknowledged an independent peasantry, but they felt, as Pirenne put it, that "small free proprietors [living in] isolated districts [were] only exceptions which need not be considered in a broad outline of the general evolution of Western Europe."³ As it turns out, these free proprietors of small holdings were not nearly as isolated as once thought.

Much of Catalonia and southern France was populated by a free peasantry prior to the agricultural revolution. In some cases these free peasants were soldiers who held allodial land. Not only did they enjoy personal liberty and economic independence, they also had the means to defend themselves.⁴


⁴This was especially prevalent along the Christian-Muslim frontier, Pierre Bonnassie, La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XVe siècle (Toulouse: Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 311-319.
Sometimes too these small proprietors remained outside the manorial regime because they held land through the *aprisio* or *medium plantum* systems.\(^5\) Finally, there were independent peasants who held their own land from time immemorial, free from all taxes except those they owed to a distant king or count.\(^6\) This was especially true in inaccessible and backwards regions, and the haut Comté de Foix, located in the eastern Pyrenees, falls into this category.

More interesting still, Duby and others such as Thomas Bisson, Pierre Bonnassie and Archibald Lewis have discovered that the agricultural revolution—far from being a boon to the small proprietors—actually served to deprive them of

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\(^{5}\) These were Carolingian innovations aimed at colonizing uncultivated areas. *Apriesio* appeared in the Midi in 780 and soon spread to Catalonia. They were tracts of uncultivated land which were detached from the royal fisc and given to large and small proprietors (*maiores* and *minores*) in return for military service and, in the case of the *minores*, a *cens*. The *aprisio* were different from *beneficia* in that they could be bought, sold, exchanged and inherited, and they often ended up as allodial property after a generation or two. The *medium plantum* system was one whereby a large landowner gave a tract of uncultivated land to an individual to be put into production. Once this was done, the original owner took back half of the land and the new proprietor retained the other half with the proviso that he could not alienate it without the large landowner's permission. Archibald Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 69-81, 272-284.

their land and freedom. In Catalonia and much of southern France economic growth resulted in the enserfment of large numbers of free peasants. This process, which began in the early eleventh century, had several stages. First, increased agricultural production provided large landowners with the capital they needed to buy up small peasant allods. If the alleutiers were unwilling to sell, the rich knights, abbots and bishops often confiscated the fields they desired through a manipulation of the rapidly deteriorating judicial system. The only recourse for many small proprietors was to "donate" 

7Georges Duby initiated investigation of this phenomenon in his seminal work, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région maconnaise* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971 (first edition 1953)). On the south see Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, vol. 2, pp. 576-610, 812-828, 873-879; Thomas Bisson, "'The Feudal Revolution,'" presented at the 28th annual Midwest Medieval History Conference, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, 14 October 1989. Dr. Bisson's thesis is more fully developed in an unpublished paper, "The 'Feudal Revolution': From Lordship to Government in the Medieval West," Shelby Cullom Davis Seminar, Princeton University, 17 November 1989. See also Bisson, *Medieval Crown*, pp. 17-25, 74-75; Lewis, *Development*, pp. 69-87, 382-404, and "Land and Social Mobility," pp. 312-323. These scholars have clearly demonstrated the predominance of small free proprietors in Catalonia prior to the mid-eleventh century, but Lewis' suggests that despite the existence of independent peasants the villa system still prevailed in the Midi (*Development*, p. 81 and n. 66). This needs to be investigated more thoroughly because the documentation remains slim and it's not a foregone conclusion that the coloni were in the majority. See Bloch's discussion of the variety of peasant tenures, the ambiguity of legal terms and the overall lack of documentation, *Les Caractères Originaux*, pp. 68-80. Moreover, Lewis seems to contradict himself, for on the previous page he writes, "the prevailing [landholding] system remained allodial, just as had been the case in pre-Carolingian times." Does he mean that the large landowners held allods which they ran as villa by using unfree laborers?
their land to the church and to receive it back as tenants.\textsuperscript{8}

Secondly, as the steadily expanding lower nobility enriched themselves, they were able to build castles and to usurp the authority they had once held of the counts, thereby turning public offices into private jurisdictions, \textit{vigueries} became \textit{seigneuries}. The demands on the peasantry then increased as this new castellan class competed for an insufficient labor supply. Not only were the villagers forced to pay new and higher taxes, they were made to perform labor services as well. Serfdom was thereby introduced where it had not been known before.\textsuperscript{9} This process began in the 1020's and continued until the great barons were able to reassert their control in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The reining in of the castellans through the formation of territorial states did not, however, relieve the pressures on the peasants; rather, it was the last stage in their subjection. The formerly free rural dwellers slid further into servitude because once the kings and counts reasserted their control over the castellans, they proceeded to divide the countryside into military benefices, and these fiefs would

\textsuperscript{8}Bonnassie, \textit{La Catalogne}, Vol. 2, pp. 575-580.

\textsuperscript{9}This was especially true wherever there was an abundance of castles, which meant Provence, Quercy, Western Aquitaine, the Toulousin, the Limousin, Rousillon and almost everywhere south of the Pyrenees, Bonnassie, \textit{La Catalogne}, Vol. 2, pp. 580-610; Lewis, \textit{Development}, pp. 222-241, 389-391.
have been worthless without the serfs that accompanied them.\textsuperscript{10}

Thus we have two diametrically opposed models of the evolution of peasant liberties. The earlier model best reflects conditions in the Frankish heartland between the Rhone and the Loire where manorialism was well-established; the second model is more applicable south of Poitou and Burgundy where there were large numbers of proprietors of small holdings. Now a third pattern must be added.

Although the models outlined above are very different, they share a common assumption: economic development, caused by the agricultural revolution, had a significant impact on the legal and economic status of European peasants in the high Middle Ages. However, there were areas in Western Europe that were not affected by the agricultural revolution and which do not lend themselves to such interpretations because the basic assumptions about political, economic and legal conditions do not apply: the haut Comté de Foix is a case in point. Its unique political and economic structure permitted

\textsuperscript{10}Bisson, \textit{Medieval Crown}, pp. 18, 24-25, 42, 74-75. It must be noted that the process I have just described is a general rule concerning the fate of the alleutiers, and that there were still some areas that provided liberal freedoms to peasants, in particular, in pockets along the southern Catalanian frontier and in some of the urban centers, primarily Barcelona, but also in some smaller towns such as Puigcerdà which obtained a charter in 1182 and Jaca which obtained its charter in 1076. See below note 13. It should also be noted that the formation of territorial states resulted in more efficient tax collection, and this too weighed heavily on the peasantry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
traditionally free peasants to maintain their status until the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

**Mountain Air Makes Free**

The Haut Comté de Foix did not fit the models described above. Languedoc as a whole was divided into two socio-economic regions in the high Middle Ages, a rich heartland and an underdeveloped hinterland which was politically disorganized, economically backward, and religiously chaotic, and the Pas de Labarre was one of the boundaries between these two regions.

As I explained earlier, in contrast to the bas Comté de Foix, the haut Comté de Foix was agriculturally poor and politically primitive. Manorialism and feudalism never really developed in these mountains, a phenomenon that has been noted elsewhere in the Midi. Agriculture was organized by

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12 Paul Ourliac, "Les communautés villageoises dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Age," in Les communautés villageoises en Europe occidentale du Moyen Age aux temps modernes, Centre Culturel de l'Abbaye de Flaran, quatrièmes journées internationales d'histoire, 8-10 septembre 1982 (Auch:
village communities, and the "feudal revolution" never took place. The Sabartès did not experience the economic and demographic growth normally associated with the agricultural revolution, and did not undergo the accompanying social transformations.

As I have suggested throughout this work, this particular section of the eastern Pyrenees was not very productive, so geography and demography precluded large-scale manorialism as it existed in the plains to the north. The structural underpinning was not in place for the agricultural revolution to stimulate economic growth, and this was the prerequisite for both models of peasant liberties discussed above.  

This is not to say that there was absolutely no economic development on the mountain; rather, the economy was so feeble it could not support those groups--the castellans and the merchants--who so greatly changed peasant life in other regions. Trade took place on a very small and primarily local scale. The rivers were not deep enough to support commercial traffic and the high mountain passes and long, snowy winters hindered travel and communication. Merchants travelling from Toulouse to Barcelona preferred the far easier route through

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13 There were seigneuries, but these were modest affairs, and in no way resembled the large agglomerations of the rest of Catalonia and southern France.
Roussillon.\textsuperscript{14} As I said before, for all intents and purposes the haut Comté de Foix was a closed economic system.\textsuperscript{15}

This was mitigated to an extent by the annual ebb and flow of the transhumance which encouraged some trade and travel, but it was not sufficient to provide a basis for labor specialization or the concentration of capital or any of the other prerequisites of urban development,\textsuperscript{16} and this is another indication of the low level of economic activity: the haute Comté de Foix entered the high Middle Ages without having known urban life properly speaking.\textsuperscript{17} As late as the mid-twelfth century there were no walled towns south of the Pas de Labarre; by the end of the fourteenth century there were only three: Foix, Tarascon and Ax. Tarascon was the first to receive a charter in 1222. Ax obtained its charter in 1241 and Foix, the site of the abbey of Saint Volusien and the

\textsuperscript{14} Wolff, Commerces, pp. 145-158; Taillefer, L'Ariège, p. 130.


\textsuperscript{17} Philippe Wolff, "Notes sur les origines de la vie urbaine dans l'ancien comté de Foix," in Pays de l'Ariège, XVI Congrès de la Fédération des sociétés académiques et savantes, Languedoc, Pyrénées, Gascogne (Foix, May 1960) (Auch, 1961), p. 103.
comital chateau, was granted privileges only in 1244.\textsuperscript{18}

Nor did the counts of Foix find any new towns or villages in the mountains, and this is another reflection of the continued poverty of the region.\textsuperscript{19} To begin with, a villeneuve would not have been profitable because there was little available land to clear. The allodial land belonging to the house of Foix consisted mainly of forest-covered mountains. The cost of defrichement far outweighed the potential returns.\textsuperscript{20} In any case, the counts and their supporters lacked sufficient capital to undertake such a venture.\textsuperscript{21}

Furthermore, even if they had attempted to establish new villages in the mountains, they would have found few peasants willing to clear the land in exchange for personal liberty. The inhabitants of the haut Comté de Foix would not have improved their legal status by moving to a villeneuve because,

\textsuperscript{18}Collection, vol. 96, ff. 6-7; LLobet, "Foix Médiévale," pp. 16-20; Philippe Wolff, "Une ville pyrénéenne au XIIIe siècle, l'exemple de Foix," Annales du Midi 77 (1965), 137; Felix Pasquier, Nomenclature des chartes de coutumes de l'Ariège du XIIe au XVIe siècle (Foix, 1882), pp. 6-9.

\textsuperscript{19}At least eight bastides were founded in the Bas Comté de Foix and it is instructive that all were situated on the border of territory controlled by the king of France, Odon de Saint-Blanquat, "Bastides en Ariège," BSA 20 (1962), 11-13.

\textsuperscript{20}It was more profitable, and practical, to rent this marginal land to lowland abbeys seeking pasturage, or to exploit the forest for charcoal and timber.

\textsuperscript{21}Jean Duvernoy, La noblesse du comté de Foix au début du XIVe siècle (Auch, France: Imprimerie F. Cocharaux, 1961), pp. 5-21.
for the most part, they were already free proprietors of small holdings, and no castellan class emerged to enserf them. In the plains peasants moved to the new towns in search of personal liberty; in the haut Comté de Foix their rallying cry could have been "mountain air makes free."

It is difficult to establish the peasants's status before the thirteenth century because there are almost no written records. There were no great ecclesiastical establishments in the mountains and no rich seigneuries, thus no polyptyques or inventories. When the counts of Foix established themselves, they observed and protected customary liberties by keeping authority (the ban) in their own hands and by preventing the rise of a castellan class. In many ways the count of Foix was himself the castellan of the region, yet he was a distant and relatively benign landlord. The peasants were more or less left alone until the world began closing in on them in the late thirteenth century.

The dearth of records prior to this suggests that local seigneurs were too weak to impose themselves on the peasantry. Throughout most of the high Middle Ages taxes were collected only sporadically and civil and criminal cases which could not be settled by village elders were arbitrated at the château of Foix or the abbey of Boulbonne: local landlords lacked sufficient authority and power to do otherwise. As previously noted, the tithe on animals and animal products was not
collected until the 1320's, and the first hearth counts were completed only in 1390. The stubborn moutain-dwellers even refused King Philip IV when he attempted to collect taxes for his wars in Gascogny. This is not surprising, for such traditional values on freedom and independence are often found in remote, backward regions, especially in the mountains.

At any rate, it is certainly safe to say that there are no

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22 Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, MS G68 nos. 2-4; Doat, vol. 96, f° 333.


24 The peasants claimed that because the taxes were a commutation of military services and because they owed no service to the Crown, they were therefore exempt from these charges. Amazingly, they won their case.

25 On free peasantries in less-developed areas see Duby's comments on Frisia, Saxony, the Thuringian forests, the Bavarian plains, and the Austrian and Sturian mountains, Rural Economy, pp. 57-58, 114, 170; and note the comments on mountain life by Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 25-53. See also Duby, La Société, p. 240 on the same phenomenon in the Beaujolais mountains. For more specific discussions of independent peasantries see, in addition to the works cited above by Bisson, Bonnassie and Lewis, Paul Ourliac, "Les Communautés Villageoises . . ." p. 14; and E. Magnou-Nortier, Sous le règle de Saint Benoît . . ., pp. 235-265 [reread articles and complete citations (Pink Notes, p. 1)]. Or again the excellent comments of Bonnassie and Guichard, "Les Communautés Rurales . . ." (1984 conference) p. 114 (Pink notes, p. 2). See also the comments of Cavailles, La Vie Pastorale, pp. 74-82; and Arqué, Géographie des Pyrénées Française, pp. pp. 32-35 where he calls Bearn and Roussillon "petites mondes" where valley and mountain are juxtaposed; he also says that outside its geographic sense the word valley designates a political unity.
indications of widespread serfdom in the haut Comté de Foix. In addition, there is more solid evidence to the contrary. The Charter of Ax (1241), for example, grants rights of usage to the inhabitants, but it also stipulates that they must take up arms and follow the count into battle. Although this service was likely commuted to a money payment, it shows that there was a peasant-soldier tradition here, and this implies personal freedom and allodial lands.

26 cf. Valérie Maciotta, L'abbaye de Boulbonne et son domaine foncier du milieu du XIIe siècle au du XIIIe siècle, Thèse du doctorat de troisième cycle sous la direction de Pierre Bonnassie, Toulouse-Le Mirail (Juin, 1988), p. 119. Felix Pasquier has completely misinterpreted the situation in "Traces de servage dans le haut Pays de Foix au XVIe siècle," BSA 10 (1905), 31-38; far from being a trace of serfdom left over from an earlier period, the charter in question reveals a new serfdom being imposed on the peasants of the Pays d'Alion.


28 See above p. 2 and note 4. Historians disagree as to whether these liberties were of Visigothic, Carolingian or post-Carolingian origin, but all agree they existed. cf. M. l'abbé Authie, Études historiques et religieuses sur le pays de la Haute Vallée de l'Ariège (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1870), pp. 1-25; Baudon de Mony, Relations politiques, Vol. I, pp. 1-30; Adolphe Garrigou, Histoire des Populations Pastorales de l'ancien Consulat de Tarascon (Toulouse: Imprimerie de Calmettes et co., 1857), pp. 13-28; Henri Rouzaud, Histoire d'une mine au mineur: la mine de Rancié depuis le Moyen Âge jusqu'à la Révolution (Toulouse: Privat, 1908), p. 22. Thomas Bisson and Archibald Lewis and their students have put forth much the same argument concerning the mountains of Catalonia, cf. Nelson, "Foundation of Jaca," p. 692, "The powers of Aragonese rulers were limited. They possessed extensive lands, the dominicatura or fisca regalis, scattered throughout the realm from which they drew income, but the tenants of these lands possessed customary rights to pasturage, wood, arable soil and the like which even the
many of the freedoms granted to the towns and villages were not so much new privileges as recognitions of long-held customs.\textsuperscript{29}

Sometimes this was stated very explicitly. In 1272 Count Roger-Bernard III granted a collective charter to the inhabitants of ten villages of the haut Comté de Foix, and in so doing he promised to respect "those liberties, usages and customs that you held and possessed in the time of Raymond-Roger, formerly count of Foix, and of our other predecessors, in such a way that you will always be sure to hold and possess in perpetuity the aforesaid liberties, usages and customs to an even greater degree than you are used to holding and possessing them."\textsuperscript{30} Clearly these customs had been observed for at least a century—Raymond-Roger ruled from 1188-1222—and they were probably much older than that because the haut monarch had to respect."

\textsuperscript{29}The following authors express the same idea Felix Pasquier, "Coutumes du Fossat dans le Comté de Foix d'après une charte de 1274," Annales du Midi 9 (1897), 259; Wolff, "Une Ville," p. 155; Duby, Société, pp. 449-457; Cavaillès, La Vie Pastorale, pp. 74-82.

\textsuperscript{30}. . . per nos et omnes successores nostros damus et concedimus irrevocabiliter . . . omni universitati vallis Dessos presenti et futuro omnes libertates usus et consuetudines ac bonos mores quos et quando habuisistis et tenuitis tempore felicis recordationis Raimundi Rogerii quondam comitis Fuxi et aliorum ante successorum nostrum, ita videlicet quod teneatis et habeatis in perpetuum libertates prædictas et usus et consuetudines sicut melius tenere et habere consuevisti et hoc concedimus vobis sicut melius poterit dici vel intelligi ad nostrum profigium et utilitatem. Charter of Vicdessos (1272), ed. Henri Rouzaud in Histoire d'une mine au mineur, pp. 115-130. Rouzaud also provides editions of the charters of 1293 and 1332.
Comté de Foix had been a viguerie under the Carolingians and this too meant extensive privileges in return for defense of the realm.\(^3\)

In addition, the liberties, usages and customs far exceeded the privileges granted in northern charters. For example, the peasants enjoyed complete access to and use of the forests, waters, mines, pastures, mountains, and meadows without having to pay any fees.\(^3\) In some villages they were even allowed to hunt with dogs and birds.\(^3\) They were exempt from paying tolls or sales tax when they sold their wares in the nearby town of Tarascon.\(^3\) They had consuls by which to govern themselves, and these consuls had the right to dispense justice in both civil and criminal cases!\(^3\)

\(^{31}\) Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques*, vol. 1, pp. 1-5.

\(^{32}\) * . . concedentes insuper eisdem habitatoribus totum territorium et omnia alia infra dictas existentia, franca, libera, quieta et immunita de agrariis et aliis introitibus, et millibus libertatibus, usibus et francialitiis, in quibus hactenus ipsi vel eorum prædecessores unquam tenere habere et possidere consuerunt. Charter of Vicdessos (1293).

\(^{33}\) This extraordinary privilege was granted to the inhabitants of Foix in 1245. They were constrained only to share a piece of the catch with the count, Wolff, "Une Ville," p. 155 and Doat 96, ff. 14-22.

\(^{34}\) Item damus et concedimus quod aliquis de prædicta valle residentiam ibi faciens mercimonia sive merces cujuscumque generis sint, secum deferens sive ducens, propter transitum in villata Tarrasconis pedagium dare, minimè teneatur vel ibi venderentur, imo sit cum jam sitis de hoc in prosperum in perpetuum absolutus. Charter of Vicdessos (1272).

\(^{35}\) Ita quod infra dictos terminos consules dictæ vallis una cum bajulo nostro ipsius vallis, valeant in solidum suam jurisdictionem exercere et de omnibus causis, litibus civilibus et criminalibus cognoscere et definire ad habitum

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\(^3\) Baudon de Mony, *Relations politiques*, vol. 1, pp. 1-5.
In the eleventh, twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the peasants remained secure because ambitious and powerful castellans did not rise up to deprive them of their property and personal freedom. For one, as we have seen, economic growth was insufficient to support a new class of castle-building *milites*. Secondly, the counts's presence and domination prevented the development of an independent lower nobility. Unlike the counts of Barcelona or Carcassonne, the counts of Foix held a piece of land that was compact enough to maintain control. Because there was no internal competition for land and labor resources, there was no need to force the laborers to remain on the farms.

Nor was there much external pressure until 1272. In Catalonia the great barons were forced to grant benefices to their knights in order to guard the frontier with the Moslems, and this meant an unfree peasantry. Much the same thing happened in parts of the Midi as the kings of France advanced southward to impose their claims. The house of Foix, however, held the southern half of their county in *franc-alleu*, thus there was no direct, external competition for this territory.

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librum: The Count's bayle was also on hand as an arbiter in case of appeals and probably in order to collect fines and assist in the apprehension of criminals when necessary. Charter of Vicdessos (1293).

36 Baudon de Mony, *Relations Politiques*, vol 1, p. 17. The counts owned it outright and did not hold it as fief from anyone. *Allodium* is defined here in the sense described by H. Dubled, "'Allodium' dans les textes latins du moyen âge," *Le Moyen Âge*, 6 (1951), 241-246.
either. The counts did not need to grant benefices or create
castellans, and the peasants remained in possession of their
land and liberty.37

The mountains did not remain isolated forever. Eventually
the church and the French crown would make their influence
felt, and the inhabitants of the haut Comté de Foix, long left
to their own devices, would succumb to a world that was
closing in on them. Until the late thirteenth century,
however, these indigenously free people were able to maintain
their freedoms despite the changes that were taking place all
around them.

37To be sure, there were some lay seigneuries and some
châteaux in the mountains, but upon closer inspection they
give the lie to the notions these emotive terms conjure up.
Chatelains and bayles devoted their time to capturing
fugitives and collecting taxes, not to defending the realm.
The mountains and the impregnable chateaux were all the
defense that was needed, and the poverty of the region hardly
made it a prize worth taking until it was the only prize left
to take. Moreover, in the thirteenth century the chateaux were
occupied not by powerful castellans but by the counts agents,
hobereaux at best, and in many cases brothers shared control
of a single, poor seigneurie. Sometimes they weren't nobles at
all. The principal seigneur of Tarascon, the second city of
the Haut Comté de Foix, was a notary. Other "nobles"
intermarried with local merchants and lawyers. All were poor.
They could not even afford to arm themselves when the Count
needed warriors. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth
centuries only one man is recorded as having been called to
serve the count at Foix. He was a bourgeois. Duvernoy, La
Noblesse, pp. 10-21.
APPENDIX A

CHURCHES, PARISHES AND PRIESTS
OF THE HAUT PAYS DE FOIX (849-1390)

304
TABLE 2.
CHURCHES, PARISHES AND PRIESTS: HAUT PAYS DE FOIX (849-1390)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CHURCH, PARISH OR PRIEST</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>849</td>
<td>St. Volusien of Foix (MS lost)</td>
<td>Receuil des actes de Charles II, Vol. 1, p. 517, no. 203; Vol. 2, p. 519, no. 120 bis</td>
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<tr>
<td>870</td>
<td>St. Volusien of Foix</td>
<td>HGL, Vol. 2, cc. 355-357; Gallia Christiana, Vol. 13, c. 180</td>
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<tr>
<td>974</td>
<td>church of Amplaing</td>
<td>Chronique Romane, p. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>996</td>
<td>St. Vincent and St. Jean (Ax)</td>
<td>Doat 66, f. 155r; HGL, Vol. 5, c. 1651</td>
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<td>1012</td>
<td>church of St. Martin de Caralp</td>
<td>Chronique Romane, p. 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1034</td>
<td>church of Garanou church of Serres</td>
<td>Chronique Romane, p. 14</td>
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<td>1081</td>
<td>St. Martin of Sos St. Bauzeil St. Jean St. Saturnin</td>
<td>Cartulaire de St. Sernin, no. 273, p. 188</td>
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<tr>
<td>1094</td>
<td>church of Mercus Ste. Marie of Arignac church of Auzat Ste. Hilaire of Miglos</td>
<td>Cartulaire de St. Sernin, no. 278, p. 190</td>
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<tr>
<td>1111</td>
<td>Notre Dame of Montgauzy &amp; St. Nazaire (Foix)</td>
<td>Chronique Romane, pp. 16-17; Gallia Christiana, Vol.13, cc. 152-153</td>
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<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>CHURCH, PARISH OR PRIEST</td>
<td>SOURCE</td>
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<td>St. Pierre of Sorgeat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ste. Marie of Ravat</td>
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<td>1159</td>
<td>church of Mérens</td>
<td>Doat 83, f. 30v</td>
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<td>parish of Ravat</td>
<td>Doat 83, f. 32r</td>
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<td>church of Brassac</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>church of Serres</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>church of Surba</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>church of Verdun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>church of Arnave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>church of Unac</td>
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<td>church of Perlas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>church of Sabart</td>
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<td>1257</td>
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<td>MS 638, Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, f. 66</td>
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<td>church of Lordat</td>
<td>Act of Infeudation (Lordat), p. 372</td>
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<td>1280</td>
<td>church of Tarascon</td>
<td>Doat 95, f. 173v</td>
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<td>Archives Départementales de l'Ariège, G68, no. 2-4</td>
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<td>Registre d'Inquisition de</td>
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APPENDIX B

POPULATION ESTIMATES: HAUT PAYS DE FOIX
TABLE 3. POPULATION ESTIMATES: HAUT PAYS DE FOIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>NUMBER OF HEARTHS (1390)</th>
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<th>ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INHABITANTS (c. 1318-1324)</th>
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