

CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN TEMPLAR
ASSOCIATES IN THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURY
CROWN OF ARAGON

Paula R. Stiles

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2005

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Submitted for the degree of PhD on July 9, 2004



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Abstract

This thesis seeks to illuminate the nature, extent and complexity of Templar interactions with their associates, particularly non-Christians, women and Mozarabs, by examining these interactions where the most evidence exists for them--northeastern Spain. Evidence for Temple associations with both Christians and non-Christians is strongest and most prolonged here. The overall nature of these interactions was friendlier than expected in a crusading group. In fact, Templars actively competed with the secular Church, nobility and the king in the Crown of Aragon for lordship over non-Christians because non-Christians were a lucrative tax base. Some non-Christians also sought association with the Templars because the Templars were a strong, international group with friendly ties to the Aragonese kings. The Temple could therefore offer protection from other lords against excessive taxation and exploitation, and physical attack. Documentary evidence shows mutually beneficial interactions as the Temple's (and its non-Christian associates') ongoing preference over time and space. Chapter one examines Templar interactions in general, both with associates and non-associates. Chapter two looks at Templar associations in Novillas, the first Templar house founded in the Crown of Aragon. Chapter three deals with the Tortosa and the lower Ebro Valley, which has the most varied surviving Templar documentation in the areas studied. Chapter four deals with Gardeny (in Lleida/Lérida), which has the largest number of surviving documents for all of the areas in the study. Chapter five looks at Monzón and Barcelona, the main Templar houses for Aragon and Catalonia respectively. The last chapter deals with Huesca, the northernmost house in the study.

I, Paula R. Stiles, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student in September, 1999 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September, 1999; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1999 and 2004.

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Novillas from the south



Facing west from Novillas



The front of the Templar/Hospitaller convent house at Novillas (now a barn for the local agricultural coop) from the south



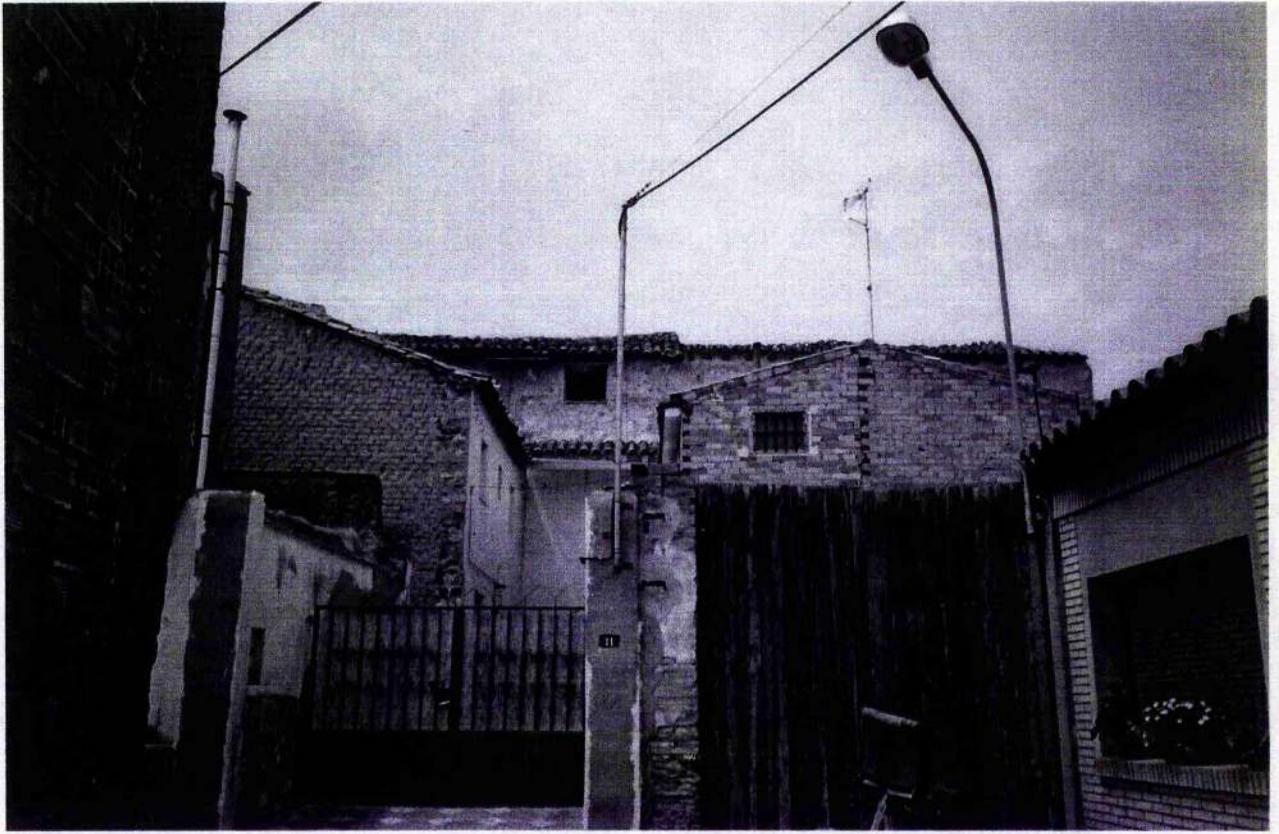
The ceiling of the ground floor, showing a timber-and-whitewash design common in Aragonese and Catalan buildings of medieval provenance



The Novillas convent house from the northeast



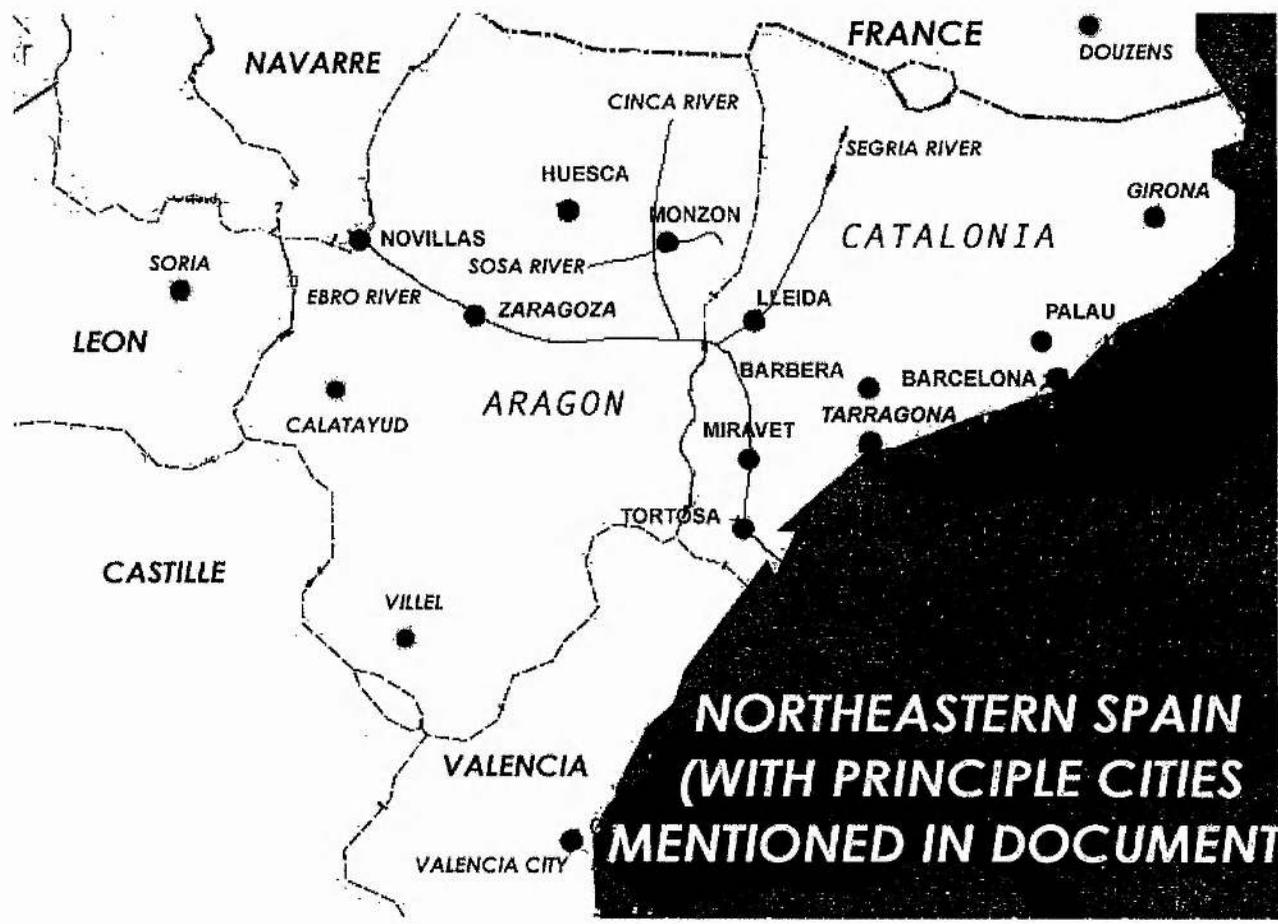
The Novillas convent house from north-northeast



A view of the convent roof and top level from due east



Facing northwest from Novillas



INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This thesis examines Templar relationships with their associates in the Crown of Aragon (the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Catalonia) in northeastern Iberia during the 12th and 13th centuries, with a specific emphasis on Jews and Muslims. These relationships raise many unanswered questions. What characterised an associate of the Temple? What types of associates did the Temple have? How did non-Christian types differ from Christian types? What were the benefits and drawbacks for both sides? Did the Templars treat their non-Christian associates differently from their Christian associates? Did this treatment vary over time or geography? In these interactions, did Templars show attitudes toward non-Christians that were normal for their time and culture, unusually negative or unusually tolerant? Finally, why did they act towards their associates, particularly their non-Christian associates in the ways that they did?

This last question is especially important. Modern popular historiography sees Templars as intolerant of non-Christians to the point of xenophobia. Yet recent academic historiography indicates that Templars were tolerant toward these groups, perhaps even unusually so compared to contemporary Christian attitudes. This is therefore a question that begs an answer. Even being a product of the Crusades, did the Temple respond to local conditions in such a way that it was more tolerant, not less, toward the erstwhile enemies of Christendom? If so, how did the removal of such a group in the early part of the 14th century affect the cultural balance of *convivencia* in the Crown of Aragon?

This thesis rests at an intersection point between several historiographies-- Templars/military orders, Crusades studies, *Reconquista* studies, socio-economic changes in the Crown of Aragon during the central period of the Middle Ages, medieval Iberian cross-cultural studies (*convivencia*), Jewish studies and Islamic studies. Though historians have addressed certain issues to some extent in other works, they have not addressed the aspect of non-Christian associates of the Order. Brief discussions of Templar interactions in studies about other subjects have used them to make points besides examining the nature of these interactions. An assumption until recently seems

to have been that Templar interactions with non-Christians (especially with Jews, for which there is no secondary historiography) were so few as to negate further study or show no significant differences from non-Christian interactions with other Christian groups or lords. This thesis sets out to show that neither assumption is true, and that the study of these interactions is both necessary and overdue.

While a few studies of the military orders have addressed the question of Muslims as Templar subjects, they have done so in conjunction with Hospitaller interactions with the same groups.¹ Consequently, their evidence tends to focus on the Hospitallers in the late 14th and 15th centuries. This is an understandable and, on the surface, reasonable approach to the subject. Following the Order's trial for heresy in Spain between 1309 and 1312, Templar possessions in the Crown of Aragon went to either the Hospitallers or the Spanish military order of Montesa. To further conflate Templars with Hospitallers in Aragon in the historical record, the Templar archives were absorbed into the Hospitaller archives after the trial.²

However, this approach is based on three assumptions. One is that there is not enough evidence to examine Templar relations with non-Christians alone for the 12th and 13th centuries. Another is that non-Christians and the basic nature of their interactions with Christians remained essentially the same between the 12th and 14th or 15th centuries. The third is that Templars and Hospitallers interacted with non-Christians in the same way.

Yet these three assumptions do not hold up under close scrutiny. While not as much material survives from the Templar period as from the later Hospitaller archives, "not as much" still entails over 2000 documents within 180 years for the Crown alone, almost 400 of which can be fairly easily identified as related to non-Christians. It is also generally accepted that Christian-non-Christian relations changed radically in the Crown of Aragon over the last four centuries of the *Reconquista*, as the fortunes of Christian and Muslim changed places within the peninsula and both Muslims and Jews were eventually

¹ Christopher Gerrard, "Opposing Identity: Muslims, Christians and the Military Orders in Rural Aragon," *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999): 143-160; and: Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña: Las Comunidades Musulmanas de las Encomiendas Templarias y Hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (Siglos XII-XIV)*. Barcelona: CSIC, 2000.

² A. J. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 190-5.

pushed out completely.³ Third, conflicts between the Templars and the Hospitallers over non-Christian vassals, as well as differing attitudes about Templar and Hospitaller treatment of their slaves, for example, makes it clear that Templar and Hospitaller policies during the Templar period cannot be conflated. Even less so can one safely extrapolate Hospitaller policies in the 14th and 15th centuries backwards in areas where Templars had held lordship.

Nor will this thesis suggest that Templar behaviour in northeastern Spain should be conflated with Templar behaviour in other areas of Spain, let alone other areas of Europe, during the same period. Even the behaviour of Templars within the Crown changed over time and showed some sharp differences between communities. The closeness of relations between the three religions in the Crown of Aragon created a dynamic that was unique, even for the *convivencia* of Spain.⁴ If there is one thing that the example of the Temple in the Crown demonstrates, it is that the Templars fared as well as they did, wherever they did, because they adapted to local conditions. Certainly an international, corporate culture existed within the Order throughout its lifespan, but the Order's affairs with the outside world were shaped much by its neighbours, their attitudes, their tolerance (or lack thereof) and their expectations.

Historiography of Temple *confratres*

Despite considerable interest in *confratres* from late antiquity through the Middle Ages, historians have devoted little concentrated study to international groups. There is a large historiography devoted to confraternities, but most of this focuses on Dark Age Byzantine confraternities or the lay confraternities from 15th century Italy. Most of the rest concentrates on the Hospitallers and the much later secular societies (like the Freemasons) formed during the 18th and 19th century. Considering the semi-academic nature of much of the historiography for the supposed Templar survivals beyond 1314, it seems unwise to make comparisons with these later groups.

John Walker has devoted one PhD study to donations made to the Templars and

³ For example, see: L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 1-16; Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, eds. *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999, xi-xxii and Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Vol. 7, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, Michael Whitby, Paul Magdalino and Hugh Kennedy, et al., eds. (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), vii-xiii.

⁴ Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 202-4.

the Knights of St Lazarus in England during the reign of King Stephen in the 1130s and 1140s. In it, Walker focuses on donors, as well as temporary brethren (knights who joined the Temple for a set period, usually a year and a day). Most of these associates were royalty and upper or middle nobility.⁵ These local conditions for associates contrasted strongly with those in the Crown of Aragon during the same period, where *confratres* came from most levels of Christian society. Studying donations to the Temple and the Knights of St Lazarus together may account for the difference as well. The nobility in England especially favoured the Knights of St. Lazarus, since many crusading knights feared contracting leprosy while in the Holy Land.⁶

Malcolm Barber discusses the ambiguous status of temporary brothers in his general overview of Temple associates and mentions Counts Ramon Berenguer III and IV as notable associates from Spain during his discussion of Alfonso I's controversial will.⁷ Barber also argues against Elena Lourie's equally controversial theory that the Templars were influenced by Muslim models (like the *ribat*) in creating the Order. As even Lourie herself notes, Alfonso I had founded the Confraternity of Belchite as early as 1122 (he also created the militia of Monreal del Campo), and other military confraternities had existed in the area before that.⁸ These Christian models could more easily have influenced the Templars than more distant Muslim models, and may have laid the groundwork for their great popularity in the late 1120s and 1130s.

Dominic Selwood, in his book on the Templars and Hospitallers in Occitan France, *Knights of the Cloister*, devotes a long discussion to the nature of these orders' associates. While the Hospitallers get more space, Selwood does make clear distinctions between Hospitaller and Templar associates. He discusses the "donats", a nobles-only category of Hospitaller *confrater* that the Templars did not generally have, though a "*donata*" appears in 13th century Huesca.⁹ He also notes that the Templars did not make as clear regulations for *confratres*, or indeed associates in general, as the

⁵ John Walker, "The Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1991), 1-10.

⁶ David Marcombe, *Leper Knights: The Order of St Lazarus in England, 1150-1544* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 45-7.

⁷ Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 28-30.

⁸ Elena Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat, and the Temple," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1982): 159-76.

⁹ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, vol. 70, Textos medievales (Zaragoza [Spain]: Anubar Ediciones, 1985), p. 201-2, doc.181; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códice 499, p. 80, no. 193.

Hospitallers did.¹⁰

Alan Forey, the only English-language Templar historian on Spain, argues that the associates of the Order, especially the *confratres*, played a substantial role in the Templar infrastructure of the Crown of Aragon. He asserts that the relationship between the Temple and its associates was a mixture of personal loyalty, religious devotion and practicality with both sides expecting clear benefits from it.¹¹ So entrenched was the Temple in its associates' lives that some *confratres* even defended the Templars when the King besieged them from 1307-9.¹² Barber agrees with this assessment for the Templar houses generally in Europe, asserting that the associates formed "powerful socio-economic units focused upon the local Templar house".¹³

Most Catalan and Castillian historiography accepts the importance Forey gives to lay associates in the Order. The Catalan historian Josep Maria Sans i Travé, for example, asserts that Temple *confratres* were numerous in the Crown of Aragon, citing the *confratres* lists published in Ana Luis Lapeña Paul's collection from Novillas and documents from Rourell, near Barberà.¹⁴ This reflects both the strength of the historiographical evidence for Temple confraternity in the Crown and perhaps some local pride in the heritage of military orders in Spain.

However, the debate over what constituted the difference between a *confrater* and a *frater* remains. The greatest point of dispute centres around whether women listed as *sorores* were full sisters or only *consorores*-female *confratres*. Some Castillian historians, like Gonzalo Martínez Diez, settle on listing these women and what they were called in the documents, avoiding giving them a strict definition.¹⁵ Forey takes an equally cautious approach, citing the ambiguity of *confrater* formulae in Templar documents from Aragon.¹⁶ He does incline toward calling them associates instead of full sisters, while noting that this does not convey the complexity of their actual status and roles.¹⁷ Helen

¹⁰ Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c.1300* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 119-21.

¹¹ A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 42-6.

¹² Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, 24-38.

¹³ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 262.

¹⁴ Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Els Templers Catalans: De la Rosa a la Creu*, 2nd ed. (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 1999), 139-46.

¹⁵ Gonzalo Martínez Diez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2001), 143.

¹⁶ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 110-3.

¹⁷ Alan Forey, "Women and the Military Orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," in *Military Orders and Crusades* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1994), IV: 63-92.

Nicholson argues that at least some of these women must be considered full sisters, since they appear doing the duties of Temple brethren, and even officers.¹⁸ However, Sans i Travé, in his collection of Temple documents from Barberà, lists such women as *consorores* in his introduction to the documents, even when those documents call them *sorores*.¹⁹

Historiography of the Temple and non-Christians

There is very little secondary historiography about peaceful Temple associations with non-Christians beyond the analysis of a few anecdotal stories from Palestine. Most of the historiography of non-Christians in the Crown of Aragon focuses on the relationship between the King and non-Christians, since the Aragonese kings claimed all non-Christians as their own subjects from an early date.²⁰ Some authors also acknowledge that the Temple and Hospital had some special claims on non-Christians due to the early concessions from the Count-Kings.²¹ Most historians, even in Spain, discuss interactions between the Temple and non-Christians from the military standpoint of the Crusades and the *Reconquista*, between the Temple and hostile Muslims. The debate spills over into discussions of Temple slaves (who were usually Muslim captives of war).²² However, this focus precludes much exploration of friendly interactions between Templars and Muslims in Christian lands. Thus, most of the historiography on the subject discusses Muslim men of the Temple as various categories of slaves, near-slaves or serfs, taking this varied servitude as a given. This explains the strongly feudal cast given to the Templar-Muslim relationships discussed even in recent historiography, and the absence of Jews from it.

¹⁸ Helen Nicholson, "The Military Orders and their Relations with Women," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, 407-414 (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001); Nicholson, "Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies," in *La Commanderie: institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre, 125-34 (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002).

¹⁹ Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)*, *Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), docs. 156, 185-6.

²⁰ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 30-3; Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 9-12.

²¹ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [originally 1961, trans. from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman]), 85.

²² Sans i Travé, *Els Templers Catalans*, 146-7.

The main discussion of Templars and non-Christians can be found in the works of Joaquin Miret y Sans, Pascual Ortega and Christopher Gerrard.²³ All three discuss Muslims interacting with the Temple as variations of serfs or slaves, always in a one-down position vis a vis the Order. Further, both the two books and the article discuss Templars and Hospitallers together. While Miret y Sans has some independent, descriptive discussion of these interactions from the 12th century (mainly listing summaries of the interactions as examples of them) most of Gerrard and Ortega's discussion derives from Hospitaller records of the late 14th and 15th centuries.

Since the period of the 14th century saw great changes in the interactions between Christians and non-Christians overall, this helps little in studying Templars and non-Christians in the previous two centuries. Iberian historiography in general follows Miret y Sans' descriptive approach toward the subject, avoiding any substantive theory on it outside of Sans i Travé's discussion of slaves as war captives and Ortega's book. Similarly, Angel Conté's study of the Huesca house takes a traditional feudal stance on the interactions, without really examining their nature. The only source to analyze these relationships as interactive on both sides is a paper by Brian Catlos which discusses the mutually beneficial connections between the Temple and Muslims who opposed the leaders of the *aljama* in Zaragoza.²⁴ All of the above studies have been done about interactions with Muslims, not Jews.

Forey has done some study of interactions with Muslims and Jews, as part of his overall work. He discusses the ongoing struggle between the Temple and the King over non-Christians' rents and other taxes, as well as the concessions that the Temple had to make to retain Muslims in conquered areas.²⁵ There are also scattered references in English-language (or Hebrew) histories of Jews in Spain, but these are anecdotal and remain unexamined in the specific context of their nature. Most notable in mentioning positive interactions between Jews and Templars are Yitzhak Baer's *A History of the*

²³ Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910); Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña: Las Comunidades Musulmanas de las Encomiendas Templarias y Hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (Siglos XII-XIV)* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000); Christopher Gerrard, "Opposing Identity: Muslims, Christians and the Military Orders in Rural Aragon," *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 43 (1999): 143-160.

²⁴ This paper has not, to the author's knowledge, been published; Brian Catlos, "Franquitas and Factionalism in the Muslim Aljama of Zoragoza: The "Caso Galip" (1179-1304)" (Paper presented at the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 3-6, 2001).

²⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 125-6, 202-3.

*Jews in Christian Spain*²⁶ and Abraham Neuman's *The Jews in Spain*.²⁷ Both take particular note, for example, of the Temple's partnership with the royal bailiff Jafia in the late 12th century. Yom Tov Assis' history of the Jews in the Crown of Aragon, currently unique in treating the Jews of northeastern Spain alone, as opposed to in conjunction with Jews in other parts of Spain (particularly Castille/León and Portugal), discusses the positive relationship between the Templars and the Jewish *aljama* at Monzón. He also argues that the Templars' involvement in the Monzón *aljama*'s dispute with the Lleidan *aljama* and the King came about in part because the Monzón Jews wanted independence in taxation from the Lleidan *aljama* and actively sought the Temple's support as a strong lord to back them.²⁸

Discussion of documents used in thesis

Over two thousand Templar-related documents survive from the Crown of Aragon during the 12th and 13th centuries.²⁹ Most of them are commercial, religious or legal transactions. Confirmations or new charters of customary law (*fueros, usatges* and *cartas de población*) were replacing the *convenientiae* (a document of agreement between two or more parties, often regarding a dispute) as the signature documents of frontier Spain in the 11th and early 12th centuries.³⁰ The Templars frequently issued *fueros* and *cartas de población* where they most needed to keep or establish population. One of the latest and most detailed of these charters was the Customs of Horta, a town to the west of Tortosa, from 1296.³¹ Northeastern Spain is notable for having a paucity of narrative documents during this period and this holds doubly true for the Templars. Aside from the lively, first person autobiography of James I of Aragon³² and the Catalan version of the Templar Rule, the documents in which the Aragonese Temple appears come from cartulary collections (both monastic and ecclesiastical), royal correspondence,

²⁶ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 57, 145, 150.

²⁷ Abraham A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain: Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages [Two vols]*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942, II: 229, 332-3.

²⁸ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 166, 187, 193.

²⁹ These are mainly in Latin, although some are written in Catalan (usually beginning with a Latin phrase), some in Latin with Catalan grammar and some in Catalan with Latin grammar.

³⁰ Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 285-94.

³¹ Josep Serrano Daura, *Els Costums d'Orta (1296): Estudi Introductori i Edició* (Barcelona: Ajuntament d'Horta de Sant Joan, 1996), 22-34.

³² James I of Aragon, *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels Fets. Crusade Texts in Translation*, Vol. 10, Trans. Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Ashgate: Aldershot; Burlington, VT, 2003).

treaties, charters and town customary laws. Cartulary documents include sales, donations, exchanges and rents of property, lists of *confratres*, documents of entry into the order for both *fratres* and *confratres*, legal settlements of disputes and *fueros* (grants of customary laws).³³ Sales (*ventio*) and confirmations (*memoria*) are the most common. Surviving lists of confraternity are unusual, but detailed where available. Not all of the documents found in the cartularies are directly related to the Temple (hence the oddity of having documents dating from before the Temple's foundation). They appear to involve property which the Templars later acquired. This shows a concern among the Templars (shared generally in Spain) with continuity and careful establishment of rightful ownership.

Most Templar-related documents for the Crown of Aragon are found in two archives in Spain: The *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (ACA) in Barcelona and the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (AHN) in Madrid. The bulk of Catalan documents can be found in Barcelona while the bulk of Aragonese documents are in Madrid, but there is some mixing. In the ACA, most Templar documents are in the Hospitaller *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña* (AGP). This archive includes the Cartularies of Gardeny and Tortosa, as well as documents related to Barcelona and other Catalan convents. However, there are other Templar-related documents in the ACA, most notably those found in the King's correspondence (the *Cancillería* or *Regesta*). In the AHN, meanwhile, most Templar related documents are in the *Sección de Órdenes Militares* and the *Sección de Códices*. A few documents with seals reside in the *Sección de Sellos*. The Cartulary of Huesca (among other documents related to Huesca) is in the *Sección de Códices* as well as those documents related to Novillas and Monzón, including a general cartulary for Aragon and Navarre. The *Cartulario Magno* also includes documents related to Zaragoza.

The richest collection in terms of source material comes from Tortosa, including cartulary and ecclesiastical documents and royal correspondence. 371 of these documents, ranging from 1048 to 1304, are published in Pagarolas' books on the

³³ William C. Stalls, "Custom, Authority and Community in the Middle Ages: Aragon and Navarre in the Twelfth Century," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, Volume 25 of *Ibérica*, eds. Donald J. Kagay and Joseph T. Snow (New York; Washington: Peter Lang, 1997), 27-41.

Temple at Tortosa³⁴ and Virgili's Diplomatic collection for the Cathedral at Tortosa.³⁵ However, this is not comprehensive, particularly since Pagarolas did not use all of the documents from the Cartulary of Tortosa or the collection of summaries from the AGP. The largest, and most concentrated collection, chronologically, comes from Gardeny. Ramon Sarobe i Huesca's published "diplomatic collection" includes 751 documents from 1070 to 1200 and appears to be comprehensive for that convent. Huesca comes next with 260 documents ranging from 1103 to 1433 from the Cartulary of Huesca and Angel Conté's study of the convent (41 documents from Codex 595 in the AHN and the *Cancillería* in the ACA). Josep Maria Sans i Travé has published a diplomatic collection for Barberà, including 253 documents (108 of them from the Cartulary of Barberà). Documents from Novillas have not been published per se, but Novillas documents from the cartulary of the Templar documents for Aragon and Navarre in the AHN have appeared in Lapeña Paul's PhD collection, 227 documents dating from 1131 to 1167. This paper also used 74 additional documents from Ledesma Rubio's study of *fueros*, Alan Forey's *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, Robert I. Burns' *Diplomatarium*, Jose Font Rius' collection of summaries of Jewish documents in the *Cancillería*, and the Cartulary of Tortosa. Out of a total of 1936 documents, 379 (370 of them originals, not duplicates), or 19%, were related directly or indirectly to non-Christians. All of these documents were created by Christians and none of them by non-Christians. While the Jews created a relatively large body of documents and literature (much of it in Hebrew) and occasionally even signed Templar documents as witnesses in that language, there appear to be no transactions with the Templars by them. The Muslims in old Aragon and Catalonia, on the other hand, appear to have lost their literacy in Arabic very quickly after the Reconquest.³⁶ Most non-Christian documents were destroyed following the expulsion of the Jews and the forcible conversion of the Muslims in 1492.

Templar document survival is almost as problematical. Following the Trial, the King of Aragon had Temple documents collected from the various convents and inventories

³⁴ Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa: Institut d'Estudis Dertosenses, 1984) and *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312), Volume II* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1999).

³⁵ Antoni Virgili, ed., *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1193)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997).

³⁶ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 385-7.

done of the Order's possessions. A weeding out process of unnecessary documents appears to have occurred at this point, as most of the documentation that survives consists of copies with no known originals. The extant copies of the cartularies of Tortosa and Gardeny, for example, date from the late 17th century. Further, the collation, scattering and recollation of archives in the ACA and AHN has contributed to further scattering and destruction. The *Cancillería*, for example, is now in such a ruinous state that it can only be studied via microfilm copies and is not adequately indexed. While some parts of it have been published, they have not been published altogether. Therefore, they remain relatively unstudied in terms of Templar material. This thesis must content itself with a sample, mostly of published material.

Physical description/location of documents

The three most prominent and comprehensive Templar documents/collections in the ACA are the Cartulary of Gardeny, the Cartulary of Tortosa and the Catalan Rule. Of the three, all of the Cartulary of Gardeny appear to be represented in Sans i Travé's diplomatic collection (although not as that collection, itself). Parts of the Cartulary of Tortosa have been published in Pagarolas' collections. However, the Cartulary of Tortosa was not restored until after Pagarolas' first book came out. Despite the restoration, a large portion of the documents in the cartulary remain either partially or completely illegible, so not all of them appear in Pagarolas' collection. Some of these documents (those that are relevant to the subject) have, as much as possible, been examined for this thesis. The Catalan Rule was published in an edited and translated form in late 2003.³⁷ This late (mid to late 13th century) translation of the Templar Rule has some new clauses, but none that clarify the Temple's relations with non-Christians who were not slaves. A fourth collection, the *Cancillería*, is also in the ACA.

Collections from the *Cancillería* extend from the reign of James I until the 19th century (there are also surviving parchments of earlier Kings and Counts during the Templar period going back to Ramon Berenguer III). Several relevant documents from the Royal Registry are completely illegible due to apparent water damage. Also, parts of the documents are often missing and it is difficult to make out beginnings and ends to them.

Jean Regné has published a large collection of summaries of documents dealing with

³⁷ Judi Upton-Ward, ed., *The Catalan Rule of the Templars: A Critical edition and English translation from Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cartas Reales, MS 3344, Vol. 19, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003).

Jews, as well as selected documents reproduced in full.

The *Catalan Rule* is the oldest original Templar document outside of the *Cancillería*. It appears to be an original 13th century Temple handbook.³⁸ The language is Old Catalan. Both the beginning and ending are missing. There is water and bookworm damage, especially in the last two folios. One of the most interesting things about the *Rule* is its size. It is small and durable and appears to have been made with transport in mind. This begs the question of who used it. Clearly some of the Templars who were traveling around the Crown of Aragon were expected to be literate at this time. Otherwise, the book would be much larger, for keeping in a convent. The small size probably also contributed to the security of the document, as the Templars kept their regulations secret for military reasons.

The significance of the Catalan Rule to this thesis is the fact that it reflects Templar administrative theory in the Crown of Aragon more accurately than the main French and Latin versions of the Rule. It is the only known regional version of the *Rule*. The French translation of the Rule added numerous regulations to the original Latin version, and the Catalan made further modifications to the French and Latin, rather than being a straight translation. That said, much is still missing that would explain Templar relationships with their associates, Christian and non-Christian. Nor is the Temple's unusually close relationship with the Aragonese kings mentioned.

The Cartulary of Gardeny is in good enough condition to allow readable photocopies from microfilm. It is a transcription of the original, made in 1692. It consists of 111 large (about 18 inches by 12 inches) folios containing 267 documents. The last one is badly damaged. 11 of these documents were relevant to the topic. The Cartulary has a table of contents and summaries (in Catalan), but the documents are all in Latin. The documents are written in a clear, black ink, on white paper, with a wooden binding for the cartulary. The script is a difficult, but not impossible, shorthand.

The Cartulary of Tortosa is unreadable in parts, due to wear, although the text might be readable in the Archive, with special lighting. Like the Cartulary of Gardeny, it is also a transcription, created in 1662. It contains 96 folios of 297 documents. It is written on vellum (the binding is also vellum), and in Latin. There is no explanatory material, as in the Gardeny Cartulary. However, there is an collection of summaries (*La Encomienda*

³⁸ It is about 6 inches by 4 inches, made up of 5 vellum packets of varying numbers of folios (77, in all). It is written in light brown ink, in a sprawling, uneven script, very faded and almost illegible. Each regulation begins with a red C-type figure, with no other illustration or embellishment.

de Tortosa) of the documents in Catalan elsewhere in the AGP. The list is a critical document due to the illegibility of the Cartulary in several parts, and appears to have been copied at around the same time, possibly by the same hand. The script for both is a straightforward cursive, but the ink is much more faded than that in the Cartulary of Gardeny.

Of the Cartularies of Gardeny, the Catalan Rule, and the *Cancillería*, only the Cartulary of Gardeny and the Catalan Rule³⁹ have been examined in the secondary literature.⁴⁰ Miret y Sans specifically mentions documents related to non-Christians in his article on the Cartulary of Gardeny (as he does in other works). However, he does not get them all. Nor does he give bibliographical evidence, although all of his references are identifiable within the cartulary.

Templar convents studied in the thesis

The main areas used for this thesis includes: Novillas (with Douzens), Tortosa, Gardeny/Lleida, Monzón (with Barcelona/Palau) and Huesca. Documents from other areas, such as Villastar (Bellestar in northern Valencia) and Calatayud were also examined. Criteria for using these areas included: a significant presence of both Templars and non-Christians and evidence of transactions between the Templars and at least one non-Christian group.

Of these seven main areas, Novillas, Tortosa, Gardeny, Huesca and Barberà also have large, coherent and varied collections of documents which show progressions of interactions over time. This thesis concentrates on areas which show significant documentary and architectural or archaeological evidence of this presence.

Zaragoza, for example, has surviving documents involving Templar interactions with non-Christians but lacks a coherent document base. It also has no surviving architectural, and little archaeological, evidence of the Temple's quarter there.⁴¹ The Jewish quarter (in the southeastern side of town along the city wall, directly on the ruins of the Roman theatre) has also been leveled. Muslim evidence from the *morería* (outside the city walls

³⁹ Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*.

⁴⁰ For example, J. Miret y Sans wrote 'Cartoral dels Templers de les comandes de Gardeny y Barbens,' for the journal *L'Avenç* in 1899.

⁴¹ It is uncertain even where the quarter was, but it appears to have been on the northwestern side of town, near the river; Luisa Ledesma Rubio and Isabel Falcón Pérez, *Zaragoza en la Baja Edad Media* (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1977), 114, map, p.48-9.

on the southwestern end) is both sporadic and unconnected to the Temple.⁴² On the opposite end is Girona, site of the only remaining buildings of a Jewish *call* in Catalonia. Aiguaviva, the Templar convent 8 kms southwest of Girona, has both surviving documentation and an intact convent house but no indication that the Templars had significant contact with the Jews of Girona.

Douzens (Dozencs): Probably the earliest Templar house in the West, Douzens was founded around 1130-2.⁴³ The town was 60 miles east of Carcassonne, where some of the brothers from Douzens later founded a subcommandery. There was some interaction between Douzens and her sister house, Novillas, to the south in Aragon, with interchange of brethren. Peter I's defeat and death at the Battle of Muret in 1213 ended Catalan hegemony in southeastern France. Douzens appears to have lost its influence over Templar convents in the Crown after this time as well.

The Cartulary of Douzens, compiled around 1200, has eight documents related to non-Christians. Five of these documents involve transactions with Jews over vineyards. In the document from 1142, a Jewish tenant is mentioned in a transfer of a vineyard to the Temple.⁴⁴ In a later document from 1173, three Jews give a vineyard to the Temple owed to the brothers by a Christian woman.⁴⁵

The three documents involving a Muslim name are intriguing. They mention "*Sarracena*" (also *Sarracina*) the mother of Bernard of Villa Tritols. From her name, *Sarracena* was, or had been, a Muslim woman. The documents do not explain how she came to be in southern France, but her son, identified by his descent from a "sarracena", was Christian and a property owner. He appeared in the documents during the late 1160s and early 1170s as a witness and neighbour of the Temple.⁴⁶

Novillas (Novellas, Novella): The earliest convent in Spain and the oldest after Douzens in the West, Novillas was founded between 1135 and 1139. The first master listed there, Guillem Ramon, was more likely Catalan than Aragonese. Since the

⁴² Ibid, map.

⁴³ Malcolm Barber, "The Templar Preceptory of Douzens" (Paper presented at The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine conference, Bristol, England, April 8-10, 2003).

⁴⁴ Pierre Gérard et Élizabeth Magnou, eds., *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Vol. 3, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris [France]: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1965), p. 135-6, docs. A: 148.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 285, D: 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pgs. 227-8, 233, 235-6, docs. B: 49, 56 and 60.

Templars received property in Barcelona in 1134, he may have come from that city.⁴⁷

Novillas was the provincial house for western Aragon (and possibly Catalonia, too) until Monzón superseded it in the 1160s. Its influence also extended as far west as Soria in northeastern Castille. After the 1170s, the convent faded into obscurity. Novillas is a village west of Huesca and northwest of Zaragoza. Modern Novillas currently rests approximately a half mile south of the Ebro River (which is deep and narrow), a mile from the Navarrese border, just inside Aragon. Her sister village, Mallén, which the Templars ceded to the Hospitallers in exchange for total control of Novillas in 1149, is just inside Navarre. Both Novillas and Mallén were Roman settlements and the area has seen habitation and cultivation for at least the past 3800 years. The area around Novillas is very flat and extremely fertile, encompassing wheat cultivation and vineyards. The Novillas documents also mention a thriving mill industry, ponds and fisheries. Surviving structures include the Templar *palacio* convent house (now a barn). This appears to be a 15th century Hospitaller structure with a Mudejar yellow brick design but parts of it may date back to the Templar period. There appears to have been no Jewish or Muslim quarter in the town, but several nearby Muslim communities subject to Templar lordship appear in Novillas documents from the 12th century.

Tortosa (Dertuse, Dertose): The Templar convent at Tortosa oversaw a large district that encompassed the lower Ebro River Valley and the Delta. Temple infrastructure in the area was decentralised, so that several other houses, including Miravet, became full commanderies in their own right. Miravet eventually took over as the district house after the Templars lost their shared lordship of the city.

Like the sites of most successful Templar commanderies, Tortosa was previously a Roman city (*Dertuse*). Later, it became a minor Muslim *taifa* city-state. Like Novillas, it is on the Ebro River (wide and shallow, though still navigable), but much further southeast near the southern coast of Catalonia. The old town is built mostly on the ridge north of the town (some of the Roman walls still survive). The Templar convent was originally built outside the southern walls, directly on the river. It was destroyed, along with most of the mediaeval quarter by the river (including the Jewish *call* and the *morería*, which were on the northern side of town on the east bank and shared one gate near the river called

⁴⁷ Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150* (Paris:Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion, 1930), p. 60, doc. 78; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: Inventario, fol. 7.

the *Assoc*), during the siege of Tortosa in the Spanish Civil War. The only surviving indications of the Temple are street names and possibly a church up the hill. However, the main fortress of the town, *La Suda* survives on a ridge on the northwestern side of town. This was partly administered by the Templars. Further north up the river, the village of Miravet (where the Templars eventually moved the convent) is dominated by the largest Templar fortress in the Crown of Aragon, which also overlooks the river. This castle survives mostly intact and appears to have been built around an original Muslim structure.

The Tortosa region was noted for mills, viticulture and olive culture. Around Miravet, the Templars apparently experimented with dry farming and pastoralism. This area also appears to have had a Muslim majority population.

Gardeny/Lleida (Gardenius/Ilerda, Lerida): The Templars had no lordship in Tortosa's sister city of Lleida, but they did acquire the second largest hill in the city, called "Gardeny". The Gardeny convent is situated on the hill of Gardeny on the western side of the city of Lleida, on the northern shore of the Segría River. It shares the ridge with an army barracks to its north. Lleida is in central Catalonia not far from the Aragonese border, in between Novillas and Tortosa and northeast of Tarragona. The city rests in a bowl between the hill of Gardeny and the somewhat higher hill where the city's royal fortress, also called *La Suda* as in Tortosa, stands. The city (and possibly an original version of the Gardeny fortress) dates from at least the period of the Roman Civil War, when Caesar mentions one of his lieutenants setting up camp on the hill of Gardeny. Current street names and surviving documents also indicate that Templar associates had a quarter (and/or agricultural property and mills) to the east and south of the hill (along the Segría).

The Jewish *call* was near *La Suda* on the northeastern side of town, uphill from the river, and the *morería* was between the *call* and Gardeny. The Templars had a cellar in the *morería* during the late 12th century. It was probably a shop or warehouse.

As with Novillas and Tortosa, the Templars in Gardeny had an extensive mill system and engaged in viticulture and olive culture. They also had a cloth industry. Because they had been given the entirety of Gardeny, they had no share in controlling Lleida's *La Suda*. Alfonso the Battler built a fortress on Gardeny in 1122, but appears to have

abandoned it immediately afterward.⁴⁸ The current structures seem to have been expanded upon a preexisting Muslim structure.

Monzón (Montso, Montisonnis): The Templars received Monzón as part of the King's agreement with them at Girona in 1143, but they did not found a commandery there until around 1150. The provincial house of eastern Aragon, Monzón originally shared jurisdiction with Novillas, but eventually eclipsed it.

Monzón is a medium-sized town on the border between Aragon and Catalonia. It is between Lleida and Zaragoza but north of both, towards Huesca. It sits on two rivers, one of which has dried up and the other (the Cinca) which has nearly dried up. The Templar convent is a fortress on the ridge overlooking the town and the rivers. After Miravet, it is the second largest Templar fortress in the Crown of Aragon and it was the last to surrender to King James II in 1309. It is mostly intact and is built around a 10th century Muslim *donjon*. As in Miravet, the Templars took over an existing fortress from the Muslims and expanded on it. The town itself is flat, but the region is hilly and somewhat drier than to the south and northwest. Here, again, the Templars had an extensive mill system, viticulture and olive culture, but they also had a large group of Muslim slaves. The prosperous Jewish quarter was built against the northwestern side of the ridge. Only the low entrance to the *judería* survives. The Jews appear to have provided both taxes and a number of skilled artisans to the Temple. The local Mozarabs also provided parish priests to the Temple until the early 14th century.

Barcelona (Barcino, Barchinona, Barchinonensis): The Templar document base for Barcelona is scattered and somewhat drowned out by the overall documentary evidence for the city. Barcelona is Catalonia's capital city. The Counts of Catalonia/Kings of Aragon were originally the Counts of Barcelona. Founded in 11-15 BC as a Roman colony, Barcelona was conquered by the Muslims during the initial conquest and later liberated by Charlemagne's son Louis the Pious in 801. Casteldefels, 12 kms south along the coast was the southernmost frontier of Catalonia until the 12th century. There is little evidence of a Muslim legacy in Barcelona. The rich Jewish *call* survives as a street name, uphill from the harbour and west of the Cathedral. The Templar quarter was further

⁴⁸ Joan Fuguat Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995; 161.

downhill, behind the Cathedral towards the harbour. It was a large convent area on the outside of the city's Roman walls (some of which still survive). Most of the quarter itself, which after the suppression became the *Palau Reial Minor*, was knocked down during the 19th century. All that remains now is the chapel on the northwestern corner of the quarter.

The Templars had little direct control over the Jewish *call* in Barcelona. However, they did work with the King's baillifs and other Jewish merchants in the city.

Huesca (Osca, Oscha): After Novillas, Huesca was the major Templar convent in northern Aragon. It is currently the third largest city in the area. Huesca was built on the southernmost slopes of the foothills of the Pyrenees, at the northernmost edge of the flat, Zaragozaan plain. It is on the River Isuela. The Templar convent was up the hill on the northern end of town, above the Cathedral, and does not appear to have been fortified. While it is now officially classified as completely destroyed, the streetplan survives and the ground floors may reflect the original layout and building design.

Despite its northern location, Huesca was vulnerable and conquered late. Thus, it had both a *judería* (on the southwestern side, now completely demolished and redesigned) and a *morería* (on the southeastern side, also demolished but with the original street plan surviving). The Templars there also had numerous Muslim villages all around, including up into the foothills under their control. In Huesca, the Templars engaged in mill networks, viticulture and pastoralism.

A note about non-Christian and Mozarab names

A final note about both Jewish and Muslim names: these were treated inconsistently in the documents. As most were derived from Arabic or Semitic origins, scribes often did not Latinise and decline them, but at other times, they did. There appears to be no significance to this, aside from the whim of the scribe.⁴⁹

The fabled clear distinction between the three religions in life was not well-reflected in

⁴⁹ For example: "*Mafo met maritus eius*" at the beginning, but "*Mafo methi mariti eius*" in the signatures at the end of the document in: Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed. *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200*, Vol. 17, *Col·lecció Diplomataris* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), p. 818-9, doc. 557; Joaquín Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910), 143; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral dels Templers de les Comandes de Gardeny y Barbens*, (Barcelona: L'Avenç), 1899, 26.

their names. One of the most difficult aspects, initially, was determining the religion of persons in the documents. Frequently, religion of a non-Christian was obvious. Jews often appeared as "*jueus*" (Catalan), "*hebrei*" or "*hebreos*" and "*judii*" or "*iudii*" (Latin), and "*judios*" (Castilian). Muslims appeared as "*sarraceni/saraceni*", "*moros*" (Castilian), or "*mauri*" (Latin) throughout the Kingdom of Aragon.⁵⁰ Sometimes, in Catalonia, they also appeared with variations of the Catalan term "*sarrahins*". These designations usually appeared as second names--"Abenmatif sarracenus", for example.

However, not all non-Christian individuals (named or not) appeared with such designations. Nor did Christian individuals (except for those identified as Mozarabs) generally appear as "*christiani*" though they often appeared with that designation in groups. Though it was not as pronounced as in northern Europe, scribal convention in the early Crown of Aragon cast Christians (both men and women) as the norm and non-Christians as the exceptional minority--even where non-Christians were probably the majority. The only exception to this was the Mozarabs, who proved the rule. Despite many similarities, a cultural divide existed between Latin Christians and arabized Christians, even as late as the early 14th century.

Many non-Christians who appeared without religious designation could be identified by their names, which were Arabized. Scribes usually put these into a text without declination, but often declined names of the very same individuals earlier or later in the same document. There is no apparent pattern or significance to this, aside from scribal indifference. Any personal name that began with "Ab--" was non-Christian. Many names that began with "Al--" were Muslim, with the important exception of "Alizaid", "Alehaid" and other variations on the Christian female name of "Alicia". "Alfons/Alfonso" was another clearly Christian male name. "Machomet", "Mafomet", "Mahomet" and other variations on "Muhammad", however, were clearly Muslim, as was another popular name, "Ali". Biblical names like "Iucef/Jucef" (Joseph) and "Açac/Içac" (Isaac) could be either Muslim or Jewish. "Açac/Içac" tended more often to be Jewish, especially in its latter form. "Salema/Salemo/Zuleima/Solomonis" could be either Muslim or Jewish, though "Solomonis" was always Jewish. "Jafia/Yafia" was also always Jewish, as was "Iahude". "Yacob/Yacov" was usually Jewish, but one has to exercise care with this name. The form "Jacobus" usually referred to one of the two Aragonese kings named

⁵⁰ In some contexts, "maurus" or "moro" could hold a negative context compared to "sarracenus", but this bias was not universal among Aragonese scribes; Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 1-2.

James, though not always. Similarly, "Miriam/Mariam" (Maria) could be a Christian or Muslim female name. "Jamilla" appeared as a Jewish name, but could also possibly be Muslim. "Donna", "Fatima" and "Alzida" were female Muslim names. "Maimo" is a particularly strange male name that appears to be Jewish, but could have been Christian in some instances. "Musa/Mossa" (Moses) could also be either Muslim or Jewish.

All names required confirmation from their appearance in context in the document. The greatest hazard of ignoring this lay in the continued use of Arabic names for villages and small towns. "Almudifar", for example, was a village in the Tortosa district. One could most often distinguish these place names by where they appeared in the text--for example "the plot on the road to Almudifar (*ad Almudifar*)". One must exercise caution with the use of "ab", however. Scribes frequently used this with an ablative of possession in place of the genitive form of the person's name. This seemed especially common in places where the scribe did not decline the non-Christian individual's name.

Probably some non-Christians slipped through the above designations. Converts to Christianity are especially invisible in Templar cartulary records. The only one who appears (Peter son of Albinx Morcarabo) comes from Tortosa in 1150.⁵¹ Converts from Christianity to either Judaism or Islam were rare and, of course, illegal. At any rate, none appear in the relatively low-key Temple documents.

Mozarabs appeared infrequently in the documents, as well, particularly in the latter half of the 12th century in Novillas, Tortosa and Huesca. While there is some debate whether the term should properly refer to all arabized Christians under Muslim rule or just to those who fled to León during the 11th and 12th centuries, some Christians appear in Aragonese and Catalan documents with that designation.⁵² There is no indication that they came from, or via, León. Mozarabs prospered with the Temple in Monzón until the Trial in the early 14th century. Some have certainly gone unrecorded by the scribes. It is nearly impossible to identify a Mozarab simply by his name (female Mozarabs do not appear alone). It is possible that the strangely-named "Bon Vassal de Moro" from Tortosa was a Mozarab, since "Good Vassal of a Moor" is not a likely name for a new Latin Christian settler. Also, the individuals with variations of the Navarrese name

⁵¹ "Resumen de los documentos del Cartulario de los Templarios de Tortosa 1048-1251," *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*, 1126 (pg 189), fol. 35-137; "Cartulary of Tortosa," in *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*, 115, doc. 230, fol. 71.

⁵² Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 2.

"Ennec/Ennecho" may have been Mozarabs, as they tend to appear early in the 12th century, in areas and documents that had several prominent Mozarabs. However, again, one cannot say for certain. Therefore, those who were clearly Mozarabs appeared with the second name "Mozarabi, Mozaravi, Motzarabi, Motzaravi" and possibly "Mostarani".

A Note about Currencies

A denarius was a penny. An obulus was a half-penny. The sous was used as a basic measurement, though it did not exist in actual use. A Valencian sous consisted of twelve Valencian pennies, between eight and 18 Barcelonan pennies and between eight and 16 Jacan pennies. A silver bezant was worth three and three quarters sous. For gold currency, four sous comprised a gold *mazmudin* (a Moroccan currency), six sous made up a Castilian *morabetin* and eight and half sous made up an Almoravid *morabetin*. A mid-level knight or cleric could expect to make 300 sous annually in the late 13th century. Muslim officials in Valencia during the same period could expect about 100 sous annually.⁵³ For 12th century Aragon, a horse with harness and armour for a man was rated at 100 sous for a knight and 500 sous for a lord's horse and armour.⁵⁴ Cultivated plots of land (mainly vineyards) usually went for 40 or 60 sous, but some could be worth 200 sous or more.

Ultimately, one should avoid any comparisons of prices over long periods of time or across currencies when the conversion is unknown. The comparison of prices within the Crown of Aragon during the 12th century is relatively safe, as the same currencies represent similar values in this area at that time. This is not so true of the 13th and 14th centuries. Values of coinage, particularly in Valencia, fluctuated greatly during this period, partly because Christian currencies were still based on Muslim gold from North Africa.⁵⁵

⁵³ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 29-32.

⁵⁴ Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *Documentos de la encomienda templaria de Novillas (siglo XII)* (Barcelona: ETD Micropublicaciones, 1997), docs. 10 and 11.

⁵⁵ Angus MacKay, *Money, Prices and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castille* (London: London Royal Historical Society, 1981), 36.

THE NATURE OF TEMPLAR ASSOCIATIONS

A Brief History of the Temple

The Templars' experiences with non-Christians cover historical contexts and social networks from the very beginning of their existence. According to tradition (most reliably, William of Tyre⁵⁶), the Order of the Poor Brothers of the Temple of Solomon, better known as the Templars, or Knights Templar, were founded by nine French veterans of the First Crusade in Jerusalem in 1118 or 1119. They took the triple vow of poverty in the hands of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and followed the Augustinian Rule as tertiary canons for the first decade of the Order's existence. The King of Jerusalem, Baldwin II, gave them quarters in the Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount. They were so poor that they had no official insignia or uniform, wearing clothes donated by pious Christians. This situation appears to have persisted until Pope Eugenius III granted them the now-famous design of their uniforms.⁵⁷ Their official seal, that of two knights riding the same horse, illustrates the memory of their humble origins.

Their leader, Hugh de Payns, came from Champagne in northern France. The bulk of the Templars in Palestine also subsequently came from France, though many came from Spain as well.⁵⁸ The Templars (also known in documents as "the Militia", "the Temple", the Knights, and "the Order") were the first known military religious order, monks who fought as knights. They had formed to protect the holy places and pilgrims of Palestine.

Their role as guardians of shrines and pilgrim roads, however, was not what made the Templars famous. In the mid-1120s, St Bernard of Clairvaux became interested in the Order. He came from a knightly family and saw himself as a spiritual warrior against evil. He saw the Templars as a new, better type of knighthood, a group that would fight evil in physical, as well as spiritual, battles.⁵⁹ There is some question as to how much the Templars incorporated his ethic, but as the most prominent clergyman of his day, he

⁵⁶ William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, vol 1, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 524-5.

⁵⁷ Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, Inc., 2001), 67-8.

Early papal bulls like *Omnes Datum Optimum* (All Good Things) in 1139, also gave the Templars extensive rights over war booty and, in theory, separated them from the authority of the secular clergy; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 154.

⁵⁸ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 1-37.

⁵⁹ St. Bernard of Clairvaux, "In Praise of the New Knighthood," vol. 7, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux: Treatises 3*, trans. Conrad Greenia (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications Inc, 1977), 7.

made a powerful patron. It was he who arranged the Council of Troyes (1128/9) which made the Templars a full-fledged monastic order and he who oversaw the writing of their rule, based on the Cistercian version of the Benedictine rule.

After the Council, Hugh de Payns made a trip around Europe to recruit new members and raise funds.⁶⁰ The new order roused particular enthusiasm in Spain, where donations came in as early as the mid-1120s and southern France, where the first Templar house in Europe was probably founded at Douzens between 1130 and 1132.⁶¹ The second house was probably Novillas, on the border between Aragon and Navarre, founded between 1135 and 1139.⁶²

The membership in these areas, both full brethren and associates, was mainly local and, in some cases, highly placed in society. Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona joined the Order around the time of his death in 1131. His son, Ramon Berenguer IV considered himself an associate of the Order thereafter.⁶³ This association soon proved fruitful to the Temple when Ramon Berenguer IV succeeded to the throne of Aragon in 1138. Alfonso I *El Batallador* of Aragon had willed one third each of his kingdom to the Templars, Hospitallers and the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem upon his death in 1134, but Ramon Berenguer's marriage to Alfonso's niece negated this will.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 28-9.

⁶¹ The dating of the founding of both Douzens and Novillas is complicated both by the uncertain dating of the earliest documents and their vagueness about what was actually happening in both houses at the beginning. However, Barber's theory that Douzens was founded first, based on surviving documentation, does appear to be correct; Malcolm Barber, "The Templar Preceptory of Douzens" (Paper presented at The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine conference, Bristol, England, April 8-10, 2003).

⁶² A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 7; Ana Luis Lapeña Paul, ed., *Documentos de la encomienda templaria de Novillas (siglo XII)* (Tesis de Licenciatura. Barcelona: ETD Micropublicaciones, 1997), p. 3, 7.

⁶³ Balaguer, F. "La Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris y la elevación de Ramiro II al trono aragonés," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón*, 6 (1956), 14; Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Cartulario de Barberà doc. 38; fol. 22v-23r; Josep Maria Sans i Travé, ed., *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)*, *Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I*, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), doc. 26; Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion, 1930), p. 25, doc. 33 (erroneous date of 1130 on the document).

⁶⁴ Lacarra, José María. "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro," in *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón*, 3 (1947-8): nos. 196-7; Ubieto Arteta, A. "Navarra-Aragón y la idea imperial de Alfonso VII de Castilla," in *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón*, 6 (1956): 49-53; ACA: Parchments of Raymond Berenger III; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Cod. 691, n. 38, fol. 17, n. 426, fol. 186v; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, 38; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 1; For an historiographical discussion of the donations, see: José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador* (Zaragoza: Guara Editorial, S.A., 1978), 106-8, 123, 139-41; Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alphonso I, 'El Batallador', King of Aragon and Navarre; A Reassessment," in *Speculum*, 50 (1975): 635-51; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 26-31 and Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 94-7.

Although the Temple did not receive its third of the kingdom in the end, it did win several concessions from Ramon Berenguer in the treaty of Girona in 1143.⁶⁵ Most notable of these were several castles (including those of Monzón and Gardeny in Lleida) as well as the right to one fifth of all war booty and reconquered lands.

This concession was only repealed in 1238 by Ramon Berenguer's descendant James I, following the fall of Valencia City to the Aragonese. James, who had been fostered by the Templars, replaced the original concession with other properties and taxes in old Catalonia and Aragon. At the time, this apparently seemed like a reasonable concession to both parties. As time went on, however, and the Valencian frontier grew at the expense of Aragon and Catalonia, this cancellation of the old treaty reduced the Templars' overall power in the Crown of Aragon and the newer kingdoms of Valencia and the Balearics.⁶⁶

The Templars did well elsewhere in the West, particularly in France, but their military function made them especially welcome in the Crown of Aragon where the *Reconquista* had created a need for a reliable, long-term military force. There, the Templars were fully expected to participate in the defense and expansion of the Spanish realms at the expense of Muslim Al-Andalus.⁶⁷ The Templars hesitated to devote so much manpower and resources to a new frontier, but in the Crown of Aragon they eventually did so. High-level royal grants with strings attached ensured their participation in the *Reconquista*. The most notable one was Alfonso I's bequest. Subsequent negotiations with Ramon Berenguer IV included the Count's donation to the Temple of the fortress at Monzón in 1143. A disciplined, long-term fighting force that was not based around the leadership of one person or dynasty was an unusual thing in the 12th and 13th centuries. One that was international and could surmount local politics (as the Templars, being a religious order, answered only to the Pope), was unique. Only the Hospitallers and the Knights of St Lazarus (and later, the Teutonic Knights) had similar qualities. They provided a balancing power against the more traditional nobility and secular clergy.

⁶⁵ Bruguera, Mateo. *Historia General de los Caballeros del Temple vol. I*. Madrid: Ediciones Alcántara, 1888; [reprint 1999] 170-3; ACA: Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 7, fols. 8-9; Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed., *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), 1:9; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 314, Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de Barberà*, doc. 35; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910), 28 and 170; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 21-24; Josep M. Sans i Travé, *El procés dels Templers catalans: Entre el turment i la glòria*, (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1990), 90-2.

⁶⁶ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 33-6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 15-7; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 26-31.

Despite their establishment in the West, the Templars remained focused on Palestine and their original mission throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. It was in Palestine that the Order's hierarchy was most rigid and complex. The basic structure among the brethren consisted of knights, who wore white tunics with a red cross, and sergeants, who wore brown or black. Most of the command and officer structure from the Temple in Palestine came from the knights who, by the beginning of the 13th century, were mostly noble-born and expected to be of legitimate birth. Many of them were also French.

The Preceptors and many Commanders from the major houses in Palestine were expected to be knights, but Commanders of lesser houses and *frères casaliers* (heads of small farmsteads) could be sergeants and even mixed-race *poulains*.⁶⁸ The *Rule* hints at a large variety of different types of brothers, divided according to function. Regulations 616 and 617, for example, mention brothers in charge of the vineyards and gardens (*frères des jardins*) in Palestine.⁶⁹ In large and well-settled countries like France, the hierarchy of the Temple was also complex and very solid. In other areas where the Temple had less influence, fewer properties or fewer brethren, the administrative structure was much simpler. In Spain, the Templars had a problem of large, widespread and influential dependencies with relatively few brethren to administer them. Where Christian population density was low and there were fewer brethren per house, lay members from the local community, called *confratres*, tenants and even Muslim slaves, did many of the agricultural functions which fell to fully professed sergeant brethren in Palestine and France.

The Templars' focus on Palestine as their base of operations meant that their fortunes were inextricably tied to those of the Holy Land. Like the rest of the Latin leaders established there throughout the period of the Crusades, they were often forced to interact more closely with the Muslim enemy than many Christians back home thought seemly. This led to the accusations of collaboration, assimilation and treachery that dogged the Order for most of its career. As early as the Second Crusade, rumours

⁶⁸ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 124-30.

⁶⁹ Henri de Curzon, ed. *La Règle du Temple [The Rule of the Temple]* (Paris: La Société de l'Histoire de France, 1886; reprint, 1977), 317-8, regs. 616-7; J. M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, vol. IV, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), p.158-9, regs.616-7.

began that the Templars allied with Muslims against Christians.⁷⁰ In some cases, this may even have been true. When the Franks suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Saladin in the battle of Hattin in 1187 and the Muslims occupied Jerusalem, the Templars were blamed. This was despite the fact that all of the Templar and Hospitaller prisoners from the battle went to their deaths rather than apostasise. Criticism increased from 1189 onward when the crusaders failed to regain the city during the ensuing Third Crusade.

The Franks regained Jerusalem briefly in the 13th century. The Crusader States survived until the fall of Acre in 1291, and the Templars persisted for another two decades after that. Though the Order appeared to thrive in Europe in the 13th century, in Palestine, Hattin had done the Temple permanent damage. The Templars and the Hospitallers were both forced to take on increasingly onerous military responsibilities in the 13th century in Palestine. At the same time, enthusiasm both for the Crusades and military orders was cooling in Western Europe, leading to a decline in donations and other income. This created a widening shortfall of resources and manpower available for the defense of the Holy Land. Lacking the military resources to defend them well, the Templars and Hospitallers struggled to retain control of their borders by increasingly compromised treaties with the Muslim states that surrounded them.⁷¹ Even more disastrous for the Templars were the attempts by Kings in Spain, such as Peter III, Alfonso III and James II in Aragon during the 1280s and 1290s, to centralise their power and take back privileges that their ancestors had given away in the rush of the *Reconquista*. Thus, neither military order was enthusiastic about the new trend in Europe toward internal crusades against heretics and political rivals.⁷² The Hospitallers were able to relieve some of the pressure on themselves by taking lordship of Rhodes in 1309 but the Templars failed in a similar attempt with Cyprus in 1191, though they retained considerable property and influence there until the Trial.⁷³

After 1291, both military orders were in a vulnerable position and being encouraged to combine into a single entity under the mastership of a secular leader, the King of France, Philip the Fair. Philip spent most of his career expanding the borders of France

⁷⁰ Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995), 129-31.

⁷¹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 169-75.

⁷² Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c.1300* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 43-7.

⁷³ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 119-20.

through war on his neighbours. James II and his brother in Roussillon and the Balearics found Philip a disquieting neighbour. Internally, Philip alleviated the massive debts which France still carried from his grandfather, Louis IX's, crusades in 1249-51 and 1270, by plundering and expelling rich but unpopular groups. Less than two years before he had all of the Templars in France arrested on October 13, 1307, he had despoiled and expelled both the Jews and the Lombards (Italian bankers). Once Philip had the Templars arrested, he tried them for heresy and tried to get both the Pope and kings in other countries to join in the trial as a way of legitimising his actions after the fact.⁷⁴ He was only partially successful. He did succeed in having the Order suppressed in 1312, and the Templar Grand Master burned at the stake in 1314, but did not acquire the Templars' property for himself.⁷⁵ Instead, Pope Clement V (a papal candidate of Philip's) transferred the Templars' landed property to the Hospitallers, except in parts of Spain. There, local kings made their own decisions about how to distribute the property. In Portugal, the Order was combined with the Hospital into the Knights of Christ. In the Crown of Aragon, a new military order, the Order of Montesa was formed and received Temple properties in the southern part of the kingdom. In the northern part, these properties went to the Hospital.⁷⁶

A Brief History of the "*Reconquista*"

The Muslims invaded Christian Visigothic Spain in 711. By 718, they held most of the Iberian peninsula below the Pyrenees and were raiding up into France. The few Christian kingdoms in the north remained small and relatively powerless until the Muslim Caliphate in *Al-Andalus* disintegrated into a number of still-powerful, but disorganised, *taifa* city-states in 1031. A sustained expansion by the kingdoms of Castille and Leon on the central Iberian plain culminated in the Christian capture of the Toledo *taifa* in 1085.

While the inland plain of Castille proved difficult for the Christians to hold against two successive Muslim recovery operations from North Africa (the Almoravids and Almohads, respectively), the Christian expansion overall proved permanent with the

⁷⁴ Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 40-50.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 240-2.

⁷⁶ Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2001), 383-400; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 356-64; Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 156-209.

decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.⁷⁷ Matters were less clear in Catalonia and Aragon, where the southernmost border of the *Reconquista* remained only a few kilometers south of Barcelona from that city's recapture in 801 until the Battler captured Zaragoza in 1118 during a bid to retake the Ebro Valley in southern Catalonia and eastern Aragon. Alfonso continued to fight the Muslims until his death in 1134 but the conquest of the Ebro Valley was not secured until the fall of Tortosa in 1148 and Lleida in 1149.⁷⁸ The Kings of Aragon went on to capture the Balearics (Majorca and Minorca) in 1229 and the southeastern coastal city of Valencia in 1238.⁷⁹ This completed their expansion, though the territory of Valencia was not completely subdued until after a major Muslim revolt in 1275-7.⁸⁰ Valencia and the Balearics had become Christian kingdoms separate from the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Catalonia by the end of the 13th century, but the same dynasty ruled them all.

The Templars, and their counterparts the Hospitallers, came relatively late to the *Reconquista*. By the time they arrived in Spain in the late 1120s, the power and administrative structures in the new frontier regions on the southern border of Castille had solidified. There was no room for two independent and international military orders there. Also, while the Templars did well in Portugal, they had considerable competition on the southern Portuguese borders from local military orders like the Order of Calatrava, who filled the same niche and were easier to control by a secular ruler.⁸¹

Catalonia and Aragon, however, were in the middle of a great push south through the Ebro Valley when the Templars first came to the region.⁸² Due to Alfonso I and Ramon Berenguer III's wills, the Templars immediately acquired powerful associates in the

⁷⁷ Gonzales, J. *El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid: 1960), ; Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 274-96.

⁷⁸ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1992), 215-30.

⁷⁹ Glick, Thomas F., *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 48; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 268-72; Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1-17.

⁸⁰ Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 1967, 4-7.

⁸¹ Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, "Frontera, Sobreranía Territorial y Ordenes Militares en la Península Iberica durante la Edad Media." 3, no. 182 (1992): 789-809; Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, "Monarquía castellana: Alfonso VIII y la orden de Calatrava," *2nd curso de Historia Medieval, Alfonso VIII y su epoca, Aguilar de Campoo*. (1990): 361-378; Francisco Ruiz Gomez, "Los orígenes de la Ordenes Militares, y la repoblacion de los territorios de la Mancha," *Fundacion de las ordenes militares*. Madrid: CSIC, 2003: 121-169.

⁸² Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 21.

region. Nor were donors and *confratres* limited to the nobility,⁸³ as some studies of Templar donors in England from the same period might indicate.⁸⁴ Property owners from all levels enthusiastically gave to the new order, in the hopes of attaining salvation more directly through the *Reconquista*. While this enthusiasm had peaked by the end of the 12th century, this was probably as much due to the stalling of the *Reconquista* as to the inevitable fading of the novelty of military orders (and the idea of crusade).⁸⁵ The Templars founded new commanderies in the Crown of Aragon well into the 13th century. Some of this expansion was due to consolidation and movement of property, but it also involved the exploitation of new property as well.⁸⁶

The Templars suffered a setback when James I denied them their fifth of Valencia after the city's capture. However, James' consequent generosity in older areas of the Crown of Aragon balanced this loss during his lifetime. It did not have an impact on the Templar's material success until his descendants attempted to reclaim ancient privileges in the consolidation and centralisation of their own power. There has been considerable debate over whether the Temple's disputes with the Kings of Aragon reflected a more permanent decline, and whether the Trial was, in effect, inevitable.⁸⁷ The Templars in Spain probably would have lost some of their fortunes with the waning of the *Reconquista*, at least as they were organised during that period, but the Order there was still vital and thriving at the time of the Trial. The Templars were resourceful, particularly in Spain, and solidly rooted there. Most of the Templars who appear in the Spanish documents were local in origin and adapted to the local conditions which they found,

⁸³ Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister*, 137-41.

⁸⁴ John Walker, "The Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1991), 1-10.

⁸⁵ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 3rd ed. (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001), 207-16.

⁸⁶ AHN, cód. 466, pp. 40-1, doc. 42 (1267).

⁸⁷ Nicholson sees the order as vulnerable in 1307 due to the failure of the Crusades, but not necessarily in decline, Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, 132-5 and more recently, Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 226. Barber argues that the Templars were also temporarily vulnerable but mainly victims of bad luck and unscrupulous royal power, Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 246-7. Partner portrays the order as having been permanently damaged by criticisms of it before the Trial (something with which Nicholson disagrees), Peter Partner, *The Knights Templar and their Myth* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1987), 24-5; and Jaspert argues that the Templars were already in decline, even in Spain, by the time of the Trial, Nikolas Jaspert, "Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: The Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia," in *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 19-45. Forey, however, disagrees with this thesis, particularly with regards to Spain, citing the strong support in the Crown of Aragon, even among the Templars' traditional rivals in the secular clergy, for the continuation of the Temple, Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, 251-5. Forey's case is strongly supported by the formation of successor orders out of the Templars and Hospitallers in Portugal and the Crown of Aragon in the early 14th century.

rather than trying to impose a structure from above. This was a common feature of the frontier orders that became popular in the early 12th century.⁸⁸ It is therefore not impossible, or even unlikely, that they would have continued to adapt long after the Trial which cut short their corporate career if Philip the Fair had not engineered their arrests.

General Templar Interactions

With whom did the Templars interact?

This may, at first, appear to be an idle question. The original Latin version of the Templar *Rule* states clearly that there were several groups which the Templar brethren should avoid--namely, women,⁸⁹ excommunicates⁹⁰ and (by inference) free Muslims.⁹¹ It also discourages the practice of taking in child oblates.⁹² The French expansion goes into detail about the segregation between Templar brothers and turcoples (free Muslim, or half-caste, mercenaries who worked for various groups in Palestine), who were treated as inferior even to the sergeants.⁹³

These regulations worked well in theory, but practice, particularly in a sparsely populated border region like Catalonia and Aragon, proved to be very different. As far as child oblates, for example, James I was only the most famous of the child dependents which the Temple took under its wing in the 13th century.⁹⁴ Women were apparently not an unusual component of Templar houses in the Iberian peninsula, either. The commandery of Rourell, subject to Barberà, had a preceptrix in the late 12th

⁸⁸ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 258.

⁸⁹ Regulations 70 and 71, Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 36.

⁹⁰ Regulations 12 and 13, *Ibid*, 12, 22-3.

⁹¹ Regulations 240, 422, 455, 596, *Ibid*, 75, 113, 120, 154. The prohibition against threatening to "go to the Saracens (*se frere disoit que il s'en iroit a sarrazins*)", even if said in anger, is so serious that it is repeated three times and is connected with the sin of heresy in regulation 422. For regulation 240, see Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, 157.

⁹² Regulation 14, Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 23.

⁹³ Regulations concerning turcoples include: regs. 77, 99, 101, 110, 120, 125, 153, 169-171, 179, 189, 271, 370, 375, 519, 610, 637; *Ibid*, 39, 44-5, 47, 49-50, 57, 61, 63, 65, 80-1, 102-3, 135-6, 157, 163.

⁹⁴ Burns, Robert I., ed. *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, 34-5. In his autobiography, James frequently mentions traveling on military campaigns with members of the Temple and Hospital in his entourage, indicating both their importance to his army and his personal connection to them; Burns, Robert I., ed. *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257-1263 . Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaime I, 1257-1276, vol II: Documents 1-500*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, 235 (p.205), 255 (p.216).

century. A Doña Urraca Vermúdez called "*soror Templi*", appears in a document from Faro (in Galicia, north of Portugal) in 1201. There were other, unnamed sisters, there as well.⁹⁵

The Mozarabs were another unexpected group that was well represented in the early documents and *confratres* lists of the Temple in both Catalonia and Aragon. Their strong inclusion in the Temple infrastructure, especially in Monzón, may have contributed to the tension between the Templars and the secular arm of the Church, since the Latin Church administration was slowly replacing the old Mozarabic hierarchy in newly conquered lands. Some church officials went as far as to condemn Mozarabs as heretics for their adherence to the old "Visigothic" Mozarabic rite.⁹⁶ The two turcoples who appeared as witnesses in early 13th century documents from Tortosa may have been Mozarabs, since they had Christian names.⁹⁷ It seems more likely, though, that they had come from Palestine and were not local at all.

Muslims appeared in 12th century *confratres* lists from Novillas⁹⁸ and one well-known Jewish bailiff of 13th century Zaragoza named "Judah aben Lavi de la Cavalleria" proclaimed his descent from a former Jewish man of the Temple in his own name.⁹⁹

The composition of the Temple and its associates in Spain, therefore, appears to have been more varied than in Palestine or the Order's heartland of France, and did not include as high a percentage of fully-professed brethren. This did not occur so much because so few able-bodied men joined the Temple from Spain as because those who did usually went to Palestine. One of the better known Grand Masters from the 12th century, Arnald de Torroja, was first Provincial Master in the Crown of Aragon and an active brother before that. He appeared in documents from a variety of areas. The difference between Spain and northern Europe was that the Templars in Spain were fighting two longterm wars--the *Reconquista* in Spain and the Crusades in Europe. The

⁹⁵ Diez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España*, 143.

⁹⁶ Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 68-70, 245-7.

⁹⁷ ACA sec. 5, doc. 28, fol. 9r-v; ACA sec. 5, vol. 3, doc. 227, fol. 70r; ACA GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 68, fol. 23 r-v; ACA, GP, Tortosa parchment no. 54, parts through ABC; ACA, GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 74, fol. 25r; Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa: Institut d'Estudis Dertosenses, 1984), docs. 122 and 130, and Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312), Volume II* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1999), docs. 35, 43 and 216.

⁹⁸ AHN, Cod. no. 25, fol. 9; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 10, p.20-44.

⁹⁹ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [originally 1961, trans. from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman]), 145.

Order needed to man both frontiers with whomever it could find.

Why did the Templars interact with groups forbidden by the *Rule*?

As stated above, the Christian frontier of northeastern Spain was sparsely populated in terms of Latin Christians. Furthermore, a sizable Muslim and Jewish population had remained behind, creating problems of assimilating a potentially very dangerous group into the newly expanded Christian society. This was not just on the border as it existed after 1149. Throughout the Ebro Valley and as far north as Huesca, entire villages remained substantially Muslim.¹⁰⁰ There were even Jewish rural communities in Navarre, where the houses were under the jurisdiction of Novillas in the 12th century.¹⁰¹

The Templars could not ignore help from these groups. In France, England and Palestine, they had enough full brethren to have a more traditionally northern European feudal hierarchy of knights and sergeants. In Spain, the hierarchy varied according to who was available to give support--regardless of whether or not these groups were strictly allowed participation in the Order by the *Rule*.¹⁰² In the legal context of the Crown of Aragon, the Kings of Aragon claimed all Jews and Muslims as their personal vassals.¹⁰³ The Templars appear to have retained a claim over some of the non-Christians in the Crown due to their inheritance from Alfonso I.¹⁰⁴ However, to have a rigid structure of serfdom for non-Christians (who were technically outside that structure save as serfs and slaves) when the King offered non-Christians a better deal would have been unwise, to say the least. There appears to have been much competition within the nobility for lordship over non-Christians, who were a lucrative group. Both the Muslims and the Jews were skilled in intensive agricultural labour and crafts. The Jews also produced great money-lenders and officials of the King. In order to be competitive in acquiring vassals from these lucrative groups, therefore, the Templars found it necessary to be

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Gerrard, "Opposing Identity: Muslims, Christians and the Military Orders in Rural Aragon," in *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 43 (1999): 143-160.

¹⁰¹ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 1, 42-3.

¹⁰² One of the more interesting aspects of the Catalan version of the *Rule*, a late 13th century translation, was that it made no reference to these local compromises.

¹⁰³ Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 9-18.

¹⁰⁴ Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 33, fol. 23; AHN: Cartoral del Temple doc. 365, fol. 104v, Cartoral Magne...d'Amposta: doc. 184, fol. 87; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 415; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, I:12; Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, 50, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral dels Templers de les Comandes de Gardeny y Barbens* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1899), 8.

more tolerant than might have been expected from the terms of the *Rule*.

Women responded as enthusiastically to the Crusades and their offshoots (including the military orders) as men.¹⁰⁵ By the time the Templars received their rule, they had already acquired some powerful patrons, not all of whom were men. They therefore found it necessary to be more accepting of female participation than might be expected from their traditional reputation. Even the *Rule* mentions *consorores*.¹⁰⁶ The difference between Spain and other regions, however, lay in the heavy dependence of the Temple on its *confratres* for administration. This therefore blurred boundaries that in other countries were much more rigid.

Mozarabs were Christians who had lived in the area when it was under Muslim rule. They remained after it was reclaimed by Christians from the north. They tended to be arabized and followed a Christian rite which they claimed derived from the pre-Muslim-conquest Visigothic Church, rather than the Latin rite of Rome.¹⁰⁷ This brought the Mozarabic church hierarchy into conflict with the Roman church infrastructure when the Christian kingdoms first moved south in the 11th century.¹⁰⁸ Mozarabs show up in documents immediately after the reconquest of areas like Tortosa, Lleida, Novillas and Huesca. In some cases, they persisted until at least the early 14th century. Since they were Christian and well-established in the reconquered areas, the Temple probably dealt with them for the same reason that it used, and expanded, former Muslim fortresses. Instead of knocking these down, they used the old Muslim administration, rather than completely reorganising. The Temple lacked either the resources or the inclination to start again from scratch, or to reject a Christian for being too culturally like the Muslim enemy. Their being loyal Christians with lucrative lands and trade already in place where the Templars established their convents was good enough reason to include Mozarabs among Temple associates.

Templar associates--slaves and exarics

There were several groups of Templar associates, including slaves, tenants, *confratres*, corrodors and the vague designation of "Temple men". People who

¹⁰⁵ Christopher Tyerman, "Who Went on Crusades?" in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, 13-26 (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992).

¹⁰⁶ Regulations 70, 541, 683; Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 36, 141, 173-4.

¹⁰⁷ Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*; 228-31, 271.

¹⁰⁸ Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 68-9.

associated with the Temple included secular church officials, other monastic order brethren, neighbours, officials of the King (usually bailiffs), donors, and people who engaged in property exchange or money transactions with the Temple. The two best-defined groups of Templar associates were *confratres* and slaves. The *Rule* dealt with both groups, giving specific instructions for their treatment and place in the Order (their identities in Templar documents are somewhat less clear).¹⁰⁹ Slaves were always Muslims, usually *mauri capti*, prisoners of war captured in raids and wars on the southern border of Christian Spain. Unlike the Hospitallers, the Templars had few female slaves and appear to have avoided keeping them, seeing them as vulnerable to sexual abuse by the brethren. Brothers breaking their vows of chastity with female slaves was a recurrent problem in the Hospital.¹¹⁰ This lack of female slaves created something of a problem for the Temple, as it therefore did not increase its slave population through births. It also shows that Templar slaves were, in general, single men (or married men separated from their families in the south), temporary workers who left the Temple either through ransom, death or escape. It seems doubtful that they felt much loyalty, if any, to the Temple or its cause. Rather, they would have been a hostile group. Nor were they a small group--in the largest convents such as Monzon and Miravet, they numbered around 40.¹¹¹ Slaves must therefore have always constituted a risk within Templar convents, and perhaps were not a first choice for labourers by the Temple.

In fact, most of the Muslims who appeared in Templar documents were not slaves but *exarics*--a term for Muslim agricultural serfs.¹¹² There has been considerable debate over how free or unfree *exarics* really were, or even if all *exarics* were non-Christian.¹¹³ However, in Templar documents, the role of "exaric" (stated or implied) varied over a wide range from unfree to free--from serfs tied to a specific property, through tenants voluntarily taking on a property in exchange for paying rent, to property owners of

¹⁰⁹ For slaves, regulations #113, 116, 254, 336 and 597; for *confratres*, regulations#69-70, 128, 133, 411, 541 and 683.

¹¹⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 239-40.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 285-6.

¹¹² The Latin term, *exarici*, derived from the Arabic term *ash-sharik*; Isabel A. O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xàtiva, 1240-1327*, vol. 44, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, ed. Hugh Kennedy, Paul Magdalino, David Abulafia, et al, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 89-90.

¹¹³ Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Vol. 7, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, Michael Whitby, Paul Magdalino and Hugh Kennedy, et al., eds. (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 304-15.

vineyards, orchards and town houses. Some Muslims in Templar documents were even rich merchants, travelling to distant lands as Temple men.¹¹⁴ Others were *aljama* officials with important duties. While Templar relationships with their free Muslims were less clear than those with their slaves, they did bear a qualitative difference. Free Muslims, exarics or not, became Temple men out of choice; slaves did not. Free Muslims expressed loyalty to the Temple in their role as Temple men, while still remaining Muslims both in religion and culture. Slaves, by the very nature of their servitude, had no such reliable loyalty. This was what made them so hazardous as possessions, and may explain the Temple's preference for free associates, even if those associates were only technically free.

Templar associates--*confratres*

The *confratres* were a very different story from that of the slaves, or even other associates. These were people who joined the Temple as lay members. This is to say that they devoted themselves to the service of the Temple, but did not take the triple monastic vow of poverty, chastity and obedience. They generally kept at least some of their property, had wives (or husbands) and children and lived in the community surrounding the convent rather than inside the convent itself.¹¹⁵

The Templars did not invent confraternities. These religious associations existed in the early days of Christianity and were most visible in Western Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries in Italy.¹¹⁶ However, they were already popular by the 12th and 13th centuries.¹¹⁷ In the East, there were Byzantine confraternities for priests.¹¹⁸ In the 11th century, confraternities of knights also became popular.¹¹⁹ A possible predecessor to the Templars in Aragon were the early 12th century Confraternities of Belchite and Monreal, an Aragonese fighting confraternity formed by Alfonso the Battler in 1122 and 1124

¹¹⁴ David Nirenberg, "Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," in *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Mark D. and Edward D. English, 141-60 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

¹¹⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 42-6.

¹¹⁶ John Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence," in *Voluntary Religion: Papers Read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Shiels, and Diane Wood (Worcester: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1986), 69-83.

¹¹⁷ Richard MacKenney, "Devotional Confraternities in Renaissance Venice," in *Voluntary Religion*, 85-96.

¹¹⁸ Peregrine Horden, "The Confraternities of Byzantium," in *Voluntary Religion*, 25-45.

¹¹⁹ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 22.

respectively.¹²⁰ While these confraternities did not thrive, the existence of these "Militias of Christ (*Militiae Christi*)"¹²¹ when the Templars first arrived in Spain may account for why early donors usually referred to the Temple as a confraternity (*confradia/confraternitas*) or "militia", rather than a religious order.

Confraternities were usually free-standing, albeit devoted to a saint (often the Virgin Mary), but confraternities attached to religious orders were popular as well during the 12th and 13th centuries. Both the Templars and the Hospitallers had strong, well-organised confraternities devoted to their cause during the 12th and 13th centuries, as did the Knights of St Lazarus in England.¹²² The military orders did not forbid these organisations the way the Cistercians did. In fact, they found them helpful. One English confraternity of the Hospital still thrives as the St John's Auxilliary, part of a 19th century revival of that order.¹²³

In the most straightforward version of the *confrater* oath, the person gave him or herself to the Temple body and soul (*animae et corporis*),¹²⁴ often into the hands of the commander of the convent, gave a piece of property and a yearly donation and promised either a horse (or other beast) with his armour, in the case of a man, or a horse and her best garment, in the case of a woman, upon death.¹²⁵ In return, the person received the right to be buried within the Temple's cemetery, prayers to be said for him or her and the *confrater's* ancestors, legal and physical protection from outside aggression and, frequently, either a corrody (the right to receive food, drink and/or lodging in the convent on a regular basis) or a piece of property in exchange for rent.¹²⁶ The *confrater* usually enjoyed considerable protection from outside taxation, as well, and frequently had to promise not to join the confraternities of any other religious orders. The

¹²⁰ Peter Rassow, "La Cofradía de Belchite", *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 3 (1926); Ubieto Arteta, A. "La creación de la cofradía de Belchite," *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón*. 5 (1952); Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, 98-100; Elena Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat, and the Temple", *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13 (1982), 159-76; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 26-7.

¹²¹ Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, 75-7, 98.

¹²² Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister*, 115-41; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 131-6; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 239-40.

¹²³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John* (London; Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1999), 128-39.

¹²⁴ Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312), Volume I* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1999), 137-45.

¹²⁵ Cartulary of Barberà doc. 38; fol. 22v-23r; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 33, p. 25 (erroneous date of 1130); Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de Barberà*, 26.

¹²⁶ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 110-11.

obligation of military service was almost a given, though this may have been more a municipal obligation than one specifically to the Order in towns where the Order held lordship. The rent in question was given on a specific date agreed upon in the document of confraternity, most frequently on Christmas (*Nativitate*), Easter or the feast of Saint Michael.¹²⁷

Even when all of the above conditions were in place, documents did not always refer specifically to the individual as a *confrater*. And in some cases, the document called a person a *confrater* when only some of the conditions were met. Furthermore, *fratres* joined the Temple under similar conditions, creating considerable confusion in some cases as to whether a person in a document was joining the Temple as a *confrater* or a *frater*.¹²⁸ Distinguishing between these two categories and the third, the *donator* or *donat* (one who gave him or herself to the house but did not join as a full brother) or even a *corroder* (one who received a corrody in exchange for donating some or all of his or her property) was almost impossible in some instances. Martin don Esmon in Huesca, for example, appears to have joined the order as a *donat* in 1183. The only two clues showing that he joined in this capacity over his joining as a full brother, however, are the fact that he was married and that the document was called a "charter of donation" (*carta donationis*).¹²⁹ The issue is clouded further by Sancha de Aragon's *carta donationis* in 1186, in which she gives to the Temple all of her property in Aragon (including a serf), but does not give herself. Nor does she list receiving a corrody or any material gain from the transaction. All she asks in exchange is the salvation of her soul, and her daughters' and parents' souls, as well (*pro redemptione animarum nostrarum necnon parentum nostrarum*).¹³⁰ This certainly makes her an associate of the Temple, but what did this mean?

Maria from Huesca joined the Temple as a *donata* in 1228. Her case raises the question--why join as a *donata* and not as a *consoror*? The formula was similar to one for a *confrater*. Maria donated rent on some properties and gave her body to the Temple.

¹²⁷ AHN, Cod. no. 25, fol. 9; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 10, p.20-44.

¹²⁸ See the case of Bertrand of Albero in Huesca in 1219, who is received into the Temple "as a brother and our ally (*per fratrem et socium nostrum*)", while apparently on his deathbed; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 11-12, no. 19; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, vol. 70, *Textos medievales* (Zaragoza [Spain]: Anubar Ediciones, 1985), 170.

¹²⁹ AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 27-8, no. 59; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*; doc. 93, p. 97-8.

¹³⁰ AHN, Cód. 499, p. 28, no. 61; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*; doc. 104, p.107. This is a common formula in both Catalan and Aragonese documents. The "*animae nostrarum*" appears to refer to the fact that Sancha is making the document with the consent of her daughters.

She wished for the brothers to bury her in their cemetery. However, one major difference was that she did not make any bequest for after her death, either of money, a garment or an animal, as *confratres* usually did. Further, she only gave her body, not her body and soul, as *confratres* promised. That said, known *confratres* formulae were not standardised enough to disqualify Maria and Sancha from confraternity status without their designation as *donatae*. Nor did the *donats* who appear in Tortosa seem to have much different status in the Temple than those designated *confratres*.¹³¹ They were probably a type of *confratres*, but the differences in designations remain unclear.

Overall, these distinctions were much looser in the Catalan and Aragonese Temple than they were in the Hospital in Occitan France, where a *donat* was a noble version of a *confrater*.¹³² The terms were vaguest when the document was a will (opening up the question of whether a man was joining on his deathbed as a *confrater* or joining as a full brother and simply making up his will beforehand) or when the person in question was a woman and being referred to as a *soror* or even an officer of the Temple. The latter instance was rare and limited to the case of the subcommandery of Rourell in the late 12th century. But there were other liminal cases involving women that did not fit the neat pattern laid out in the *Rule*.¹³³

The vaguest and largest group of Templar associates was the "Temple men" or "men of the Temple" ("*homines templi*").¹³⁴ This group included *confratres*, turcoples, vassals, tenants, local officials and a variety of ill-defined individuals, both Christian and non-Christian, who appear to have both owed to, and enjoyed protection from, the Temple. As Alan Forey notes, 13th century Aragon in particular was a violent place and many ordinary Aragonese and Catalans found it useful insurance to have a Templar cross on their property.¹³⁵ These crosses probably resembled those that survive on the ruins of Templar convents in Catalonia, such as on the upper right-hand wall of the convent house in Tarragona, on one of the lower battlements at the fortress in Gardeny or over the doorway of the convent farmhouse on the outskirts of Aiguaviva, outside Girona.

¹³¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 135-47.

¹³² Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister*, 119.

¹³³ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 131-4.

¹³⁴ According to Bisson, this term could apply to both knights and peasants, Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140-1200* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 32.

¹³⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 45.

Vassals, slaves, tenants and *confratres* of the Order

The Temple saw its *confratres* as an important resource, particularly early on during the 12th century, enough so as to draw up lists of them. All of the non-slave persons in these lists--husbands, wives, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters and vassals--appear to have been seen as *confratres* of the Order.¹³⁶ *Confratres* also appear conducting business for the Order in Novillas and Barberà that would ordinarily have been conducted only by full brethren.¹³⁷ In these latter categories, the line between *confrater* and *frater* again becomes difficult to place. While it is important to try to determine which is which, it seems likely, particularly early in the Order's history, that the definitions were inconsistent because the Templars themselves saw no great distinction between the two--or a need for one. This did change, at least in Palestine, by the 13th century, when the Order began to limit those who could become knight brethren. Illegitimate men, for example, could no longer become knights, only sergeants.¹³⁸ In mid-12th century England, during the reign of King Stephen, most of the *confratres* and donors listed in Templar records were mid to high-level nobility and/or relatives of the royal household.¹³⁹ This was not true in Spain at any time, where many donors and *confratres* came from lower nobility, or were non-nobles, throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, despite the Temple's high and direct connections to the Count/Kings of Barcelona/Aragon.

While individual landless tenants occasionally appear in land transactions and *confratres* documents as *cultivatores* (serfs attached to vineyards or orchards) or *molinares* (millworkers), most Templar tenants had property. They became tenants after exchanging a piece of land for a piece of Temple land on which they paid rent. Landless tenants tended to appear as groups in *fueros* (agreements between lords and vassals of a town or village concerning local laws, taxes and customs). Exchanges of both slaves and serfs (landed and landless) do appear in Temple documentation.¹⁴⁰ Again, at the lowest level, the distinction between slave and *exaricus* (Muslim agricultural serf) could become blurred for non-Christians. A person who did not own himself should not

¹³⁶ The *confratres* lists in Novillas show husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, joining in confraternity, but do not name every family member. The implication is that everyone included is a *confrater* or *consoror* of the Temple; AHN, Cód. no. 25, fol. 9; Cód. no. 421, fol. 166; Cód. 691, no. 442, fol. 196; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," p. 20-47, docs. 10-11, p.240-4, doc.165; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 376-7, doc. XI.

¹³⁷ AHN, Cód. 691, no. 44, fol. 20v; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," p. 79, docs. 37.

¹³⁸ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 191.

¹³⁹ Walker, "The Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus in England," 1-10.

¹⁴⁰ AHN, cód. 466, pp. 40-1, doc. 42.

have been able to own property. However, there were unfree people who appeared to own movable property and even small plots of land (though the latter was unusual). Whether these were slaves or some type of serf, however, is very unclear.¹⁴¹ Unless an apparently unfree person listed in the document was a Muslim, however, that person was not a slave of the Temple. The Templars were not allowed to own Christians or Jews as slaves, so any such individuals who were exchanged to the Temple, or came with property, were (if unfree and not simply switching lordship) serfs, not slaves.¹⁴²

Turcoples, a specific type of either half-caste, native Christian or Muslim Turkish-style, light cavalry mercenary (depending on the source and historiographical interpretation), appeared in Latin Christian armies in Palestine. They did occasionally appear in Templar documents in Spain as well.¹⁴³ It is unknown whether these individuals came from Palestine or were part of a local group. Their rarity (only two turcoples appear, as witnesses in early 13th century documents from Tortosa) would indicate the former, but the fact that they had local Christian names would indicate the latter. Their status and function, at any rate, appears to have been the same in Spain as it was in Palestine.

How did the Temple's interactions with its different associates and dependents differ?

Confratres appear to have had the highest status in the Order of all the Temple's associates (with the possible exception of *donats*, where the Temple had this category). In some cases, it was equivalent to that of full brethren, even knight brethren. The confusion in early 12th century documents from Novillas about the nature of the Templars supports the likelihood that the two categories were conflated in laypeople's minds. The lists refer to the Templars as the *confradia* (confraternity) of the Temple or Militia, rather than the *fraternitas* or simply *Militia* or *Milites*. This model was already accepted by the late 1120s in Aragon, where confraternities like the Confraternity of

¹⁴¹ Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 301-15.

¹⁴² "Resumen de los documentos del Cartulario de los Templarios de Tortosa 1048-1251," *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*, 1126 (pg 189), fol. 35-137; "Cartulary of Tortosa," in *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*, 115, doc. 279, fol. 88

¹⁴³ John, Lord de Joinville, "Memoirs of Louis IX King of France," in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, (London: Henry G. Bohn: 341-556, 1848), 466; Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, 75; Matthew Bennett, "La Règle du Temple as a Military Manual, or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge," in Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 175-88; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 111-12, 179-80.

Belchite, founded by Alfonso I in 1122, had already made the idea popular.¹⁴⁴

Laypeople, both noble and nonnoble, perceived the Temple as a group that they could join, influence and make their own, even if they did not take full, monastic vows. The lists reflect this self-image of full participation in Temple life by *confratres*.

The Temple was small and weak in the 1120s and 1130s, especially in Europe where it was newly established. Its main strength was its intense and widespread popularity as a permanent crusading group. Therefore, we see the Temple frequently bending itself during this period to accommodate local conditions and needs, rather than the precepts of its *Rule*. While the Templars certainly regarded their rule with great respect, the Latin *Rule* was originally an outside influence. Bernard's committee had imposed a Cistercian-flavoured Benedictine rule upon the Templars at the Council of Troyes, as a condition of the Temple becoming an accepted, orthodox monastic order. The early Templars' reactions to this new *Rule*, which replaced their original Augustinian one, do not survive. However, the secret translation and expansion of the *Rule* into French during the 1140s indicates a certain dissatisfaction with Bernard's original product.¹⁴⁵ The Latin Rule imposed at the Council of Troyes did not cover the Templars' military duties very well, though some regulations, which forbade asceticism and allowed a greater portion of meat than for other orders, acknowledged the Templars' need for physical fitness.¹⁴⁶ However, the fact that the Templars seem to have continued some traditions from the original Augustinian Rule that Bernard's specifically forbade (i.e. the inclusion of women living in the convent, whether as full sisters or *consorores*) indicates that the Templars did not shed this older Rule completely.

Because they were founded so early, practices at Douzens and Novillas would not likely reflect the uniform influence of the new rule at first to as great an extent as they did in the early years of later houses. Thus, we see considerable status for *confratres* in the early histories of these two houses. We also see *confrater* (even *consoror*) influence on Templar policies in later commanderies like Barberà, where the Christian population density of an area was low and the house probably held few brethren.

Noble and royal donors also enjoyed a high status with the Temple, with the count-kings of Aragon attempting to influence Temple policy through their hereditary status as

¹⁴⁴ Elena Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat, and the Temple," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13 (1982), 159-76; Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador*, 77.

¹⁴⁵ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 12-3.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, regulation#15 (on asceticism), 23-8 (on eating meat and meals in general).

confratres. They also tried to impose royal control over the Temple (with increasing success at the end of the 13th century), just as they did over the nobility, the other religious orders and the secular church in an attempt to increase royal power in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁴⁷ However, the two strongest kings of the Templar period--Ramon Berenguer IV and James I--both identified themselves with the Temple, in an almost familial bond. Ramon Berenguer was a *confrater*, both through his father and, probably, through his own agency. James had been raised by the Templars and the Provincial Master had been regent and foster father to him in his minority.¹⁴⁸ It is difficult, therefore, to determine how much of these two kings' perceived right to intervene in Templar internal affairs came from their sense of royal privilege and how much came from their rights as highly-born *confratres* and donors to the Order, but both factors came into play during their respective reigns. This was the main problem with donors, particularly high noble and royal donors. Even when they gave away all rights over property to the Temple, they still retained a sense of entitlement to the Temple's property and privileges overall.

A related difficulty with high-born donors is that, because of this sense of entitlement in many cases, it is difficult to determine their true status *within* the Temple as Temple associates, or even if they were Temple associates. *Confratres* felt entitled to participate in Templar affairs because their oaths made them lay members of the Temple. But not all of the royal and other high-born donors who interfered in internal Templar affairs were Temple associates, let alone lay members who had taken the vow of confraternity. Therefore, it can be difficult to distinguish when they interfered in Temple business as self-perceived associates (*de facto* vassals) or self-perceived lords. Obviously, the two relationships were not the same and disagreement between the Temple and a high-born donor over their relative positions in the local hierarchy could create considerable friction. These conflicts were further aggravated by the fact that in theory, the Temple answered only to the Pope as its ultimate lord, even if it served other, more worldly, local lords in practice.

Feudal relations with associates

The Templars did not linger where they were not wanted or where they could not get at least partial lordship. They lacked either the power or the inclination to remain in areas

¹⁴⁷ Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 50-60.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 97-8; Antoni Pladevall i Font, *Guillem de Mont-rodon: Mestre del Temple i tutor de Jaume I* (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1993), 1-10.

where there was little endowment for them. As such, commanderies sprung up years, or even decades, after a brother had gone to an area to organise preexisting donations and purchases. Areas with few, or no, lucrative properties either became subcommanderies or were administered directly by a more distant commandery from another area. In some cases where this was not feasible, the Temple sold off those properties, buying property in more desirable areas and consolidating their holdings. This was also true of areas, such as late 12th century Navarre, where regional politics resulted in royal hostility toward the Order.¹⁴⁹

While some criticised the Templars for dominating certain areas and pushing out competitors, others criticised them for selling off pious donations, as this might endanger the intended spiritual benefits to the donors. The Templars' inclination towards cash crops which turned a quick, ready profit that could be sent off as cash and goods to the Holy Land, as opposed to the Hospitallers' more traditional, seigneurial approach towards agriculture, contributed towards this criticism. But it may also have increased the Templars' attraction to and for non-Christians, who engaged in a great deal of commerce and intensive agriculture.¹⁵⁰

The Templars did not do well in areas where strong competition in the same sociofeudal stratum (such as royal administration, secular clergy at the episcopal level, other military or religious orders or local lords) existed, particularly in urban areas. They simply lacked either the clout or the desire to get into extended conflicts over major territories, though the Temple did engage in long-running legal disputes over land and privileges in many areas. In this respect, they were not unique from other groups that held lordship in the Crown of Aragon during the 12th century.

The Templars pushed for seigneurial status, as unchallenged as possible, in the areas where they had the most involvement--namely, Novillas, Villastar, Tortosa (later, Miravet) and Monzon. Despite this, the Templars frequently ended up ceding control of these townships to their inhabitants during the course of the 13th century.¹⁵¹ This appears to have been part of a general, longterm trend towards municipal self-government in the region.

Although the documents indicate that there was some rancor involved in this gradual

¹⁴⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 19, 44, 107-8, 134-6; Joan Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995), 21-2.

¹⁵⁰ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 187-90.

¹⁵¹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 316.

transfer of lordship, the reactions of the townspeople to news of the Templar trial in Monzon, for example, indicates that it was, in fact, a fairly benign process and did not necessarily indicate a desire by the townspeople to get rid of the Order itself, or its influence. Even in areas where the Templars lost lordship over municipalities, they remained a welcome presence. The Templars were so fully integrated into local life that their neighbours could not imagine expelling them.

This entrenchment in Aragonese and Catalan life was fostered by the fact that many Templars in the Crown were not foreigners. In fact, brethren often were local men who came from the areas where they served. Their families protected and promoted Temple interests.¹⁵² This was counteracted somewhat by the practice of rotating officers around the province every year or two, but not completely. There were more than enough local brethren in place in the early 14th century that many locals aided the Templars in evading the royal troops and hiding property during the Trial. Perhaps, in the more populous and hierarchical organisation of the late 13th century, the previous trend towards rotating officers had fallen out of fashion. Or perhaps, the local officers mentioned in trial documents as hiding property with relatives were not important enough to show up in the usual cartulary documentation, but instead came under the general heading of "and other brothers (*et aliorum fratrum*)".¹⁵³

In effect, while the Templars nominally administered their lands on a purely seigneurial feudal system like the northern French model, their power base was much broader and more complex. It is unlikely, for example, that relatives of local brethren would have accepted a northern French-style lord-and vassal relationship, particularly when the relatives were *confratres* of the Order. The Temple may have sought to counteract this with the aforementioned frequent rotation of Templar officers around commanderies from the mid-12th century through the mid-13th century. In many places, the Templars also lacked the localised force of armed men that a local lord would have to enforce his commands. Documents where the Templars asked royal or municipal officials for help in protecting or enforcing Temple privileges were not unusual.¹⁵⁴ In such cases, the Temple was very dependent on the goodwill of the local population, Christian or non-Christian in

¹⁵² Ibid, 39-6.

¹⁵³ Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312), Volume II*, 33; ACA, GP, "Cartulary of Tortosa", p.223-4, doc. 181, fol. 59r.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 225-6.

protecting itself or getting anything done. Not that lack of enthusiasm for the Order by its associates was necessarily a problem. The defense of the Temple by a large group of sergeant brothers during the Trial shows that the corporate identity of the Temple was easily strong enough to extend down to servant brothers. The sergeants bore as much pride in calling themselves "Templars" as the knights. Indeed, the support wing of the Order defended it far more vigorously during the Trial than did the fighting arm.¹⁵⁵

Why did people join the Temple?

Both the kings and higher nobility and the secular church had difficulty with the idea of a religious monastic order that fulfilled a military/seigneurial role yet, at least in theory, answered only to the Pope in Rome. This aspect made the Templars, Hospitallers and Knights of St Lazarus international in scope compared to all other military orders (including the nominally international Teutonic Knights) and gave them a unique, extra-feudal character in a political sense. Despite this, the knightly class responded with great enthusiasm towards the new Order when the Temple was founded. This was especially true in Spain, where the *Reconquista* created an obvious link between war and religion as immediate as that in Palestine.¹⁵⁶ The knights supported and joined the Temple because the Order validated and redeemed their self-identity as warriors. The Temple gave them a way to integrate themselves peacefully into Western European Christian society without forcing them to give up their basic, cultural ethos. If they could fight for Christ, as *milites Christi* (soldiers of Christ) against the enemies of Christendom, then they could play a constructive role that would save them from damnation. If they fought hard enough and well enough, they might even attain Paradise. The military orders, perhaps even more so than the Crusades, made war holy for medieval knights.¹⁵⁷ This was important even more to the lower knighthood than to the high nobility or royalty. Many second sons from poorer knightly families joined the Order. In northeastern Spain, as in Palestine, the kings used the Temple brethren as the core of their armies whenever the Christians went on campaign against the Muslims. The Spanish kings could rely on the Templars, and the Hospitallers, as reliable, perennial soldiers who showed up for

¹⁵⁵ Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 142-3.

¹⁵⁶ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 20-1.

¹⁵⁷ Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance*, vol. 4, *History of Warfare* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 5-8.

royal musters, were loyal, or at least impartial (in Spain) and were well-disciplined.¹⁵⁸ One cannot overestimate the originality and value of a powerful and independent fighting force that could not be bought, and had international rather than local goals in this period. The Templars did not always rise above local concerns, but when they did, they could provide the glue needed to unite rival factions and reduce bloodshed.

In addition to the nobility, non-nobles, and even non-Christians, associated themselves with the Order with great enthusiasm, though they usually joined as associates, not full brethren. Non-Christians, of course, could not take the latter role without conversion to Christianity. The Spanish Temple apparently had so many *confratres* in its ranks because the population of full brethren was so low and spread so thin in Iberia.¹⁵⁹ The King of Castille formed the Order of Calatrava in 1158, for example, to protect the frontier castle of that name after the Templars proved unable to garrison it effectively.¹⁶⁰ But, as with the royal armies, the Templars seem to have provided local *confratres* with a core group around which to arrange themselves. While there were complaints about the Templar's inability to protect their associates (especially Jews during times of crisis), or even their occasional tendency to exploit or abuse their tenants, this does not appear to have stopped non-nobles and non-Christians from seeking to associate with them.¹⁶¹

The Temple became a monastic order in 1129. But the important brothers who appear in documents during the 1130s in Europe (notably Novillas, on the border of Aragon and Navarre, and Douzens in southern France) appear as *confratres*, not monastic brethren. Perhaps the confusion lies not in the scribal terms in the documents but in the modern assumption that there could be no confraternity of the Temple in an area where there was no convent of fully-professed brethren. It is possible that the early Temple in Novillas was a confraternity. The earliest known Templar master (*magister militum*) in Aragon, Guillem Ramon, was probably a *confrater*, indicating the presence of *confratres* in the hierarchy of the province.¹⁶² Though his name indicates a Catalan origin,

¹⁵⁸ Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 91, 96-7.

¹⁵⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 110-1, 225-6.

¹⁶⁰ Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, "Frontera, Sobrerania Territorial y Ordenes Militares...: 803-4.

¹⁶¹ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I*, 150, 210. For the violent case of the grain trader, a Templar vassal, who was seized and burned to death for miscegenation in 1301 as reprisal against his Templar lords, see, ACA Cancillería, 118, 31v-32r (1301/3/14) and ACA, Cancillería, 121, 37v (1301/6/19); David Nirenberg, "Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," 141-60.

¹⁶² AHN, Cód. 691, no. 25, fol.9; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 9, p.19.

he seems to have gone to Douzens in 1139 or 1140. A *Guilelmus Catalanus* appears in several Douzen documents from the early 1140s as a *confrater* until mid-December 1141.¹⁶³ After that, he becomes a *frater* in the documents, along with several other *confratres*.¹⁶⁴ It seems very likely, since "Guillem Ramon" was a common Catalan name at the time and that name does not appear between his mention in Novillas in 1138 and his appearance in Douzens in 1150)¹⁶⁵ that Guillem the Catalan and Guillem Ramon were the same man. If this was so, then it seems very likely that Guillem Ramon was also a *confrater* when he was master of the militia in Novillas in 1138, but that he eventually became a full brother in Douzens in 1141.

While the line between *frater* and *confrater* seems to have been blurred in Novillas, it was clear and specific in the documents of the other early house to the north, Douzens in southern France. In Douzens, early documents refer both to *fratres* and *confratres*, two groups with different leaders or representatives, until 1160, although some individuals like Hugo Rigaud, a brother in Douzens who managed Temple property in southern France and Catalonia from 1128 to 1136, appear as both, depending on the document.¹⁶⁶ One document from 1134 in Douzens even refers to the Templars as "*fratribus commilitionibus Templi*".¹⁶⁷

It is difficult to determine how much of this real life vagueness in the definition of hierarchical roles was specific to the Temple and how much of it was simply adaptation to local conditions. The Temple was feudal and hierarchical in the traditional sense in France, England and Palestine, where the Order's full brethren were much more numerous than in Spain and the membership was dominated by French knights. In Spain, the Temple structure was looser and much less hierarchical. The *confratres* in some areas, at least during the 12th century, saw themselves as full participants in the

Order, with a voice in Temple business. Early Templar documents in which *confratres*

¹⁶³ D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* ; docs. 228, 245-6, 313, 315; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, ed. Pierre Gérard et Élisabeth Magnou, vol. 3, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris [France]: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1965), Cartulary A, docs. 12-13, 46-7, 78.

¹⁶⁴ D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* ; docs. 303; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary A, docs.11, 58.

¹⁶⁵ D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* ; doc. 573; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary A, doc.55.

¹⁶⁶ D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* ; doc. 64; In 1133, he appears as "Hugh Rigaud, a *confrater* of their society (*Hugonis Rigauldis, confratris societatis eorum*)," *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary A, doc. 1, p. 3-5, Cartulary C, no. 2, fol. 1 v 4 v; In 1129, he appears as "servant and knight and brother of the aforesaid militia of the Temple of Jerusalem (*servi et militi et fratris predictae militie Templi Jherosolimitani*)", D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* , 32; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary C, doc.1.

¹⁶⁷ D'Albon, *Cartulaire général* ; doc. 85; *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary A, doc. 45.

made land transactions for the Temple, or non-Christians and Christian tenants engaged in relatively equal transactions with the Temple, do not support the northern European model of imposing their seigneurial authority on local serfs. They did so in other areas, but in northeastern Spain, they simply lacked the concentrated manpower and the spare military clout to do so.

Muslims

Muslims appeared frequently in Templar documents, but usually in an agricultural role. They appeared most often as workers, tenants or even owners of intensively cultivated properties like vineyards and olive groves. Sometimes (as in nearby Soria to the west in Castille), they appeared as exarics working in mills, both of grain and cloth,¹⁶⁸ or (as in the area around Huesca) as sheep owners.¹⁶⁹ In documents from urban areas like Tortosa and Lleida, they owned houses as landlords. In towns, they appeared as butchers, craftsmen, musicians and small merchants, such as sellers of oil. Occasionally, they also appeared as soldiers, doctors and merchants.

Their autonomy was uncertain. Inside their own quarters they ruled themselves, with their own officials and according to their own religious laws. On the other hand, higher *morería* officers (such as the *qaidi*) were frequently Christians. After the conquest of an area, Muslims quickly lost their written, and even spoken, Arabic (though the rate of this decline remains uncertain).¹⁷⁰

After Muslim territories went over to Christian control, those Muslims who remained, in both Aragon and Catalonia, were concentrated into *barrios* known as *morerías*, though the latter word is a modern term that does not appear in the documents.¹⁷¹ Nor does the term *mudejar* (usually translated as "those who remain"). This is how historians now refer to Muslims in Christian Spain from the 12th to the 15th centuries onward, but the Templar documents in the Crown of Aragon did not use it.¹⁷² Muslim areas were referred to as *barrios sarracenorum*¹⁷³ or *villae sarracenorum* (with the latter word variously

¹⁶⁸ AHN, Cod. no. 25, fol. 9; Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 10, p.20-44.

¹⁶⁹ ACA, Cancillería, Registro 94, fols. 98 v - 99 c; Angel Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca* (Huesca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1986), 288.1.

¹⁷⁰ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 381-3.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷² Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 278-9.

¹⁷³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomática de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, II:538; Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, 143; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 41-3.

spelled),¹⁷⁴ as in Lleida. Documents sometimes also referred to the Muslims in a city or town as the "*aljama* of the Moors (*algema maurorum*)," as in Huesca.¹⁷⁵ The *barrio/morería* was the actual, physical space occupied by the Muslims whereas the *aljama* either referred to the ruling council of the Muslims in a town or the entirety of the population, as represented by the male, tax-paying heads of households.¹⁷⁶

Muslims appeared most often as "*sarraceni/saraceni*" or "*moros*", but also, less often, as "*mauri*". While scribes could use these terms interchangeably, when the terms appeared in the same document, they generally meant a difference between Muslims under Christian rule (*sarraceni*) and Muslims in their own lands (*mauri*).¹⁷⁷ The term for a Muslim slave (who was almost always a war captive), for example, was "*sarracenus captivus*".¹⁷⁸ "*Moro*" was a more ambiguous, general term.¹⁷⁹ All three of these terms appeared in both Catalonia and Aragon.

Muslims remained as far north as the Pyrenees, and the Temple had dominion over them as far north as the region above Huesca.¹⁸⁰ There were also free-standing Muslim communities under Templar lordship in northern Valencia, where Muslims may have comprised the majority of the population, in Villastar (Bellestar), Chivert and Xativa during the 13th century.¹⁸¹ Despite their relatively smaller role in Valencia after 1238, the Templars offered a *fuero de población* with excellent terms to 30 Muslim families in an effort to persuade them to resettle Villastar. They also negotiated the surrender of the Muslims of Chivert to the King.¹⁸²

Many Muslims opted to leave after the Reconquest, or after later Christian attacks on them, though many remained. It is uncertain whether these flights were strictly voluntary or whether they were forced out. The documents are ambiguous in this regard. While documents from Tortosa and Lleida imply that some Muslims fled before the Christians

¹⁷⁴ "Cartulary of Gardeny," doc. 81, fol. 39; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, I:252.

¹⁷⁵ ACA, Cancillería, R.o 310, fol. 36 c-v; Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 282.1.

¹⁷⁶ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 64-74.

¹⁷⁷ "Cartulary of Gardeny," doc. 7, fols. 8-9; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, I:9; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 314, Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de Barberà*, doc. 35; Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya*, 28 and 170.

¹⁷⁸ ACA, GP, "Cartulary of Tortosa," doc. 148, fol. 48v-49r; Pagarolas, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, II, doc. 58.

¹⁷⁹ Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc.16; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 367, p.235.

¹⁸⁰ Gerrard, "Opposing Identity", 143-160.

¹⁸¹ O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community*, 148-9.

¹⁸² AHN, cód. 466, pp. 40-1, doc. 42.

took possession of these lands, others strongly imply that at least some Muslims were forced out of particularly lucrative properties by incoming Christians. Despite wanting to keep the Muslims in place as productive taxpayers, neither the Counts of Barcelona, the Kings of Aragon nor the military orders seem to have made great attempts to stop this practice during the push into the Ebro Valley in the 12th century. Still, initial concessions in the surrender treaty of Tortosa, for example, resulted in many more Muslims staying than they would have under an official policy of expulsion.

Attitudes about Muslim mobility changed during, and immediately after, the conquest of Valencia. In 1280, for example, Peter III detained and then allowed a group of Muslim tenants under the Temple at Siresa in Aragon to flee south after they were attacked by Christians.¹⁸³ The Templars protested this, to no avail. With shrinking territory left to conquer and an increasingly divided tax base, the Templars could not afford to ignore losing non-Christians in their jurisdiction to other lords or flight.

Muslims in the crown of Aragon had some cultural freedoms, usually connected to their religious customs. The *fueros* allowed them their own *carnisserias*, when they did not have to share these with the Jews, as in Tortosa.¹⁸⁴ This indicates that they were able to continue their religious dietary customs. They were also allowed to sound the call to prayer, at least until James II forbade calling the name of Muhammad in a public place on pain of death in 1311.¹⁸⁵ A document of circa 1200 from Xerta in the Tortosa district also shows that the custom of *waqf*, or mosque-controlled land, continued in that area. A mosque supported itself from the revenues of its *waqf* property, as the one in Xerta did. The Christians allowed, but also taxed, the land themselves.¹⁸⁶ Clothing restrictions were imposed in the late 13th century but appear to have been mostly ignored until the period after the Black Death in the mid-14th century, when tensions between Christians and non-Christians in Spain, already rising, increased dramatically. Sexual relations between Christians and non-Christians were forbidden by all three religions throughout the Templar period and could be punishable by burning for both parties. In practice, the penalties were much more severe for Christian women (such as prostitutes) who had

¹⁸³ O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community*, 148-9, ACA, Reg. 43, fol. 178r.

¹⁸⁴ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 222-6. Assis sees the increase of the granting of separate slaughterhouses to Jews in the 13th century as a result of tensions between the two non-Christian communities.

¹⁸⁵ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 264.

¹⁸⁶ Antoni Virgili, ed., *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1193)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997), doc. 495.

relations with Muslim or Jewish men than for Christian men who had relations with Muslim or Jewish women, who were usually their concubines. Christian men might pay a fine, at worst, and be allowed to convert their concubines, especially if these women bore them children. Christian women, on the other hand, could be banished, or even burned, along with their lovers.¹⁸⁷

In theory, the Muslim *aljama* ran the community's own affairs relatively unmolested, and the *morería* was meant to be a refuge of Muslim life. However, Christians frequently appear as officials of Muslim *aljamas* in Huesca and Zaragoza.¹⁸⁸ Twelfth century documents from Lleida show a steady incursion into the *morería* of non-Muslims caused by the Temple renting out property around a cellar in the *barrio* to both Christians and Jews.¹⁸⁹ Rather than a healthy, growing community, the Muslim communities of the 12th and 13th centuries in Catalonia and Aragon appeared to be under increasing attack. However, the disintegration of Muslim communities during this period should not be too exaggerated. Some communities still possessed enough wealth to furnish the Kings of Aragon with a steady supply of archers, infantry and even cavalry as late as the mid 14th century.¹⁹⁰ Also, some Muslims remained very rich well past the Templar period. Ortega's hypothesis that the Muslim crisis of identity post-conquest resulted in a highly-stratified Muslim society as a result of cultural stress ignores the possibility that pre-conquest Muslim society was probably also highly stratified, though the exact nature of this remains unknown.¹⁹¹

Jews

The Jews in the Crown of Aragon, in contrast to the Muslims, were overall richer and better off during the 12th and 13th centuries, although the conditions that would later result in their expulsion were already forming in the early 13th century. Like the Muslims,

¹⁸⁷ Nirenberg, "Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," 141-60.

¹⁸⁸ As from Tortosa documents in 1148 and 1229; María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales*, Vol. 18, *Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991), 70; José María Lacarra, ed., *Textos Medievales*, vols. 62, 63 (Zaragoza, 1982, 1985), 358; Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, p. p.44-6, doc. 35; ACA, GP, "Tortosa parchment no. 54," parts through ABC.

¹⁸⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, I:251, *Cartulary of Gardeny*, doc. 80, fols. 38v-39; Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, 139, *Cartoral...*, 17-18; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 43.

¹⁹⁰ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 184-7.

¹⁹¹ Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña: Las Comunidades Musulmanes de las Encomiendas Templarias y Hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (Siglos XII-XIV)* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000), 181-5; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 19-22; Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, 1985, 4-7.

Jews owned intensive agricultural property such as vineyards, olive groves and orchards (*orti*). There is no indication that either Jews or Muslims were segregated from Christians (or each other) in ownership of agricultural property, though some Muslims and Jews, and Templar associates, grouped their properties together. Jews also appeared in proximity to mills, though this may have been due to a need for grinding facilities for wheat, or even Jewish participation in the cloth trade. Jews did not appear in Templar documents as shepherds.

In towns, Jews appeared both as great merchants and small craftsmen (frequently shoemakers).¹⁹² Like the Muslims, the Jews ruled themselves according to their own religious laws, with an *aljama* in charge of the quarter's business. Unlike the *aljama* of the Muslims, these officials were usually Jewish, not Christian.¹⁹³ Though the King frequently interfered in Jewish municipal politics, the Templars did much less of this (probably to avoid conflicts with the King). Individual Jews became royal bailiffs and tax-collectors, making their families rich but often creating dissension within their communities because of the concessions that the King granted them from *aljama* jurisdiction. This shows how much higher in status Jews were compared with Muslims, as Muslims were never royal officials with power over Christians in the Crown of Aragon. Also, the Templars never kept Jewish slaves, only Muslims.¹⁹⁴

The Jews retained a literate culture following the *Reconquista*, more so than their Christian and Muslim neighbours (though the bulk of Jews were still illiterate). This partly explains the Kings' interest in them. Their scribes appear to have been generally literate in Arabic, Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic.¹⁹⁵ Hebrew signatures survive on a Latin Templar document from Barcelona in 1207.¹⁹⁶ In addition to the considerable amount of surviving Hebrew documents of religion and philosophy, Jews also provided a number of physicians in Christian lands. However, the use of Arabic declined significantly in favour of Hebrew throughout the 12th and early 13th centuries in northern Spain. This

¹⁹² *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, 17; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 54, no. 130.

¹⁹³ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 88-93.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 295-6.

¹⁹⁵ Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250-1350* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 43-5.

¹⁹⁶ ACA *Peter I*, 261; Thomas Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151-1213)*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 218-9, doc.119. Signatures to other documents from this period survive as well.

accelerated the decline of Arabic use among non-Christians in the Crown of Aragon.¹⁹⁷

Spanish Jews lived in their own *barríos* called *juderías* or *calls* in Catalonia.¹⁹⁸ Again, as with the *morería*, the term *judería* is not common in Templar documents, though *call* does appear relatively frequently in Catalonian documents. In Aragon, the term was generally *villa*, with the Jewish community and/or its leadership also referred to as the *aljama*. In documents, Jews appeared under the term *judios*.¹⁹⁹

Unlike Muslims, Jews do not seem to have had to suffer Christian officials, or encroachment of property owners into their quarters.²⁰⁰ However, they did have to tolerate the mendicant preachers, mostly Dominicans, coming into the quarters to preach from the 13th century onward. The preachers tended to pick times that were inflammatory in nature, particularly Holy Week. While the Kings restricted the friars' ability to harass the Jews, they did not stop them completely, for they saw themselves as champions of Christendom. This created much anxiety and disruption for the Jews, since the friars attracted crowds of hostile Christians inside the quarters and this could provoke riots.²⁰¹ The Templars did not agree with this policy, as an incident from Monzon in the late 13th century attests. When angry Christians attacked the Jewish quarter there, the Templar master came down from the castle and tried to mediate. Though he was unable to calm the mob, the fact that he made the attempt shows Templar attitudes in this area.²⁰² This is no surprise as both the Temple and the Hospital disliked internal crusades, for they drew attention and resources away from the Holy Land.

At any rate, the barriers put up by both Jewish and Muslim quarters were fluid, as Christians entered both quarters to transact business, employing Jewish shoemakers, scribes or physicians, or patronising Muslim oil merchants or butchers. Later on, they also used them to engage in gaming, to patronise prostitutes and engage in other unsavoury pursuits, but this function does not yet appear in the Templar documents.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Rina Drory, "Al-Harizi's Maqamat: A Tricultural Literary Product?" in *The Medieval Translator* 4, ed. Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), 66-85.

¹⁹⁸ The etymology of *call* is uncertain, possibly deriving from the Hebrew word *qahal* or the Latin word *callum* (a hard skin or covering). In Leida, the Jewish quarter was known as the *cuyraça* ("Cuiraza iudeorum"), a designation unique to that city; Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed., *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), II: 629; Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 199.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 69.

²⁰¹ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 50-2.

²⁰² Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 150.

²⁰³ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 70-3.

Equally, Jews and Muslims left the *barrios* to do business in the Christian area of towns, though the gates appear to have been shut at night, to protect the non-Christians from attack. In Tortosa, the three religions even shared the public baths.²⁰⁴ The world in which the Templars interacted with non-Christians was not one of mutual isolation, but one in which the three religions jostled together on a daily basis, perhaps too closely for comfort. Templars did not avoid contact with non-Christians, but instead embraced them as lucrative associates and vassals who were a regular feature in Aragonese and Catalan society.

Women

Contrary to their Latin rule, the Templars engaged frequently in direct financial and social relationships with Christian women--as patronesses, relatives, *consorores* and possibly even *sorores*. While the Rule did forbid full sisters, it explicitly acknowledged *consorores* in more than one section.²⁰⁵ On the ground, the distinction between *consorores* and *sorores* was blurred, perhaps deliberately. In Barberà, north of Tarragona, Ermengarda and Titborga were listed as *sorores* not *consorores* in documents from Rourell, a subpreceptory south of Barberà. Later Ermengarda, as "preceptrix" of the subcommandery there, received a man into the Order, apparently as a full brother.²⁰⁶ Another sister appeared in Barberà documents from the 13th century.²⁰⁷ Nor was this practice limited to a small corner of Catalonia. Sisters appeared in Temple documents from Faro, in Galicia in 1201.²⁰⁸

Women also appeared in *confratres* lists, both on their own, and as sisters, wives and daughters of male *confratres*. They donated and sold property to the Order and exchanged property and services with it for corrodies. Unlike Muslim and Jewish women, there was no apparent restriction on what kind of property Christian women could exchange with the Order. Christian women donated houses, fields, vineyards, olive groves and even fortresses. The dry language of the documents shows equal enthusiasm among male and female donors and associates for the Order. Thus, despite

²⁰⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, p.168-70, doc. 140; ACA, C, reg. 48, fol. 190r, pag. 50.

²⁰⁵ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, regulations 70, 541 and 683.

²⁰⁶ Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de Barberà*, 193, Cartulary A-B, f. 177r.

²⁰⁷ Helen Nicholson, "Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies," in *La Commanderie: institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), 125-34.

²⁰⁸ Díez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España*, 143.

the prohibition (inspired by Bernard) against female membership, Christian women still appeared at various levels of the Temple hierarchy and participated directly in the Temple power structure.

While Templar documents not infrequently mention Muslim women, they rarely show direct interactions between the Temple and these women. Muslim women who appeared in the documents were usually independent owners of their own property with no male relatives mentioned (though in some cases, they did have female relatives). These women owned urban property (houses, rather than agricultural property) and appear to have been relatively wealthy--even, in one case, educated.²⁰⁹ One woman, Alzida Alfaquima, in late 12th century Tortosa appeared as the owner of several houses. Muslim female landlords who were sisters appeared in more than one document of the Temple, but few Muslim women had direct interactions with the brothers.²¹⁰ In all of the cases of Muslim female property owners, the women no longer owned their property at the time that it went to the Temple. Therefore, presenting these interactions, even indirectly, as positive seems questionable.

Direct transactions between the Temple and Muslim women do appear in Tortosa, where the Temple taxed Muslim prostitutes.²¹¹ Also, one male slave in Tortosa redeemed himself from the Temple along with his wife, though they remained connected to the Temple through the man's service as a day labourer.²¹² The documents remain obscure about the extent of these interactions and how direct they were. Possibly, the Templars preferred to interact with Muslim women through Muslim men (or perhaps the Muslims themselves preferred this).

Direct interactions between Templars and Jewish women are even more unusual than those involving Muslim women. The one definitive document relates a negative interaction in which the Temple asks the king's men to evict a Jewish woman, *Jamilla judea*, from Templar property after longterm (three years) nonpayment of rent (*tributum*)

²⁰⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, p.285-6, doc. 104; ACA sec. 5, doc. 21, fol. 6v.

²¹⁰ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, p.52-3, doc. 42; ACA, GP, "Cartulary of Tortosa," doc. 74, fol. 25r.

²¹¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, p.104-6, doc. 91; ACA, GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 52.

²¹² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, p.34-5, doc. 28; ACA, GP, *Cartulary of Tortosa*, doc. 22-1r, fol 7r; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, p. 240, 303, note 196.

on a house and garden (*domus et ortus*) in Calatayud.²¹³ Otherwise, the Templars appear to have interacted with Jewish men alone, as heads of households.

Templar Interactions with Non-Christians

Overall, Templar interactions with non-Christians in the Crown of Aragon were non-violent and mutual, with economic, legal and political advantages for both sides, even though the overall relationship was unequal. This seems to have been especially so when other local lords (i.e. the Kings, nobility and the other regular and secular clergy) sought out interactions with non-Christians. Christian lords found non-Christian themselves extremely lucrative, so they welcomed the chance to exploit their economic production. However even the lords, who had reason to tolerate and engage in economic ties with non-Christians could show great extremes of attitudes. Where this happened, the Templars tended toward the more tolerant end of the spectrum. This was most likely based on the practical reason that the Templars lacked the resources for ethnic hostility and did not wish to fight on too many fronts, particularly those internal to Christendom.²¹⁴ So pronounced was this tendency that it grew into a permanent policy. But regardless, neither the Templars nor the Hospitallers ever harboured the latent tendencies toward religious intolerance that so marked the mendicant orders. Jonathan Riley-Smith has noted that the Hospitallers treated all religions in their hospital in Jerusalem.²¹⁵ Similarly, the Templars appear to have allowed, even fostered, ecumenical worship at shrines in the Holy Land, possibly even including protection of pilgrims from different religions on the routes. There is the famous story of Usamah Ibn Munqidh being encouraged to pray on the Temple Mount by his "friends, the Templars".²¹⁶ But a lesser known story is that of the Marian Orthodox shrine of the Lady of Saidiniyya north of Damascus. The Templars promoted the cult of this miraculous

²¹³ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, p. 405, doc. XXXIV; ACA, reg. 90, fol. 56v.

²¹⁴ Alan Forey, "The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002): 1-22.

²¹⁵ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 25.

²¹⁶ Usamah Ibn Munqidh. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 163-4.

shrine and allowed not only Christians of all sects to visit, but Muslims as well.²¹⁷ In Catalonia and Aragon, the Templars also allowed the rebuilding of mosques and synagogues, even the building of new ones. They were not alone among Christian lords in allowing this and they could certainly allow their avarice to outweigh their sense of tolerance. But as a group, they stand out as usually being somewhat more tolerant than the surrounding Christian population.

What is most startling about this attitude is that it was taken by a group famed for its ferocity in battle toward Muslims. Nor were the Templars themselves recruited from the more peaceable levels of society. The fighting knights and sergeants of the Temple were expected to be mature men fully trained in the arts of war.²¹⁸ While they were probably not the majority of Templar brothers, their influence on the attitudes of the Order show clearly in the *Rule's* heavy emphasis on military life. The Templar *Rule* presents a group forever prepared for war.²¹⁹ The many regulations against pride and violence which hedged in the ordinary Templar's daily life were there because the Order often harboured dangerous individuals, some of whom (if the *chansons* do reflect a certain reality) were in the Order because they could not be trusted elsewhere in society.²²⁰

However, their identity of being Templars was so great that they responded to the lay Christians and non-Christians who interacted with them under the shadow of the Order, rather than their own personalities. The *Rule* and the reception ceremony for the Order show a determination to subsume individual, knightly pride into a corporate, monastic anonymity. Surviving documentation reflects this, in that often even house or provincial masters are not named, but appear only in function. The Templars were always, at least in part, a direct response to the problem-solving of the late 11th century, an attempt to subsume the violence of the knights into constructive behaviour in

²¹⁷ Bernard Hamilton, "Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, vol. 36, *Studies in Church History*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2000), 207-15; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovsky (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001), 89-100.

²¹⁸ Regulation #14 prohibits child oblates.

²¹⁹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 14-8.

²²⁰ Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail*, 35-43.

society.²²¹

Interactions between Templars and Non-Christians

Traditionally, Templar interactions with non-Christians are seen along two models--military and seigneurial. Crusades historians tend to focus on the military aspect of the Order, the idea of knights under monastic vows, because the military aspect was what made the Templars so important in the Crusades.²²² In this role, the Templars saw Muslims as the enemy, or temporary allies at best. While the Templars interacted with Muslims in a variety of ways in the East, they were there mainly to fight the infidel, not work with him.

In Western Europe the Templars' most prominent aspect was seigneurial. People in the West encountered them in their roles as lords and monks. Thus, studies of them in the West focus on their lordship over their vassals as far as their interactions with non-Christians were concerned.

Neither model, strictly-speaking, works well in the complex world of 12th-and-13th-century northeastern Spain. Iberia's centuries-long domination by Muslims rather than Christians made it a military frontier similar in some conditions to Palestine. The Templars interacted with Muslims in this area, not only as direct antagonists on the battlefield (and in raids) but also as temporary allies in the constantly shifting political climate of the *taifa* states. The Templars also interacted with the Muslims, militarily, in three other realms--as negotiators for the king with enemy Muslim populations (as in the case of Chivert in northern Valencia), as mediators in the redemption of captives and as owners of Muslim slaves, men who had been captured in battle.²²³ The Templars seem to have regarded the Muslims on their southern frontiers with more unease, even respect, than the Muslims in Old Catalonia and Aragon. The language that they used to describe these groups (*mauri* vs. *sarraceni*) reflected this difference.

As the Christian frontier moved south and the Templars consolidated their holdings in Old Catalonia and Aragon, their role as lords of non-Christians became increasingly prominent over their role as soldiers fighting non-Christians. They shared lordship over non-Christians in the area with other lords, most notably the King and the bishops of the larger cities. Though the Templars actively avoided the situation, they sometimes even

²²¹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 17-8.

²²² *Ibid*, 179-80.

²²³ O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community*, 168.

shared disputed lordship over specific groups. In some cases, they worked closely at a more-or-less equal level with non-Christian vassals of other lords, particularly Jews working as *baillis* for the King.

Competition for lordship over lucrative non-Christian groups was fierce.²²⁴ Non-Christians recognised this and exploited this situation by actively seeking out better conditions and fewer obligations where they could. This forced lords like the Temple to negotiate with them over the conditions of the relationship. Christian vassals did this, as well, but the high productivity and special vulnerability of non-Christians as tolerated aliens raised the stakes for both sides in these negotiations. An indifferent, ineffectual or even hostile lord could be disastrous for a non-Christian group. Unhappy and restless non-Christian vassals could be disastrous for a Christian lord. As such, the Templars found themselves seeking out individuals and groups that they might not have chosen for vassals in northern Europe or even Palestine. And, like other lords in the Crown of Aragon, most notably the King, the Templars also had to make more concessions to non-Christians than they did to their Christian vassals in Spain or further north. This dynamic encouraged the Templars in the Crown of Aragon to seek out non-Christians for vassals and associates, rather than avoid them.

Types of non-Christian Temple associates

A variety of non-Christians pass through the Temple's documents. Their presence is clear, but their relationship to the Temple in these documents is problematic. Non-Christians appear in Templar documents most of all as workers in intensive agriculture--slaves, serfs, settlers, millworkers, and owners/leasers/cultivators of sheep, vineyards, olive groves, mills and orchards (*orti*). They also appear as craftsmen--merchants, shoemakers, butchers, oil sellers, shopkeepers, prostitutes and owners/landlords of town houses. Finally, they appear as soldiers, *aljama* officials (*qaidi*) and king's men (*baillis*), as doctors or learned men and women (*alfaquimi* and *alhakimi*), and even as scribes.

No Jews served the Temple as slaves. There is some question whether any Jews served the Temple as serfs because of their special status with the King. There is little sense in the documents that the Jews of the Temple felt pressed to do what the Templars wanted, with no recourse to other lords. They could always petition the King, in

²²⁴ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 167-9.

the end. There is therefore a stronger note of negotiation between the Templars and their Jewish men than between the King and his Jews.

Like their Muslim counterparts, Jews appeared as workers in intensive agriculture: vineyard, olive grove and orchard owners, though they did not own any mills. Nor do they appear as workers in mills or vineyards (*cultivatores* or *exarics*), or as shepherds. Though the Jewish quarters did have their own butchers, they do not seem to have had any recorded interactions with the Temple. There was a Jewish *carnissería* in Tortosa (which the Jews shared with the Muslims), for example, but it does not appear in the Temple documents.²²⁵

In town, Jewish men of the Temple appeared as merchants and king's *baillis* most prominently (though this would have been only a small portion of the Jewish population). They also appeared as small craftsman (such as shoemakers), store owners/workers and one Jewish woman from Calatayud appears as the tenant of a house that the Temple owned. Jewish doctors of law appeared in documents as well. The percentage of educated Jews that appeared in the documents was greater than that of educated Muslims. Also, few Jewish women appeared, and most of these were daughters, sisters or wives of Jewish men of the Temple. Jewish women rarely appeared by themselves, let alone interacted directly with the Temple.

Finally, some property associated with a mosque in Xerta near Tortosa appears around 1200. This property, parcelled among a number of Muslim tenants, consisted mainly of sections of olive groves and vineyards around the mosque. As the document shows, olive groves often had multiple ownership, with one owner possessing half, or even a quarter, of the produce from a tree.²²⁶

When non-Christian vassals of the Temple were called something specific in Temple documents (i.e. aside from something like "sarraceni Templi"), it was most commonly "men of the Temple" (*homines Templi*).²²⁷ These "Temple men" were not so in name only, but also enjoyed certain rights and held certain responsibilities to the Temple.

²²⁵ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 225.

²²⁶ Virgili, *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa*, p. 612-5, doc. 495.

²²⁷ Angel Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca* (Huesca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1986), 282.1; ACA, Canc., R.o 310, fol. 36 c-v; Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 294.1; ACA Canc. R. 291, fol. 212 v.

Reasons behind non-Christian decisions to seek Temple association

Studies about non-Christians in Spain tend to focus on what benefits their Christian lords derived from associations with non-Christians, underestimating what benefits the non-Christians derived from them. Much of this is a function of documentary survival, with more Christian documents still existing from this period than Muslim or even Jewish records. But this historiographical trend also stems from a model of feudalism where the lords derive more benefit than the vassals, and/or force the vassals into unequal relationships. That said, the Templars were not in a good position to do this in the Crown of Aragon. They were on a frontier for most of their existence and were competing for the lucrative non-Christians with other Christian lords. While there was plenty of property (and plenty of non-Christian workers) to go around at first, competition over the revenues from non-Christian production grew intense after the frontier closed with the conquest of Valencia in the mid-13th century.²²⁸ Worse, the Templars were few in number, spread thin over large territories and had to devote their military resources on two fronts--in Palestine and in the southern Ebro Valley. Therefore, force was rarely an option. In fact, when the Templars had to use coercion, they almost always had to use the King's men to enforce their will, and then only after they had acquired some legal justification for it.

Further, there is little indication that non-Christians considered Templar rule to be especially onerous. In fact, in some areas, the Templars seemed preferable to other lords, particularly the king. Men of the Temple, Christian or non-Christian, usually owed the Temple some kind of annual tax on land that they held from the Order (preferably, but not always, in money), a military obligation, a promise not to join any other religious order as associates, some sort of tax at death, notice on any sale they made and (frequently) a promise not to sell their Temple property to either clerics or knights (*millites*).²²⁹ What they got in return was legal representation, protection from unlawful seizure of property, excessive or double taxation (including by the King), military, or other, service to anyone besides the order and safety in numbers. While the Templars could not always protect their men directly, they did tend to concentrate their tenant's properties together. This made the plots easier to manage, but also easier to defend

²²⁸ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 360-3.

²²⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny*, I:89, *Cartulary of Gardeny*, doc. 19, fol. 16; Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, 78, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 19; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, 200 and 201.

against incursions by hostile neighbours.²³⁰ This partially explains the cases where non-Christians exchanged property that they had for their own for Templar tenancies in the midst of other Templar tenancies. Another possible explanation might be that the Temple had the more lucrative properties in the area, though some of the properties traded to the Temple were intensively cultivated and worth more in revenues than what the tenants received. The possibility that these interactions occurred under duress (especially in 12th century Tortosa and Gardeny) cannot be discounted either. The cartulary documents often represent the Templar position, rather than that of Templar men, when the people commissioning the document are Temple brethren. However, documents also include numerous examples of lay people, both Christian and non-Christian, initiating transactions with the Temple. To complicate matters, the Templars (being mostly illiterate) used outside scribes in these documents (except in Huesca).²³¹ Thus the actual point of view is that of the scribe writing a document for both parties but likely favouring the more powerful party, which would usually be the Temple.

Changes in interactions over time

Initially, in Novillas, Muslims appeared in *confratres* lists as millworkers, the serfs of Christians on the list. Since all of the Christians listed were considered *confratres* (including the women) it follows that the Muslims listed were, as well. What rights this gave them is unknown, but these initial interactions foreshadow later Templar representation of non-Christians versus their Christian vassals in a negotiation over water rights, among other things.²³² This is especially surprising considering that the early situation around Novillas was very tense between Christians and non-Christians.

The second phase, however, was more nakedly colonial. While the Muslims of Tortosa won some rights by treaty from Ramon Berenguer IV before they handed over the town, a land grab and distribution lasting a quarter of a century followed the conquest of both Tortosa and Lleida. There is some question as to how many Muslims fled and how many were forced out. The concentration of Muslims who remained behind in those cities into one quarter, however, indicates that at least some of them were forced to give up good lands. This could not have been a universal thing, however, since there were too few Christians to cultivate the land. This was why Ramon Berenguer had offered the

²³⁰ Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 251-4.

²³¹ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 296.3; AHN, Cód. 663 B, p. 91.

²³² Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 16; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 367, p.235.

Muslims of Tortosa such good surrender terms in the first place.

Toward the end of the 12th century, Muslims began to appear again in both places as landowners rather than former landowners. Conditions for non-Christians were quite good into the first half of the 13th century (as opposed to a century later), but after this, the beginnings of the severe deterioration of their status began to show. For the Muslims, this appears to have stemmed from the closing of the southern frontier after the conquest of Valencia in 1238 and the subsequent increase in Christian population. The Muslims began to feel the demographic pressure first in Catalonia and Aragon, but with Valencia in Christian hands, they found themselves increasingly isolated and unable to leave (the traditional solution for all three religions when local conditions became intolerable).

The Jews were less directly affected by these demographic conditions, at least at first. The Count-Kings singled them out for service as court officials and granted them protection, tax concessions and other privileges.²³³ Also, the Jews were already a minority in the area, so they had less adjustment to make. In some ways, their lot improved due to the Kings' favour. But they also had problems of their own. Following the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, with its anti-semitic policies regarding segregation by clothing and profession, and the rise of the mendicant orders thereafter, hostility towards Jews rose across Europe. The Kings of Aragon, seeing themselves as holy crusaders and worried by the Catharist heresy in southern France, initially welcomed the Dominicans. Though they were ambivalent about the Dominicans' decision to call Jews heretical, they did not control the friars with sufficient intent to stop serious predations on the Jews of Aragon. Following the Disputation of Barcelona in 1241, in which the Jews lost their case that Judaism was the more legitimate faith than Christianity, and not a heresy (probably a foregone conclusion, though Jewish scholars put forth some vigorous arguments in their cause), conditions worsened for Jewish communities in the Crown.²³⁴ While the Templars continued to protect them up until the end, the military orders were suffering from their own problems. Following James I's death in 1274, his sons and grandson sought to reclaim some of the privileges that their ancestors had given away to the Templars. The Templars fought these new exactions, since they themselves were already suffering from a reduced tax base. The Jews were able to

²³³ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 19-48.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, 50-2.

use this conflict of interest to their advantage. The debate was still going on when it was cut short by the Templar Trial. The Trial seems to have left the Jews (particularly) in difficult straits. While they did recover initially, their long decline had already begun. While the case for the Muslims suffering as well is less clear, the nostalgia that some Muslims still seem to have felt for the Temple in early 15th century Huesca indicates that their fortunes had suffered as well.²³⁵

Geographical differences in interactions

It is difficult to determine how much the geographic spread of the interactions which survive reflects historical reality. Not all Templar convents, even those which are known to have had non-Christian populations, have surviving documentation which shows non-Christians. It may not be coincidence that the most reciprocal interactions survive from the areas with the largest number of documents over the longest period of time. That said, while friendly interactions sought by both parties survive from all of the areas studied, not all of the areas reflect interactions that can be classified as hostile. This is to say that documents which show the Temple in conflict with non-Christians or in which non-Christians appeal for help to another party against the Temple are relatively uncommon compared to the first category. However, the number of documents also seems to indicate the strength of the relationship between the Templars and non-Christians in places. In an area with few or no Templars, even where non-Christians are numerous (Girona, for example), documents of interactions are few or nonexistent. Even though the Templar convent of Aiguaviva was only eight kilometers southwest of Girona, with its large Jewish *call*, indicating some Templar influence over the city itself, there is no indication that the Templars had any substantive connections with, let alone lordship over, the *call*. This can mean one of two things (or both): that the surviving documents mainly reflect the Temple's point of view and/or that it sought out interactions with non-Christians in areas where it settled. The first possibility, however, is not supported in areas where there is a great deal of surviving documentation about the Temple, such as in Tortosa or Lleida. In these areas, royal or ecclesiastical documentation that mentions the Temple also survives.

The second possibility is supported by a third that the Templars favoured convent formation in areas where non-Christians tended to be. Since the Templars seemed to

²³⁵ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 296.3; AHN, Cód. 663 B, p. 91.

prefer frontier regions where they had little or no competition from other Christian groups, their main alternatives in forming associations would be with non-Christians or Mozarabs. What is uncertain is whether they deliberately sought out areas where they could make these associations. Non-Christians were a lucrative tax-base, to whom the Templars had a better claim than most other non-royal groups in the Crown of Aragon. With their continuing interest in accruing revenue that they could send to Palestine, the Templars could well have had a special interest in cultivating associations with non-Christians.

In recently conquered areas of very low Christian population density and a history of Muslim raids, like Novillas and Barberà, the attitude of the Templars toward Muslims, however, was suspicious and hostile.²³⁶ The relationship improved by the end of the 12th century for Barberà as that convent receded from the frontier.²³⁷ It may have done the same in Novillas as well. However, Novillas declined in importance so quickly that the documents which survive do not make clear how the situation changed.

Oddly enough, interactions in Tortosa and Lleida, where the Templars were backed up by other Christians, were much better. This was despite the likelihood that the Muslims outnumbered Christians around Miravet. In Lleida, however, the Templars were much more aggressive than in other places, making incursions into the Muslim quarter that do not appear elsewhere. Huesca, conversely, showed good and varied relations between the Templars there and Muslims in the surrounding area. This relative goodwill seems to have even outlasted the Templars themselves.

In cities where the Templars had to contend with others for control of non-Christians (i.e. Barcelona), the Templars' attitudes seem to have been mixed and reflected how they felt about those who had seigneurality over the non-Christians in the area. However, Templar relations in general always seem to have been better toward Jews than Muslims. There is little interest, in the surviving documents where Templars appear, in the mendicant concept of internal enemies. The Templars seem to have felt that the Muslim threat was more than enough to contend with. Also, the King's favour toward the Jews in the Crown of Aragon seems to have coincided with their general preference for Christian over Muslim rule. Therefore, they were friendlier, more loyal and less of a threat than those Muslims who chose to remain (or were trapped behind the newly drawn borders).

²³⁶ Lapeña Paul, "Documentos," doc. 63; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, doc. 553; Lacarra, *Textos Medievales*, vol. 63, doc. 249.

²³⁷ Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de Barberà*, 141.

Templar attitudes did not always coincide with local attitudes toward non-Christians. Even in areas where they held full or dominant lordship, they could not always protect non-Christians from other Christians. In Monzón, for example, the Templars were forced to intercede (not always successfully) on behalf of the Jews with the town during the 13th century. The Templars had a good relationship otherwise with the Jews, however, as they also represented the Jews of Monzón against the King (and a claim of tax suzerainty by the *aljama* in Lleida) during the late 13th century. They also allowed certain Jews to settle in a nearby village and build a synagogue. There were Muslims in the area as well, but they appear very infrequently in surviving Monzón documents. This may be a function of document survival, or places like Monzón and Novillas may have had poorer, more rural Muslim populations that appeared infrequently in the documentation, regardless of survival patterns.

Interactions between Templar associates

Interactions between the three religions, even those who were all associates of the Temple, could be problematic. Christian hostility did not necessarily decrease toward Jews and Muslims simply because they had the same lords. If anything, as the example of Monzon shows, the Christians could grow to resent the privileges which non-Christians received. This may not have been as difficult a relationship, however, as it was for non-Christians who answered directly to the King. The King tended (with the Jewish *aljamas* in particular) to use his system of patronage to isolate non-Christian communities and individuals from Christians and each other. Since non-Christians sometimes sought Templar lordship over royal lordship, this implies that the Templars may have fostered a better situation. Perhaps, also, the fact that the Templars favoured smaller, more frontier settlements may have given non-Christians a chance to gain a demographic majority in the areas where they lived, thus reducing the possibility of conflict and giving them wider scope to practice their own way of life. This would have held especially true for the more rural Muslims, about whom little is known before the late 13th century.

Conflict between Jews and Muslims existed as well. The Muslims did not take well to losing suzerainty and becoming religious minorities in their homes. The lack of enthusiasm that the Jews in the later Crown of Aragon had held for Muslim rule during the *taifa* period did not improve interreligious relations after the Reconquest. At the siege

of Tortosa, for example, the Muslims specifically requested that the King agree he would not allow any Jew to have a Muslim for a slave.²³⁸ This may have been because the Tortosan Jews, in the Muslim era, had dominated the slave trade there.²³⁹ Even following the Reconquest, the Muslims apparently wanted to retain some sovereignty over the Jews, or at least independence from Jewish sovereignty.²⁴⁰

Conclusion

The Templars in the Crown of Aragon relied greatly on their network of associates. Associates joined for a variety of reasons: for salvation, military protection, financial gain, social status and legal protection (especially from taxation). In return, they supported the Order with money, materials and manpower, filling the holes in the Templars' overstretched infrastructure and administration. They appear to have had power and influence within the Order, despite still living in the world. From the beginning, Temple associates included people in Iberian society who ranged from small free-holders and tenants up to royalty.

Though the *Rule* prohibited the membership of women, and the nature of the Templar mission might imply hostility toward non-Christians, not all Templar associates were either men or Christians. Women showed as much interest in the Order as men did. Rather than turn female donors (some of them rich and powerful) away, the Templars incorporated women into their structure on what appears to have been a case by case basis. This makes the exact status of women in the Order uncertain, but it seems clear that they did participate, at least at the level of associates.

Muslims and Jews were also associates of the Temple. Some Muslims had little choice, being slaves or exarics of servile status. But not all exarics seem to have been servile and not all Muslims under Templar rule were either exarics or unwilling slaves. Jews had a somewhat higher status than Muslims in general. This may explain why Jewish relations with the Temple were also better, with some high-status Jews proudly declaring themselves descendants of Temple men.

²³⁸ ACA GP, "Cartulary of Tortosa," doc. 270, fol. 81; Josep Serrano i Daura, *Les Cartes de Població Cristiana i de Seguretat de Jueus i Sarraïns de Tortosa (1148/1149), Actes Tortosa, 14, 15 i 16 de maig de 1999* (Barcelona: Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, 2000), p.343-5, doc. I.

²³⁹ Ramon Miravall i Dols, "La Comunitat Jueva de Tortosa i la Seva Carta de Seguretat," in *Les Cartes de Població...*, 85-104.

²⁴⁰ Ramon Miravall, *El call jueu de Tortosa, l'any 1149, Episodis de la Història* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1973), 39-44.

All told, the situation between Templars and their associates in the Crown of Aragon was highly complex and ever-changing. The situation between Templars and non-Christians was possibly even more complex. Part of this complexity not only included some tolerance on both sides but interdependence at an associate level, as well. Though the Templars were a crusading religious order, not everyone in the Order was Christian.

THE TEMPLARS IN NOVILLAS

Origins

Novillas is a small and obscure town on the border between Aragon and Navarre. Strategically based on the Ebro River, about 30 kilometres north-west of Huesca, it dates to Roman times, as does the nearby Hospitaller town, Mallèn. The area has been settled for close to four thousand years. Little is known about the Muslim period. The town was near the northernmost edge of Al-Andalus, but a small population of Muslims and Jews appears to have persisted in that area after the reconquest of the region in the early 12th century. At its height, the Temple convent in Novillas dominated the order in Aragon, Navarre and Castille.²⁴¹ Originally, the houses in Huesca, Zaragoza, Soria, La Rioja and Navarre were also subject to the Novillas convent.²⁴² It was the *de facto* provincial house in western Aragon for the first part of the 12th century.

The house at Novillas was established by the Templars and Hospitallers together soon after Alfonso the Battler took both Novillas and Mallén from the Muslims in 1119. The Templars received Novillas, probably around 1130, from the Battler. The town was occupied by the Almoravids shortly after the Battler's death. This did not last, however, and the Templars quickly regained possession of it. Both orders were in Mallén by the end of 1132.²⁴³ There is some dispute as to when the Templar (and originally, Hospitaller) house was founded at Novillas. García Larragueta gives a date for 1125, Alan Forey, 1135,²⁴⁴ and Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, 1139.²⁴⁵ This dispute focuses, in Larragueta and Forey's case, on the dating and accuracy of an early document (which survives only as a suspect transcript from 1271), and whether it predates a more reliable document from 1135. The 1135 document may, or may not, have been a confirmation of the "1125" donation. All three historians agree that the convent was

²⁴¹ The house in Alcanadre, founded in 1154 in northeastern Castille, was a dependency of Novillas; Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2001), 114.

²⁴² A cartulary (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códex 691), probably compiled in Novillas, also includes documents for Aragon, Castille and Navarre; A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 456. Lapeña Paul's thesis includes 167 Novillas documents from Codex 691, as well as 84 *regestas* for Razazol and Cabañas; Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *Documentos de la encomienda templaria de Novillas (siglo XII)* (Barcelona: ETD Micropublicaciones, 1997), p. 4.

²⁴³ One of the earliest donations in the area was a mill in Alcaten; Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 5-9, doc. 2; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 286, fol. 107v.

²⁴⁴ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 7.

²⁴⁵ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 3, 7.

created following the donation (or re-donation following the Almoravid occupation) of the town and castle in Novillas by the King of Navarre, *García Ramírez*, to both the Temple and the Hospital, as both documents state. Where Lapeña Paul differs from the others is on the interpretation of what constituted a "house" of the Temple in Novillas. For Lapeña Paul, this did not begin with the original donation in 1135 (which she records)²⁴⁶ but with the first named mention of a master of the convent in Novillas, *Rigaldo* (Rigald), in 1139.²⁴⁷ An unnamed "master" and an unknown number of brothers (*magistri sui et atque ordinis suorumque fratrum*) are mentioned from a document in November 1137, but the document does not state whether these brothers were at Novillas or not.²⁴⁸

Novillas may have been the first Templar house established in the West, with the probable exception of Douzens, a town east of Carcassone in southern France.²⁴⁹ Being such an early acquisition, Novillas became the template for much of Templar practice, and interaction with other hierarchies, in Aragon. Much of the administrative theory of Templar infrastructure in the Kingdom of Aragon was first fixed there. The importance of the house can be shown in that the brothers at Novillas advised those accepting the gift of the castle and town of Monzón in 1143.²⁵⁰

The original donation mentions a "brother *Garner* of the Temple and...*Per Ramont* of the Hospital", but does not state where they were established, or whether they created a commandery in Novillas at that time.²⁵¹ A document mentions, however, a *magister militum* named *Guillem Raimundus* in April 1138, but it does not specify where he was master. This could well have been the provincial master in that year; since Novillas was the main house for Aragon at the time, he was probably master there as well. He appeared in a document in Zaragoza as a witness (and, presumably, the representative of the Order) to Ramon Berenguer IV's donation of Razazol to the Temple.²⁵² In 1150, a

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 14-15, doc. 6; AHN. Ord. de 5. Juan, leg. 338-42; Marquis d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150* (Paris:Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion, 1930), no. C, p. 73.

²⁴⁷ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 7.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 16, doc. 7; d'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, p. 100, doc. 143; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 283, fol. 104 v.

²⁴⁹ The house at Douzen was established in 1133. Malcolm Barber, "The Templar Preceptory of Douzens" (Paper presented at The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine conference, Bristol, England, April 8-10, 2003); *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, ed. Pierre Gérard et Elizabeth Magnou, vol. 3, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris [France]: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1965), Cartulary A, p. 3-5, doc. 1.

²⁵⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 90-2.

²⁵¹ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 14-15, 6; AHN, Orden de San Juan, leg. 338-42.

²⁵² Ibid, p.19-20, doc. 9; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 25, fol. 9.

Guilelmus Raimundus appeared in a list of Temple brethren in a donation to the order in Douzens.²⁵³

These could, of course, have been two separate individuals, but considering the limited number of Templars in Spain and southern France at the time, it seems unlikely that two men of that name would have been involved with the Temple in that area at that time. "*Magister militum*" is almost certainly a reference to the Temple rather than the Hospital, as there is some question when the Hospital became a military order. Certainly, the Hospital did not add its military arm before the 1130s.²⁵⁴ Nor does the donation in 1138 mention the Hospital, so the *militum* in question was mostly likely that of the Temple. *Guilelmus Raimundus*, for his part, was certainly a Templar, and is identified as such in the document from Douzens. However, since even the first confirmed Templar master of the house at Novillas predates the first known provincial master by four years and the first known master of any other Spanish convent by over a decade, the status of Guillem Ramon remains uncertain.²⁵⁵

Nor should he be confused with the *Guillem Raimundus dapifer* who appeared as a signatory in Barcelona for Ramon Berenguer's confirmation of the Temple and Hospital's split between Novillas and Mallén in 1151. This man was the Count of Montcada, the *senescal* to the Count of Barcelona, not a Templar.²⁵⁶ The Count also appeared under the designation of *dapifer* in documents from Lleida during the 1150s.

In addition to the above documents, Lapeña Paul mentions two donations of churches in Novillas which Bishop *García* of Zaragoza made to the Temple and Hospital in 1135, perhaps the earliest significant donations made there.²⁵⁷ Taking this, King *García* Ramírez's charter and the presence of a *magister militum* in Novillas documents as early as 1138, one should therefore date the likely establishment of a formal house in Novillas at between 1135 and 1138.

Success and Resettlement

The Temple may have had a hand in the Christian resettlement of Novillas, though there may have been a small population of Christians there already when the Templars

²⁵³ *Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens*, Cartulary A, p. 3-5, doc. 1 and p. 63, doc. 55.

²⁵⁴ Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8.

²⁵⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 420-1.

²⁵⁶ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, 74; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 178, fol. 59.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13-14, docs. 4-5; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 41.

first arrived. A significant number of Muslims also seem to have remained after the conquest. At any rate, documents indicate that the Temple and the Hospital were seen in Novillas by the mid-12th century as the originators of its Christian resettlement.²⁵⁸ While it is possible that this story is a myth, it is a strong origin myth, and a significant clue to the self-identity of Novillas as a Templar town from the beginning of the Christian resettlement--at least for the settlers there.

As its three *confratres* lists show, the house in Novillas grew rapidly during the 12th century, establishing its own quarter in the town.²⁵⁹ It quickly became clear to both the Templars and the Hospitallers that sharing Novillas and Mallén was not a workable option. In 1149, at the siege of Tortosa, the Temple and the Hospital agreed to a split of territory--the Hospital took Mallén and the Temple took Novillas.²⁶⁰ This deal was administered by the same brother, Rigald Viger, who was first named as the commander in Novillas in 1139. Also named were two other Templar brothers and several Hospitaller brethren, indicating the presence of a full Templar convent in Novillas.²⁶¹ Forey speculates that the deal had occurred by the early 1140s and was only confirmed in 1149. Citing a lack of Templar presence in early Mallén sources and a concurrent lack of Hospitaller presence in Novillas sources (notably, the donation of churches in 1135), he believes that this was a practical confirmation of a *fait accompli* rather than a change in policy for either order.²⁶²

The 1149 document mentions "the liberation from and expulsion of the Muslims (*post deliberationem et expulsionem sarracenorum villam que dicitur Novellas*)"²⁶³ from Novillas by Navarre, an ongoing theme in the Novillas documents during the 1150s. This is a mysterious statement, since Novillas, always on the edge of the Zaragozaan *taifa*, had been conquered by the Battler (in his role as King of both Aragon and Navarre) over a decade before the Temple or Hospital had established themselves in the area. Except for a brief period under Almoravid control, it had remained in both orders' hands since the early 1130s. García Ramírez's claim to have liberated Novillas from the Muslims may represent an attempt by the King of Navarre to exert some influence by proxy in the campaigns at Tortosa and Lleida further south (Tortosa fell late

²⁵⁸ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 213.

²⁵⁹ Barber, *The New Knighthood*; 23.

²⁶⁰ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 107-8, doc. 63; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 79, fol. 29v.

²⁶¹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 90-1.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 74-5, note 151.

²⁶³ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p. 107-8, doc. 63; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 79, fol. 29v.

in that year). By sponsoring a military order in a contested area, García Ramírez may have hoped to project the image of a still-crusading king and even use the Templars to do his will in their possessions further south.

However, the fact that he had to do this in such an oblique way also emphasises the decreased role in the Reconquest for Navarre by this period, as García Ramírez and his nobles became increasingly estranged from Aragon. By this time García Ramírez had become a vassal of Alfonso VII of Castille. Some historians attribute this break with Aragon, which occurred decisively after Alfonso the Battler's death in 1134, to Ramon Berenguer IV 's exclusion of the Navarrese nobility from his Ebro conquests.²⁶⁴

During the 1140s, Novillas was being administered by two co-commanders, Rigald and Ramon Bernard. After the early 1150s, the commanders in Novillas no longer shared power; one of them became a subordinate commander, instead.²⁶⁵ Forey speculates that this subcommander was a bailiff who administered the house at Novillas while the commander/master concentrated on provincial matters.²⁶⁶ This subordinate office continued until 1170.²⁶⁷

Novillas was the provincial capital until the 1160s, when it was supplanted by Monzón, Zaragoza and, to a lesser extent, Huesca.²⁶⁸ Novillas no longer had a master by 1169 and as the 12th century ended, it was sinking into obscurity as a commandery on the edge of the district of Zaragoza.²⁶⁹ At this point, its dependent houses were only Cabañas and Razazol.²⁷⁰ This decline was no doubt accelerated when it lost control of the Temple houses in Navarrese territory after Castille received control of southern parts of Navarre in 1179. There appear to have been no further Templar houses founded in that area after that date.²⁷¹ By the late 13th century, Novillas was one of the poorest convents (in terms of revenues) in the Kingdom of Aragon, but it appears to have persisted because the scattered nature of Templar possessions in northwestern Aragon

required smaller and more numerous houses to administer them (a function which the

²⁶⁴ José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador* (Zaragoza: Guara Editorial, S.A., 1978), 106-8, 123, 139-41; Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Vol. 7, *The Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 134-6.

²⁶⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 437-8.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 97.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 438.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 96-98.

²⁶⁹ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, 4, 7.

²⁷⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 270.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, 107.

master of Novillas originally did himself).²⁷²

Previously, the master of Novillas had administered lands as far east as Monzón, and influenced the formation of the houses in Tortosa and Lleida. In 1196, for example, one commander administered four houses, Villel, Alfambra, Teruel and Novillas.²⁷³ In 1234, the lieutenant of the provincial master was also commander at Novillas.²⁷⁴ In 1251, James I confirmed that the Temple had the right to have a ferry at the crossing of the Ebro River at Novillas. This did little, however, for the commandery's subsequent fortunes.²⁷⁵ Novillas was still important enough that in 1271, it was being administered by the former companion (a sort of squire) to the provincial master,²⁷⁶ but by 1277, Novillas may have been permanently exempted from paying any responsion to the provincial master.²⁷⁷ This was due to the extreme poverty of the commandery and its few remaining subcommanderies. In 1289, Novillas had to borrow military equipment from the house in Huesca.²⁷⁸ As of 1307, the last year of the house, it still paid nothing in responsions.²⁷⁹

Both Forey and Lapeña Paul see this as a natural result of the rapid growth other convents made in the region, rather than said convents' deliberate revolt against the authority of Novillas.²⁸⁰ Likely, it was an inevitable administrative change due to Novillas' inconvenient position at the northwestern edge of the Kingdom of Aragon and far from the more prosperous Catalan houses, Barcelona, Lleida and Tortosa. Lleida, Tortosa and even Zaragoza were on the southern frontier of the Crown of Aragon during the 12th century, at the forefront of the Reconquest. They therefore benefitted from the new royal conquests and donations from the mid-12th century until the conquest of Valencia in 1238. Novillas, squeezed between Navarre and the houses of Zaragoza and Huesca, could not expand, let alone benefit, from these new military conquests.

Novillas was abandoned at the start of the Trial in late 1307 and its remaining brethren

²⁷² Ibid, 102.

²⁷³ Ibid, 94.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 421.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 114.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 315.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 320.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, 140.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 415-419; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, CRD Templarios, no. 81. "Responsions" were tithes on house revenues, paid to the Grand Master for the defense of the Order in the East; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 323-5.

²⁸⁰ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, 4, 7; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 96-98.

went to Monzón to aid in that castle's defense.²⁸¹ The King's bailiff had taken charge of the Templar lands there by 1308²⁸² and was collecting rents from Novillas and its dependencies by 1310.²⁸³ After this, Novillas ceases to appear in Temple history.

The Growth of Provincial Administration

Novillas was one of the towns where the Templars appointed their own chaplains to local parishes.²⁸⁴ The Bishops of Zaragoza retained lordship over Templar churches in Aragon, and although Bishop *García* of Zaragoza demanded only a nominal rent in 1135, his successor demanded a quarter of all church tithes and rents only two years later. The Zaragoza bishop in 1157 reduced this only to the tithes on "bread and wine", and this tithe portion became a standard rate for the Temple throughout Aragon.²⁸⁵

A later copy of the original charter stated that the settlers at Novillas were not required to pay rent, but other later sources showed that this was not so. According to Forey, the Temple usually charged rent in Aragon, even though it resisted double taxation by the King or nobles.²⁸⁶ The charter also asserted the Temple's right to a fifth of war booty, though not to the abolition of *malos usos* (bad customs) as in the southern parts of the Ebro Valley.²⁸⁷ The structure of the Templars' surviving *palacio fortaleza* (fortified palace) in Novillas supports the idea that the Aragonese lords in this part of Aragon did not rule from castles in manorial fashion, but instead lived in towns and cities as absentee landlords.²⁸⁸ The house, as it survives, does not fit the pattern of a central fortress, as at nearby Magallon. Perhaps the general lack of high ground made the manorial pattern of land administration and defense unfeasible.

The *confratres* lists in Novillas (as at Monzón) were kept as a record of the obligations of those listed.²⁸⁹ The Temple also hired the services of men in kind, such as

²⁸¹ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 15.

²⁸² *Ibid*, 121.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, 135.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 274.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 159-60.

²⁸⁶ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 205.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 208.

²⁸⁸ For overviews in English of this debate (mostly over feudalism in Catalonia rather than Aragon), see: Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4-13; Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 152-3; Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 105-13.

²⁸⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 225.

Bernard, a scribe who was employed by the Temple for five weeks per year in exchange for food.²⁹⁰

Jews and Muslims

There were Jewish farming and urban settlements in Navarre at least as far back as the 10th century, some of them even freestanding from Christian communities.²⁹¹ But there appears to have been no Jewish community in Novillas, at least while the Templars were establishing themselves there during the mid-12th century.²⁹² The only possible indication of Jews in Novillas is a short reference from 1167. In that year, the Temple gave Don Michael, his wife, *Maria Albar*, and their unnamed son a house in rent which was in front of the house of *Muza* (also *Mossa*) *Borith*, which was, or was at, the *fastiar* (public registry?).²⁹³ While *Muza* was most likely a Muslim, it is surprising to see a Muslim scribe so far north in 12th century Aragon; so perhaps he was a Jew. Jews more commonly acted as scribes making Latin documents in both Catalonia and Aragon, at least from the 13th century onward.²⁹⁴ Muslims literate in Arabic, let alone Latin or Romance languages, tended not to remain in Christian lands and '*Muza*' (Moses) is originally an Old Testament Jewish name (though some Muslims did use it).

There was, however, a well-defined community of Muslims, most of them apparently exarics, until at least 1162.²⁹⁵ The Temple at Novillas, through its Castillian dependent house at Alcanadre, received donations of Muslim exarics, including one from Almenar with his house and possessions in 1146, throughout the region of Soria.²⁹⁶ Exarics of various economic levels, possessing a variety of property both movable and fixed,

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 288.

²⁹¹ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [originally 1961, trans. from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman]), 29, 42, 79.

²⁹² A *conveniencia* from 1145 refers to an agreement concerning water rights made between the brothers of the Temple and the "*populatores* [of Novillas] *christianos et moros*" but does not mention *judios*--Jews; Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.52-3, doc.16; d'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, p.235, doc. 367.

²⁹³ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.218, doc. 149; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 223 b, fol. 75; A document from 1163 also mentions "*Mosse a Jew (Mosse iudei)*" whose property had once bordered an alod in Montjuich (*Monte iudaicum*) that was acquired by a Christian woman named "*Saurina a woman (Saurina femina)*". She then sold it to the Temple; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 369-70, doc. III; ACA, Varia I, fol. I-iv.

²⁹⁴ Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latin Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250-1350* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 12-16.

²⁹⁵ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.262, doc. 209; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 245, fol. 82.

²⁹⁶ Díez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España*, 116.

appear in documents from Novillas. In the first of two undated (probably mid-12th century) *memoriae* of the *confradía* (confraternity) of the Temple, Michael Monioç gave an exaric to the Temple, *Zaed Avennoma* in Fenestriales, who was working in a mill at Agreda, and another exaric from Almenar named *Almoarach*.²⁹⁷ Michael stated that he had received the said exarics from the *Imperatore* (Alfonso VII of Castille, who dominated the area at the time and was known by that title) and that these men were therefore free from paying the *azofra* tax (*çofra*, the castle tax on wood specific to Muslims²⁹⁸) or other outside obligations.²⁹⁹ This freed more of their income to pay to their own lord and therefore made them more lucrative tenants. But it also forced the Temple to allow an important concession to them regarding its fortresses in the area.

Lapeña Paul lists *Zaed Avennoma* as a *confrade* in her index, apparently because he appears in the first list of *confratres*.³⁰⁰ Since he appears as a gift from a Christian *confrater* to the Order, this interpretation might seem too broad. There is no evidence that *Zaed* had a say in the transaction. On the other hand, wives and daughters who appeared in the *memoriae* might not always approve of their husbands' or fathers' choice of the Order, either, but were lumped in with these men anyway. As tenants of a Christian *confrater*, Muslim exarics similarly became *confratres* of the Temple themselves. Though on the surface it seemed to be a voluntary choice, confraternity was not always so for subordinate members of a household or low-level tenants of a lord.

Michael's exarics may have been low in status, but not all exarics were serfs, in the sense that they were tenants with no landed property. While it may be too much to assert, as Clay Stalls does in *Possessing the Land*, that exarics were not generally unfree tenants tied to the land, examples of exarics with property (implying a degree of freedom) do exist. Stalls mentions several of these in his discussion of the definition of exarics in Aragon.³⁰¹

Documents from Novillas also show that at least some of the exarics that the Templars received were also free in the sense of being property owners. On Easter day in 1162, Doña Sancha of Gallur gave a mill situated between Gruñon and Agon,

²⁹⁷ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.21-44, doc. 10; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 422, fol. 168; For a discussion of this donation, see Díez, *Los Templarios en Los Reinos de España*, 116.

²⁹⁸ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 510.

²⁹⁹ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.21-44, doc. 10; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 422, fol. 168.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 311 (index).

³⁰¹ Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 294-315.

with land, and also two *exaricos* with their houses and *hereditates* (*con sus casas y heredades*), indicating that they had fairly substantial property of their own.³⁰² The possession of both houses and land would raise their status to that of well-off peasants, not the lowly status of the mill-worker *Zaed Avennoma* or his unnamed coreligionist. One could argue that Doña Sancha's gift of these exarics to the Temple shows their lack of freedom. However, while the Kings of Aragon saw themselves as "owners" of all non-Christians in their lands, documents of the period show both the Kings and the Templars giving or receiving Jews who had considerable property of their own. Clearly, these Jews were not serfs in the northern French sense, particularly since they were usually merchants who travelled widely, far beyond the reach of either the Temple or the Kings of Aragon. There were Muslims with similar travelling patterns.³⁰³ While the status of Doña Sancha's exarics could not have been so high, being exarics did not automatically reduce them to servile status, either. The differences in treatment and rights of Muslim exarics in Aragon during the mid-12th century indicates that their status was in a state of extreme flux. Some were undoubtedly unfree; others, however, were not.

In 1156, the Temple bought a fortress (*castello*) in Capañias with land that adjoined that of *Mahomet Crespo* for six morabetins *lopis* (36 sous, about one-third the price of a knight's warhorse in the *Novillas confradía memoriae*). This *castello* could have been only a tower (*turre*), but the document's mention of other houses inside of it makes clear that it was a much larger fortification than a single building. The document does not mention Mahomet's status or his connection with the Temple prior to the sale, but if he owned the land, he was probably free and subsequently interacted with the brothers as

³⁰² "Doña Sancha de Gallur da a la Orden del Templo un molino entre Gruñen y Agon, y una pieza de tierra junto al molino; con todos sus terminos dona tambien Cabañas, y dos exaricos con sus casas y heredades..."; Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.262, doc. 209; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 245, fol. 82. While "dos exaricos con sus casas y heredades" can imply a singular, making the houses Doña Sancha's, this only makes sense if these were houses, etc. in a specific place (i.e. "the houses, etc. in Cabañas"), especially since the preceding list makes clear that these are not Doña Sancha's only properties, either there or anywhere else. The placement of the *cum/con* clause after *dos exaricos* indicates that these houses and *hereditates* are associated with the exarics and are in use by them (though Doña Sancha's gift of them, with the exarics, to the Temple shows that she is the ultimate owner of them as the exarics' feudal lord). Also, "*sus*", the plural of "*suus*" can be either "her houses, etc." or "their houses, etc." In this case, the placement of the *cum* clause after *dos exaricos* implies a translation of "their houses, etc."

³⁰³ ACA, Cancillería, 118, 31v-32r (1301/3/14) and ACA, Cancillería, 121, 37v (1301/6/19); David Nirenberg, "Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," in *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Mark D. and Edward D. English, 141-60 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

their neighbour, if not their associate.³⁰⁴ The Temple was well-established and thriving in the area by this time, so some cooperation on Mahomet's part with the brothers, before and after the sale, was certainly necessary to his own welfare. Whether this cooperation was willing or not, however, the document gives no indication.

A document from 1157-8 mentions Temple land which the Templars gave to two brothers named *Vital* and *Forts* of Sant Pere. This land was joined to "*illa peza de los moros* (that plot of the Moors)" and was located on the far (west) side of the Ebro River.³⁰⁵ Further, the mention that the property was "*la peza ad unzen*", "one piece of eleven" or an eleventh piece of the total property,³⁰⁶ indicates that the Temple had been involved in the partition of the land and therefore was the lord over the Muslims owning/cultivating it. This land appears to have been near an *alfandeca* (grain market) which probably meant that it was cultivated, irrigated and lucrative.

Another document, a *memoria* probably dating between 1147 and 1148, involved a negotiation over water rights for water coming to Novillas from Cortés. Water rights were critical, as the Temple already had a network of donated and bought mills on the Ebro River by this period. In the document, *Zaet Barchon*, Mahomet of the Molas, *Abdelassian* and *Ozmem Dainb*, "among others", in Cortés, took one *cavaeria* each of water from the Temple in Novillas. These Muslims were getting the same amount of water as most of the Christian settlers in the document, and were even listed above one Christian who received one *peonia* (*pedonia*--shift). This seems to have been due to intervention by the Temple, since the Temple negotiated the settlement with the Christians in respect to Temple Muslims. Whether these were free Muslims or exarics belonging to either the Temple or to one of the settlers is not clear.³⁰⁷

The Temple definitely had Muslim tenants near Novillas, and was representing them legally versus the Christians of the area, by 1159. In a *carta de abinimento* (letter of settlement for a dispute) of that year, the Temple negotiated water rights to an irrigation ditch with the settlers (*populatoribus*) in Razazol. This water flowed through the Templar mill at Novillas and ran to Razazol. The Templars agreed to accept four days and nights of water per week. The settlers accepted three days and nights per week, and the

³⁰⁴ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.157-8, doc. 106; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 105, fol. 36v.

³⁰⁵ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.186-7, doc. 124; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 222, fol. 74.

³⁰⁶ Lapeña Paul translates this in her summary as "*la undécima parte de los frutos*" (the eleventh part of the fruits); *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.103, doc. 60; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 252, fo. 87v.

Muslims of the Temple (*suos moros de fratribus*) would not demand a part of those three days and nights from the settlers. If the brothers made another irrigation ditch, they further agreed still to send the same amount to Razazol.³⁰⁸ This reflected similar disputes between the Jewish men of the Temple in Monzón and the Christian inhabitants of the town during the 13th century. Though the Temple in Novillas had the town of Razazol, it did not apparently possess full seniority over the Christians there. The Muslims, on the other hand, were under Temple protection (i.e., their tenants), hence, the Temple's representation of their water rights in the dispute with the Christians in Razazol. Not surprisingly, this mirrors the relations between the Count-Kings of Aragon with their Christian and non-Christian subjects. The Templars, it seems, retained some of their special privileges set down in the Battler's will, at least in some areas.

Although Muslims do not appear in dated documents after this year, this may be due to the fact that most documentation for Novillas stems from the mid-12th century. The presence of Muslims, but not Jews, is highly unusual for a major Templar commandery. While the Templars certainly held commanderies in Spain with no non-Christian population (such as Montsaunès), only Novillas and Villastar (a frontier town in northern Valencia), of the areas studied here, appear to have had a Muslim population but no Jewish quarter. Even Barberà and L'Espluga de Francolí, despite a paucity of non-Christian related documents and no *morería*, had Jewish *calls*. Novillas did not. Possibly, there had been Jews in the area, but they had fled to Navarre, either before or after the Battler's conquest of the area, during the Almoravid raids in the 1130s.

Early documents reflect considerable anxiety about the possibility of the Muslims reconquering the area. This concern appears in García Ramírez's original donation of Novillas and both of the *confratres* lists of the middle part of the 12th century. The Christian frontier expanded south after Zaragoza fell in 1118, but the frontier remained fluid and vulnerable in the area until the 1150s. In 1135, the Christian conquest of Novillas was recent and the Almoravid threat still severe. Also, the presence of exarics, some of them well-off, implies a large, and dangerous, local Muslim population at that time. The presence of exarics in other areas of the Crown of Aragon, such as Huesca and Miravet, was evidence of such a large population, even a majority in some parts of those districts. However, the greatest source of anxiety resulted from the Almoravid incursions following the Battler's death in 1134, which resulted in the reoccupation of

³⁰⁸ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.196-7, doc. 131; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 210, fol. 69.

Novillas before they were driven back.³⁰⁹ There is no reason to believe that Novillas was repopulated so quickly that the Templars initially came to the area after the Muslims there became the minority.

Though there are Mozarabs in the *confratres* lists and other documents, many of the names are Navarrese, indicating that the individuals mentioned did not come from Novillas.³¹⁰ As late as 1151, the Master of the Temple granted a charter of settlement to Christian settlers in Novillas out of an expressed fear that the Muslims (*sarracenis*) would retake it. He made large concessions to the new population, including freedom from selling houses and lands within the town without consulting the Templars and from paying any taxes save *decimis* and *primiciis*. The document is explicit that this new population (*populatoribus*) would in fact be an army of knights (*militibus*) and infantry (*peditibus*) and that they would all be free-born men (*liberi et ingenui*). The infantry were farmers, but they were free farmers.³¹¹ The concessions indicate that the settlers required special privileges from the Temple to encourage their settlement.

In Spain, the Templars may have settled first in Novillas because the area and its problems with banditry resembled their initial situation in Palestine, with which they had been successfully dealing for nearly twenty years already. Further, their enemies were not only hostile Muslims (notably the Almoravids) but also bandits who apparently frequented the countryside during the 1130s and 1140s. The penalty for banditry (defined as the theft of anything valued over 10 sous) was harsh. Once captured, the perpetrator (*latro in latrocinio captus et comprobatus fuerit*) would be thrown from a tower over the river (*turre que est super aquam*) by his victims. At least some of these bandits were Christian, as the document includes prohibitions against intra-Christian violence and a penalty for abandoning the town to the Muslims.³¹² This document emphasises the frontier nature of Novillas, a small town on the border between the hostile kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon and (by proxy) Castille. It also highlights some of the difficulties which the Templars had in resettling and holding onto the town. It may even explain why they appear to have been so willing to keep Muslims in the area.

³⁰⁹ Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 57.

³¹⁰ Such as the individual Enneco Moça, among other "*vicinos de Novella*", who donated land to the Temple around 1147; Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.85, doc. 43; AHN. Cód. 691, no. 50, fol. 22.

³¹¹ Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 159-61.

³¹² Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.125-6, doc. 78; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 441, fol. 194v.

Confratres and Mozarabs

The three *confratres* lists from Novillas give an early and detailed glimpse of what constituted a *confrater* of the Temple. They throw into doubt the idea that all *confratres* conformed to the regulations set down in the Rule. They also indicate that non-Christians, women and semi-heretical groups like the Mozarabs could, and did, become associates of the Temple.

None of the lists is dated precisely, though all come from the 12th century.³¹³ The first, and longest, includes 96 individuals. There is some attempt at listing them hierarchically, but this is thwarted by the fact that different scribes (distinguished by differences in spellings of words and names) added to the document at different times. Lapeña Paul speculates that the document was first begun in either 1134 or 1135.³¹⁴ In the first list, the men donated an annual payment of money (four, five, six, ten or twelve sous), or a one-time gift of land, their best horse and armour and (in one case) *exarics*.³¹⁵ Annual payments were made at either Christmas, Easter or the Feast of Saint Michael. One-time gifts were usually given after the *confrater's* death, presumably to ensure burial in the Temple cemetery.

The women donated money or land (in equal value to the men), a palfrey or mule, and their best garment (usually either a mantle or coverlet). In the lists, the implication was that the women's garments were premade for the *consorores* and not made specifically for the brothers.

While most *confratres* in such lists left vague what equipment they would bequeath (or even what type of beast they would end up donating) one five-sous donor, Michael Monioç of Fenollosa, was explicit in what he chose to give. He donated his horse, "saddled and bridled, and his breastplate and *brazoneres* (armbands), and his shield and his lance with his *senna* (crest)".³¹⁶ Also unlike most other donors, he made the gift immediately, rather than at his death. His wife made her own donation of "another 5 sous for the birth of the Lord (Christmas), and at her end (death), her mule or palfrey such that

³¹³ Ibid, p.21-44, doc. 10; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 422, fol. 168.

³¹⁴ Ibid, p.44, doc. 10, postscript.

³¹⁵ The horse of a lord was worth 500 sous, whereas the horse of an ordinary knight was worth 100 sous. However, a payment in lieu of a horse could be as low as 50 or even 30 sous, and a cow was rated at 20 sous.

³¹⁶ "...doni in ista presenti ora meo cavallo insellato et infrenato, et meo lorigon et meas brazoneras, et meo scuto et mea lances cum sua senna," Ibid, p.21-44, doc. 10; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 421, fol. 166.

she has and her best mantle."³¹⁷ Some *consorores* specified that their mounts would also come saddled and bridled, or with other harness.³¹⁸ As the horse and armour (or other animal), and the garment, were to be given only after death, this begs the question of what status those who joined at death (to be buried in the Temple's cemetery) won from the Order. The best answer, until at least the end of the 12th century, appears to have been whatever status the donor could negotiate with the Temple brethren.

The two Muslim exarics, *Zaed Avennoma* of Fenestralles and *Almaorac* of Almanar, appear two thirds of the way down the list, as exarics given to the Temple by Michael Monioç. He lists them as free and clear of *azofra* from the Temple.

Lapeña Paul dates the second list to between 1135 and 1142 because it mentions Bishop Sancho of Pamplona (listed first of the *confratres*), who died in 1142.³¹⁹ This list is shorter than the first, comprising 19 individuals. Four of these include a local lord, Latron, and his family. Women are listed separately (with one exception), even those married to male *confratres* in the list. This is not true of the first and third lists, where wives and daughters are included in the same entry with their husbands and fathers. There are a few *consorores*, however, who are listed on their own, with no male relatives.

This list also shows the connections that the Temple in Novillas had in Castille as well as Aragon and Navarre. Two of the *confratres* are the Christian wife and son of the Christian *alcaite* of Soria, to the southwest of Novillas in Castille. Christian officials of *morerías* appear to have been common in this area, since a document from 1138 mentions a *cavalmedina* (*zalmedina*-city judge), with the Christian name of Lop Lopeç, as a witness to a royal document in Zaragoza.³²⁰ "Lop" or "Lope" appears frequently as a knight's name in the *confratres* lists.³²¹

Lapeña Paul dates the third *memoria* from the late 12th century, but the list more likely dates from around 1150, at the latest. One of the *confratres*, *Don Apparitio*, appeared as a witness in several Templar documents from 1147 to 1151, but disappeared from the documentation thereafter. The list contains 91 individuals. Three of these are Mozarabs--*Dominico Moçarau* and *Steven Mozarau* and his wife. Dominico and Steven

³¹⁷ "...et mea mulier alios V solidos per natale Domini; et ad sua fine de dompna Sancia, sua mula vel palafred qualem abuerit, et suo melior manto," Ibid, p. 33.

³¹⁸ Ibid, p.240-4, doc. 165, Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 376-7, doc. XI; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 442, fol. 196.

³¹⁹ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.45-7, doc. 11; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 421, fol. 166.

³²⁰ Ibid, p.17-8, doc. 8; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 25, fol. 9.

³²¹ Stall, *Possessing the Land*, 98-104, 154-6.

each promised six dinars and one morabetin (six sous) on their deaths.³²² From the size of Dominico and Steven's donations, they were well off, though the lack of a horse donation indicates that they were below the level of knights.

Mozarabs appeared in two further documents. In 1147, *Per Berenger* bought a heredity in Novillas from *Domna Maior Moçarava* and her sons and daughters.³²³ Neither of the two parties was identified as a *confrater* of the Temple (though the Temple had just taken possession of some of *Per Berenguer's* houses and he donated to the Temple in other documents).³²⁴ As the document was witnessed by a *confrater* of the Order (and not one of the fully-professed brethren), however, one of the two participants may have been a Temple associate. The *confrater* in question was *Don Apparitio*, the frequent Templar witness during this period. He also appeared as a donor in a charter of donation that year with, among others, *Enneco Moça*, a possible Mozarab (or Navarrese), who appeared at the end of the list.³²⁵ The same participants confirmed the donation in another document from the same period, this time in badly corrupted Latin.³²⁶

The presence of *Don Apparitio*, a married *confrater*,³²⁷ acting as an agent for the Order, shows the importance of *confratres* in the early Temple at Novillas. In this period, the brothers of the Temple had only just received a monastic rule. They were few in number, though rapidly expanding and their administrative structure was in an extreme state of flux. Though the influence and role of the *confratres* lessened with time, their help and enthusiasm was a critical factor in the Temple's early success.

Conclusion

As the earliest Templar convent founded in northeastern Spain and the *de facto* provincial house for the first two thirds of the 12th century, Novillas established much of the framework for Templar administration and interaction with associates in that province.

³²² Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.240-4, doc.165; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 376-7, doc. XI; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 442, fol. 196.

³²³ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.79, doc. 37; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 44, fol. 20v.

³²⁴ *Ibid*, p.72-3, doc. 32; d'Albon, *Cartulaire général*, p.279, doc. 447; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 77, fol. 29.

³²⁵ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, p.85, doc. 43, AHN, Cód. 691, no. 50, fol. 22.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, p.90, doc. 47; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 437, fol. 193v.

³²⁷ He is listed with his wife in the *memoria*, among other non-knights: "Don Apparitio and his wife have donated for their charity one piece of land, and the best beast which he will have at his end," *Ibid*, p.240-4, doc. 165, Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 376-7, doc. XI; AHN, Cód. 691, no. 442, fol. 196.

The Templars relied heavily on the devotion of their confraternities both for manpower and material support. They also experimented with organisational structure, using a double leadership of commander and subcommander to accommodate Novillas' dual role as town and provincial house.

The establishment of such an early convent at Novillas is perhaps not so much an historical accident as a Templar response to conditions which Novillas shared with Palestine. Perhaps the Templars felt more comfortable dealing with bandits and a hostile Muslim population on a frontier than they did with royal, ecclesiastical and municipal politics in an urban setting. Perhaps these conditions felt more familiar or the Templars preferred to have more control over their lands, unchallenged by rival Christian powers.

The example of Novillas demonstrates that the Templars could not have succeeded in Spain without the support of their *confratres*. This group included men, women, Mozarabs and non-Christian exarics, both noble and non-noble and covering a wide economic range. The *confratres* lost much of their direct influence in Temple affairs as the order increased in complexity and rigidity of infrastructure through the 13th century. But the enthusiasm of the early Novillas *confratres* still existed in the tacit support of the Monzón townspeople for the Templars' beseiged castle in 1308.

The Temple had its first interactions with non-Christians in the Kingdom of Aragon at Novillas. While there is no evidence for interaction with Jews in the town, there is for Muslims. The Templars clearly feared that the Muslims would take back Novillas, either by invasion or (more likely) by local insurrection. However, there is no evidence that they punished or expelled local Muslims before the fact to forestall this possibility. Furthermore, most Templar interaction with Muslims in Novillas was with Muslim exarics, peasants who owned property as tenants of the Temple. This showed the Templars that they could incorporate non-Christians into the Order's structure as other than the slaves listed in the *Rule* and kept at commanderies like Monzón and Miravet. They could still utilise non-slaves as allies and human resources.

The Templars were given credit by some for repopulating Novillas after its reconquest, and defending it against attack. They also established the same level of commerce (notably involving a complex of mills on the Ebro River), irrigation and intensive agriculture that they did at the same time in Douzens³²⁸ and later elsewhere. The Templars appear to have been welcomed by the local Christian hierarchy in

³²⁸ Barber, "The Templar Preceptory of Douzens."

Novillas. They also were ideally adapted to dealing with Muslim populations in arid regions. Ultimately, this popularity and adaptability are what made them successful so early in the Kingdom of Aragon.

THE TEMPLE IN TORTOSA AND MIRAVET

Introduction

Tortosa, a former Muslim *taifa* city in southern Catalonia, proved to be one of the most influential convents on Templar policy towards non-Christians during the 12th and 13th centuries. It was not an administrative centre like Novillas or Monzón in Aragon, nor an important diplomatic base of operations like Barcelona. It was also too far away from the centre of Old Aragon and Catalonia to play a significant role in communications between the two regions, as Gardeny did in Lleida.

Tortosa was, however, on the southern frontier between New Catalonia and Valencia. The largest and most significant gain in territory for the Temple, Tortosa dominated the area from the top of the Ebro Delta. There were no other major cities in the lower Ebro Valley. Why was Tortosa such an important conquest that Ramon Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, besieged it when he did and was willing to compromise with its non-Christian inhabitants to keep it? The answer lies in Tortosa's position near the delta of the Ebro River. The city had once been the capital of the *taifa* kingdom of the southern Ebro Valley. Protected to the north and south by high mountains, this Muslim realm had blocked Catalan expansion south along the coast for centuries. Ramon Berenguer and his predecessors had been trying to take the city for over half a decade. Now, isolated from the rest of Muslim Spain, Tortosa and her sister-city Lleida were finally ready to fall in 1148/9. The Count, with his nobles, the Templars and the Hospitallers, began a campaign to take Tortosa and its territory in 1143, after making an agreement in Girona over how to divide it post conquest.³²⁹ Ramon Berenguer took charge of the city five years later on December 31, 1148, following the besieged Muslims' acceptance of his treaty. Lleida fell late in 1149. The taking of Miravet in 1153 completed the conquest of the Ebro Valley and the Tortosa region, which Alfonso the Battler had begun half a century earlier. Miravet would later become the central convent of the Templars' Tortosa

³²⁹ Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed., *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), I:9; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 7, fols. 8-9; Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion, 1930), p. 25, doc. 314; Josep Maria Sans i Travé, ed., *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212), Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I*, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), doc. 35; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910), 28 and 170; A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 21-24; Josep M. Sans i Travé, *El procés dels Templers catalans: Entre el turment i la glòria*, (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1990), 90-2.

district.

This conquest created both an opportunity and a challenge for the Temple. The river valley was protected to the east and west of Tortosa by steep mountain ranges. This natural defense had delayed the Christian reconquest by centuries. It now prevented the Muslims in Valencia from reclaiming the area, giving the Templars a chance to develop the river valley without constantly having to defend it. It also trapped a large population of poorer Muslims who, despite the terms of Tortosa's surrender treaty, could not easily flee south. This appears to have preserved a group of skilled, non-Christian workers ripe for exploitation. This group had lingering resentments over the reconquest and may have outnumbered its conquerors for at least a century afterward. This was a tenuous situation for the Christians, one which they could resolve either by driving out all, or most, of the Muslim population or by appeasing them with non-military concessions. The Templars chose concessions, in keeping with the initial surrender treaty that Ramon Berenguer offered to Tortosa at the end of 1148. Due to this policy, relations between the Temple and Muslims in the Crown of Aragon may have been friendliest in this area.

The richness of documentation surviving from the Tortosa convent shows the Temple's attitudes toward non-Christians over time. While the largest number of Templar documents in northeastern Spain does not come from Tortosa, the largest amount of documentation detailing interactions between the Temple and non-Christians does. Also, the Tortosa documentation comes from several sources--Templar, royal and ecclesiastical--and extends for over 150 years from the beginning to the end of the convent's history. In other areas, convent documentation tapers off after 1200. Even the original Tortosan surrender treaty in 1148, as well as the two subsequent charters of settlement, has been preserved. Though these documents do not mention the Templars, who did not initially receive lordship of the city, they do set down the attitudes that the Templars later showed in their relations with non-Christians. Even though these treaties came from the count, the Templars who were with him almost certainly influenced the concessions that he made.

Documents

The number of documents detailing interactions between the Temple and non-Christians in the Tortosa region is the largest for the areas discussed here. But it is

relatively small, considering that the Tortosa district had a thriving paper industry, and a string of mills up and down the river which dated back to Muslim times.³³⁰ Many (but not all) of the 12th century documents have been published in Laurea Pagarolas i Sabaté's, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa* (29 out of 136, **21%**) and the 13th century documents in the 2-volume *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)* (45 out of 216, also **21%**), which covers the 13th century. Others come from the *Cartulary of Tortosa*, which remains unpublished (58 out of 297 [285 originals] **20%**). Still others from the 12th century are found in Antoni Virgili's collection of ecclesiastical documents from the cathedral at Tortosa, *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1193)* (10 non-Christian out of 26 Templar-related, **38%**). Scattered documents related to this study have been drawn from other published sources, but the above are the main collections used and available for the Temple in Tortosa. Not all of these documents are unique, as there is considerable overlap between collections and duplicates within collections, both published and archival, as well. Notably, the average percentage of non-Christian-related documents remains 20-21% of all Templar documentation across the entire period, save for the Virgili collection alone. The Virgili collection's greater ratio may reflect the importance of lucrative non-Christians to the Church. This documentation may also constitute the flashpoint of conflict between the diocese and the Temple in Tortosa. However, this conflict should not be exaggerated, since interaction between the episcopacy and the Temple was low during the 12th century (26 documents out of 495 in Virgili, **5%**). So, Templar/ecclesiastical interaction during this period seems to have been low-key, and much of it was over the issue of who controlled non-Christian output.

This study uses 106 unique non-Christian and Templar-related documents from Tortosa during the 12th and 13th centuries. 101 come from the aforementioned collections. The first document dates from 1148,³³¹ the last one from 1296.³³² This means that the story of the siege of Miravet during the period of the Trial, and the subsequent transfers of that castle to first royal, then Hospitaller, control, are not recorded in Templar cartulary documents. Instead, they come mainly from the collection of royal correspondence in the *Cancillería*. 54 Templar and non-Christian-related documents come from the 12th century, 52 from the 13th century. The 12th century documents

³³⁰ Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura...*, 78. Fuguet is echoing Pagarolas here.

³³¹ Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población*, doc. 70.

³³² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 234-5, doc. 189; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa, parchment no. 25, parts through ABC. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragón*, 61 n. 19.

cover 52 years, whereas the 13th century documents cover 96 years. This clearly does not constitute the full extent of the Templars' activity in the area. However, it is normal for the extent of documentation for non-royal groups in the older parts of the Crown of Aragon during this period.³³³ The documents are more or less evenly distributed (but with a decline in number over time), with 49 for the first 50 years (0.98 per year) and 57 for the last 98 years (0.58 per year). This fits the pattern for the popularity of 12th and 13th century religious orders such as the Cistercians or the mendicant orders, with an initial burst of donations that declines over time.³³⁴

The size and variety of the documents in the *Cartulary of Tortosa* indicate that some centralisation of Templar documentation occurred within the district. Alan Forey postulates that there was a central Templar archive in the Tortosa district in which the Catalanian Temple kept its own documents, and that this archive was kept at Miravet. He takes his evidence from an incomplete inventory of documents brought to Barcelona from Miravet in 1309, during the Trial.³³⁵

The distribution of surviving non-Christian-related documents seems to reflect their original distribution in the Templar archives for those two regions, but does not necessarily reflect ethnic distributions in the local population. In any collection from an area with a probable significant population of non-Christians, the distribution is 5-20% of the total surviving documents for the area.

For Tortosa, most of the original manuscript documents are found in a single collection--the Templar Cartulary of Tortosa. The rest come from the *Cancillería* (the 'Chancellery', an archive of royal Aragonese-Catalonian correspondence and decrees) or are scattered throughout the archive of the Hospital of St John for Catalonia, the AGP (*Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*), which now rests in the ACA (*Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*) in Barcelona. The *Cartulary of Tortosa* (which is part of the Hospital archive) and the *Cancillería* are also in the ACA. The *Cartulary of Tortosa*, while written in a clear script, is in a brown ink on vellum. It has faded considerably over the years until the pages themselves are translucent. A number of documents are only partially legible. Some cannot be read at all. The cartulary was not completely restored until 1991 and some documents remain unreadable. Some other documents survive in the AHN

³³³ Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in medieval Catalonia : Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16-18.

³³⁴ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 3rd ed. (Essex: Pearson Education Ltd, 2001), 189-95.

³³⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 316, 336.

(*Archivo Histórico Nacional*) in Madrid.

The *Cartulary of Tortosa* is large for a Templar document collection, with 96 folios of 297 documents, and ranges over the period between 1150 and 1281. It does not survive in its original form. It is a copy of the original documents, made in 1667. The originals, for the most part, are now lost. This means that features of the original--such as any non-Latinate writing, witnesses' marks, peculiarities of the scribes' handwriting, or seals, have not survived. The *Cartulary of Tortosa* was also somewhat represented in a collection of summaries of the cartulary documents, from the same period, written in Catalan. The quality of the Catalan grammar and spelling is poor, making it difficult to make out the sense, particularly for documents where the cartulary original is too damaged to be legible. It also leaves out much pertinent information in the documents.

One cannot be certain that the copies of the documents in the cartulary are complete representations of the original documents, either--probably, they are not. Though in some cases, there are older copies from other parchments in the ACA or in the AHN in Madrid for comparison, the cartulary is not reproduced as a whole anywhere else. This is usually the case with other Templar cartularies as well. The presence of earlier and later copies of some Templar documentation, however, is quite common, as more important documents were copied repeatedly. This explains some of the overlap in different printed collections. There are a number of copies of the three charters which the King offered to the Muslims and Jews of Tortosa, respectively between 1148 and 1149, for example.³³⁶

***Convivencia* and Conquest**

The capture of Tortosa did not just cement the already strong association between Ramon Berenguer and the Temple. It was also a major turning point in Christian/non-Christian relations for the Crown of Aragon. Ramon Berenguer made a treaty with the besieged Muslims of Tortosa on December 30, 1148, the day before he took the city, to encourage those barricaded in the city's fortress, *La Suda*,³³⁷ to surrender and to retain the bulk of its (non-Christian) population. In the treaty, he reassured the frightened and numerous citizens that not only would he not slaughter them, he would allow them to

³³⁶ Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 343-50.

³³⁷ "The Citadel," the medieval term for a Muslim city's main fortress in medieval Catalonia. This generally became the king's fortress following the Christian conquest of the city. Tortosa's *Suda* dated to Carolingian times; Jordi Bolòs, *Diccionari de la Catalunya Medieval (ss. VI-XV)*, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2000), 239-40.

keep their movable possessions, as well as their lands, laws, customs and religions-- within reason--if they gave up the city to him but also stayed as inhabitants. He agreed to allow any non-Christians who chose to leave Christian lands within the year allotted them to do so unmolested. These were not uncommon concessions in surrender treaties on the peninsula.³³⁸ However, Ramon Berenguer specifically took as his example the treaty of his predecessor as King of Aragon, Alfonso the Battler, who had offered similar terms to the citizens of the *taifa* city of Zaragoza in 1119.³³⁹

During the 12th and 13th centuries, the Crown of Aragon became a significant power in Spain and the Mediterranean for the first time. The County of Catalonia, in particular, built a commercial and political empire on the administrative structure of its non-Christian *taifa* predecessors. The surrender treaty of Tortosa was one of the first tools which the Count of Barcelona used to create that empire. Newly-crowned King of Aragon as well, Ramon Berenguer was in an uncertain political situation in 1148. His resources were divided between consolidating his county and kingdom into the Crown of Aragon and expanding them both southward through conquest. He needed to conserve his military and political capital. The judicious use of tolerance, *convivencia* as a policy of conquest, was a gamble. It was a gamble that the Count and his successors, for the most part, won.

In the southern Ebro Valley, the Muslims on the river north and south of Tortosa were allowed to remain, as a charter of settlement made in 1148 (the year of Tortosa's conquest) between the Temple and the population of Ambel and Traid shows.³⁴⁰ The Templars and Hospitallers, who still may have seen non-Christians as their automatic vassals due to the Battler's will, agreed with the Count's military and economic reasons for keeping as much of the population of Tortosa, Christian or not, as possible in place. The city was still on a contested frontier with the Muslim *taifa* of Valencia. Neither

³³⁸ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1992), 214.

³³⁹ "...qualiter astirmavi ire Adefonsus, quid sit requiesi ad mauros de Zaragoza et taliter fueros qualiter illis abent qui sunt subtus scriptos..."; ACA: Pergamins de Ramon Berenguer IV, carpeta núm. 38, doc. núm. 209; reproduced in Josep Serrano i Daura, ed. *Les Cartes de Població Cristiana i de Seguretat de Jueus i Sarraïns de Tortosa (1148/1149), Actes Tortosa, 14, 15 i 16 de maig de 1999* (Barcelona: Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, 2000), 343, doc. I, from a fourth-generation copy which survives from 1248. The original and the previous three copies (including one made in 1183, which was signed both by King Alfonso II and brother Berenguer of Avignon, master of the Temple) are now lost. For a commentary on the terms, see: José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador* (Zaragoza: Guara Editorial, S.A., 1978), 71-5.

³⁴⁰ María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales*, Vol. 18, *Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991), doc. 70.

Catalonia nor Aragon had the population to settle Tortosa with Christians alone. The Christians especially needed settlers for the fortified towns they maintained up and down the Ebro Valley, which stretched northwest to southeast across Aragon and Catalonia. In the first century after the conquest of Tortosa, the Christians' resources of manpower were overstretched in the valley. This eventually eased due to increased Christian immigration south from the mid 13th century onward, with disastrous consequences for the non-Christians still there. Economically, the Christian lords needed non-Christians to remain because many of them were skilled agricultural workers who could maintain the intensive cultivation that made Tortosa a rich prize. Neither the Count nor his lords intended to see this new territory depreciate in value through its conquest.

The question of how many Muslims remained in the area is a matter of controversy. Despite the Count's concessions, many Muslims appear to have fled south initially. Some historians dispute this, though with no real documentary evidence, and say that most of the population remained.³⁴¹ The nature of early post-conquest documents does not support an atmosphere in which most Muslims would have remained. Most of these documents involve the distribution of the property of absent Muslims to new Christian (or more rarely, resident Mozarab) tenants and owners.³⁴² Some of this redistribution was related to the concentration of the Muslim population within the city's new *morería*. Considering that most of the redistributed property was not housing, but instead the cultivated fields outside the walls which the Count wanted non-Christians to stay and tend, this documentary trend reflects more a depopulation than a consolidation. The distribution of Muslim property (in which the Temple participated with no visible reservations) dominates the Temple documents in the first half-century after the city's recapture. The first Muslim listed with property, rather than having his property divided *in absentia*, *Danpnaceher sarracenum* in Algezira Mascor, does not appear in a document until 1169.³⁴³

Ramon Miravall has focused on how the *carta de població* which Ramon Berenguer gave to the Jews late in 1149 changed their position in the city. Miravall believed that the Jews were not particularly well-treated by the Muslims pre-conquest. Therefore,

³⁴¹ Cynthia Maya, "Conquest and Pragmatism: Jew and Muslim in Post-Conquest Tortosa," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 11 (1999), 15-25.

³⁴² ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 230, fol. 71.

³⁴³ Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa: Institut d'Estudis Dertosenses, 1984), 202-3, doc. 32; ACA sec. 5, doc. 221, fol. 68v.

when the Christians came, they welcomed them.³⁴⁴ This explains why in 1149, the king issued not one, but two charters to the newly-conquered population of the city, in addition to the surrender treaty made with the Muslims the previous year. One he made to all of the inhabitants of Tortosa (*omnibus habitatoribus Tortose*), with their rights and obligations, and the other to the Jews specifically (*omnibus iudeis de Tortosa*), with their rights and obligations. In the Muslim treaty, Muslims were assured protection from Jewish exploitation, namely that Jews could not take Muslim women for their wives or concubines or keep Muslims as slaves.³⁴⁵ A paucity of references for the early period however, makes it difficult to determine how true these concerns were. It was a startling concession since the Jews were supposed to have been the subordinate group pre-conquest. Why was it even an issue to the previously dominant Muslims? It could simply have been that the Muslims feared being cast down from the highest position in society to the lowest and sought reassurances from the Count. The Count may have made these concessions to ensure that only Christians could keep slaves, consolidating Muslims and Jews into the same status group. It seems unlikely that the Count regarded his Jews and Muslims as having the same status, however, considering that the Jews were subsequently given the right to engage in the slave trade elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon.³⁴⁶ Boswell cites cases of Muslims owning other Muslims (though not Christians or Jews) in the 14th century.³⁴⁷ Though there are no clear cases in Tortosan Temple documents of Muslims owning other Muslims, there seems to have been no prohibition against it.

Some historians believe that the Count's initial treaty and charters had a large influence on later policy and attitudes toward non-Christians in the city.³⁴⁸ Later Templar policy backs this up. In a sense, the Templars were pawns used by certain segments of the non-noble population to legally represent their own interests, particularly in Tortosa, where Ramon Berenguer and his descendants gave each of the city's religious groups specific rights that superseded anything that the Temple could impose upon them. The

³⁴⁴ Ramon Miravall, *El call jueu de Tortosa, l'any 1149*, no. 179, *Episodis de la Història* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1973), 39.

³⁴⁵ "...et nullo judeo comparit mora nec moro qui fuerit captivo et nullo judeo non denocet ad mauro, et si fecerit quod faciat inde directum"; Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 345, doc. I.

³⁴⁶ Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 34.

³⁴⁷ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 54-6.

³⁴⁸ Maya, "Conquest and Pragmatism," 15-25.

Count's concessions may have led to the civic freedom that Tortosa's inhabitants used to take control of the city themselves in the late 13th century from the Templars.

Architecture

Like most other ancient and medieval cities in northeastern Spain, Tortosa was established on a river--in this case, the Ebro (*L'Ebre*, in Catalan). At Tortosa, the Ebro is a fast-flowing, estuarine river, deep enough for navigation, and rich in fisheries resources. Tortosa supported its own *drassanes* (shipyards) from Muslim times. The city, originally called "*Dertuse*", dates back to Roman times and was part of the province of *Tarraconensis* (Tarragona). It was built on the side of a hill on the eastern shore of the river (though it expanded west across the river on the northern end of town). The Romans also built a wall, which expanded as the city grew. In some places, particularly on the hillside south of the cathedral, the original city wall still survives. The city became an episcopate from the 4th century onward, and a Muslim stronghold in 715.³⁴⁹ After the breakup of the Andalusian califate in the early 10th century, a powerful *taifa* kingdom persisted there until the city fell to the Christians at the end of 1148.

In Tortosa, the Jewish *call* upriver from the Temple quarter, on the north side of town, was larger than in most other cities in the Crown of Aragon. Nothing architectural survives but the *Porte de Ferre* ("Door of Iron"), the low gate away from the river to the Jewish cemetery. This burial ground has since eroded from the hill. The geography of the *call* is somewhat confusing, as there are two more gates for the Jewish quarter, one for the *call* alone (down by the Jewish *carnissería* and the synagogue) and one, the *Assoc* (Arabic for "market") which was further south along the river. This gate, which the *call* shared with the Muslim *morería*, led to the Christian part of town. Though they shared one gate, the Jewish and Muslim quarters were separated from each other by a wall. The *call* grew so quickly following the reconquest that it expanded east from the *Call Vell* (Old Quarter), which began at the *drassanes* on the river, up the hill into the *Call Nou* (New Quarter), which terminated in the *Porte de Ferre* during the 13th century. Ramon Berenguer also gave the Jews the *drassanes* in his 1149 charter to them.³⁵⁰ The Muslims, on the other hand, were given one year, at the time of the conquest, to consolidate their housing into

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ "...ego Raymundus, comes Barchinonensis, princeps Aragonensis et Tortose marchio, dono vobis omnibus iudeis de Tortosa et omni vestre proleniei in propria hereditate, illum locum in Tortosa que apellatur Daracinum..."; Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 349, doc. III.

a new walled area, the *morería*, which was about the same size as both the old and new *calls*.³⁵¹ Unlike the Jewish *call*, the *morería* does not appear to have expanded over the next four centuries before the expulsion of both groups.

The natural defense of steep mountains on both sides of the river, and a clear view of any approach from them, bolstered the already formidable city wall, which was topped by *La Suda*, the city's Muslim-built fortress. The Templars built their *barrio* on the banks of the Ebro, just outside the southern wall and downriver from the town, where they could guard both the river and one of the principal four gates of the city.³⁵² Aside from some modern street signs in the old *barrio*, only a few arches in the garden of the Convent of Santa Clara, a church south of the Cathedral near the Roman wall, and a plaque in the courtyard of the Cathedral, preserve the memory of the Temple in the city.

The Temple had no fortress, as such, in Tortosa, and its part in the fortification of *La Suda*, the city's castle, was limited.³⁵³ This lack of independent fortification may have inspired the movement of the lead convent in the district north to the much smaller town of Miravet. Lacking control of *La Suda* or other fortified places on a suitable height in Tortosa, and the topographical means to build another castle (as they did at Gardeny, in Lleida), the Templars took for themselves the formidable Muslim fortress on the bluff dominating the river at Miravet instead. They bolstered the fortifications there, once it came into their possession, building on the core Muslim structures that they found rather than razing them and building on top of them. This was a common practice in the Crown of Aragon. Most defensible positions had fortifications by this period. It was much easier to take a fortress and augment it than to destroy it and build another one. Therefore, architectural styles became mixed from an early date, with no distinctly "Christian" style in the most contested and newly-conquered areas during the Templar period.

Negotiating Lordship

After the Christian conquest of Miravet in 1153, Ramon Berenguer IV donated the castle and boundaries of Miravet to the Temple on August 24 of that year. The Temple then formed the district (*terme* or *termines*) of Tortosa. This district comprised a

³⁵¹ Maya, "Conquest and Pragmatism," 15-30; Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 343-5, doc. I; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 270, fol. 81.

³⁵² Joan Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995), 74.

³⁵³ John C. Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000-1230* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 99-103.

considerable section of the southern Ebro river valley and delta, as well as at least two commanderies--Tortosa and Miravet.

As outlined in Ramon Berenguer's 1143 compromise with the Templars over the Battler's will, the Order received one fifth of all war booty in the Crown of Aragon. Thus, one fifth of the lordship of Tortosa automatically came to the Temple. The Count of Montcada, Guillem Ramon, who had been expecting most, if not all, of the town, also received a minor amount--about 16%.³⁵⁴ Ramon Berenguer, meanwhile, gave one third of the city to the Genoese, who had helped him in the siege, while reserving one third for himself.

By 1156, the Genoese had left, while Ramon Berenguer and his successors gradually relinquished control of the city to the Temple and the Count of Montcada. The Count of Montcada's share was further complicated (and made expensive) because his initial portion included a sizable section of the city walls. As any owner of property containing city walls was responsible for their maintenance and defense, he had to put out considerable expense. The property of the Genoese, in contrast, was further in the city, centered around the Cathedral. When they relinquished their property, much of it went to the Templars, rather than to the Count of Montcada. This created some bad feeling between the Count and the Order, though this probably did not persist. Guillem Ramon and his brother had previously served as *fratres ad terminum* of the Order. Their ties with the Temple were therefore strong enough to survive the dispute, as subsequent interactions between the family and the Order indicate.³⁵⁵ The convent of Santa Clara is built around a Templar chapel, *Sant Miquel dels Templars*. This convent, which is halfway up the ridge near the medieval fortifications, may be a remnant of the divisive Genoese share.³⁵⁶

Why did Ramon Berenguer IV treat the Count of Montcada so shabbily, and why did the Templars benefit from it? In his history of the Counts of Montcada, John Shideler speculates that Ramon Berenguer was trying to control the Catalan nobility, who were

³⁵⁴ Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, 102. While Miret y Sans has asserted that the Templars only received a fifteenth, due to Guillem Ramon's theoretical grant of one third, Forey, like Shideler, believes that the Seneschal's subsequent complaints about being short-changed indicate that the claims of the Templars and the Genoese took precedence over Guillem Ramon's; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 25.

³⁵⁵ Nikolas Jaspert, "Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: The Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia," in *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 19-45.

³⁵⁶ Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura...*, 76-7.

restless at the best of times, through the most powerful (and fortunately, most loyal) of their number, Guillem Ramon, then Count of Montcada. Ramon Berenguer was not just Count of Barcelona, but also King of Aragon from 1137 onward. As an elected rather than an hereditary monarch, Ramon Berenguer had a more vulnerable power base than his predecessors in the realm of Aragon. He was more a first among equals than an undisputed ruler of a class above the nobility. Fortunately for him, the Catalan and Aragonese nobility respected strength of rule far more than heredity; Ramon Berenguer and his descendants were vigorous kings.³⁵⁷

Guillem Ramon was also a very strong noble, perhaps second only to Ramon Berenguer in Catalonia, with extensive properties of his own in both Catalonia and Aragon. Though he was loyal to Ramon Berenguer, he could easily have been a threat to the King's power, and could have served as the centre for noble rebellion against the King. Ramon Berenguer was not, after all, king in Catalonia, only the most powerful Catalan count at that time. One of the ways in which he limited Guillem Ramon's power was to make him his Seneschal. This weighed down Guillem Ramon with considerable responsibility, and tied much of his power and authority to the Ramon Berenguer's. He had to conduct the King's business in various parts of the realm, travelling so frequently that he had no time to build a rival power base of his own.³⁵⁸ Hence, the early good fortune of the Templars in Tortosa derived mainly from Ramon Berenguer's politics. Their fifth mollified them for being cut out of the Battler's will and humbled the Seneschal at the same time. It also helped them that, by being an international order of fighting monks answerable to the Pope rather than local interests, they could be reliable allies to the King. Their willingness to compromise on the Battler's will made clear to Ramon Berenguer that they (and the Hospitallers) had no real interest in his throne. This early flexibility proved extremely beneficial to both orders in the Crown of Aragon.

In 1182, Alfonso II, Ramon Berenguer's son, gave the rest of his share in the city, its territories, and his municipal jurisdiction to the Temple, though this was complicated by his giving lordship there to his wife Sancha. Their son, Peter I, then gave the lordship rights to William of Cervera after his mother's death in 1208, but William relinquished his claim in 1215.³⁵⁹ After 1215, the Templars shared jurisdiction of Tortosa proper only with the Count of Montcada, though they seem to have repeatedly asserted a greater claim

³⁵⁷ Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, 96-103.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 87-93.

³⁵⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* 29-30.

to the city's jurisdiction than the Count. The Templars and the Count of Montcada also shared dominion over the non-Christians of Tortosa, jointly choosing the leaders of the Muslim *aljama* in Tortosa, for example. In 1218, James I, still a minor ward of the Templars, reconfirmed his ancestor's donation to them, but his successors tried to take it back in the period between 1276 and 1294. In 1294, King James II finally bought the Count of Montcada's share and negotiated an exchange of territories with the Temple. In September of that year, the Temple gave up its share of the city, and received territories in Valencia in compensation.³⁶⁰ It retained its properties elsewhere in the district until the siege of Miravet from 1307-8.

At first, the Tortosa district centered around the city (or more accurately, the region encompassed by the former *taifa* city-state). The commander of the city also initially oversaw the district, though this changed as the Templar administration spread out through the region.³⁶¹ The Temple spent most of its energy during its first two decades in the district on property consolidation. Tortosan documents indicate that the Temple traded lands so as to concentrate them into fewer, larger farms. Previously acquired lands of the Temple showed up as boundaries for newly acquired plots. This tactic is well-documented in Templar land acquisition in other regions and countries and was not unique to the Order in the 12th century.³⁶² The Templars concentrated on accumulating *orti* and *campi*. *Orti* were cultivated pieces of land (vineyards, orchards, and olive groves are mentioned); *Campi*, on the other hand, were unirrigated properties on which the Templars may have planted cereals and other dry farming crops. Land was not infrequently bounded by rivers, irrigation ditches and/or public roads, indicating the importance of a property's access to transport and water. Houses were a small, but significant portion of the grants and sales. One document from 1182, an accord between the King and the Temple, mentioned a tower (more likely, a fortified house) in the Parellada.³⁶³

The village of Algezira Mascor,³⁶⁴ appears to have been a focus for land acquisition

³⁶⁰ Ibid, 316.

³⁶¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 179-80, doc. 6; ; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 189, fol. 60v.

³⁶² Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 250.

³⁶³ Pagarolas, 2:206; ACA, C, reg. 309, fol. 54v-55r.

³⁶⁴ Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura...*, 74, 125.

by the Temple in land sales of former Muslim property from 1169 to 1181.³⁶⁵ This small village, in the jurisdiction of Alfara, was north of Tortosa along the river, between Palomera and Aldover.³⁶⁶ There, the Templars bought several pieces of land that had belonged to Muslims who had fled during or immediately after the conquest. The Templars also appear to have traded properties with prominent Mozarabs who remained in the village and profited from the flurry of land exchange. While the village itself was quite small, it probably attracted the Temple's interest due to its place on the river, as well as its intensive agriculture, particularly in olive groves.³⁶⁷ This agriculture was profitable enough to interest King Alfonso, who also took a share in it. In addition to these advantages, the Temple acquired parts of the *azoch* (market) there in 1184.³⁶⁸

The Temple took over a significant number of lands previously owned by Muslims in the village during the 1170s. In 1169, William of Espluga and his wife Ermengard sold a piece of land in the village which had once belonged to *Abachil Mazaray* to brother Guillem Berard, master and commander in Tortosa and in the Castle of Miravet.³⁶⁹ In 1181, Robert *Alcaix*, possibly a Mozarab, sold a field in the village to brother Berenguer of Avignon, master of the Temple in Provence and Spain, and to brother Peter Auxor, commander of the house in Tortosa, for 4 morabetinos.³⁷⁰ By 1184, the village was important enough to be mentioned in a *memoria* between the King and the Temple. One of the cultivated areas where the King acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Temple and its *baillis* in the document was an *hereditas* of the Temple which had once belonged to *Farazone*, a Saracen. This property included three fields in *Algezira Mascho*.³⁷¹

Around 1166, a process of decentralisation and reorganisation began, spurred by the

³⁶⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 202-3, doc. 32; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 221, fol. 68v; *Ibid.*, 244-5, doc. 74; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 225, fol. 69v; *Ibid.*, p. 92-3, doc. 81; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 177-8; Jose Font Rius, ed., *Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña* (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1969), p. 773; Liber Feudorum Maior, 467; ACA sec. 5, doc. 267, fols 81v-82r, parchment of Alfons I, parchment of Peter I.

³⁶⁶ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, p. 337.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92-3.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 256-9, doc. 81; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 177-8; Font Rius, *Cartas de Poblacion y Franquicia de Cataluña*, p. 773; Liber Feudorum Maior, 467; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 267, fols 81v-82r, parchment of Alfons I, parchment of Peter I.

³⁶⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 202-3, doc. 32; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 221, fol. 68v.

³⁷⁰ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 244-5, doc. 74; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 225, fol. 69v.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 256-9, doc. 81; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 177-8; F-R 1, p. 773; Liber Feudorum Maior, 467; ACA sec. 5, doc. 267, fols 81v-82r, parchment of Alfons I, parchment of Peter I.

early establishment of the two commanderies at Tortosa and Miravet. This process continued for the rest of the Temple's tenure in the Ebro Valley.³⁷² The documents began to refer to a single "master and commander in Tortosa and in the Castle of Miravet" (*Magister et Comendator in Tortosa et in Castro de Mirabet*) from 1153 onward.³⁷³ "Procurator" (*fratri Milicie Templi Procurator domus Dertose*) in 1157³⁷⁴ and "Governor" (*gubernatorem domum Milicie Tortose*) in 1163³⁷⁵ also appeared as early designations for a leader or officer of the Temple in Tortosa. From 1174, the commander in the *villa* (city) of Tortosa was separate from the commander of the *terme* (district) of Tortosa. A commander then appeared in Ascó in 1181. Miravet acquired its own commander (who was separate from the commander of the district) in 1190 and Horta received one after 1193. During this period, Riba-roja also received a commander. As the Temple consolidated its power over the district, these commanders increased in their power and influence. However, they still remained subject to the authority of the district commander throughout the Templar period.³⁷⁶

In 1198, the documents began to refer to the "Preceptor of Ribera, Miravet and Tortosa" (*Mirabeti et Riparie Dertuse Preceptoris*). A "Preceptor of the city of Tortosa" (*Preceptori ville Dertuse*) also appeared following the district preceptor.³⁷⁷ However, the district preceptor, Peter of Cologne, had appeared the year before as only the "Preceptor of Ribera" (*Preceptor Riparie*) yet it was clear that he was already some sort of district commander. He was called variously "preceptor" and "commander" in the documents but as it was common to mix the two designations in Tortosa and Gardeny during the period, this probably had no administrative significance.³⁷⁸ Whenever he appeared in Tortosan documents in 1197, he came before the preceptor of the city and operated "with the counsel and wish of all the convent of Tortosa" (*cum consilio et voluntate omni conventui Dertuse*).³⁷⁹ This powerful individual held his office from 1196 to

³⁷² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 202-3, doc. 32; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 221, fol. 68v.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 176-7, doc. 2; ACA sec. 5, Vol. III, doc. 153, fol. 50v (November 25, 1153), Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 105, n. 38; Miret y Sans, *Les Cases...*, 82.

³⁷⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 181-2, doc. 8; ACA, Secc. 5.^a, Arm. 4.^o, Vol. III, Doc. 194, Fol. 61v.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 189-90, doc. 18; ACA, Secc. 5.^a, Arm. 4.^o, Vol. III, Doc. 104, Fol. 33v.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-23.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 299-300, doc. 114; ACA sec. 5, doc. 107, fol. 34r.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 293-4, doc. 110; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 293, fol. 94v.

³⁷⁹ Pagarolas, 298-9, doc. 113; ACA: sec. 5, parch. 58, original.

1200.³⁸⁰ Though originally a foreigner from the Holy Roman Empire (according to his toponymic) and possibly not even a noble due to his complete lack of a family name, he was an experienced officer who had already spent at least 20 years in Catalonia, in the Templar convent of Gardeny in Lleida. He first appeared in the Tortosa documents in April 1176 as "brother Peter of Cologne" (*fratris Petri de Colongas*) at Gardeny.³⁸¹ From 1178 to 1180, he was Preceptor there.³⁸² He continued to appear, on and off, in the Gardeny documents as the Preceptor of Gardeny until 1196, the year he went to Ribera and took over there.³⁸³

There seems to have been a difference in Temple jurisdiction between the territory of Tortosa, and the city, itself, from the very beginning. It is unclear if the *terme* of Tortosa ever comprised the entire district as such, or only the immediate area around the city.³⁸⁴ The general decentralisation of the district looks like organic growth, overall. However, Peter of Cologne's appointment to Ribera in 1196 seems to have been a more deliberate attempt to organise the district in a way that took into account the move away from centralisation around the city of Tortosa. By bringing in an experienced convent commander from Gardeny, the Temple may have sought to streamline the district's organisation and provide an individual to whom all of the commanders reported.

This was a critical decision at this point, for the various commanderies and subcommanderies of the district were growing rapidly in the late 12th century, decentralising district administration. The Templars seem to have reluctantly gone with the demographic and political trends that were pushing them out of Tortosa in the late 12th century and relocated their power base north to Miravet. Miravet had been an important conquest for the Christians, and an even more important early acquisition for the Temple. Built in the 11th century, the Muslim fortress there had dominated the river, impeding Christian progress into the region for a century. During the Templar period, Miravet was a centre for dry and river-irrigated farming, and cattle ranching.³⁸⁵ It had a

³⁸⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 435.

³⁸¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 298-9, doc. 113; ACA: sec. 5, parch. 58, original.

³⁸² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I:326; ARB, SJJ, perg. 1.877, arm. 11; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 435.

³⁸³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II:669; ARB, SJJ, perg. 2.375, arm. 11; ARB, SJJ, sc. 3^a, llg. 1.127, cod. 17 de Gardeny, pp.28-9 (13th century resume).

³⁸⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 229-31, doc. 61; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 204, fol. 63v-64r.

³⁸⁵ Fuguet Sans, Joan. *L'Arquitectura...*, 78-9.

good position on the river, but was small enough, and far enough away from any large urban areas, that the Templars could own and control the town with little opposition from other groups. Unlike *La Suda* in Tortosa, the Templars held complete lordship of the castle in Miravet, and indeed, the whole town, and held a much stronger military position on its hill. This may be partly why the Templars eventually moved their capital in the district there when they left Tortosa.

Joan Fuguet Sans speculates that the military nature of Miravet's convent architecture, over the more urban aspect of the Temple convent in Tortosa, persisted because Miravet was surrounded by villages that were still mainly Muslim.³⁸⁶ This hypothesis is borne out by a *memoria* agreement over *primicias*,³⁸⁷ *decimas*³⁸⁸ and the labour service of Muslims (*laborationibus omnibus sarracenorum*) around Miravet between the Bishop of Tortosa and the master of the Temple in Miravet. Dated 1153-8, this document mentions the taxation of mosques in Benissanet and Miravet, probably of the *waqf* property permanently attached to the mosque for its support. Benissanet was a village just upriver of Miravet and subject to it.³⁸⁹ Thus, both mosques would have been under the jurisdiction of Miravet. The existence of the official Christian acknowledgement and taxation of two mosques in such a small area does support the theory that a large percentage of the population remained Muslim around Miravet, at least in the first decade or so after the conquest. However, this situation persisted in other areas, as well, where the Temple had built or strengthened far fewer fortifications. In the case of Miravet, the architectural serendipity of having lordship of a village with an excellent strategic point on the river and strong, already existing fortifications, may have made the Templars willing to tolerate so many possible enemies around such an important stronghold. On the other hand, the agricultural richness of the area may have forced the Templars to keep more Muslims than they really wanted and to stay militarised due to the possibility of revolt. Whichever strategy or rationale they were using, it worked, since the district experienced no serious revolts during the Templar period.

Eventually in the 13th century, the district divided into four commanderies--Miravet,

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ An ecclesiastical tax of a sixteenth of the "fruits" of agricultural produce; Bolòs, *Diccionari*, 210.

³⁸⁸ Another ecclesiastical tribute of ten percent of Church revenues, paid to finance the ongoing military campaign against the Muslims; *Ibid.*, 97.

³⁸⁹ Antoni Virgili, ed., *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1193)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997), doc. 34; no known original; Cartularies 6, d. 18, f. 12; 5, d. 59, f. 23; 9, fs. 106v-107; 9a, ps. 274-6.

Tortosa, Ascó and Horta. Under these were five sub-commanderies--Gandesa, Algars and Nonasp (under Miravet), Prat (under Tortosa) and Riba-Roja (under Ascó). Neither the Templars nor the Hospitallers, who also had extensive lands in the region, reorganised the district of the Ebro Valley according to any original, Christian plan. Instead, they used the Muslim infrastructure of the *taifa* period, including its trade network, fortresses and villages with their preexisting systems of agriculture and taxation, as a basis for their subsequent growth in the area. This explains some of the confusion regarding the old Muslim place names, as these did not change until long after the Temple had been suppressed.³⁹⁰ Nor do the Templar documents mention villages being razed, relocated or newly formed, though resettlement of abandoned villages did occur. Whether or not the non-Christian inhabitants left, the administrative structures that they had created largely remained.

The period of expansion of the district in Tortosa (until about 1200) corresponded with the expansion of the neighboring districts of Gardeny and Barberà. Documents from both the Cartularies of Tortosa and of Barberà show considerable interaction between the two districts. The master of Barberà and (less commonly) Gardeny appear as both protagonists and witnesses in Tortosa documents from the early 13th century.³⁹¹ In 1202, the master of Monzón appeared in a document confirming the King's transfer of his properties in Tortosa to the Temple, as well as a symbolic royal gift to the Temple of three people in Tortosa, a Christian, a Muslim, and a Jew. This was more likely a transfer of lordship than a record of servitude, since Christians and Jews do not appear elsewhere as slaves in the documents. It is possible that they were serfs but again, in other documents, men of substantial property are traded in a similar fashion, indicating that a more general transfer of vassalage, rather than specifically serfdom, is going on.³⁹²

The district expanded in prestige, as well. In later 13th century Templar documents, local witnesses are superseded by more prominent witnesses and plaintiffs, such as the Visitor of the Temple (a travelling representative of the Grand Master), and the Papal Legate, who performed a similar function for the Pope. This shows the increased importance of the Ebro Valley district to the general Order as the commanderies there

³⁹⁰ Joan Fuguet Sans, *Templers i Hospitalers, II: Guia de les Terres de l'Ebre i dels Castells Templers del Baix Maestrat* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 2000), 121-2.

³⁹¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 296-8, doc. 112; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 132, fols.41v-42r; *ibid.*, doc. 311-3, doc. 122; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 28, fol. 9r-v; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 179.

³⁹² Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 279, fol. 88.

expanded. Initially, the affairs of the Temple in Tortosa, Barberà, and Gardeny were kept local, among the brothers of the individual houses, and sometimes, the masters and higher officials of neighboring districts, but the strategic and commercial importance of the lower Ebro river valley ensured that this (possibly self-imposed) isolation did not last beyond the end of the 12th century.

The Temple was not unchallenged in its jurisdiction in the district, even outside the city of Tortosa. Besides the Lords of Montcada, it engaged in many conflicts and legal battles with both the secular clergy and other religious orders, particularly the Hospitallers and the bishops of Tortosa.³⁹³ The Temple's power in Tortosa (and elsewhere) increased considerably when the new master of the Temple in Aragon and Catalonia, Guillem de Mont-Rodon, took over the regency of King James I, following the death of James' father, Peter I, at the battle of Muret in 1213. At that point, the Templars were at the height of their power in Tortosa, and they exercised this power, irritating other groups.³⁹⁴ The Hospitallers, especially, were bitter rivals of the Templars in the area. The Templars had to occasionally call on the Lords of Montcada to mediate, or force the Hospitallers to submit to Templar authority in the city.³⁹⁵

Sometimes, this rivalry came to bloodshed, with the kidnapping and murder of Temple Muslims by Hospitaller Muslims during the 1230s. Eventually, in 1235, the two orders came to an agreement, in which the Hospitallers were forced to pay damages. This pact did not hold, however, and had to be reiterated in 1242. It was about this time that the documents began to mention the *custodius* or *magister captivorum* (custodian or master of captives/slaves). Perhaps this dispute made it necessary for such a figure, or perhaps it was the influx of new Muslim prisoners of war from the conquest of Valencia in 1238.³⁹⁶ The episcopacy in Tortosa also engaged in frequent disputes with the Temple over jurisdiction from the beginning.³⁹⁷ These most often involved taxation and

³⁹³ Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, 201.

³⁹⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 184-5, doc. 12.

³⁹⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 36-8, doc. 30; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 146, fol. 47v-48r.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 72-4, doc. 58; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 148, fol. 48v-49r; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 185-6; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 69, no. 56, p. 148, no. 60, p. 303, no. 197.

³⁹⁷ Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 34 (1153-8), *Ibid.*, 341 (1182); *Ibid.*, 365; (1184); Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 36-9, doc. 30; (1227); Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 58, fol. 19 (1235); *Ibid.*, 57-8, doc. 46 (1237); Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 129, fol. 40 (1243); *Ibid.*, 112-4, doc. 96 (1262); *Ibid.*, 116-7, doc. 99 (1263); and *Ibid.*, 120-7, doc. 103 (1263).

other lordship rights. The bishops resented the Templars' lordship in Tortosa and their relative independence from secular church authority. The Templars, for their part, sought to keep as much control of Tortosa as they could to themselves--an untenable goal in such a large and important frontier city of the realm. With such opposing viewpoints, friction was probably inevitable.

When James II moved against the Temple in December 1307, two months after the arrest of the Templars in France, Miravet quickly became one of the centres of Templar resistance. So strong and well situated was the fortress, that it held out longer than most of the other Templar houses in Spain, where they actively fought arrest. Only Monzón lasted longer, though Miravet was the larger fortress. The siege at Miravet lasted for a year, from December 1307 until December 1308, and gave the Catalanian Templars enough time to negotiate a truce of sorts with James.³⁹⁸ Following the Trial, the Hospital took over the district around 1318.³⁹⁹ Under the Hospitallers, Miravet faded in influence, though Tortosa continued to be a rich and important city. Miravet's obscurity, in addition to the strength of its fortress, probably accounts for the fact that more of the castle survives there than anyplace else in the Crown of Aragon, except for Monzón.

Non-Christians as groups

The legal and political situation of non-Christians in the Crown of Aragon was complex. It varied over place and time, slowly deteriorating from the mid-13th century onward. In the district of Tortosa, the King's claim over non-Christians was weakened by concessions to the Templars and Hospitallers. In the city of Tortosa, the Templars shared lordship over non-Christians with the Lords of Montcada.

"Lordship" in Tortosa did not mean necessarily ownership in a servile sense. Most Muslims and all Jews there were not slaves. Most of them were not tied to the land as permanent tenants, like serfs in the northern French sense, either. Many owned and alienated immovable property freely, some of it substantial. Their greatest obligations were taxes, money and in-kind. Muslims also paid service taxes (*fadiga*), which could include military support. In return, the Templars provided legal, physical and property representation as well as military protection.

The Templars frequently lacked complete control over groups or individuals, and had

³⁹⁸ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragón*, 26.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 190.

to negotiate lordship with other Christian lords. The main conflict with the King and the bishops was over taxation, with the Lords of Montcada over appointment of *aljama* officials and control of the city, and with the Hospitallers over conflict between each other's non-Christian *homines*. The core reason for tax disputes tended to involve who got how much, when and from which groups and individuals. The Christian lords were not the only active players in these disputes. Non-Christians frequently chose a lord they preferred and supported him to the arbitrators, or played both sides against each other. They might use one lord as their legal representative in court against another (the Templars were popular in this regard), or claim to be paying one rate of tax to one lord and expect the rival to better it or not to tax them twice.

Whether the lords themselves were aware of this game-playing is not certain, but the lords' Christian tenants certainly were. Christian perceptions of such favouritism contributed to the growing antisemitism (both against Jews and Muslims) in the 13th and 14th centuries in the area. Both the Templars and the King were aware of these complaints, but continued their policies. Willing, happy non-Christians produced more than unwilling, miserable non-Christians, though personal loyalty between lords and non-Christians may have figured into it as well, especially for the Jews. Both the Templars and the Kings had solid reputations for defending non-Christian interests against Christian interests where these clashed, in Tortosa and elsewhere.

Since not only were taxes in question, but loyalties as well, this made the position of non-Christians in the district of Tortosa even more precarious than it had been immediately after the conquest of the city. As in other areas, the King often singled out individual Jews to be his regional officials, separating and protecting them from their *aljamas*. He never appointed Muslims to these posts. The King's Jewish officials received privileges which aroused the anger of their co-religionists, not just Christians. While the result was to isolate some of the wealthier and potentially more influential individuals in the *aljamas*, it is difficult to determine the true motives of the King or of the Temple. The Temple preferred to deal with its vassals in groups, when possible. The King's vision of Jews as his personal serfs may have influenced him to speak of them as individuals, but these individuals, in fact, represented groups, rather than just their own persons. Even when the Temple or the King referred to an individual, this meant the individual's entire household, not just one person. Also, the Temple tended to deal with

individuals when helping Jewish royal officials at the King's behest.⁴⁰⁰

Since the Templars were dealing with these individuals as representatives of their communities, and therefore expected them to be accountable for their *aljamas'* actions, it is doubtful that they meant to discredit them in the eyes of the *aljama*. Certainly, when the Temple or the Lord of Montcada appointed the Muslim and Jewish officials of the *aljamas* of Tortosa, they would not likely appoint individuals that the *aljamas* would dislike and refuse to obey. It would not suit the purpose of maintaining the civic peace. However, separating out individuals for special treatment, as the King did, created that unfortunate result.

Opportunities for friction were many. While the three religious groups did live isolated from one another (to a certain extent), they did not work in isolation. The documents show no separate agricultural areas for Christians, Muslims and Jews, though there are groupings of co-religionists. These may represent extended families rather than a grouping according to religious orientation. Members of the three religions had plenty of opportunity (whether they wanted it or not) to interact, as they shared land borders, irrigation ditches, olive groves and grape vines and other agricultural structures which required a great deal of cooperation between the groups. One document, around 1200, is a detailed list of the goods and *honorés* related to the mosque at Xerta. Most of this land consisted of a large grove of olive trees, all divided and subdivided among Muslims, Jews, Christians and Templars over a large area involving a cluster of villages.⁴⁰¹ Pascual Ortega argues that this fragmentation of property was a sign of the stratification of Muslim society into increasingly rich and poor and Muslim acculturation into Christian society.⁴⁰² However, what is surprising about the grove at Xerta is that all three religions are mixed together. If the people who are bringing home fractions of harvests in this document indicate the truly poor in Xertan society, they are not all Muslims, so perhaps this process became more Muslim later in the 14th century. While the Templars had extensive holdings in the groves in Xerta and, of course, held overall control as the feudal lords, the lands described shared borders with both the Temple and other Christians. This meant that the Templars conceded at least some control of the land and its revenues to the mosque, probably as *waqf* land for the mosque's

⁴⁰⁰ Assís, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 18.

⁴⁰¹ Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 495.

⁴⁰² Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña: Las Comunidades Musulmanes de las Encomiendas Templarias y Hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (Siglos XII-XIV)*. Barcelona: CSIC, 2000, 78-9, 174-6.

maintenance and support.⁴⁰³

Nor were the *morería* or the *call* completely separated from the outside world. These quarters could not be self-sufficient; the tradesmen inside them had to serve Christians as well as non-Christians in order to survive. Further, Christian tradesmen and landholders could, and did, occasionally make incursions into the non-Christian quarters. The *call* and the *morería* were shut away from the rest of the city by high walls. But their isolation was, in part, a collective fantasy that could be shattered, particularly by the Dominican preachers who increased their pressure on all whom they deemed heretical in northeastern Spain in the last 13th century. They sometimes preached even in the streets of the Jewish *calls*, accompanied by a hostile Christian crowd.⁴⁰⁴ The Jews had their own preachers, the *darshanin*, but they found little fertile ground outside the synagogues, and preached to a hostile audience in the occasional disputations with the Dominicans which disrupted the *calls*.

On the other hand, the Jews were usually given permission to rebuild and repair synagogues, though they were not supposed to expand them. Illegally enlarged or built synagogues could be destroyed by royal decree.⁴⁰⁵ Despite this, the Jews occasionally received permission to build new synagogues, even in Tortosa. In 1228, they were given the area beneath the Templar castle of Banyeres (on the same hill as *La Suda* and probably the Templar part of it), as well as the castle itself, and were the only settlers listed in the charter. Also, matter-of-factly, the document granted them the right to build a synagogue there.⁴⁰⁶ This raises the spectre, in the 13th century, of not only all-Muslim frontier villages, such as Villastar in northern Valencia, but all-Jewish settlements. It also makes clear that while the Muslims of Tortosa were supposed to live only in the *morería*, the Jews could live in other areas, some of them with very desirable property. Furthermore, it shows that the Templars trusted and expected the Jews to aid them militarily, as this was part of the responsibility entailed in possessing a fortress.⁴⁰⁷

However, the Temple did not always approve of synagogue building. The Templars opposed the building of a synagogue by a Jew named *Astrugeto* of Xixo, a Jew of

⁴⁰³ Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 495. This document details the goods of the mosque in Xerta, and shows Muslims, Jews and Christians maintaining intensively cultivated lands in close proximity.

⁴⁰⁴ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 210-13.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 41-2, doc. 33; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 181, fol. 59r.

⁴⁰⁷ Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, 205-6.

Tortosa, in 1262 on the land of a knight named Bernard of Prat. The Templars were ultimately unable to stop the building, despite over a year of legal action, because Bernard allowed it.⁴⁰⁸ The Templars eventually submitted to the arbitration of the Lord of Montcada in the matter in 1263, which seems to have meant that they lost their case.⁴⁰⁹ The documents do not explain why the Templars opposed the building when they allowed synagogues to be built elsewhere. Perhaps they resented losing the revenue from the building to Bernard.

Status of Groups-Muslims

Initially, most of the Templar documents involving Muslims in Tortosa were grants of property--made to the Temple or overseen by the brothers--which used to belong to Muslims or Jews. In 1165, for example, Robert of Copenes and his wife Guia sold their *ortus* in Palomera to *Ennecho Sanz*, Procurator of the Temple in Tortosa, for 25 morabetinos. The *ortus* was bounded on the south by the land which was Bernard Mitifag's, on the west by the *honor* of the Temple, which once belonged to *Avimnabrel* [an Arabic name, which was probably Muslim, but could be Jewish], and on the north by the *hereditas* which once belonged to *Ava Carebo* [also an Arabic name]. The Temple also gained control over all entrances and exits.⁴¹⁰ In 1156, Gaimund and his wife Saurina exchanged with William of Copons, the *bailli* of the Count of Montcada, a piece of land with a vineyard in Pimpí that had belonged to *Alfameto Saragoxi*, for a vineyard in Vilanova that had belonged to *Macometo Calafat* and his wife.

The agreement also included the exchange of olive trees (*olivariis*) and other, unspecified *arboribus omnibus et sine exarico* ("all trees without an exaric") for the aforesaid vineyard in Vilanova.⁴¹¹ The land being exchanged bordered that of the Temple on the east side. *Alfameto*, as his name implies (Alfamet of Zaragoza), appears to have been a fugitive from the conquest of Zaragoza, who also fled the surrender of Tortosa (or perhaps, did not long survive it). The document emphasised the intensive cultivation required for olive culture and viticulture, when the couple spelled

⁴⁰⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 114, doc. 97; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 33, parts through ABC.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 116-7, doc. 99; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 42, parts ABC; cited in Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 242.

⁴¹⁰ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 194, doc. 23; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 193, fol. 61v.

⁴¹¹ Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 75; Extraintentari.

out that the land did not come with a caretaker. The assumption made in the document is that such land usually came with attendant non-Christian exarics. These individuals were even mentioned by name, usually, but not always, if there were unusual conditions involved--if the exaric were being taxed, owed money or other obligations above his rent or owed partial allegiance to another lord, for example. Pascual Ortega mentions three exarics who came with land to the Temple in 1155, 1158 and 1183 respectively. Exarics came to the Temple from both non-royal Christians and the King (identified as "the Count" (*comite*) in the 1158 document).⁴¹²

One problem concerning exarics who appear so early in the documents is when, exactly, they became exarics. This early on, we are probably seeing preconquest tenants who were transferred with the abandoned land they cultivated to Christian lords. Ortega's theory that the gap between rich and poor Muslims widened in postconquest Tortosa seems, overall, to be correct.⁴¹³ However, this may have been an inheritance from preconquest Muslim society, which was also possibly strongly hierarchical, rather than a response to conquest, as Ortega suggests. In this sense, 14th and 15th century Muslim society in Tortosa may have mimicked Jewish Tortosan society in its stratified structure, with a thin layer of rich Muslims over a much larger, and poorer base of tenants and smallholders.⁴¹⁴

However, Ortega's thesis that later stratification resulted from Christian feudalisation and acculturation of Muslim society as early as the 12th century may be overstated. The initial conquest of Tortosa and the flight south of many Muslim landholders seems to have created considerable upheaval in Muslim society until nearly the end of the 12th century. It is therefore very difficult to determine just what kind of Muslim cultural structures survived or were being formed at this time. Most of Ortega's evidence for interactions between Muslims and the military orders comes from the late 14th century and deals with Hospitaller, not Templar, relations with Muslims during that period. His comparison of this data with the scarcer Templar-Muslim relations in the late 12th century conflates the behaviour of all non-royal Christian lords as being essentially the same in their treatment of Muslims throughout this period. Assis makes a similar assumption regarding non-royal

⁴¹² Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña*, 52-3.

⁴¹³ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Ltd., 1996), 16-8.

⁴¹⁴ Assis, *The Golden Age of Jewry*, 295-6.

lords and Jews.⁴¹⁵ The above model of friendly royal vs hostile non-royal lordship for non-Christians probably did exist in some areas. However, it is too simple for Tortosa, where the Counts of Barcelona created competing lords by granting conflicting claims pre-and-post-conquest. In this context, force was an unfeasible option for the Temple in controlling its new non-Christian subjects. Thus, the Templars needed other ways of persuading non-Christians away from rival lords. This persuasion often involved cultural concessions (like the tacit acknowledgement of *waqf* land) that would have slowed acculturation and feudalisation considerably before the late 13th century.

In the 1170s, the Temple began to exchange property with other landowners, in an attempt to consolidate its holdings in specific places. In this period, the documents still refer to boundaries with other lands that previously belonged to Muslims, but also to properties with Muslim owners who remained in the area after the conquest of Tortosa. It is difficult to tell from these documents just how extensive the migration of the Muslim population south had been, and for how long it continued. We do know that it was significant. Consequently, when Muslims began to appear in direct transactions with the Temple in the 1170s and 1180s, there was a conciliatory tone to the Temple brethren's language, in respect to their Muslim associates. The Temple needed these people, and their skills, and it was prepared to bend the rules a little bit to keep them in the area. The Templars used the concessions of freedom of religion and custom, lower taxes, and acknowledging the primacy of *aljama* law in daily life to keep valuable Muslims within their orbit. Consequently, the Templars began to appear in these documents as the legal representatives and feudal protectors of their non-Christian associates around the turn of the 13th century. They still held this role at the time of the Trial. Negotiation and bribery, of sorts, were far more effective in controlling Temple Muslims than force, though the Templars were not always adverse to the latter option.⁴¹⁶ Outright kidnapping and slavery (or serfdom) within the district appears to have been unfeasible until the late 13th century (despite the Hospital's attempt on Templar men in the 1230s) because the Valencian frontier was still so close.

Just how close it was can be seen in a undated story from the *Catalan Rule*, in which the commander at Tortosa had to deal with Muslims invading from Villed, a town south of

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, 9-48.

⁴¹⁶ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 174-5, doc. 145; ACA: C. reg. 59, fol. 191r.

Calatayud in southern Aragon.⁴¹⁷ Villel had been a Templar commandery from at least 1198 onward.⁴¹⁸ The lack of mention of a commander there indicates that the commandery at Villel either did not exist at the time of the incident or had been temporarily overrun. The story refers to the Tortosan commander's inability to catch the "escaping" (*sal<vas>ent*) Muslims by going down the wrong path against a subordinate's advice. The commander was later censured by his house for this action. However, the text is unclear whether he allowed the Muslims to escape or simply failed to engage them militarily. As Tortosa was northeast of Villel and deeper in Christian territory, it seems more likely that the Muslims were raiders or an invading force than that they were escaping slaves or exarics. Particularly for the first half century after its conquest, Tortosa remained under threat of reconquest by the Muslims to the south. Migration south therefore remained a possible option for discontented Muslims in Tortosa.

A possible response to this problem was the new and important Templar office in Tortosa, from 1234 onward, of the *custodis captivorum*. It indicated both the increase in the Temple's use of slaves, and the perception of them as war captives rather than simple chattel during the 13th century.⁴¹⁹ In a society where both sides had been taking and ransoming war captives for hundreds of years, being a human spoil of war could be only temporary bad luck. Not surprisingly, the *captivi*, themselves, felt the same way. They might either flee, or collude in the escape of other slaves, despite attempts to prevent them from, or punish them for, doing so. The Temple's loss of slaves to death or escape was significant.⁴²⁰

Slavery was a divisive issue among the two non-Christian populations in Tortosa. Although, in the Tortosa charter of 1148, Ramon Berenguer reassured the Muslims that Jews would not be allowed to have Muslim slaves, there is some question as to whether he and his descendants kept this promise.⁴²¹ In one document from 1181, Alfonso assured the Jews of Tortosa, "nor will the King or Lord [of Montcada] close the

⁴¹⁷ Reg. 191; Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, 92-3.

⁴¹⁸ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 95.

⁴¹⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 53-4, doc. 43; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 74, fol. 25r.

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 72-4, doc. 58; ACA: GP, Tortosa cartulary doc. 148, fol. 48v-49r; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 185-6; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 69, no. 56, p. 148, no. 60, p. 303, no. 197.

⁴²¹ "Nullo judeo comparit mora nec moro qui fuerit captivo et nullo judeo non denoitet ad mauro, et si fecerit quod faciat inde directum"; Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 345.

doors of the said Jews in order to get the *questia* or slaves which they are owed by the said Jews, nor impose penalties if such is solely to put them in the prison in *La Suda* as has been the custom.⁴²² It is unlikely that the slaves were Jewish. Jewish slaves of Jews do not appear in other documents. This indicates that the King is discussing Muslim slaves of Jewish masters in his concession. It is a direct contradiction of his father's promise to the Muslims of Tortosa in 1148.

While most of the Muslims in Tortosa appear to have been free, the Temple did have Muslim slaves (though apparently, no Jewish ones). These were usually all male, though some documents mention wives being freed along with their husbands. Temple slaves were probably outnumbered by the Temple's Muslim tenants. The Templars could exact rent from free Muslims, rather than having to feed, clothe and house them as they would slaves.⁴²³ Slaves were not cheap. One slave, for example, who was willed to the Temple in 1196 by Peter Romeu, was worth 40 mazmudinas. Since mazmudinas were a gold-based currency, this was a significant sum of money. It reflected the productivity of the Muslims, whose labours in Tortosa and work on the district's castles were worth 1600 mazmudinas to the King in 1174.⁴²⁴ Peter also willed 10 mazmudinas which another Muslim (free or not, the document does not say), named *Aviforra*, owed him *in perpetuum*. In other words, it was rent (not a small one), and *Aviforra* was a tenant of some kind, most likely a serf. *Aviforra's* status was still higher than that of his captive coreligionist, who is not named.⁴²⁵

Most of these slaves, of course, had little to call their own. Quarterius, a slave of Tivenxius, for example, contributed two sous, four denarii and an obulus for the portion

⁴²² "Ym. los concedí que mingun home o Battle tant de dit Sor. Rey, com de dit Moncada no pogues sellán, ni tancar las Portas de dits Juheus perlo cobra dela Quistia y serveis qe. debian fér los mateixos Juhéus, ni pendrels peñoras, si tánt solament la posarlos Presos en la Suda aixis com era acostumat"; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 275, fol. 86.

⁴²³ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 285. Temple prejudice against the exploitation, abuse or fraternisation with women (of which the Hospital was accused from time to time) appears to have been well enforced. The Templars were criticised for many faults (they were frequently accused of pride and avarice), but lust does not appear to have been a major problem. The brothers' rate of unchastity was probably lower than it was in most other monastic houses; Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995), 30-1.

⁴²⁴ "...los donasen perpetuament casa any perlas quatre temporas quatre centas masmotinas tonas de or, en recompensa dela obra que dits Serracenos devian fer en Tortosa, y enlos castells de son Terme..."; "Resumen de los documentos del Cartulario de los Templarios de Tortosa 1048-1251". *Archivo del Gran Priorado de Cataluña*, 1126 (pg 189) fol. 35-137, Catalan summary of the Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 265, fol. 80.

⁴²⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 290-3, doc. 109; ACA sec. 5, parchment 12, translation.

of the tax that he owed to the King through the Temple, in 1296. By contrast, his equally poor, free co-religionists, Abdellanus Algamisus, Execlinus, Bathanus and *Sengal*,⁴²⁶ paid two sous and six denarii (from Abdellanus and Execlinus), four sous (from Bathanus, as a penalty) and nine sous (from *Sengal*, as a penalty) respectively.⁴²⁷

Some slaves, however, could be quite wealthy for their station, and they not infrequently used this wealth to buy their freedom. In 1226, for example, *Mafo met*, son of *Xuaybo* of Haaran, paid the preceptors of Ribera and Tortosa 60 mazmudinas in gold "for the redemption of *Mafo met* and of his wife, *Fatima* [daughter of *Baratis*]". He agreed to remain in Tortosa under the Templars' lordship and obey Muslim law (*iusuria*). In exchange, the Templars paid him food and two denarii per day whenever he worked for them. Forey refers to *Mafo met* as an example of a slave-turned-day-labourer, which he was. But his contract of emancipation also indicates that he became a *confrater*, and possibly a *corroder*, of the Temple upon his redemption, though the document did not use either of these terms. There is the promise of food (though only in exchange for labour), in addition to payment, and also the reference to a redemption of *Mafo met*'s sinful state, as well (*sumus bene tui paccati*). Finally, the Temple promises to guard and defend *Mafo met* and his possessions, according to his (presumably Muslim) law, "following the custom of our Order (*Preterea, promitimus te custodire et defendere in tuo iure cum omnibus rebus tuis, secundum consuetudinem nostri Ordine*)", as it would a *confrater*.⁴²⁸

This contract makes sense if *Mafo met* had converted to Christianity (hence the reference to his sin), like two slave converts at Miravet mentioned by Forey. Such apostates did not make up a large percentage of the total slaves in the Temple. There were 45 slaves at Miravet, according to an inventory from 1289 compared to two converts. The rate of conversion was not helped by the Templars' refusal to automatically emancipate baptised slaves. However, the Templars did not forcibly convert their slaves, either, so any conversions would have been voluntary.⁴²⁹

The reference to "*defendere in tuo iure*", however, makes *Mafo met*'s conversion

⁴²⁶ If *Sengal*'s name is any indication, he could have been either West African or of West African origin. Black Muslims did live under Christian rule in medieval Spain, though most of them came from no further south than North Africa.

⁴²⁷ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 195-7, doc. 170; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa, parchment no. 29, parts through ABC.

⁴²⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 34-5, doc. 28; ACA, GP, Cartular of Tortosa, doc. 22-1r, fol 7r; Forey, p. 240, 303, note 196.

⁴²⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 285, 303, and note 192.

unlikely. The Templars' insistence that *Mafozet* remain in Tortosa living under Muslim law further confirms that he remained a Muslim after his emancipation. Finally, converts, who were not common among free Muslims either, took on a Christian name following conversion. Take, for example, Peter son of *Albinx Morcarabo*, to whom Ramon Berenguer gave the properties of several Muslim women in 1150.⁴³⁰ "*Mafozet*" is certainly not a Christian name. Nor is his wife's name, "*Fatima*". Both are, in fact, very popular Muslim names, with no Christian or Jewish equivalent. It therefore seems certain that *Mafozet* remained Muslim after his emancipation yet also became an associate of the Temple.

While the economic reasons for this continued association seem clear on both sides, the Templars' concern for the state of *Mafozet's* soul remains a mystery. One could argue that they were being influenced by the new Dominican view that Muslims and Jews were not pagans, but in fact heretics.⁴³¹ However, they did not show this concern elsewhere in the documents and had no such reservations in their dealings with the Christian Mozarabs, who were being suppressed as heretics by the Church at this time.⁴³² Nor did either the Templars or the Hospitallers show much respect for, let alone interest in, these internal crusades. To them, obsessions about internal enemies diverted energies best used in the East and Spain against the very real, external enemies who were retaking the Holy Land from the Christians.⁴³³

This brief reference to a rarely-seen class of Templar *homines* is problematical. However, the example does indicate that Muslim slaves could remain associates of the Temple, even after their emancipation, and that this association resembled that of Christian *confratres* of the Order in certain ways. It also tells us that the Temple could be willing to emancipate its slaves, and treat them with goodwill, afterwards. They were

⁴³⁰ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 378-82; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 230, fol. 71.

⁴³¹ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 58-9.

⁴³² Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Vol. 7, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, Michael Whitby, Paul Magdalino and Hugh Kennedy, et al., eds. (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 233-5.

⁴³³ Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c.1300* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 43-7.

probably more lucrative as tenants than as slaves.⁴³⁴ Emancipation was not uncommon, perhaps helped by the Temple's perception of its slaves as *captivi* more than *servi*. Complete emancipation with no further connection to the Temple could drain off Templar labour if the ex-slave left the Temple's service completely. Also, if the slave had no resources of his own, it would leave him destitute. Freedom was not worth starvation.

Status of groups-Jews

Jews appeared in the documents, as well. As late as 1188, some of them appeared as former land owners, indicating that they may have fled south to Islamic Spain.⁴³⁵ Unlike the Muslim population, however, Jews reappeared early on as present land owners and won considerably better terms. In addition to the *drassanes* in his charter to the Jews in 1149, Ramon Berenguer gave them permission to construct 60 houses near them on the east side of the river permanently. He also gave them a place called Nabicorta and cultivated lands in Avinxanxo which had previously belonged to Muslims, as well as some of his own lands in Algaceles. He also mentioned a gift of rents previously given (or more likely received) by Muslims in various towns on the river. These rents appear to predate the conquest of the city the previous year. Finally, he reassured the Jews that no Muslims would have jurisdiction over them.⁴³⁶ Thus, we see Jews profiting, at the very beginning, from the Muslims' change in fortune and flight south to Muslim lands. Muslims did not similarly acquire Jewish land.

The rich *call* at Tortosa was technically subject to the *aljama* in Barcelona and called the Templars and Counts of Montcada its Christian lords. However, the actual situation was far more complex. Though Ramon Berenguer relinquished some lordship over the Jews to the Templars, he and his descendants retained at least some control of the *call* throughout the rest of the Templars' history in the city. In the Jews' charter made on December 23, 1149, for example, he exempted them from any service, *consuetudinem* and *usaticum* owed to a royal *bailli* or lord. Even the Temple had to

⁴³⁴ "Concedimus habuisse et recepisse at te, Mafometo, filio de Xuaybo de Haaran, LX mazmudinas in auro, bonas, novas, rectique pensi, quas numerando manibus nostris habuimus et sumus bene tui paccati, renunciantes omni excepcioni non numerate pecunie et doli, quas mazmudinas a te accipimus racione tue redempcionis...sub dominio nostro et successorum nostrorum et iusuria aliorum sarracenorum qui sunt habitantes Dertuse;" Pagarolas 2: 28; ACA: GP, Tortosa cartulary, doc. 22-1r, fol 7r; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 240, 303, note 196.

⁴³⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 265, doc. 210 [summary only]; Cartulary of Poblet, doc. 181, pag. 108-9.

⁴³⁶ Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 348-50, doc. III.

refrain from exacting *usaticum* for the next four years (until the end of 1153). The Templars agreed to this last provision; the provincial master, Berenguer of Avignon was one of the signatories.⁴³⁷ Their subsequent troubles with taxing the Jews of Tortosa indicates that the Templars either learned to regret this arrangement or were reluctant to make it in the first place.

Jews do not figure significantly in Temple documents for the Order's first half-century in Tortosa. Despite Alfonso's concession of one fifth of all inhabitants in 1174, the Temple lost its claim to complete lordship to his wife, Queen Sancha, after his death. This included all of Tortosa's inhabitants, Christians, Muslims and Jews.⁴³⁸ There are a few references to Jews in Templar documents during this time that indicate the Templars at least had contact with them, if not lordship. One possibly Jewish witness, *Matharic*, appears in a sale of an *ortum* in Palomera to the Temple in 1157.⁴³⁹ Also, a Jew named *Aizaig*, appears as a neighbour to an unsuccessful Christian settler whose abandoned land came to the Temple in 1183.⁴⁴⁰ Apparently, Jews and Muslims were not the only inhabitants who felt uncomfortable in the new territory.

Otherwise, the Jews seem to have remained firmly under the King's jurisdiction until the beginning of the 13th century. The Templars did not receive *lezda* or *peatges* taxes from either Jews or Christians as of 1189. These the King had given to the Count of Urgell. The Count exempted the Jews and Christians (but not the Muslims) in Tortosa from both taxes in that year. He granted the Temple the same exemption in Maquinensa.⁴⁴¹ Thus, the lordship of the Templars in Tortosa over Christians and Jews was still theoretical in many respects at this time.

This began to change in the 1190s. Some Tortosan Jews appear to have had houses which had once belonged to a Muslim named *Fadola* that were under Templar jurisdiction in Lleida by 1193.⁴⁴² The long decision-making over confirming Templar lordship in Tortosa began in 1202 under Peter I and concluded during his son's regency in 1215.

Even then, Templar lordship over the Jews of Tortosa was not complete. Some of it

⁴³⁷ Ibid; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 269, fol. 83.

⁴³⁸ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 29; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 264, fol. 80.

⁴³⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 179-80, doc. 6; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 189, fol. 60v.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, 253-4, doc. 79; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 119, fols. 37v-38r.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, 275-6, doc. 95; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 277, fol. 87v.

⁴⁴² Cartulary of Tortosa, Fol. 6. No. 21.

either reverted to (or more likely never left) the possession of the Lords of Montcada. Not until 1255 did they sell their right of lordship to the Templars for 15,200 mazmudinas.⁴⁴³ This sum gives an indication of the wealth of the Jewish *call* at this time, and can be compared to the 1600 mazmudinas that the labours of the Tortosan Muslims were worth in 1174.⁴⁴⁴

Despite this purchase, the Templars continued to lose control over the Jews of Tortosa. In 1263, they had to agree to compel the Jews of Ascó to give the Bishop of Tortosa their *primicias* and animals. The Templars also had to hand over the taxes of a number of Muslims at the castle of Chivert and in other Templar commanderies.⁴⁴⁵ By 1275, the *prodhomes* (notable citizens) of Tortosa were making decisions about whether the Templars, Lords of Montcada, Jews and Muslims would be exempt from their jurisdiction, and not the other way around.⁴⁴⁶ This indicates that the transfer of lordship to the Christian inhabitants of Tortosa was already well under way by then.

The Templars further lost control of the Jews in the city when the King ruled in 1280 that the Templars could not exact *cenizas* from the Tortosan Jews because the Queen had already forgiven them paying it to her.⁴⁴⁷ Four months later, in November, the King ordered the Templars to rebuild the public baths (*banyas*) outside the city for all of the inhabitants, Christians, Muslims and Jews. This reasserted his lordship over all of Tortosa, including the Temple.⁴⁴⁸ In December, he forbade the Templars, *prodhomes* of Tortosa and Lords of Montcada from enforcing civil order against the Jews.⁴⁴⁹ However, the Temple was still acting as legal representative and lord of the Jews in Tortosa in 1283 when the provincial master complained to the King on their behalf that the

⁴⁴³ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 91-2, doc. 76; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 22.

⁴⁴⁴ Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 265, fol. 80.

⁴⁴⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 120-7, doc. 103; AHN, OOMM, San Juan de Jerusalén, Castellania de Amposta, Bailía de Miravete, carp. 609, doc. 44 and carp. 636, doc. 8; ACT, cartulari num. 3, fol. 25r-28v and 9A, p. 212-228 (paper, segle XVIII.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, 156-7, doc. 126; ACA: C, parchments of James I, mo. 2.234, part through ABC, also a translation of the same document; AMT, calaix Privileges II, doc. 19[1293 trans.], Privileges III, doc. 25 [1366 trans.], calaix Privileges I, doc. 45 [faulty trans.], calaix Jutges de Taula, doc. 36 [copy from 1635]; Ed. J. Amich, *Libre....* and Oliver, *Historia....* IV, p. 496-500 [both in Catalan, dates incorrectly stated to be 1276].

⁴⁴⁷ Jean Régné, ed. *History of the Jews in Aragon: Regesta and Documents, 1213-1327*, vol. I, *Hispania Judaica*, Yom Tov Assis, ed. (Jerusalem: The Magnus Press, 1978), 809: 146; Reg. 48, fo 80 v0; Register of the Royal Chancellery 48, folio 80, verso.

⁴⁴⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 168-70, doc. 140; ACA: C, reg. 48, fol. 190r; F. Gas. *Libro....*, pag. 50.

⁴⁴⁹ Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, 856: 154; Register of the Royal Chancellery 44, folio 194 v0; Register of the Royal Chancellery 44, folio 194, verso.

Barcelonan *call* was expecting them to pay too much for their share of a subsidy the King had exacted from the Jews of Catalonia.⁴⁵⁰ Eleven years later, the Templars gave up all rights of lordship to the city of Tortosa, including all of its inhabitants, Christian, Muslim and Jew, to the Christian *prodhomes* of the city.

Women

Women appeared frequently in the documents of Tortosa as property owners, (former or current), donors, witnesses, workers, slaves, and even occasionally as nuns. Many interacted directly with the Temple.⁴⁵¹ Christian women appeared most often, usually with male relatives but sometimes alone. Wives tended to appear after husbands. Mothers, however, appeared before sons and noblewomen before men who were their social inferiors.⁴⁵² Also, if a Christian woman was the main party in the transaction (i.e. the property involved was hers alone), she might appear before even her husband. *Elisenda*, a woman who made an exchange of land, goods and money with the Temple in Benifallet in 1200, appeared first in the document and signed the document before her husband, in the presence of five male witnesses.⁴⁵³ While Christian women, in general, were lower in status than Christian men, the Templar documents recorded interactions with them at all levels of society, from feudal lords to tenants' wives.

Muslim women appeared over a similar range, albeit constrained by the overall lower status of Muslim society, from educated absentee landlords of substantial property to prostitutes and freedmen's wives. With one exception, there are no instances in these documents of the Temple engaging in direct transactions with non-Christian women in the district of Tortosa (though this does occur, occasionally, in other areas), let alone taking them on as *consorores* or even associates. The sole exception is that the Temple received a *lezda* tax from Muslim prostitutes (*sarracenis meretricibus*) of 12 sous, 2 denarii and an *obulum* which the Templars turned over to the *bailli* of Peter of Montcada

⁴⁵⁰ Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, 1058: 190; Register of the Royal Chancellery 61, folio 125 v0; Register of the Royal Chancellery 61, folio 125, verso.

⁴⁵¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 274-5, doc. 94; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 127, fol. 39v.

⁴⁵² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 91-2, doc. 76; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 22.

⁴⁵³ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 305-6, doc. 118; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 234, fol. 72r-v.

in 1261.⁴⁵⁴ However, the fact that the Temple retained the other documents involving Muslim women indicates that it was involved in the transactions in some way--either by facilitating them, or by acquiring the property later on.

The will which Peter Stephanus made in 1176 to the Bishop of Tortosa and the local master of the Temple, for example, mentions three properties which his nephew *Guillelmus* held for Peter in pledge for ten morabetinos. These properties had belonged to *Matelera*, a Muslim woman.⁴⁵⁵ This independence of Muslim women was not unique to the post-conquest era. A document from 1150, which mentioned the disposition by the Count of Barcelona of formerly Muslim properties, also discussed the disposition of properties once owned by a *Sarracena*, which were worth a rent of four pitchers of oil.⁴⁵⁶

Another document from 1150 mentioned Ramon Berenguer's gift of the properties owned by several Muslim women in Tortosa to a Muslim convert to Christianity named Peter son of *Albinx Morcarabo*. The women had most likely fled Tortosa, or had possibly been relocated into the *morería*. One, *Mohiba*, daughter of *Bibuceyna* the widow of *Moferriz Avinarruca* had left behind houses inside Tortosa. Another woman, *Axa* (or *Ara*) wife of *Asasem Aliafer*, had an *honor*. The property of *Fatima*, wife of *Mahomet Abenfamen*, was not specified at all while a fourth person, *Erabarech Etinguda*, had a field. Both *Fatima* and *Axa* were seen as the owners of the property, not their husbands.⁴⁵⁷ Perhaps the women really owned the property, or perhaps their husbands put property in their wives' names, hoping that Ramon Berenguer would treat women property holders more favourably. It may even be that the Christians targeted the property of Muslim women for seizure and/or distribution, though the relatively few examples of Muslim women versus Muslim men having abandoned property makes this unlikely. *Axa*, at least, appears to have fled south, and for reasons other than property seizure, since she would not have had to give up, or exchange, her agricultural property in order to move into the *morería*. Ramon Berenguer did not want to displace

valuable agricultural workers, so these properties were usually left alone, after the

⁴⁵⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 104-6, doc. 91; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 52. Ortega mentions a group of prostitutes in Tivissa in 1206; Ortega, *Musulmanes en Catalunya*, 75-6.

⁴⁵⁵ *Item dimito Guillelmo, nepoti meo, illos tres locellos quos ipse tenet de me in pignera pro X morabetinos qui fuerunt de Matelera sarracena*; Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 282; no known original; Cartulari, 6, d. 104, fs. 36v-37.

⁴⁵⁶ Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 231, fol. 71.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid*, doc. 230, fol. 71.

distribution of the best property to the few conquering settlers.

In many ways, Muslim women in Christian Catalonia might have been freer than both Christian and Jewish women. Both Muslim and Jewish women appear to have had a much lower status in Castille, where most Muslim women were either slaves, freedwomen or war captives.⁴⁵⁸ This was certainly not true of the Muslim women of Tortosa who appeared in the Temple documents. Most of them had quite high status and showed up fairly frequently as property owners.

In these documents, Muslim women usually owned houses, gardens (*orti*) or franchises, though one of the aforementioned women from 1150 owned an *honor*, free and clear of her husband, and another owned the revenue from a rent of oil. In 1234, *Machomet Abinsait*, *Machomet Aznari* and the latter's sister *Nexina* were listed as the co-owners of a disputed *honor* in Aldovesta.⁴⁵⁹ Some of the Muslim property owners mentioned were women who appeared to be the heads of their own households, with no living male relatives. One woman, *Donna*, mentioned in a document in 1200, had once owned a plot in Xerta, along with her sisters. Ramon of Xerta gave this plot to the Temple in that year.⁴⁶⁰

Another woman, *Alzida sarracena Alfachima* (also called "*Azida*" in the same document), from 1193, had owned houses in Tortosa adjoining those of several Jewish men, indicating that she was, or had been, a wealthy woman. Two Templars, on behalf of Ramon of Montcada, sold her property to *Maimó Regine* (probably a Jew of the King, according to his name) and his successors. *Alzida* was mentioned before a Muslim man, *Fadola sarraceno*, in the document.⁴⁶¹ *Fadola's* houses were worth 46 Jacan sous, and he also had owned houses in Lleida. Putting *Alzida* before him in the document contradicted the usual convention of mentioning men first.⁴⁶²

The reason for this may possibly be found in her name, which is a professional designation, rather than a family name or toponimic. An *alfaqui* was a Muslim doctor of law. In post-conquest northeastern Spain during this period, it could also connote a

⁴⁵⁸ Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 20-1.

⁴⁵⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 52-3, doc. 42; ACA, GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 74, fol. 25r.

⁴⁶⁰ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, doc. 307-8, 119; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 249, fol. 76 v.

⁴⁶¹ Cartulary of Tortosa, Fol. 6. No. 21.

⁴⁶² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 285-6, doc. 104; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 21, fol. 6v.

number of official positions of varying importance. However, all of them involved the teaching of Shari'a law, which women were not supposed to do. John Boswell, in *The Royal Treasure*, says that: "It is virtually impossible, for instance, to delineate the nature of the office of *faqī* (Castillian *alfaquí*; Latin *alfaqūnus*). The Arabic word *faqīh* (from *faqīha*, 'to have legal knowledge') originally designated either a legal expert, a theologian, a lay-reader, or an elementary school teacher. During the period of this study [the 14th and 15th centuries], the office seems to have included a bit of all these, and to have been primarily a legal-aid position, overlapping, but subordinate to both the *qaidī* and *amin*." Boswell goes on to explain that the *faqī* shared some document-making duties with the *scribanus* (an official who does not appear in the Templar documents relating to the *morería* in Tortosa), and was a court official who also played a minor judge for civil cases where all involved parties were Muslim. This official was appointed, frequently for life, and might draw an annual salary.⁴⁶³

Was *Alzida* such an official? This seems difficult to believe, considering the relative lack of official status of women in Spanish Islam. Even Christian women did not hold such posts in Tortosa, at least not those who appear in the Temple documents. They did occasionally appear as witnesses, as did *Sybil*, wife of Martin Formice, and *Solasten* wife of *Bon Vassall de Moro* (an influential individual who appears as an associate to the Temple from 1155 until 1176) when *Bon Vassal* and *Solasten* sold an *almunia* in the jurisdiction of Tortosa, along the Ebro River, to the provincial master of the Temple and the commander of Miravet, for 1,140 morabetins in 1166.⁴⁶⁴ This was a sizable sum of money for that time, and the amount indicated the importance of all of the individuals involved. Noble women, like Margarita wife of William of Montcada or Sancha mother of Peter I, might attain high status on their own merits, or those of their husbands, as feudal lords but women of any religion were barred from bureaucratic status.

Alzida may have been an educated woman, of high status within the Muslim community of Tortosa, or the wife (more likely, the widow, since no man is mentioned in connection with her name) or daughter of an *alfaquí*. The latter two possibilities seem, on the surface, more likely, but the first cannot be discounted, simply because it is so unusual. *Alzida* is not associated with any male relative from whom she could have retained the designation. This supports the idea that it referred to her own person. It is

⁴⁶³ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 91, 511.

⁴⁶⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 197-8, doc. 27; ACA: sec. 5, docs. 210 and 208 (copy), fols. 65v-66r.

also possible that the scribe of the document made a mistake (since *Alzida* did not appear to have been present at the transaction, or possibly even still alive, at that time) and she was actually an *alhakima*, a physician. Some Muslim women were physicians, even at this late date, in Spain and Palestine. Female physicians were common enough that they were allowed to treat brethren of the Temple.⁴⁶⁵ The same spelling of *faqih* (*alfachim*) was used for a *lucef Alfachim*, a Jew, and another Jew in the same document was referred to as "Iossa son of a certain *Alfaquim* of Majorca" in a *carta de poblaci3n* from 1228.⁴⁶⁶

Were these the Jewish counterparts of the humble Muslim court official/teacher of law, or did the term *faqui* become conflated with *alhakim* in Tortosa, so that all of the above individuals were physicians? According to Robert Burns, the term used for the Jewish *alfaqui*, or *alfaquim* (Catalan) was different from that of *faqih*. It was an honorific for the royal physician, though the King also applied this term to some of his Jewish diplomats or secretaries, due to their knowledge of Arabic.⁴⁶⁷ While *Alzida* was Muslim, not Jewish, it seems more likely that she was a physician than a bureaucrat. Perhaps she worked for the royal family, and so acquired the title, along with her male colleagues. Who, in the end, was *Alzida sarracena Alfachima*, and how did she come, both to attain her unusual status and to lose (or sell) her substantial property to the Temple? Either way, she was more important a person (and her property was worth more to the Temple) than *Fadola*, who was a substantial house owner, himself. Despite his wealth, *Fadola* did not merit a second name, nor a place above a female coreligionist in the Templar document which alienated his former property.

Jewish women do not appear at all separately from their husbands in Tortosan Templar documents, despite the frequent appearance of Jews in the documents and the appearance of Jewish women elsewhere.⁴⁶⁸ This paucity of documentation implies that Jewish women had far less freedom and rights to property in 12th and 13th century Tortosa than Muslim and Christian women. Other sources, however, indicate that Jewish women did engage in independent economic transactions with other groups. Robert Burns notes that Jewish women frequently appeared in documents by Jewish notaries

⁴⁶⁵ *Rule*, #679.

⁴⁶⁶ Pagarolas i Sabat3, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 41-2, doc. 33; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 181, fol. 59r.

⁴⁶⁷ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 221-2, 253-4.

⁴⁶⁸ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Arag3n*, 405, doc. 34; ACA: reg. 90, fol. 56v.

of the period.⁴⁶⁹ Why they did not do so with the Temple in Tortosa is unclear. Perhaps the *Rule's* prohibition against Templar contact with women had more force with Jewish women than with women of other faiths, but why this would be so is unclear.⁴⁷⁰

Christians/Mozarabs

There appear to have been Mozarabs in the area who remained after the conquest, as they were the group with the least reason to flee. *Ennecho Sanz* (also *Enego* or *Eneco Sanç*) was one of the witnesses to the original charter of settlement. He was listed as an *alcaid*⁴⁷¹ and appeared in an 1163 document as the "governor" of the Temple (*gubernatorem domum Milicie Tortose*) in Tortosa.⁴⁷² Later, in 1165, he appears as "*Eneç Sanç*, Procurator of the Temple (*Procurator domus Dertosse*)".⁴⁷³ Ennecho (and its variations) is a Navarrese name. It also appeared, however, as the name of some Mozarabs from the Novillas commandery during the same period.⁴⁷⁴ Ennecho may have been a Mozarab rather than a settler, since a Mozarab might have been a better choice for the offices he held so early on.

Mozarabs showed up in 12th century Tortosan documents as witnesses and officers.⁴⁷⁵ They may often have been simple *prodhomes*--"good men", who were the veterans, keepers of the Temple's oral traditions and rules. These men, who had no designation, save for "brother", showed up in the documents immediately after the master, but before other high officials.⁴⁷⁶ "*Prodhomes*" was also a term used to describe the group of non-noble citizens that eventually took over the rule of Tortosa from the

⁴⁶⁹ Burns, Robert I. *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinized Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250-1350*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996; 100-1.

⁴⁷⁰ Rule #71.

⁴⁷¹ The *alcaid* was a 'judge' or community leader of the *morería*, rather than the military governor of *Al-Andalus* society. While in other areas, he could be Christian (especially in Aragon), he was usually a non-Christian official in Tortosa;

⁴⁷² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 189-90, doc. 18; ACA: Secc. 5.^a, Arm. 4.^o, Vol. III, Doc. 104, Fol. 33v.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*, 129; 194, doc. 23; ACA: Secc. 5.^a, Arm. 4.^o, Vol. III, Doc. 193, Fol. 61v.

⁴⁷⁴ Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *Documentos de la encomienda templaria de Novillas (siglo XII)* (Barcelona: ETD Micropublicaciones, 1997), 21-44, 240-4, docs. 10 and 165.

⁴⁷⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 189-90, doc. 18.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 311-3, doc. 122; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 28, fol. 9r-v; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 179 (1202); Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 325-6, doc. 130; ACA: sec. 5, vol. 3, doc. 227, fol. 70r (1209); Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 270-1, doc. 216; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 68, fol. 23 r-v (1211); *Ibid*, 44-6, doc. 35; ACA: GP, Tortosa parchment no. 54, parts through ABC (1229); Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Ibid*, 53-4, doc. 43; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 74, fol. 25r (1234).

Templars and Lords of Montcada in the 13th century.⁴⁷⁷

"*Bon Vassall de Moro*", (Good Vassal of a Moor), was heavily involved with the Temple. He appears to have been an influential Mozarab (though he may have been a settler) of the first 30 years after the conquest. *Bon Vassall* (sometimes named only "*Moro*") shows up in documents in 1155, 1164, 1166, 1176, and 1182. He was active from 1155 onwards, and died sometime between 1176, when he appeared in another man's will, and 1182, when a dispute between the Bishop of Tortosa and the Temple mentioned him as the previous co-owner of a field that he had shared with the Temple.⁴⁷⁸ *Bon Vassall de Dei* (Good Vassal of God), was possibly related to *Bon Vassall de Moro*, as they were connected to each other through other individuals in the documents. *Bon Vassall de Dei* appeared in 1186 as the son of Martin Formice, a colleague (or relation) of *Bon Vassall de Moro*.⁴⁷⁹ Martin Formice was the husband of one of the female witnesses from the document of 1166 in which *Bon Vassall de Moro* appeared. *Bon Vassall de Dei*, his son, may possibly have been the original *Bon Vassall*'s grandson or some other young relation. Why a man, especially one as substantial, and close to the co-rulers of Tortosa, as *Bon Vassall de Moro* would continue to call himself a vassal of the Moors after the reconquest is not clear. 'Moro' could be a toponymic. However, since '*Bon Vassall de Dei*' is, more-or-less, a personal name or designation, and the latter name follows the same pattern as the earlier one, it seems likely that 'Moro' was either a personal, family, or ethnic name.

Another man, *Moronus*, showed up in documents from 1181, 1184, 1187, and 1188. He could have had connections to the Muslim population, although his name seems

⁴⁷⁷ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 156-7, doc. 126; ACA: C, parchments of James I, mo. 2.234, part through ABC, also a translation of the same.; AMT, calaix Privileges II, doc. 19[1293 trans.], Privileges III, doc. 25 [1366 trans.], calaix Privileges I, doc. 45 [faulty trans.], calaix Judges de Taula, doc. 36 [copy from 1635]; Ed. J. Amich, *Libre....* and Oliver, *Historia....* IV, p. 496-500 [both in Catalan, dates incorrectly stated to be 1276].

⁴⁷⁸ For the will, see, Virgili, *Diplomatari....*, doc. 276; Subtresoreria, 2 66; Cartulari, 4, d. 95, fs. 87-8. For the posthumous mention of *Bon Vassall*, see, *Ibid*, doc. 341; no known original; Comú Bisbe i Capítol, 22. Trans. December 8, 1209; Extraintentari trans; Templers, 3, trans.; Templers, 5.2, copy; Cartulari 8, d. 39 (title IV, d. I), fs. 65-7r; Cartulari, 4, d. 55, fs. 55v-57r; Cartulari, 6, d. 14, fs. 8v-9; Cartulari, 5, d. 55, fs. 20v-21r; Cartulari 9, fs. 65v-66; Cartulari, 9A, ps. 154-157; Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 250-2, doc. 77. This was one of the more frequently copied documents of those that survived. Contemporary archivists were very careful to preserve records of the ongoing disputes between the Bishop and the Temple during the 12th and 13th centuries.

⁴⁷⁹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 271-2, doc. 91; ACA: sec.5, doc. 151, fol. 50r.

more likely to be Italian.⁴⁸⁰ Possibly, he was related to the Genoese faction among the original conquerors of the city. Immigrants from Italy were less common in Spain than those from Occitan France, but not unknown.

A number of other possible Mozarabs appeared in documents from the 12th century--Peter *Mostarani* in 1162,⁴⁸¹ *Domineci Moztaranus* in 1183⁴⁸² and Thomas *Motzaran* in 1184,⁴⁸³ for example. They all appear to be from the same family, "*Moztarani*" (Mozarab?).⁴⁸⁴ Robert *Alcaix* of Algezira Mascor, from a document in 1181, may also have been a Mozarab, though he could simply have been a Latin Christian official of the *morería*; '*alcaix*' may or not be a variation on '*alcaid*'.⁴⁸⁵

The evidence of Mozarabs in the documents is slim compared to their likely actual presence, as is true elsewhere in Spain. It is possible that those identified as such in the documents were a stubborn minority who clung to the old Visigothic rite while the others assimilated into the new Latin population as quickly as they could, but there is no real proof.

Christians/Turcoples

Witnessing was an important role, reserved for higher officials such as preceptor, commander, procurator or brothers with undefined roles who were probably *prodhomes*. But some of the witnesses were even clearly identified as turcoples. Like the Mozarabs, the turcoples were an ill-defined group. In the Holy Land, they were locally recruited troops. They comprised a sort of light cavalry which fought in the Turkish style. No one has ever been able to establish which religion they were, whether Eastern Christians, mixed-race Latin Christians or Muslims. Being mercenaries, they may have been all three. The turcoples comprised an important (albeit low status) group in both the Temple and the Hospital, as well as the armies of local, Latin nobility. They were a

⁴⁸⁰ [1176] Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 231-2, doc. 62; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 203, fol. 63v; [1181] Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 244-5, doc. 74; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 225, fol. 69v; [1184] *Ibid*, 259-60, doc. 82; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 255 (copy 248), fol. 78r; [1187] *Ibid*, 272-3, doc. 92; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 82 (copy 79), fol. 27v; [1188] *Ibid*, 274-5, doc. 94; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 127, fol. 39v.

⁴⁸¹ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 189-90, doc. 18.

⁴⁸² *Ibid*, 255-6, doc. 80; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 183; ACA: sec. 5, parchment 4 (original).

⁴⁸³ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode (1148-1213)*, 261-2, doc. 84; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 254, fol. 77v-78r.

⁴⁸⁴ [1162] *Ibid*, 189-90, doc. 18 [1183]; *Ibid*, 255-6, doc. 80; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 183; ACA: sec. 5, parchment 4 (original).

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 244-5, doc. 74; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 225, fol. 69v.

temporary group, hiring themselves for pay (or charity) to the military orders and local nobility. The usual period, at least in the late 13th century, seems to have been a year.⁴⁸⁶ As they were members of the Temple, however temporary, and subject to the *Rule*, so some historians (such as Judith Upton-Ward) have determined that they must have been eastern Christians or drawn from the even more ill-defined *poulains* (mixed-race Latin Christians).⁴⁸⁷ However, *poulains* also appeared as higher ranking brethren, and so were not confined to the lowly ranks of the turcoples.

Another puzzle is how Christians under Muslim rule had acquired military skills. It is especially unlikely, considering the Muslim unease with the conflicting loyalties of *dhimmis*, that the late 11th century Turkish rulers of Palestine would have trained local Christian troops in their signature fighting style. Some Eastern Christians, like the Armenians, had noted reputations for warfare. But they do not appear to have been specifically identified as turcoples. Nor do identified Mozarabs appear in Spain as turcoples. Therefore, there is no definite evidence of Eastern sect or mixed-race Christians serving only in the ranks of the turcoples as a specific caste. It seems likely that some, if not most, turcoples may even have been Muslim.

The presence of turcoples in Tortosa is even more puzzling. There is no real reason for them in Spain and they do not appear in any of the other areas in this study. A turcopole named *Fragil* appeared as a witness in a document in 1202. A turcopole of the Temple named *Freçols*, or *Frevol* (possibly the same man), witnessed documents in 1209 and 1211. *Berenger* the Turcopole also appeared in documents from 1229 and 1232. His name indicates that he was possibly a *poulain*, Christian not Muslim.⁴⁸⁸ Such men of mixed race existed in Castille, where the custom of the *barragana* (a temporary wife or concubine) was common. Many Muslim or Jewish women were *barraganas* of Christian men in Castille.⁴⁸⁹ It is possible that the custom was also prevalent in southern Catalonia. Such children could be legitimated if the father acknowledged them, had no

⁴⁸⁶ Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, 75-7, reg. #172.

⁴⁸⁷ Upton-Ward, J. M. *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, vol. IV, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), p. 39, reg. #77.

⁴⁸⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)*, 311-3, doc. 122; ACA: sec. 5, doc. 28, fol. 9r-v; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 179 (1202); *ibid*, 325-6, doc. 130; ACA: sec. 5, vol. 3, doc. 227, fol. 70r (1209); Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 270-1, doc. 216; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 68, fol. 23 r-v (1211); *ibid*, 44-6, doc. 35; ACA: GP, Tortosa parchment no. 54, parts through ABC (1229); *ibid*, 53-4, doc. 43; *ibid*, doc. 74, fol. 25r (1234).

⁴⁸⁹ Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 131.

legitimate children already, or made provisions for his natural children. If legitimated, bastards could inherit property and they could also join the Temple.

Berenger may have been one such lucky child. He was also probably local, as 'Berenguer' was a very common name in Catalan Spain and Occitan France. This increases the mystery. Turcoples appear to have been a military grouping that was Byzantine in origin and therefore likely to be restricted to the East. Turcoples in the Byzantine Emperor's service appeared in the *Gesta Francorum* alongside pagan elements from the Balkans in the late 11th century, for example.⁴⁹⁰

Yet, *Berenger's* presence indicates that this class of mercenaries may have been exported from Palestine. It is possible that he was a Spanish Templar who had served in the Holy Land and had returned. Why, then, was his status so low? Turcoples were hired mercenaries, at best, regardless of whether or not they had taken temporary vows. They had very low status in the *Rule*, eating in the mess separate even from the sergeants, and otherwise segregated from the other brothers. It is even possible that they did not take the triple oath, even on the temporary, one-year basis.⁴⁹¹ Why was *Berenger* not at least a sergeant, like some other *poulains*? There seems to have been no social reason that would exclude him from such office. Why was he a lower-ranking turcople instead? Was this because he chose to be a mercenary or did he have a status unmentioned in the documents that relegated him to the job of a turcople?

Also, if *Berenger* was a Catalan or Occitan born in Palestine who had come to Spain, why did he do so? There is no indication from the names in the Spanish documents that the Temple imported men to Spain, rather the opposite. It is possible that the documents reflect more the dominance of local men in the Spanish Temple than lack of immigration. However, this seems unlikely. Palestine's continual lack of manpower did not encourage emigration back to Europe. Those who did leave tended to go back to other countries. There was immigration into the Iberian peninsula, of course, but this usually came from southern France. Therefore, it may have been the class itself, rather than the manpower, that was transplanted to Catalonia in the early 13th century.

⁴⁹⁰ Rosalind Hill, ed. *The deeds of the Franks and the other pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1972), *passim*.

⁴⁹¹ Upton-Ward, J. M. *The Rule of the Templars*, p.65, rule #189.

Aljama officials

Since the Templars in Tortosa had a partial right to choose *aljama* officials, those officials frequently turned up in Templar documents. The term "*alcaid*" was used for a variety of officials, both Christian and Muslim, who did not always have a connection to the *aljama*. "*Alcalde*", and "*zalmedina*", as terms, did not show up in Tortosan Temple documents except in reference to officials of the Muslim *aljama*. The *qa'id* had been the military governor of a city in the time of the Caliphate. Later, he was the military head of a *taifa* state.⁴⁹² Under Christian rule, he was the judge (and therefore, both the religious and secular leader) of the *aljama*. In the documents, he frequently was the voice of the *aljama*, though he was not always the only Muslim (when he was Muslim) to express that voice in the documents.

The Temple did deal with individuals within the *morería*, not only the entire *aljama*, as the King did with his Jewish subjects. The Templars may have dealt with Muslim individuals for the same reason that the King dealt with individual Jews--dealing with the Muslims as a group encouraged them to think and organise as a group, which was more powerful and intimidating than individuals. However, one should not exaggerate the possible negative reasons. Dealing with Muslim individuals encouraged the Templars to see their Muslim *homines* as individuals, and not simply a mass of conquered people. Once the Muslims of Chivert, nearby in northern Valencia, surrendered to the Christians, for example, part of the surrender treaty agreed that they would fight alongside the Templars in defense of the city against any marauders--Muslim or Christian.⁴⁹³ The evolution from the enemy *maurus* to the neighbour and loyal vassal *sarracenus* was slow and imperfect, but it did occur during the century and a half that the Templars dominated Tortosa.

What status the Muslims of Tortosa maintained under Templar and Montcadan rule, however, deteriorated later during the 14th century. This appeared notably in the conflation and reduction of *aljama* administrative posts. The *zalmedina* (Castillian) or *salmedina* (Catalan), for example, appears to have been an important Muslim official in the 12th and 13th centuries, corresponding to the mayor, or police chief, of the *aljama*.⁴⁹⁴ Later, in the 14th century, his status so deteriorated that the office was often absorbed

⁴⁹² David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 137-9.

⁴⁹³ Burns, *Islam...*, 290-1.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 234-8.

by that of the *alcaid*.⁴⁹⁵ The disintegration of this office also occurred with all of the other offices, except for that of the *alcaid*, and reflected the loss of status and power for the Muslim *aljamas* in their environments.

These officials of the Muslim *aljama* were not necessarily Muslim, themselves, though in the Tortosan *call* the officials all appear to have been Jewish and none in either *aljama* were women.⁴⁹⁶ In fact, those identified as '*alcaid*' in the Muslim *aljama* had entirely Christian names, as likely as not, from the conquest onward.⁴⁹⁷ Some *alcaidi*, such as *Ennecho Sanz* (in 1148), were Christian. Others, like *Abobacher Avinahole*, named *alcaid* in Tortosa in 1216,⁴⁹⁸ or *Mahomet Gavarretg*, named '*alcayt*' in 1279,⁴⁹⁹ were clearly Muslim. Out of four *alcaidi* mentioned by name between 1148 and 1296, two were Christian and two Muslim. *Ennecho* may well have been a convert to Christianity, like Peter son of *Albinx Morcarabo*, but as this would have resulted in considerable friction with the *aljama* (more so even than if he were a Mozarab), he was probably not a convert.⁵⁰⁰

Ennecho went on to become a Templar official in 1163. He could also have been put in charge of *La Suda*, rather than the *aljama*, in 1148 since the term *alcaid* was also frequently used for the Christian castellan of the town, just as the term *alcalde* usually denoted a Christian judge, rather than one of the *aljama*. The city did not surrender until the end of that year. It is possible that Ramon Berenguer had already chosen an official to represent Muslim interests before the city actually fell into Christian hands, but it seems more likely that such an official would fill the more general role of castellan, as well. The use may also indicate a contemporary confusion about the term. Local Christians may have divided it in everyday life in some way--perhaps visually, as the appearance of Muslims and Christians in dress and custom differed.

The right to appoint their own officials could be granted to individual *aljamas*.⁵⁰¹ Whether or not the officials were appointed by the Order or by their own coreligionists,

⁴⁹⁵ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 87-8.

⁴⁹⁶ Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población*, doc. 70.

⁴⁹⁷ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 44-6. doc. 35; ACA: GP, Tortosa parchment no. 54, parts through ABC.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 10-1, doc. 4; ACA: C, parchments of Jaume I, no. 43.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 166-7, doc. 138; ACA: C, parchments of Peter II, no. 169.

⁵⁰⁰ Lapeña Paul, *Documentos*, 21-44, doc. 10.

⁵⁰¹ In 1228, the Temple granted a group of 25 Tortosan Jews and their families the right to appoint their own officials; Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 41-2, doc. 33; Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 181, fol. 59r.

they were inviolate from most accusations (save only those made by established men of the *aljama*). They both judged, and were judged by, Muslim justice, rather than Christian. The lord and/or order which appointed the official, also promised to protect and defend him from all attacks, both physical and legal, save only for those charges made by four Muslim witnesses of good standing. One should not necessarily assume that all of those witnesses needed to be male.⁵⁰²

The religious role of these officials, whether they were Christian or non-Christian, is unclear. The *alcaid* or *alcayt* appears to have been synonymous with the *alcalde* or *alchalde* (the Romance conversion of *qadi*) in Tortosa during the 12th and 13th centuries, though they were two very different terms. Post-conquest in Tortosa, either term could refer to the leader of the Muslim *aljama*, both secular and religious, though neither Christians nor Muslims made as clear a distinction between secular and religious as Western political systems do now.⁵⁰³ The Muslim leaders under Christian rule appear to have combined both functions. They also could remain in office for several years. *Mahomet Gavarretg's* term, for example, was intended to be ten years.⁵⁰⁴

It is questionable how much respect the members of the *aljama* paid to the officials appointed by Christian lords, especially if they were Muslim. In 1216, for example, Brother Bernard of Campanes, commander of the Temple at Miravet and Ribera, brother Ramon of Avignon, Preceptor of Tortosa, and Count Ramon of Montcada, "with the assent and wish of all the *aljama* of the Saracens" (*assensu et voluntate tocius algeme serracenorum Dertose*), named *Abobacher Avinahole*, a "Saracen", *alcaid* of the *aljama* of Tortosa. They invested him with all of the appropriate rights and responsibilities--namely to "be a good and faithful and right *alcaid* of all the Muslim community of Tortosa" (*sis bonus et fidelis et rectus alcaydus de omni zune Dertose*) and to judge, or make judgments, "rightly" (*iudicaveris vel iudicare feceris recte iudica et iudicare facias*). Also, they exhorted him not to take on any of the rights and responsibilities of the *zalmedina*, or vice versa (this process of conflation seems to have already begun in Tortosa). The Temple and the Count also agreed to maintain and defend the said *alcaid* against all harm to his person (implying that he needed Christian

⁵⁰² Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 10-1, doc. 4; ACA: C, parchments of Jaume I, no. 43.

⁵⁰³ Daura, *Les Cartes...*, 140-2.

⁵⁰⁴ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 166-7, doc. 138; ACA: C, parchments of Peter II, no. 169.

military force to back up his position) and any accusations against his person. The only exception included the aforementioned accusations that could be made by four Saracen witnesses "ydoneis and legitimate". He could only judge or be judged according to the *zuna* (*sunna*--Muslim religious and community law) and custom of the Saracens.⁵⁰⁵

Considering the importance of *Abobacher's* position in the *aljama*, the lack of any Muslim witnesses in the document is significant. There had been both Muslim and Mozarab witnesses to Ennecho Sanz's appointment as *alcaid* in 1148. This was over half a century later, and *Abobacher* does not appear to have been a popular choice.⁵⁰⁶ While Ennecho Sanz was possibly the castellan of *La Suda*, rather than an appointed official of the Muslim *aljama* in 1148, *Abobacher* was definitely the latter in 1216. His duties were those of the *aljama* leader, not those of a castellan. As Robert Burns notes, the Christians may have been haphazard in their terminology regarding non-Christians, but the members of those *aljamas* certainly were not haphazard in their terminology regarding themselves. Unfortunately for them, they were no longer the ones commissioning the documents.⁵⁰⁷

The Muslim officials of the *aljama* also appear to have been relatively poor, compared to their Christian colleagues and Jewish neighbours. *Abobacher's* successor in the Temple records, the Christian Bernard, was a land owner who possessed two *honores*, one in Palomera and one in Cantaloela in 1229. No Muslim witnesses appeared in this document, either, though the turcopole Berenger did.⁵⁰⁸ In 1289, the *Alcaid Fabib* owed 10 sous in rent (whereas his entire *aljama* owed 480 sous in rent for two *questias*). In contrast, the chaplaincy owed 1403 sous and in 1255 the Jewish *aljama* had owed 15,200 mazmudinas.⁵⁰⁹ It is important to keep these factors in mind when discussing the dealings between the Temple and the *morería*. In such matters, the Temple (indeed, the Christians in general) always had the upper hand after the conquest, militarily and financially. Christians possibly even had a demographic advantage over non-Christians already by the end of the 13th century. The Temple and

⁵⁰⁵ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 10-1, doc. 4; ACA: C, parchments of Jaume I, no. 43.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁷ Burns, *Islam...*, 370-1.

⁵⁰⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 44-6, doc. 35; ACA: GP, Tortosa parchment no. 54, parts through ABC.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 186-7, doc. 162; ACA: GP, series 2a, armari 24, vol. 7, doc. 17, fol. 8r-v; ref. Miret y Sans, *Inventaris...*, pag. 68-9; For the Jews: Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa), Volume II*, 91-2, doc. 76; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa parchment no. 22.

its Christian officials could make arbitrary decisions which affected both the outer and inner life of the *morería* profoundly. This does not indicate a very tenable relationship, or one in which many powerful Muslims would have remained post-conquest.

Language

As the 13th century progressed, the Temple documents in Tortosa increased in length and the terminology became more legalistic. Also, the participants became broader-based in the Templar administration. In the 12th century, only the local master and the brethren of the house (with perhaps a neighbouring master or two) were usually involved in the recorded transaction. By the 13th century, documents frequently included the provincial master, and even the Visitor of the Temple or the Papal Legate. This expansion in regional importance may have stemmed from the Temple's increased power during James I's minority, and his patronage of the Order after he came of age.

The documents, themselves, are not always clear in their language and intent. There is the occasional Catalan document, but most of them are in Latin.⁵¹⁰ The Latin is not highly literate. Frequent mistakes obscure the actual meaning of some of the documents. The language can be unnecessarily complex--sentences often lack an obvious active verb, for example. Conditions of the situation described can be jumbled together with the restrictions or penalties agreed upon. Who is doing what to whom can be especially obscure.

Catalan words crop up frequently. It is not unusual to find a document that begins with a Latin phrase, but which quickly degenerates into Catalan (such as the document which discusses Ennecho Sanz the Christian *alcaid* in 1148, or Ramon Berenguer's three agreements with the citizens of Tortosa, also in 1148 and 1149.⁵¹¹ Catalan began to be used in legal documents at least as early as the 11th century.⁵¹² It appears in Templar documents as well, but not with the frequency that it does in royal correspondence. The Catalan is often written in a legalistic way, with Catalan vocabulary, but Latin grammar. This must have caused some problems later on, when people were trying to interpret what the agreements actually meant. Most of the more prominent and important

⁵¹⁰ Robert I. Burns, *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia. Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276, vol I: Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 112-24.

⁵¹¹ Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población*, doc. 70.

⁵¹² Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia*, 152-4.

documents had been copied several times by the end of the 14th century. At no time in the Tortosan documents was a scribe identified as a Templar brother. Apparently the brethren there always used outside scribes.

Still, the language is somewhat more consistent in the Templar documents than in those of the episcopal scribes in Virgili's collection or the royal correspondence of the *Cancillería*. Nonetheless, Tortosan Templar documents are not as grammatical (or pure in Latin vocabulary) as the language in the papal bulls related to the Temple which Marquis D'Albon published in his collection, or even in surviving Temple documents from the Hospitaller central archive at Malta.⁵¹⁸

The Tortosan documents, while numerous, are uniform in subject compared to other areas. They mainly consist of property transfers and legal settlements over rights. Every Templar document which describes a property exchange in the Tortosan archives gives precise boundaries of pieces of land in terms of whose property and which natural and public features front it. The documents also give information concerning rights of access, whether ownership is permanent or temporary, and whether any rents (in money or in kind) or exemptions from taxes are attached to it. Great care is taken to include the rights to the exits and entrances to the property and any rights to alienation--whether through pledge, rent or sale. Irrigation ditches, rivers, public roads and streets and town walls are also mentioned where relevant. They are the legal boundaries of property. The documents are often vague about the basic nature of a property, let alone specific features. Usually, "*ortus*," for example, appears to mean any cultivated piece of land. In many documents, orchards, vineyards, and even olive groves are specifically identified as features of *orti* properties. Sometimes, even the features of adjoining properties are given. On the other hand, they can also be designated as simply *honores* of some type.

One of the few standard rules for substitution of Catalan for Latin occurs in agricultural terms. In these cases, Catalan is frequently substituted for Latin, even when a Latin term already exists. This would indicate that participants were being very particular about what they meant, and did not trust to unfamiliar Latin terms. It is also possible that the terms substituted did not correspond directly to their Latin equivalents, or at least, not to the satisfaction of those commissioning the documents. In the list of *honores* belonging to the mosque at Xerta, for example, the Catalan term *oliver* (*olivera* = olive tree) was

⁵¹⁸Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, p. 11-12, docs. 1 and 2.

used instead of the Latin *oliva*.⁵¹⁴ Tax terms were also often in Catalan, including *fadiga* (the obligation of labour), *pedatge* or *peatge* (*pedatico* = a toll tax or *peita* = a poll tax on households), *usatge* (*usatico* = a customs tax on goods), and the like.

Religious distinctions in terminology

Catalanisation is also seen in religious/ethnic terms. The Catalan term *Jueu* (Jew) appears as frequently as the Latin term *Judio*. The terms used for Muslims were more problematical. The use of the terms *sarracenus* and *maurus* (or *moro*) for Muslims varied widely from their original useage, where *sarracenus* referred to a Muslim from the East and *maurus* to a Muslim from northwestern Africa (i.e. the region immediately south of the Iberian peninsula). The use of the two terms also varied from region to region.⁵¹⁵ In Tortosa, *sarracenus* was most common. *Maurus* was the more unusual term. When the latter term was used, it seems to have been a deliberate distinction. In Tortosan Templar documents, *sarracenus* usually referred to friendly or subject Muslims. *Maurus* referred to enemy Muslims from the south, or those hostile to the Temple. This difference in terminology shows up in the document detailing the ongoing dispute between the Temple and the Hospital over the conduct of their respective Muslim vassals from 1235 and 1242. The Temple's document refers to its own Muslims as *sarraceni* and to the Hospital Muslims as *mauri*, in making accusations of violence against the Hospital's Muslims. The document paints the Temple's Muslims as loyal and docile, and the Hospital's Muslims as violent, treacherous and lawless. For the scribe, these respective terms each held a different charge, though this did not hold true in other areas of the Crown of Aragon.⁵¹⁶ "*Exaricus*" was also a common term in Tortosan documents, but not all Muslims in the region were labeled exarics.

Concerning the terminology of *aljama* administration, instead of terms like *castellanus* (chief of a fortress), *iudex* (judge) or *praefectus* (mayor), the terms used for non-Christian officials reflected the fact that non-Christians' first language remained Arabic for

⁵¹⁴ Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, doc. 495.

⁵¹⁵ Burns states that ecclesiastical sources in Valencia preferred the term *sarracenus*. This was also true of the sources from the Cathedral in Tortosa during the late 12th century; Virgili, *Diplomatari...*, docs. 265 and 382. The bishop preferred to call his exarics *sarraceni* rather than *mauri*. However, papal bulls preferred the term *maurus* in the early 12th century, the use of the term increasing with the geographical distance from any actual Muslims. Burns, *Islam...*, 64.

⁵¹⁶ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 72-4, doc. 58; ACA: GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 148, fol. 48v-49r; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 185-6; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 69, no. 56, p. 148, no. 60, p. 303, no. 197

some time after the conquest: *alcaid* (*castellanus*), *alcalde* (*iudex* or *judex*) and *zalmedina* (*praefectus*) were more common in Tortosa. These terms were frequently used for general Christian officials of the city. They were also commonly used as such in early 12th century Aragon and Navarre.⁵¹⁷ Perhaps this reflected a persistence in the use of Arabic or (now extinct) Mozarabic through the early 13th century among the original Christian inhabitants. The term for both the *call* and the *morería* remained uniformly "*aljama*" through most of the period until the term "*morería*" is mentioned in a document from 1296.⁵¹⁸ This remained true even though "*aljama*" technically referred to the administration of the non-Christian community, or the community itself as a taxable group. Like the term "*mudejar*", for local Muslims under Christian rule, *morería* and *call* were terms that became prevalent in the 14th century in Tortosa, but not much before that.

Conclusion

The favourable conditions which Ramon Berenguer IV granted to the non-Christians of Tortosa in his surrender treaty and charters with the city gave them some protection, and recognition as men of the Count, from the city's subsequent lords, the Templars and the Counts of Montcada. While the Templars appear to have treated their non-Christian subjects well in order to keep control of them, there is no strong evidence from other, more secure, areas further north (Huesca, for example) that the Templars would have actively sought to abuse these groups otherwise. They had no intense institutional reasons for intolerance as the mendicant orders did, for example. They wanted to exploit the non-Christian groups as resources, not suppress or destabilise them, because they needed them. The Templars seem to have shared the positive attitude of the King toward non-Christians--Jews in particular. They even worked with Jewish royal officials conducting the King's business in the district.

The Muslims in Tortosa, however, found their self-image, both as individuals and as a group, eroded by both a contraction of their living and cultural space, and an extreme contraction of their political space. The Jews expanded, both physically and culturally,

⁵¹⁷ William Stalls, "Custom, Authority and Community in the Middle Ages: Aragon and Navarre in the Twelfth Century," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, vol. 25, Ibérica, Donald J. Kagay and Joseph T. Snow, eds. (New York; Washington: Peter Lang, 1997), 27-41.

⁵¹⁸ Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa)*, Volume II, 234-5, doc. 189; ACA: GP, series 1a, Tortosa, parchment no. 25, parts through ABC.

and possibly economically, as well, but they most likely did this at the Muslims' expense. It is unclear whether there was much hostility between the groups prior to the Christian conquest, but post-conquest, conflict was inevitable, as the contrast between the two communities was strongest in the late 12th and 13th centuries. The Muslims were disorganised and defeated, while the Jews were raised in status by their special relationship with the Count of Barcelona. Where before they had lived under Muslim rule, now both groups lived under Christian rule. And in areas where Jewish *baillis* conducted the King's business, Jews ruled over the Muslims, and even over Christians. To be cast, not only down from the top, but right to the bottom, galled the Muslims, so they resisted such trends as much as they could. Jews might have been prevented from taking Muslims as slaves (though this, too, is uncertain), but this prohibition only emphasised the hostility between the two groups, as well as the new Muslim vulnerability to Jewish exploitation.

There is no indication, in the consolidation of the Temple property, of any Templar attempt to isolate Jewish or Muslim communities. Agricultural mixing of the three religions was accepted as a matter of course in Tortosa. This implies the early prominence in the Christian population of a third group, both in the Temple and in the town--the Mozarabs. The Mozarabs already were well-acquainted with Muslim ways and would have felt less need to make large changes than Christian settlers from the north. As immigration south increased in the 13th century, and the Mozarabs were absorbed into the general Christian population, this situation grew more tense. Violence toward Jews, the more obviously successful non-Christian group, increased in the latter part of the 13th century. This may have been due to either simple, demographic pressure or resentment by the increasingly populous, and new, Christian settlers from the north, toward those they sought to displace. The Templars stood in the way of this, but the citizens of Tortosa sought to displace them, too. No matter how many concessions the Christians might make to the non-Christians in Tortosa, they would never make them citizens.⁵¹⁹

Some historians have emphasised the stratification of both Jewish and Muslim populations into a few rich and many poor. This situation probably already existed pre-conquest for the Muslims. Whether its existence in the late 14th century Tortosan Muslim population reflects a process of acculturation and feudalisation over the 12th and

⁵¹⁹ Philip Dal leader, *True Citizens: Violence, Memory and Identity in Medieval Perpignan*, vol. 25, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 115, 149-50.

13th centuries is uncertain. That the Templars actively engaged in this process seems unlikely and based on extrapolation backwards from 14th century documents about Hospitaller-Muslim interactions. These were not the same thing and cannot be conflated.

In addition to Jews, Muslims and Mozarabs, the Templars had transactions with women, both Christian and Muslim (though not Jewish) in Tortosa. The relations between the Templars and Muslim women were problematical, even hostile, but Christian women seem to have supported the Temple as wholeheartedly as Christian men.

The Templars, with the Counts of Montcada, had considerable control over the affairs of the *aljamas*. This extended to choosing Muslim officials and representing the Jewish *aljama* in the royal court. Terminology of Muslim officials may have reflected a persistence of Muslim culture and even the use of Arabic. But some *aljama* officials were not even Muslim, indicating at least some disintegration of culture and Muslim infrastructural power within the *aljama*. Terminology regarding Muslims in Templar documents reflected a dichotomy in Templar thinking between "good" Muslims and "bad" Muslims. The Templars in Tortosa seem to have been willing to see some Muslims as beneficial to Christian society. However, this tolerance did not extend to Muslims outside Christian rule or those who attacked Templar associates, Christian or non-Christian. Tolerance and benevolence were always qualified by cultural and theoretical constraints for the Temple at Tortosa.

THE TEMPLE IN GARDENY AND LLEIDA

Origins

Gardeny is a steep ridge at the western end of Lleida (Cast. *Lérida*), on the banks of the Segrià River in Catalonia. The old Templar castle on the southeastern bluff currently shares the ridge with the *Turo de Gardeny*, a modern military barracks. From the 1st century BC, a fortress and a town (*Ilerda*) existed there.⁵²⁰ Later, the Muslims may have kept a tower fortification on the hill. Alfonso the Battler, having briefly captured Gardeny from the Muslims, built a fort on the ridge in the 12th century, against which the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III, who had signed a treaty with the *qaid* of Lleida, Abifilel, marched in 1123.⁵²¹ Rather than let the Count have it, Alfonso destroyed and abandoned his fortifications, leaving the hill to be retaken by the Muslims.⁵²²

The existence of the convent of Gardeny, as separate from the city of Lleida, arose probably due to geography. In Lleida, there are two hills--the ridge on the western end of town and a taller hill on the northeastern end. On the northeastern end is the city's *La Suda*, or main fortress. Much larger and higher than the Templar convent complex on Gardeny, *La Suda* of Lleida was originally built by the Muslims, but expanded considerably by subsequent Christian kings.⁵²³ The Kings of Aragon found good use for this fortress and did not share it with the Templars. Instead, the Temple, as part of its fifth of the booty guaranteed in the compromise at Girona in 1143,⁵²⁴ was promised the Muslim fortifications on Gardeny should the city fall. While the Christians occupied Gardeny from September 1147 onward, the city held out until October 1149, ten

⁵²⁰ Afrani, a general of Pompey, engaged in battle with Julius Caesar after setting up his own camp on the hill at Gardeny; Gaius Julius Caesar, *The Civil War, Books I and II*, J.M. Carter, ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1993), 1:43, 74-5.

⁵²¹ José María Lacarra, *Alfonso el Batallador* (Zaragoza: Guara Editorial, S.A., 1978), 78-82.

⁵²² Joan Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995), 161.

⁵²³ It is also larger than *La Suda* of Tortosa, with houses fortifications and a large church. The Lleida *Suda* almost comprises a small town, itself.

⁵²⁴ Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed., *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), 1:9, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 7, fols. 8-9; Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion, 1930), doc. 314, Josep Maria Sans i Travé, ed., *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)*, *Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I*, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), doc. 35; Joaquín Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910), 28 and 170; A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 21-24; Josep M. Sans i Travé, *El procés dels Templers catalans: Entre el turment i la glòria*, (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1990), 90-2.

months after Tortosa surrendered. The Templars did not take over Gardeny, however, until 1152.⁵²⁵

Lleida, to the northwest of Tortosa, had been an important *taifa* city in its own right. However, contemporary chroniclers and later historians like Bernard Reilly treat its capitulation as an afterthought to Tortosa's. Tortosa was the cornerstone whose fall doomed Lleida.⁵²⁶ Certainly, the timing supports this, though one could argue that Zaragoza should have been a similar cornerstone, yet was not. Lleida had been linked with Tortosa since the late 11th century, so the disastrous psychological impact of Tortosa's fall on Lleida's inhabitants cannot be underestimated. As Tortosa went, so went Lleida.⁵²⁷ Exposed on the plain between Aragon and Catalonia, cut off from the Muslim south, the city could not stand alone. The fall of Zaragoza three decades before had been a surprise to both sides, without real precedent. The Christians needed time to absorb the city and its *taifa* into the Kingdom of Aragón, to consolidate a new frontier and to reevaluate further expansion. But they had completed this process by 1149, much to the Lleidan *taifa*'s misfortune.

Still, the importance of Lleida's fall, particularly to the new Crown of Aragon, was great. The city had previously separated Catalonia and Aragon's sections of the Ebro Valley.⁵²⁸ With Lleida now incorporated into the Crown, the county and the kingdom could establish more secure links with each other, becoming a true realm instead of a temporary political grouping under an elected leader. Despite her recent Muslim history, the city shared much with the Christian municipal centres of both Catalonia and Aragon. Like Tortosa, her sister city, Lleida had been a Roman urban centre (Ilerda) before it became a Muslim *taifa*. The Muslims took the city in 720. After *Al-Andalus* split into *taifa* states in the early 11th century, Lleida and Tortosa both became aligned with Zaragoza. *El Cid* played the three cities off each other when he forced Lleida and Tortosa, who both had rulers in their minorities, to accept his authority during his rule over Valencia in

⁵²⁵ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: p.48-9.

⁵²⁶ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc.), 1992; 214-5; Cynthia Maya, "Conquest and Pragmatism: Jew and Muslim in Post-Conquest Tortosa," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 11 (1999): 15-25.

⁵²⁷ Caesar referred to a population there when describing Afrani's defense of Gardeny; Caesar, *The Civil War*, I: 43, 74-5.

⁵²⁸ Nikolas Jaspert, "Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: the Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia," *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, Jürgen Sarnowsky, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 19-45.

the 1090s.⁵²⁹ After Zaragoza fell to Alfonso the Battler in 1118, both cities were isolated from other Muslim areas. They reverted to paying *parias* (monetary tribute) to Barcelona to survive, as they had in the past.⁵³⁰

Despite their links, Lleida differed from Tortosa in significant ways. The city grew in the valley between the aforementioned double fortresses, on the northern banks of a river that was broader and slower than the Ebro--the Segrià. Lleida was a larger city than Tortosa. More centrally located in the Crown of Aragon, it was the hub of a network of other cities--most notably, for the Templars, Zaragoza, Huesca, Barcelona, Barberà and Tortosa.⁵³¹ This may explain why it also changed hands more often than Tortosa during the *taifa* period, as it was also more exposed. While the Templars never held the kind of lordship in Lleida that they technically did in Tortosa, they exercised control over Gardeny throughout their tenure. The commandery of Gardeny was never superseded in its own district like the commandery at Tortosa.

As in Novillas, the agriculture in the area dated to Roman times or earlier. Medieval cultivation kept Roman boundaries for the fields. However, the nature of the cultivation changed considerably during the Reconquest period and after. Before 1000, archaeological excavations indicate that the inhabitants employed intensive cultivation in the areas along the river, with little attention to defending it. After 1000, and particularly after 1100, cultivation became scattered as the *taifa*'s fortunes deteriorated. The Muslims retreated to fortified villages and towns on hills. They cultivated uneven tracts of land, whereas the Christians, post-conquest, appear to have concentrated their cultivation into regular squares of land.⁵³² How well they achieved this goal is in question, as irrigation was a frequent problem, and the Christians continued to use the old Islamic irrigation system (*terras sicuti in tempore sarracenorum...quem oppidum Corbinis in predicte*

⁵²⁹ Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 121, 123-4.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 119, 179.

⁵³¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 94, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 8, fols. 9v-11; Francisco Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón", *Ilerda*, no. 36 (1975): 77-9, doc. IV; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 72, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral dels Templers de les Comandes de Gardeny y Barbens* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1899), 15 (Zaragoza); Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, 329, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 6, fols. 6-7; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 6-7 (Huesca); Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 94, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 8, fols. 9v-11; Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones...", 77-9, doc. IV; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 72, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 15 (Barcelona); Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, 329, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 6, fols. 6-7; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 6-7 (Barberà); Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 21, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 171, fol. 68; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8 (Tortosa).

⁵³² Jordi Bolòs, "Changes and survival: the territory of Lleida (Catalonia) after the twelfth-century conquest," *Journal of Medieval History*. Vol. 27 (2001): 313-329. Trans. Paul Freedman.

captione aqua habuit).⁵³³ However, irrigation patterns and topography tended to dictate agricultural boundaries more than abstract borders on maps. There appears to have been less Muslim continuity in Templar agricultural systems than in other areas, such as Tortosa. This may partially account for why the Temple also encroached on the *morería* and reconfigured areas of cultivation in a way that they did not in areas with more agricultural continuity.

There was both dry and irrigated farming, with irrigation increasing the value and the rent of a property. Even dry farming was frequently impossible. These uncultivated fields supported the pastoral farming--cattle, sheep and pig herding--in which the Temple was also heavily involved.⁵³⁴ The main crops appear to have been wheat and wine grapes, with some olive culture as well. Although olive production was a lucrative industry in nearby Barberà (with which Gardeny had numerous ties, though the commandery there was independent of the Lleidan house), it was far less prevalent in the Templar documents of Gardeny. The extensive network of lucrative mills on the Segrià apparently made this industry far more important to the Gardeny house than to the house in Barberà, where there was no large river nearby.

The main products in this industry were *traper et blader*--"cloth and grain".⁵³⁵ The Temple took control of this production, expanding it from its already large Muslim origins as soon as the city fell.⁵³⁶ It was a common Templar strategy to establish unchallenged lordship by creating monopolies of important local industries like bread production, both mills and ovens.⁵³⁷ The attraction for the Temple may also have stemmed from the multiple industries which both structures could accommodate. Mills could produce both grain and cloth, whereas ovens could bake both bread and pots.

Wheat was an important commodity and basic food staple, both for the brethren and the associates of the house. This explains why wheat or bread frequently appeared along with wine as a grant in corrody exchanges. In 1166, Arnald of Somet married Dulcia and gave her in espousal (*dono in dote et isponsalicio*) his houses in Lleida, in the

⁵³³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 30, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 133, fol. 56v; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 170, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 12.

⁵³⁴ Bolòs, "Changes and survival," 313-329.

⁵³⁵ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 416.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid*, I:15, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 159, fols. 61-2; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, doc. 475; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 12; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 54.

⁵³⁷ Robert I. Burns, ed. *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257-1263. Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276, vol II: Documents 1-500* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 191, doc. 228.

parish of Saint Andrew, along with the (presumably irrigated) lands which he rented on the Segrià from the Temple. For these agricultural properties he paid the Temple a *cens* of three grain measures of bread wheat, in life or death, regardless of whether or not he had children.⁵³⁸ In 1179, Giraldus of Jorba and his wife Saurina donated to the Temple an annual rent (*cens* and *usaticis*) of 147 "sous of dinars of money" (*solidos denariorum de moneta*) in exchange for a corrody of bread and wine in Lleida, four pairs of hens and four large loaves, in exchange for an *hereditas* in Lleida near the palace that they had bought from Arbert of Castellet. It had once belonged to *Avin Socona Alfadius* (Sarobe translates this name as "Abin Socona Alfaquf"). They also gave the Temple a tower between Lleida and Castellidans, which was populated by tenants from Miró Torbaví and Cubells. This last donation may have included all of the in-kind rent in these areas.⁵³⁹ The land which *Avin Socona* had fled, or been forced to abandon, was lucrative. Its loss, and the extended period needed to settle its new, Christian ownership, gives an idea both of which class of Muslims was most likely to flee following the conquest, and how much that class lost in material terms.

Because of their connection to the all-important bread production and lucrative cloth industry, mills proved an integral part of the relationship between the Templars and their associates, both Christian and Muslim. As important and central agricultural structures that required frequent maintenance, mills could not survive without intensive agriculture to feed them. But Templar mills could not survive without Templar associates, either. Like town ovens, mills were also structures on which community members depended for survival. If the Templars controlled mills and ovens, they also held a monopoly on local food production.⁵⁴⁰ But they could only do so if they met the local demand for bread. For that they needed loyal workers--usually their associates. This is probably why they sought out even partial shares in mills and ovens, staffing and surrounding these

⁵³⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I:151.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, I: 345, Cartulary of Gardeny doc. 186, fol. 73; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 153-4.

⁵⁴⁰ Such a monopoly was called a "banal" mill; Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 121, 161. This monopoly came with responsibilities, which could cause problems within Temple lay communities when the brothers refused to fulfill them. The Templar commander in Valencia City caused a longterm dispute in the Muslim quarter there when he replaced a bakery dating from before the conquest in 1238 (*constructus furnus tempore Sarracenorum*) with a cemetery for the house (*Et fecit ibi fossarium ad sepeliendum fratres eiusdem domus*). The dispute was eventually resolved twenty years later when the provincial master rebuilt the oven, then requested (and received) from the King a monopoly of bread production in that quarter in 1258; Burns, *Foundations II*, 191, doc. 228.

properties as much as possible with Temple men.

Bringing in the Christian Era

Count Ermengol VI of Urgell received one third of the city from Ramon Berenguer IV after its conquest. He was different from the Count of Montcada in Tortosa in the nature of his lordship and power base, and appears to have had better relations with the Temple. The Counts of Urgell were border lords who had allied themselves with the Counts of Barcelona in the 11th century, and had remained loyal to them since the fall of Balaguer in 1104.⁵⁴¹ Ramon Berenguer IV did not need to control Ermengol with humiliating cessions as much as his own seneschal. He therefore took the fifth for the Templars out of his own two thirds in Lleida, and in compensation for the Count of Urgell having to share the lordship of the city with them, ceded him the castle of Ascó (which the Temple later acquired).⁵⁴² Thus, the Temple began its tenure in Lleida with its co-lords on a better footing than in Tortosa.

The city was taken by force in October 1149, after a seven-month-long siege. Some of Ramon Berenguer's early donations to his vassals mention considerable destruction and rebuilding within the city immediately after the conquest.⁵⁴³ The land was then given out, according to a cluster of conflicting agreements of varying dates, to various nobles, as in Tortosa the previous winter. There is some question as to what happened to the Muslims of Lleida. Jordi Bolòs states that most of them were expelled from Lleida after the conquest of the city.⁵⁴⁴ "Peasants" were brought in to resettle the land.⁵⁴⁵ Who these peasants were and where they came from is unclear, as the King's greatest reason for offering non-Christians concessions elsewhere (especially in Tortosa only ten months earlier) rested in the Crown of Aragon's inability to settle most of its newly-conquered land with Christians.

What is even less clear is why it was so necessary to expel the Muslim population from Lleida in the first place. Why, even after this expulsion, was a *morería* set up for the

⁵⁴¹ Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 121-2.

⁵⁴² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I:17, Cartulary of Gardeny doc 9, fol. 11; Liber fol. 152; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 66, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral*, 8.

⁵⁴³ Joan Busqueta i Riu, "Sobre la carta de poblament de Lleida (1150): l'herència de Tortosa," in Daura, Josep Serrano i. *Les Cartes de Població Cristiana i de Seguretat de Jueus i Sarraïns de Tortosa (1148/1149)*. Actes Tortosa, 14, 15 i 16 de maig de 1999. Barcelona: Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, 2000, 199-212.

⁵⁴⁴ Bolòs, "Changes and survival," 313-329.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

remaining Muslims on the northern side of town, indicating that at least some of them remained? Nor is the extent of the damage to the city (as to Tortosa) very clear. Records show Muslims living in Lleida as late as the mid-14th century.⁵⁴⁶ What were the criteria for expulsion, if so many Muslims remained? And why were the Jews not expelled as well? The Christian inhabitants could not trust their non-Christian subjects as long as Lleida might fall back under Muslim control. Yet, communities of Muslims and Jews remained as coherent, even wealthy and influential *aljamas*. Busqueta i Riu theorises that the "expulsion" was in fact partly the forcible resettlement of the Muslim inhabitants of Lleida in the city's much smaller *morería*.⁵⁴⁷

But Lleida was no longer on the frontier. Having been conquered after Tortosa, it suddenly became the centre of Catalonia, straddling *Catalunya Vella* and *Catalunya Nou*. It was cut off from Muslim Spain by a large section of Christian territory, and even from Castille or León. Tortosa was far more exposed to Muslim Valencia until the mid-13th century, yet the Muslims there were encouraged to stay. Was it simply that the non-Christian inhabitants were more important to the King in Tortosa, that Christians were more willing to settle in Lleida than further down in the Ebro Valley, near the Valencian frontier?

Regardless of whether they were expelled or left voluntarily, many Muslims did leave immediately after the conquest (usually within the first decade), and the victorious Christians profited from this mass exodus. As in Tortosa, the Muslim property was initially all claimed by Ramon Berenguer IV, and then distributed among his vassals. The Temple profited from these transactions, due to its promised fifth of the booty. The bitterness that this likely caused among the remaining Muslim population cannot be discounted as a factor in their subsequent relations with the Templars. Some of the Temple's later concessions could have been made to counteract such ill-feeling. The Temple was a practical group, which favoured physical expansion into Muslim-held territories and land acquisition over conversion--forcible or otherwise.⁵⁴⁸ The Templars, like the King and some nobles, knew that they had to make concessions in order to retain the Muslim and Jewish workers of an area. The conquest had, *de facto*, created hostility

⁵⁴⁶ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 306.

⁵⁴⁷ Busqueta i Riu, "Sobre la carta de poblament de Lleida," 199-212.

⁵⁴⁸ Alan Forey, "The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*. 28 (2002): 1-22.

toward Christians from the local Muslims. While it is possible that the Christians solved this problem in Lleida by expelling most of the Muslims (as Ramon Berenguer IV had promised to do in 1143⁵⁴⁹) there is no indication in the documents of the necessary *lacuna* in the intensive cultivation already going on in the area, where the previous residents were evicted in favour of new residents. This displacement would have taken several years, at least. While the documents certainly show new lords taking over the lands, they do not show a new class of cultivators. Expulsion of populations occurred on both sides throughout the Reconquest, but this was not the automatic solution favoured by Christian rulers in the 12th century. Ramon Berenguer does not seem to have used the tactic so soon after he had successfully negotiated the capture of Tortosa the previous year.

Temple Administration and Officials

The number of commanderies under Gardeny was also smaller than in Tortosa: Corbins, Barbens, Segrià, Urgell, Bell-Loc, Escarabat, Montlleó and Torre de Bafes. None of these commanderies went on to challenge Gardeny's authority, though whether Corbins and Barbens were dependencies of Gardeny, or separate commanderies altogether that acknowledged the authority of Gardeny, is unclear.⁵⁵⁰

Little is now known about Gardeny's dependent houses, though there is a fair amount of information available about Barbens and Corbins. Garrigues was established in 1151, with a charter issued to the inhabitants of the town. The Templars had a fortress there, as well as at Artesa, Grealó, Sala and Na Jordana. Segrià, to the north of Lleida, was not actually a town (the term was an old name for Lleida), according to Fuguet Sans. It became a commandery of the Order, nonetheless. A *carta de población* was not issued to the population of the area until 1231, though the Temple had been administering property in the area since 1158, when brother Peter of Cartellà gave Gilibert of Cubells two mills there.⁵⁵¹ The charter established a new town, called, appropriately, Castellnou, though it remained the commandery of "Segrià". The town, itself, was later incorporated into Vilanova de Segrià, and can no longer be reliably

⁵⁴⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 9, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 7, fols. 8-9; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, doc. 314, Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica...*, doc. 35; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 28 and 170; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 21-24; Sans i Travé, *El procés...*, 90-2.

⁵⁵⁰ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, p. 21.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I: 90; Miret, *Les Cases...*; 248-9.

located. The commandery of Urgell, apparently located in the capitol of the counts of Urgell,⁵⁵² is now similarly difficult to locate.⁵⁵³

The commandery of Bell-lloc, located between Corbins and Barbens (to the northeast of Lleida), was originally formed from the donations of one family--the Anglesola. Escarabat was included in this vague area, possibly as a village in the borders of Palau d'Anglesola. Torre de Bafes was near Palau d'Anglesola, but not within its limits. It is unclear where Montlleó was.⁵⁵⁴

What constituted a "commandery" was much more uncertain in Gardeny than in the Tortosa area. Gardeny is the only commandery in the Lleida district where significant ruins remain. Joan Fuguet Sans speculates that some of these so-called "commanderies" were in fact administered by a procurator who took his authority directly from the commander/preceptor at Gardeny, but who styled himself "commander".⁵⁵⁵ One document from 1177 referred to the convent as a "*mansionem*" (house) rather than a "*comendatorem*" as in other documents.⁵⁵⁶ This is part of the general confusion of classifications, beginning with the commandery, itself. It was named after the hill on which it kept its main fortifications, and not the city which played host to it--the Templars usually used the latter method for convent nomenclature. If the Templars of Lleida had determined by 1200 whether Gardeny was a commandery or a preceptory, they did not tell the scribes whom they employed. Both "commander" and "preceptor" were used throughout the time period between 1157 and 1199, as in Tortosa. A preceptor appeared in 1195⁵⁵⁷ and 1199,⁵⁵⁸ in the same year that a separate "commander" of Gardeny was also mentioned.⁵⁵⁹ In both the 1192 and 1199 documents, he was

⁵⁵² Possibly *La Seu d'Urgell* in the northwest.

⁵⁵³ Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura...*, 157-60.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 158-60.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 157-60; citing lists in Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 248-50; and Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 451. The above list collates Miret's and Forey's lists. Fuguet Sans discusses the difficulty of classifying the commanderies under Gardeny, since no real criteria exist to define a commandery (or a preceptory, as both terms are used in the Gardeny documents with no discernible difference) in the Gardeny district. He attributes this to extreme decentralisation, but there is something more to it. Tortosa was equally decentralised, yet the Temple documents there mentioned commanderies and sub-commanderies up and down the Ebro. In contrast, Gardeny documents focus on Lleida and its immediate environs. Even though Gardeny documents for beyond 1200 are not as common as those in Tortosa, there is no reflection in late 12th century documents from Gardeny of the early Tortosan tendency to decentralise power by creating new commanderies.

⁵⁵⁶ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 309, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 46, fol. 27v-28.

⁵⁵⁷ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 653.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*, II: 736 (the date of this document is uncertain).

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, II: 730.

identified as Bernard of Claret. In February of 1200, Bernard was also identified as "preceptor"⁵⁶⁰ but in May of that year, was identified as "commander in Gardeny," along with an individual named Peter of Galliner, "subpreceptor".⁵⁶¹ The documents do not clarify the nature and responsibilities of this latter post. The subpreceptor may have been the executive officer of the very large commandery at that time, fulfilled a specific role in the house (such as coordinating the nearby commanderies and subcommanderies) or was, in fact, the *de facto* commander of one of the larger dependent houses in the area. The other 1199 document referred to "the commander of the house of Gardeny or Monzón", but did not name either of them.⁵⁶² This was not the last time that a single commander would run both houses.

Peter of Galliner also appeared with Bernard of Claret in January of 1200, as a preceptor and a *camerarius*. Peter was followed in the January document by "brother Ramon, preceptor of Corbins (*fratris Raimundi, preceptoris de Corbins*)" so perhaps Peter was one of the so-called "procurators" in charge of one of Gardeny's dependencies, and was subsequently redefined as the "subpreceptor" of Gardeny, the following year.⁵⁶³ On the other hand, Bernard of Claret and brother Peter of Sain Iberi were both listed as preceptors in two documents from December 1196,⁵⁶⁴ indicating that sharing the commandery was not a singular occurrence. In the previous year, between November 1195 and October 1196, four different preceptors were listed in turn. Yet, in August of that year, Bernard was listed as commander of Gardeny.⁵⁶⁵ In June of 1195, the preceptor of the house of Gardeny was identified as Peter of Cologne.⁵⁶⁶ In February of 1195, it was Bernard,⁵⁶⁷ as in November of the previous year⁵⁶⁸ but in October of 1194, he was identified as "the commander of the Militia, named Bernard of Claret",⁵⁶⁹ but was called "preceptor" in another document made in the same month.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, II: 748.

⁵⁶¹ "*Bernardo de Clareto, comendatori in Gardenio, et fratri Petro de Galiner, subpreceptor*"; Ibid, II: 750.

⁵⁶² "*Milicie comendator videlicet de Garden aut de Montesono*"; Ibid.

⁵⁶³ "*Fratris Bernardi de Clareto, Gardenii preceptoris... et Petri de Galiners, preceptoris et camerarii*"; Ibid, II: 744.

⁵⁶⁴ "*Fratri Bernardo de Clareto et fratri Petro de Sancto Tiberio, preceptoribus Domus Gardenii*"; Ibid, II: 683.

⁵⁶⁵ "*Bernard de Clareto, comendatore eo tempore de Garden*"; Ibid, II: 655.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid, II: 654.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, II: 646.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, II: 644.

⁵⁶⁹ "*Comendatorem Milicie nomine Bernardi de Clareto*"; Ibid, II: 643.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, II: 639.

He reappeared in charge of the house from 1203 to 1206 and again, as the head of both the Gardeny and the Monzón houses in 1215-16.⁵⁷¹ The 70 documents in which Bernard appears from 1167 to 1200 tell us that he had been in Lleida, possibly as a Temple brother, since 1167 when he witnessed an exchange of property and rent between Muslims.⁵⁷² He was definitely a brother by the time he appeared as a witness again in 1180.⁵⁷³ In March 1190, he succeeded brother Bezó as preceptor of the house in Gardeny.⁵⁷⁴

The confusion appears to have had nothing to do with there being two head offices in Gardeny. "Commander" and "Preceptor", as titles, never appeared together in reference to different individuals, though there might be two of the same title, at the same time. The same individuals were referred to by both offices, at various times, indicating that the two titles were interchangeable. However, there appeared to be a growing preference for the term "preceptor" over that of "commander" toward the beginning of the 13th century, possibly because of the growing prestige of the former title as the Temple grew and increased in organisational complexity. However, there is no indication, despite the similarities to Novillas' dual commanders, that the senior official in Gardeny had a provincial role as the Novillas master did. Nor do any of the preceptors/commanders appear to have been *confratres*, as occurred in both Novillas and Rourell. Gardeny, instead, was a well-staffed commandery with a well-defined hierarchy of brother officers.

In fact, by the time the Gardeny house was established, the Temple appears to have undergone a sea change in its treatment of *confratres*. Regulation number 68 in the *Rule*, which forbids the membership of married brethren, and its sequel, regulation 69, probably record this change. Though the Latin version of the *Rule* was the original, "primitive" rule of the Temple, not all of the statutes in it were the original ones from the Council of Troyes in 1129. Henri de Curzon, 19th century editor of the printed edition of the Latin and French versions of the *Rule*, uses regulation 68 as an example of a later addition.⁵⁷⁵ First, it anachronistically forbids sergeants and squires from wearing the white mantle (a uniform that does not predate the 1140s). Second, it complains about how "in

⁵⁷¹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 430.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, I: 171.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, I: 362.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II: 546, 549.

⁵⁷⁵ Henri de Curzon, ed., *La Règle du Temple [The Rule of the Temple]* (Paris: La Société de l'Histoire de France, 1886; reprint, 1977), iii-iv, 67-8, regs. 68-9.

the regions beyond the mountains (possibly Armenia) false brothers, married men and others who said they were brothers of the Temple used to be sworn in; while they were of the world.⁵⁷⁶ These false brethren, the regulation claims, brought "shame" (*contumelias/hontes*), "harm" (*dampna/damaiges*) and "scandals" (*scandala/escandles*) on the Order with their proud behaviour. That the main regulation on *confratres* and *consorores* (regulation 69) and the famous two prohibitions against women (regulations 70 and 71) immediately follow this is probably not a coincidence. The old and new roles of the *confratres* in the Order are deliberately juxtaposed, with the condemnatory language of regulation 68 justifying the disenfranchisement of the *confratres* in regulation 69. Novillas represented the old way of things, with *confratres* deeply involved in Temple affairs; Gardeny represented the new way, with fully-professed brethren dominating house administration.

However, adherence to this new way was not complete as of 1150, as the example of Rourell makes clear. The late 13th century Catalan version of the *Rule* reflects this late adoption in the Crown of Aragon as well. It lacks this regulation completely. Though the surviving copy is admittedly incomplete, regulation 70 is a much milder gloss on regulations 69, 70 and 71, indicating that 68 was not among the now-lost regulations, either. Moreover, regulation 32 of the *Catalan Rule* gives "worthy men, or religious, or clerics, or associates or friends of the house" (*aucuns prodomes, o religiós, o clers, o confreres, o amics de la maisó*) the right to report any infractions by brethren to the master of a house.⁵⁷⁷ Thus, even in the 13th century, the fully-professed brethren of Gardeny's highly-structured house administration were never completely above the power of house associates in the Crown of Aragon.

Bernard of Claret may have either become incapable of his office by 1200, or was perceived as such by his brethren. Yet, he returned to office for two extended periods in the early 13th century. Possibly, there was a power struggle within the house during the late 1190s, which Bernard won, equivocally, by a compromise of sharing the house leadership with another brother. Possibly, he had been charged with some serious infraction, though he would not have been able to hold the office at all after that. He may

⁵⁷⁶ J. M. Upton-Ward, trans. *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, vol. IV, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), 35-6, reg. 68; "*Surrexerunt namque in ultra montanis partibus quidam pseudo fratres et conjugati et alii dicentes se esse de Templo, cum sint de mundo*," Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, 67-8, reg. 68.

⁵⁷⁷ Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, 16-7, reg. 32.

even have been transferred to another house, like Guillem Ramon from Novillas to Douzens and Bernard's colleague Peter of Cologne from Gardeny to Miravet. It was common in many areas for Templar officers to be transferred every few years. It seems most likely, from the length of Bernard's career in the house of Gardeny, that he had either fallen ill or left Gardeny to take over another commandery. As Bernard first appears in the Gardeny documents in 1167, and was likely a brother then, he had been a Templar for at least 33 years by 1200. Since the Temple tended to accept only adults,⁵⁷⁸ Bernard was probably in his fifties or sixties by the time he came to share his position. He could easily have been too ill or infirm to fully exercise his duties. If this were so, however, he must have recovered sufficiently to reclaim office. He had also been preceptor for five years before the shuffling of preceptors began, so it seems unlikely that he was being challenged due to incompetence. As for a possible criminal charge, aside from the unlikelihood of his keeping the office at all, afterwards, he had been in the harness of the *Rule* so long that it seems very unlikely that he would have waited so long to break it. He was probably at the end of his life during his last tenure in 1216, having served the Temple in Gardeny for as long as 48 years. He may well have died in office.

The commandery of Gardeny was even more closely linked to Monzón than to Tortosa, so closely that the two houses shared one commander on three separate occasions: 1200, 1205 and 1215.⁵⁷⁹ Not only did Gardeny share commanders from time to time, but from 1302 until 1307, it had no commander at all, and was run by the commander from Corbins. For such a large and influential house, this seems strangely haphazard. It may reflect strong political competition within the house, or perhaps reflects more Miret y Sans' theory that Gardeny, Corbins and Barbens were equal in status and power.⁵⁸⁰

This theory is supported by the variety of the lesser officials of the house. A *camerarius* (chamberlain), Arnald of Cerritania, the official responsible for running the house, appeared as a witness in a document from around 1199, as did brother Ponç the *dapifer* (seneschal).⁵⁸¹ The more prestigious office of procurator, an official responsible

⁵⁷⁸ Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 214-5.

⁵⁷⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 430-1.

⁵⁸⁰ Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 6.

⁵⁸¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 736.

for arranging provisions for the house, was often a route to higher office in the Order, especially in Gardeny where some of the smaller commanderies in the area may have been run by procurators. The procurator always appeared high up in the list of Temple officials in documents. Some procurators went on to high office. Arnald of Torroja, for example, later became both master of the province of Hispania and Grand Master of the Order.⁵⁸² However, one should view the use of the term "procurator" with caution. Sometimes, "procurator" was used as an inaccurate synonym for "provincial master", as it was early on in Tortosa. Arnald of Torroja was listed as provincial master in a document a year after being identified as "procurator" in 1169.⁵⁸³

Temple chaplains also appeared high up in officials lists, such as in a document from 1165.⁵⁸⁴ Since chaplains were recruited from the secular clergy, and were not, strictly speaking, fully professed brethren, it is unlikely that the office provided much advancement for those who held it, despite being an important one in the convent.

Documents

What we know of the organisation of the Templar possessions around Lleida is much vaguer than what we know for Tortosa. However, there are, in fact, more surviving documents in print for Gardeny than for Tortosa, proper. Sarobe i Huesca includes 751 documents over a 130-year period between 1070 and 1200. 733 of these documents cover the 51-year period between 1149 and 1200. This gives a better picture of the Temple's economic activity in the city during the house's foundation, as well as its economic interactions with non-Christians, for this period than it does in other areas. The earlier documents (18 in all) are instructive, as well. They are mainly agreements among Christian lords over how they would divide up Lleida once they conquered it. These documents illustrate the hope which the Christians continually saw snatched from them, every time they came within sight of Lleida for the 80 years before the city fell in 1149. 61 (8%) of these documents relate to, or mention, Muslims, 25 (3%) Jews and 3 (less than 1%) Mozarabs. The Muslim presence dominates non-Christian references in

⁵⁸² Ibid, I:207, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 14, fol. 14; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 109, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 10; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 370-1; John C. Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000-1230* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 120.

⁵⁸³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 211, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 100, fol. 45v; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 215 and 224-5.

⁵⁸⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 147, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 104, fol. 47; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 100; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 201 and 215.

Temple documents from Gardeny.

The number of documents for Gardeny in the second half of the 12th century is so much greater than other areas that we may have a reasonably complete record of Templar economic activity in Lleida for that period. Sarobe i Huesca's collection includes an average number of 14.4 documents for each year between 1149 and 1200. To give a comparison with the next two largest (and most complete) collections, this is 4.5 times the number of Templar documents recorded in the same period in Pagarolas and Virgili's collections for Tortosa and 4.2 times the number of documents recorded by Lapeña Paul for Novillas between 1128 and 1189 (a 51-year period).

The Cartulary of Gardeny and Barbens (common title, "The Cartulary of Gardeny"), consists of 11 folios of 12th century documents. It was compiled by the Hospital in the early 14th century and is incomplete, cutting off in the middle of document number 265. What survives is a copy, made in 1692 on the order of then commander of the Hospital in Lleida, *Feliciano Sayol*.⁵⁸⁵ Most of the documents are written in Latin laced with Catalan words and phrases. The cartulary is prefaced by a list of summaries of the documents in Catalan and a forward explaining the provenance of the 1692 copy.

Sarobe i Huesca includes all of the cartulary in his collection of 751 Templar documents from the 12th century, *Collecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200*. This is the largest published Templar collection for one convent in Spain. It appears to be comprehensive for its period of coverage (before 1201), and includes 21 agreements (several of them *convenientiae*) between the Counts of Barcelona and their vassals concerning the disposition of the city before its conquest. These date between 1070 and March 1149 and show how long, arduous and frustrating the Christians found the campaign against Lleida.

Status of Royal and Templar Muslims in Lleida

Sarobe i Huesca's collection begins with the agreement finalised at Girona between the Temple, Ramon Berenguer IV and the nobility in 1143.⁵⁸⁶ In it, Ramon Berenguer

⁵⁸⁵ The cartulary, itself, is written in one column for each page, in clear, black ink on white paper in a shorthand script which Miret y Sans describes as "in transition from Romanesque to Gothic". There are also red flourishes at the beginning of documents and summaries in Catalan on the margins; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 5-7.

⁵⁸⁶ Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 9, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 7, fols. 8-9; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, doc. 314, Sans i Travé, *Collecció Diplomàtica...*, doc. 35; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 28 and 170; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 21-24; Sans i Travé, *El procés...*, 90-2.

reiterated the treaty which he had made with the Templars for their part in allowing his abrogation of Alfonso the Battler's will. This document clarified Ramon Berenguer's attitude toward captured Muslims early on. The Templars, having such a strong interest in the conditions of the agreement, may have influenced his tolerance. The example of Novillas shows that they were already leaning in the direction of concessions and agricultural exploitation rather than expulsion by this period.

Ramon Berenguer made critical concessions in the document to the Templars regarding subject Muslims. In addition to the fifth of all booty (with the exception of *lezda*, *usatje* and *peatje*), the castles of Monzón, Montgai, Xalamera, Barberà and Remolins, as well as the *honor* of Llop Sanxis of Belxit (probably Belchite) and all that was held by the castle of Corbins before the conquest, he conceded the Templar right of participation in all treaties with the Muslims. The ethnic language of the document is varied, using both the term *saraceni* (in reference to the fifth of booty) and *mauri* (in reference to making treaties). As in Tortosa, *saraceni* appears to mean Muslims subject to Latin rule (what would later be called *mudejars*) and *mauri* refers to free Muslims from the south. However, this distinction is less fixed at Lleida than at Tortosa, perhaps due to the violent nature of Lleida's conquest.

In 1146, at Huesca, Ramon Berenguer reconfirmed all of the previous rights, privileges and possessions which he had granted to the Temple concerning the Muslims (this time called *saraceni* throughout), forbidding anyone else to take them for his own. The main significance of this document is that it confirmed the Temple's possession of Muslims, whom the King would otherwise count as his subjects. Because of Alfonso's will, the Temple and the King now shared almost equal control (at least in theory) over the non-Christians in the Crown of Aragon. This promise also included people as possessions--*servitores*--though whether this meant serfs, Templar servant brothers (*fratres servitores*) or slaves is not made clear in the document.⁵⁸⁷ The confusion is compounded by the use of *servus* in some Temple documents to refer to high-ranking Temple officials.⁵⁸⁸ This use appears to be similar to the concept of the Muslim submitting himself to God (i.e. such as in names like "Abdullah", derived from "abd

Allah"--"slave of Allah"). Medieval Christians felt a similar relationship to God. Perhaps,

⁵⁸⁷ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 12, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 33, fol. 23; AHN Cartoral del Temple doc. 365, fol. 104v, Cartoral Magne...d'Amposta doc. 184, fol. 87; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, doc. 415; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 50, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 150, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 119, fols. 51v-52; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 142.

when life was harsh, submission to fate, to God, seemed to be the only answer.

Non-Christian Communities in Unequal Transactions

The property structure and nature of transactions in the documents reflect replacements of a previous Muslim landowning class. The Muslims serviced a network of mills on the Segrià that the Temple controlled from the conquest period onward. This activity (and the structures which the Temple used) dated from Muslim times. In a document from 1152, Ramon Martí and Guillem Conill took over a house in Segrià which had belonged to "that Moor (*mauro*) *Esderofe*", for the purpose of building mills.⁵⁸⁹ The town of Almudafer was also noted for its mills, as shown in an early document, from 1147, when Count Ermengol VI of Urgell, "for the redemption of my sins and those of my parents" (*pro peccatorum meorum omniumque parentum meorum remissione*), a common reason given for donation, gave to brother Peter of Rovira, master of the Temple in Provence and Spain, a space near the city of Balaguer by the banks of the mills of Almudafer, for the building of a millhouse.⁵⁹⁰ The Temple received another complex mill franchise in the area in 1151, when Berenguer of Balaguer gave "to God and to the Militia of the Temple of Jerusalem and all of its brothers who are in that house of the aforesaid Temple" (*concedo Dominus Deo et Milicie Templi Iherosolimitani et omnibus fratribus quos in eadem domo supradicti Templi*), another common formula in the document for donations, one threshing house which Berenguer held in the *terme* of the city of Balaguer, along with a vineyard and all its trees, both fruit-bearing and not. This threshing house bordered on one side the thresher of Girbert, on another the river *Sigor* (probably Segrià), on the third mills from Almudafar and on the fourth the (public) road. One of the witnesses was named *Altimir*, possibly a Muslim name, though his religion is unspecified in the document and he was more likely a southern Frank.⁵⁹¹

Another document from 1160 mentioned a Templar threshing house in Fontanet, (apparently a section of Temple land under Gardeny on the Segrià), near which Peter of Cartellà, master of the house in Gardeny, "with the counsel of the brothers of our house" (*cum consilio fratribus domus nostra*), gave an *ortus* to *Abraim*, a Jew, and *Iacob*, his

⁵⁸⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 47; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 90.

⁵⁹⁰ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 15, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 159, fols. 61-2; D'Albon, *Cartulaire général...*, doc. 475; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 12; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 54.

⁵⁹¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 32; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 92.

brother, who were sons of *Salema Avinchelel*. *Abraim* and *Iacob* received the right to pass on this property to their heirs.⁵⁹² According to the document, and the one from 1151, there was more than one threshing house in the same area, with two or three bordering each other. This indicates a tendency of the industry in the area to group threshing floors or houses together in the same mill complex.

In 1149, the King permanently gave to *Arnallo* (Arnald) of Torroja a house, its holdings and *hereditates*, in fields and vineyards, *ortis et ortalibus* (essentially, cultivated garden plots), lands cultivated and *heremis* (uncultivated), free and clear, that had once belonged to the Muslim (*saracenus*) *Ali*, son of *Aben Calbo*, from Tortosa.⁵⁹³ In 1153, Arnald of Torroja gave all of this property of *Alis* to the Templars.⁵⁹⁴ Later, shortly before he entered the Temple, he donated another vineyard in the *Pardinyes*, an area in northeastern Lleida which belonged to the Temple from 1154 onward.⁵⁹⁵ Arnald's vineyard had been the *hereditas* of *Frafon*, a Muslim.⁵⁹⁶ Clearly, Arnald had profited from the Muslim expulsion following the conquest, and had made much of his investment in vineyards and other intensive cultivation. It is unlikely, therefore, that he would have promoted any friendly interactions with non-Christians in his subsequent roles as provincial and Grand Master unless he had felt it profited the Temple more than their expulsion. He was still negotiating his land deals after joining the Temple. In 1164, he confirmed various *honorés* to the Temple "for the love of God and the Virgin and for the salvation of my soul and that of my brothers and parents" (*donativum pro amore Dei et beate Marie eiusdem matris et pro redemptione anime mee et animabus patris et matris mee et omnium parentum meorum*)" into the hands of Peter of Rovira, whom the document names as provincial master of Spain at the time.⁵⁹⁷ One *hereditas*, which Arnald had received from Ramon Berenguer IV, had belonged to a Muslim named *Ali Abengalbon*. Arnald also confirmed the donation of the vineyard in the *Pardinyes*, which was irrigated (*brazali de aqua*). This may have been the same vineyard as the one

⁵⁹² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 101, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 90, fol. 42; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 20.

⁵⁹³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 21, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 171, fol. 68; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8.

⁵⁹⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 53, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 163, fol. 66.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, I: 58, p.54-5.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I: 113, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 170, fol. 69; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 55; Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, 112.

⁵⁹⁷ Forey lists Peter as provincial master only up until 1158 and Hugh Geoffrey as provincial master in 1164; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 420.

donated in 1153, as the document stated that it had belonged to "Farfou" (probably the same man as "Frafon," whose lands Arnald acquired in 1153), in the *terminum* of Lleida in the time of the Muslims (*in tempori sarrazenorum*).⁵⁹⁸

In 1160, a Peter Mascaron (possibly a Mozarab) made an unspecified complaint concerning the vines which were near a *brazale* (irrigation channel) in Arenya.⁵⁹⁹ In this same document, the Temple retained two *almunias* (farms), Alfaquim and Avingazel, which had been fortified towns in the days of the *taifa*.⁶⁰⁰ Also in 1160, Arbert of Castellet sold to Gerald of Jorba, for 270 morabetinos, an *honor* and *hereditas* within Lleida and in its limits (*terminis*) which had belonged to *Avin Socona*, including land irrigated and dry, houses, *orti*, farms, lands, vineyards cultivated and uncultivated (*heremis*) and all the benefices that existed there, as well as one tower which was within Lleida and *Castellum de Asinis* (Castelldans). He had received the *honor* mostly as a gift from the King (as the Count of Barcelona).⁶⁰¹

The heavily fortified nature of the late *taifa* (and early Christian) infrastructure around Lleida becomes clear from documents like these. That all the mentioned properties eventually came back to the King as overall feudal lord also diluted the theoretical partnership that the Templars had with him in the Crown. On the other hand, such donations could reflect how the Temple considerably expanded its original fifth at the expense of the King's other vassals, as well as the Muslims.

Temple associates could make considerable contributions to the Temple's wealth. In 1177, Ramon of Mulnells, a knight, willed to the house (*Mansionem*) of the Temple one vineyard which his brother Berenguer had given to him and had received from the Count of Barcelona. On the west side, this property bordered on the Count's own vineyard, so this was prime property. Ramon also gave the Temple his best horse.⁶⁰²

In 1180, *Constantinus* of Tolosa (another knight) joined the Order as a *confrater* so that he could be buried in the Temple's cemetery. He willed the Templars, at the time of his death, a horse with arms both wooden and iron (*ligneis ac ferreis*). If he did not have this on his death, he would give 100 morabetinos for these possession to the aforesaid

⁵⁹⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 130, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 158, fols. 64v-65; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 104; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 55.

⁵⁹⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 94, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 8, fols. 9v-11; Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones...", 77-9, doc. IV; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 72, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 15.

⁶⁰⁰ Bolòs, "Changes and survival," 313-329.

⁶⁰¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 96, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 188, fol. 74 [document has date of April 25, 1170].

⁶⁰² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 309, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 46, fol. 27v-28.

Militia. We see the same formula in the *confratres* lists from Novillas in the same period. *Constantinus* and his wife *Maria*, for the remedy of their souls and their parents' souls and of all the dead faithful (*omnium fidelium defunctorum*) also conceded to the Temple and the aforesaid brothers, servants of God (*et fratribus eidem Deo servientibus*) a field in the *termino* of Lleida, in Vallcalent, which yielded an annual *cens* of 39 sous and 3 dinars. It had its own ditch (*cequia*) which ran to the plain of Palomera. On two sides the land bordered the "lands of a Muslim (*moro*)" called *Xhalon*, and one called *Abdela*. *Constantinus* and his wife also gave a vineyard in the *termino* of Corbins, in its entirety.⁶⁰³

New cultivation was going on, as well, which seemed to follow the old agricultural infrastructure, even to the point of planting the same crops in the same patterns. One can see this in the frequency with which the old Muslim irrigation system appeared in land transactions. In 1175, for example, Ramon of Anglesola and his wife *Saurina* gave to Bernard of Pi and *Ermesenda* his wife and to *Bonsolaç* and his wife, also named *Ermesenda*, one piece of land for planting a vineyard in the *orta* of Balaguer at the *heras* (threshing floor) of Avingalin. This land bordered on the east in the *Sicora* (Segrià) River and on the west in one of the old Muslim irrigation ditches. The buyers also acquired an option to plant olive trees there.⁶⁰⁴ The old irrigation ditch system improved the value of the land in these transactions. This indicates that the Christians continued to use the system in Lleida at least to the end of the 12th century.⁶⁰⁵

Nor was this new cultivation retained exclusively in Christian hands, or even given only to Jews. In 1165, Aimeric of Torrelles, Commander of the house of Gardeny, "pauper and serf in the Militia of the Temple" (*pauper et servus Militie Templi*), with the counsel and wish of his brothers (some of them named⁶⁰⁶) gave to *Moferriz Azoraved*, a Muslim, and his children (*infantibus*) a vineyard which the brothers had "under Gardeny" (*subtus Gardenum*). This may have been in the section to the east of Gardeny, which now contains the *Carrer des Templers*, rather than the section to the south, since no

⁶⁰³ Ibid, I: 356, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 207, fols. 82v-83.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid, I: 265.

⁶⁰⁵ There is considerable debate over how much continuity in cultivation, land tenancy and mill ownership there was in the Crown of Aragon; Thomas F. Glick, "Reading the *Repartimientos*: Modeling Settlement in the Wake of Conquest," in *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, eds. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999): 20-39.

⁶⁰⁶ These formulae indicate that the administration of the Temple properties required at least a fictional recognition of democratic rule and assent by all the brothers regarding convent financial transactions; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 150, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 119, fols. 51v-52; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 142.

mention is made of the Segrià, whose banks the property would have bordered. This property was in a collective vineyard, bordering on the section of *Guilelmus Jordan* on one side, and on another part in the plot of *Carbon*, on a third part in a gully/stream (*torrente*), and in the fourth part on the public road. These last two borders were very important to the Temple, as they provided access to both irrigation and transport. The Temple was also making *Moferriz* the neighbour of two Christians, indicating that in Lleida, as in Tortosa, segregation in terms of agricultural labour did not exist (unless, of course, both *Guilelmus* and *Carbon* were employing exarics to work their vineyards). Even so, they had to share responsibilities for the land with *Moferriz* to a certain extent. *Moferriz* signed as the son of *Baisir* and immediately after him came *Aiza*, son of a shepherd ("*filii pastori*"). An *Eneg Sanz* also appeared, though whether he was any of the *Enneco Sanz*'s who appear in the Novillas and Tortosa documents of this period is unclear.⁶⁰⁷

A *Moferriz*, possibly the same man, is mentioned in 1169 as holding an *honor* from the count of Palariens, in the Pardinyes of Lleida, near a vineyard held by Arnald of Gamisa.⁶⁰⁸ In 1190, *Aixa*, wife of *Moferriz Azorabet*, *Maria*, her sister and *Mafoimet* of Huesca, her (*Maria*'s) husband sold to Isarn of Tolosa and his brother *Ponç* three parts of what may have been the same property, a vineyard and land with a *cens* of 18 dinars in Pardinyes, for 152 Jacan sous. *Moferriz* was likely dead at this point, since he does not appear in the document. It is possible, however, that this was his wife's family's property, in which he was not involved, and even that this was not the same *Moferriz*.⁶⁰⁹ Once again, as in Tortosa, we see Muslim women coming to the fore in documents and taking charge of their own property.

Christian women also had a hand in property management. In 1193, Ramon Farragut of Calatarrà and Guillem of Carcassone arbitrated in the dispute between *Raimundulus*, son of Guillem of Stais and his sister *Ferraria* concerning all the *honor* which they had in the city of Lleida and in its *terminis*. Ramon had two parts of a vineyard in Valcaent, which bordered the land of *Abraim de Milicia* (probably the same Temple Jew as *Abraym Cavalleria*), and *Ferraria* had the third part. This vineyard was well-cultivated and valuable; two irrigation ditches came with it. *Raimundulus* and his sister shared the

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 197.

⁶⁰⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 557; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 143, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 26.

houses that they had in Lleida, and in the parish of Saint John, with *Raimundulus* getting half and *Ferraria* getting the ground floor and all entrances and exits.⁶¹⁰

Around 1199, *Afomar Amagar* (by his name a Muslim) and his wife *Mariem* sold to Bernard of Ribera and his wife *Nalda* one of their vineyards with land which they had under Gardeny near royal land ("*subtus Garden apud roial*", as this lucrative area appears once again). They sold the property for 28 Jacan sous and two and a half sous of entrance, to pay for their (Bernard and *Nalda's*) sins (*et bene vestros peccatos sumus*). *Afomar* and *Mariem* were both associates of the Temple but not tenants, as they held this vineyard from the brothers of the house of Gardeny and sold it with their permission. This stipulation frequently appeared in land transaction agreements involving the payment of rent. Despite this, it was not strictly a rental situation, since *Afomar* and his wife could alienate the land. No irrigation ditches were mentioned, which indicates that the property was perhaps less valuable than *Raimundulus* and *Ferarria's*. But it did have a border on the road to Valcaient and included all borders and pertinences with entrances and exits and all improvements which *Afomar* and *Mariem* had made. Two of the witnesses were *lucef* and *Ali*, sons of *Afomar* and his wife. Perhaps, as this was part of their patrimony, their assent was desired, if not strictly required. Brother Bernard of Claret, then preceptor of the house of Gardeny, brother Arnald of Cerritania, the *camerarius* of the house, brother *Ponç* the *dapifer* and brother Peter of Pradell, the chaplain, also signed the charter, confirming their approval of the exchange. Thirty sous was a comfortable sum, though not a large one, for a sale of intensively cultivated property. Significantly, *Afomar's* partner in the sale was his wife, and not either of his sons.⁶¹¹ The number of officers named in the document also indicated the importance of the alienation to the Temple. Perhaps it made the brothers uneasy for their tenants/associates, Muslim or Christian, to alienate Temple property in this way. But it was not an uncommon occurrence, either.

In 1184, for example, Guillem of Moissac sold a vineyard to Peter of Leganyana with houses that he held in *cens* from "the brothers of the Militia under the castle of Gardeny" (*fratris Militie subtus illud castrum de Garden*), presumably in the same area. In the same document, Guillem acknowledged that he also received a *cens* from *Abraym de Cavalleria*, in the festival of All Saints for a vineyard which *Abraym* rented from Guillem

⁶¹⁰ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 616.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, II: 736.

at the cemetery (*fossa*) of the Jews within the city.⁶¹² *Abraym's* second name, "*de Cavalleria*", indicates that he was, or his ancestor had been, a man of the Temple. "*Cavalleria*", like "*Militie*", was a common nickname for the Temple.

The Temple also held vineyards in other towns. Some it rented out. In Balaguer, for example, *Gilelmus Grano* held a vineyard through the house of the Temple, in 1171.⁶¹³ The Gardeny documents give a better indication of the relationships between the Temple house and the non-Christians in Lleida than the Tortosan documents do for their district. Here, it is clear that some of the non-Christians (i.e. *Moferriz* and *Afomar*) were associates of the Temple, with rights similar to those of Christian associates, able to make substantive land transactions and accrue wealth with the Temple's blessing. It also seems clear that most of their actual lands (which they rented from the Temple) in Lleida itself, were in the narrow space between the hill of Gardeny and the Segrià, called "Fontanet". The Templars confirmed their complete ownership of this area, along with Gardeny, Remolins, Pardiniyes (an area just to the east of the city) and the mills along the Segrià, in their accord with the Bishop of Lleida in 1154.⁶¹⁴

Fontanet may have been a popular area for vineyard cultivation by the Jewish inhabitants of Lleida. Or perhaps only the Jewish vassals of the Temple cultivated there, near its mill. In 1186, *Deus Aiuda*, a *carnicerius*, and his wife *Peretas* sold to Guillem of Huesca a vineyard with land in Fontanet for 18 sous in Jacan dinars. This property, in addition to bordering on the River Segrià and the public road, also bordered on the vineyard of *Aborrabe* (also *Aborrade*), a Jew.⁶¹⁵ The same *Aborrabe* had appeared in another transaction involving Guillem of Huesca, in 1182, with the brothers Bertran Català, Guillem Català and Bernat Català, as his property also bordered on their fifth of a vineyard.⁶¹⁶ According to Sarobe i Huesca, the Català brothers (who were not from Lleida) had a great deal of property in Pardiniyes during this period, as well.⁶¹⁷

The rules of Muslim and Jewish relations were not the same in Lleida as in Tortosa. The documents show the groups as being about equal in status in Lleida, though the Jewish quarter seems to have been more secure than that of the Muslims. Also, the

⁶¹² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 443, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 242, fol. 110 [dated May 6, 1183].

⁶¹³ *Ibid*, I: 220, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 141, fols. 58v-59; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral....*, 102.

⁶¹⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 58.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, II: 492.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid*, II: 502.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid*, I: p.53-4.

Tortosan prohibition against allowing Jews to hold Muslims as slaves (or serfs) did not apply in Lleida.⁶¹⁸ In 1182, Berenguer, Bishop of Lleida conceded the sale, made by *Arnald Ruffaca* to the brothers of the Militia of the Temple, of a field in Fontanet and the sale of a vineyard to the Church of Lleida. The vineyard had irrigation ditches (*brazals*) on two sides and also bordered on the land of a certain Jew who had a Muslim (*moro*) exaric (or possibly a slave) named *Moferet* working there.

Mozarabs appear in the Lleidan documents, but are difficult to identify. A *Pere Moçaravi* and his wife held land "under Gardeny" (*una terra subtus Garden*) in 1165.⁶¹⁹ A more ambiguous individual, *Petri Mosterau*, appears in a document as a witness in 1157.⁶²⁰ Possibly the same man appeared again as a witness in 1160, as "*Petri Mascharon*". He made a complaint concerning some vines in Arenya.⁶²¹ These were propertied men, but they neither appeared as a large force in the documents (as in Tortosa), nor as beneficiaries of any of the abandoned Muslim property. As elsewhere, the Mozarabs of Lleida seem to have been quickly absorbed into the population of Christian settlers from the north.

Types of Properties and Their Redistribution

As in Tortosa, many Muslims fled Lleida during, or immediately after the conquest. Unlike Tortosa, most of the properties in Lleida that were initially redistributed were houses. In 1149, Ramon Berenguer IV gave to Arbert of Castelet houses in Lleida that had belonged to *Avincohono Alfachi*.⁶²² In the same year, he gave to Ramon of Vilademuls all of the houses, holdings and pertinences in Lleida which had belonged to *Aben Hahau*⁶²³ and to Ramon of Anglesola some houses with their *hereditates* which had belonged to *Aicifona*.⁶²⁴ In 1150, he gave to a lay brother *Mestre* and his wife *Maria*

⁶¹⁸ Ibid, II: 413.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, I: 147, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 104, fol. 47; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 100; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 201 and 215.

⁶²⁰ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 76, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 74, fol. 37; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 76-7; Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [originally 1961, trans. from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman]), 21.

⁶²¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 94, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 8, fols. 9v-11; Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones...", 77-9, doc. IV; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 72, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 15.

⁶²² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 23, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 189, fols. 74v-75; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8-9.

⁶²³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 24, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 53, fol. 30; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 9.

⁶²⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 25; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 67.

the houses in Lleida which had belonged to a Muslim (*moro*) named *Aisam*. These were in front of the gate leading to Corbins.⁶²⁵ To Ramon of Castellar, the King gave the houses in Lleida belonging to *Avigalifa*.⁶²⁶ In 1152, he gave to Guillem of Sadaó, for his services to the Count, those houses and *hereditates* in Ascó which had belonged to *Ali Abymazit*.⁶²⁷ These properties generally appeared in the Temple documents because the Temple was involved in the transaction in some way. Either those involved were Temple men, or some of the witnesses or arbitrators were Temple brethren. But more important was that the properties later came into Temple hands. Having a history of the property was critical during this period, when the provenance of documentation and property ownership was uncertain and based on memory. The documents indicate an almost religious dependence upon the reliability of written records.

In 1153, the nature of the properties being redistributed began to change to agricultural plots, such as two pieces of land in Fontanet, "among the lands of the Militia" (*inter terras Militie*), which Gombald of Ribelles and his wife *Marchesa* had received from the Count of Urgell, and sold to Peter of Rovira, then provincial master. This property had been an *hereditas* of a Muslim (*saracenus*) called *Portel*. Gombald and *Marchesa* sold it for 50 morabetinos.⁶²⁸ Probably, the Temple was already increasing its sphere of influence beyond the city proper as the Christians consolidated their hold on the area.

Disputes over land began early. In 1153, Guillem of Partanai gave "to the Lord God and to the soldiers of the Temple one field in Fontanet that had belonged to the Muslim *Avinaçalon*" (*dono Domino Deo et militibus Templi unum campum (qui fuit de) de Avinaçalon*) in exchange for three morabetinos. The field produced eight *fanecas* of seed (*octo fanechas semenadura*) but was held in litigation at the time.⁶²⁹ The legal difficulties might explain the low price. Apparently, the Temple was so anxious to acquire land in Fontanet that it was willing to take on even properties with problematical ownership.

⁶²⁵ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 27; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 9.

⁶²⁶ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 29, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 217, fol. 88; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8.

⁶²⁷ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 38, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 124, fol. 53v; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 9; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 24.

⁶²⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 50, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 17, fol. 15v; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 57 and 200.

⁶²⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 52, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 31, fol. 22v; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 76.

Non-Christian officials in Lleida

The Muslim officials of Lleida, where mentioned, appear to have been similar to those in Tortosa, with one or two exceptions. An 1154 document mentions the former *alcaid* (governor) of Lleida, *Huabala*.⁶³⁰ In 1176, the *alcaid* (now only the head of the *aljama*) was named *Mafomed*. This same document also mentioned *Obaquer lo cantareler* (a Muslim guild official specific to Lleida) and an *alfachim* (an *aljama* legal officer equivalent to a *scribanus*) of Barcelona, who held land in Lleida.⁶³¹ What he was doing as a Muslim legal officer in Barcelona is unknown since there was no *morería* there. Another *alfachim*, the previously mentioned *Avincohono Alfachi*, fled immediately after the conquest.⁶³²

The office of *cantareler* had a presence in Temple documents, indicating connections between Muslim guilds and the Temple in Lleida. It appeared again in a document from 1177 which mentioned a certain *lucef* (whom Sarobe i Huesca identifies as a Muslim), son of *Alcantareler*. It also mentioned *Abdela* and *Emina*, *lucef's* brother and sister. The document does not make clear whether the siblings were the children of *Obaquer* or not. It is possible that the office of *cantareler* was a temporary, even annual, post. Perhaps *Obaquer* had recently died or lost it.

The possibility that *Obaquer* had lost his post, rather than dying, is reinforced by a document from 1189. In it the *alfachim* (never named), representative (*profectus*) of the Lord King, on the part of the King, the Count of Urgell, Ramon of Montcada and Guillem of Cervera, sold to *Jacob Abinchinellos* the Lleidan houses belonging to the sons of *Galla*. These houses were in the *morería* (*barrio sarracenorum*) and sold for 250 sous in Jacan dinars. This property bordered the workers (*operatoribus*) of Bernard of Caldas on one side, on the other in the entrance to the house of *Aiza Abazno*, on the third in the houses of *Exembello* and on the fourth in the street. The king received a third of the price of other of the Muslim houses (*domibus sarracenorum*) in Lleida in this way. The sale was partly for *Jacob's* sins (*et integritate vestri peccati fuerunt--"and they were for the integrity of your sins"*).⁶³³ This is the second time that this strange condition regarding the

⁶³⁰ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 59; Antoni Virgili, ed., *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1193)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997), doc. 44.

⁶³¹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 302, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 110, fol. 49; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 142-3, Cartoral 18.

⁶³² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 23, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 189, fols. 74v-75; Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 8-9.

⁶³³ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 538; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 143; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 41-3.

state of a non-Christian Temple associate's soul appears in Templar documents.

The odd statement, usually given as a reason for Christians buying land from Muslims,⁶³⁴ is also occasionally used as a reason for the transfer of land to non-Christians as well. Whether this formula was put in by the Christian scribe, at the request of the Templars or reflected the wish of *Jacob* is, as always in these cases, not specified. As in the case of the redeemed slave, Mafomet from Tortosa, this is a common formula for Christians that is counterintuitive for non-Christians. What are its origins and what is its meaning and intent regarding non-Christians? Is the scribe casually putting it in as part of the standard formulae for a sale involving a religious order as one of the parties, not heeding the intent? The scribes' formula appears in two similar, but not identical, phrases. Similar formulae also appear in documents related to Christians. This is more than a simple grammatical mistake. It seems deliberate.

It also is too early for the concern that writers like Ramon Llull showed for the state of Jews' and Muslims' souls. Previous to the Albigensian Crusade, the Church in Spain did not publicly perceive non-Christians as heretics.⁶³⁵ Even later, in the 13th century, the Templars shared no interest in the state of their non-Christian associates' souls, save for these occasional formulae. However the Templars did frequently show concern for some of their non-Christians' physical and financial integrity, though this was tempered by practical considerations, of course. The nature of the documents precluded sentiment. The formulae may be a spiritual reflection of the brethren's more practical concerns. Finally, it may reflect defensiveness by the brethren about the Templars' known lack of interest in converting their non-Christian tenants and slaves. By putting in such formulae, the Templars could establish a precedent of concern for their non-Christian associates' souls, even if this never translated into action like proselytisation or conversion. Thus, they could stave off accusations of cultural assimilation, apostasy or even collaboration with Muslim interests.

The *alfachim* made his transaction with the authority of the aforesaid lords "for the many debts" (*multa debita*) which the sons of *Galla--Obachar, lucef* and *Maomad--* owed to *Jacob*. Somehow, because of the debt to him, *Jacob* had offended the *alfachim* and continued in his "instruments" (*strumentis*), debts and pledge. Three Christian *baillis* of the count were witnesses, indicating the power and importance of the

⁶³⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 557; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 143, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 26; and Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 650.

⁶³⁵ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 58-60.

alfachim. The *alfachim* also signed the document, as did *Profet ben Benveniste*. This last signature was originally in Hebrew, indicating that both *Profet* and the *alfachim* were Jewish. The *alfachim* appears to have been one of those Jewish officials of the King mentioned by Robert Burns, who was using his influence with the King and other Christian lords to exact revenge against both a Jewish rival and the man's Muslim debtors, including the unfortunate *Obaquer*.⁶³⁶ The likelihood of his being Jewish is supported further by the signature of two more Jewish witnesses, *Jafie*, son of *Davit* of Monzón and *Iuda*. *Jacob* appears to have been Jewish himself. Though "Jacob" could be a Christian name, in this case, *Jacob's* second name, *Abinchinellos*, was definitely Arabic. Though Muslims had Arabic names as well, "Jacob" never appeared as a Muslim name in the documents studied. Thus, he was most likely Jewish.

The Muslim Aljama

Another source of contention between the three religions was the *morería* of Lleida, whose borders were far more porous than those of its counterpart in Tortosa. In Lleida, this erosion began in 1174, when Arnald of Torroja, then "*ministro*" (provincial master) of the House of the Temple, Aimeric, commander of Gardeny, and Bernard of Cornellà, another influential Templar brother--probably a *prodhom*--gave to Peter Moliner, "the Miller", some houses near the cellar which the Templars held in the *morería* (*villam serrazenorum*) toward Gardeny in the city of Lleida, for one morabetino *Lupinus* in *cens* (a fairly standard rent price). Peter had to pay the rent each year at Easter. This house bordered the Templars' *curtale* (corral) and the entrance to their cellar on one side, the houses of *Bernat Malferid* and *Berenguer Malferid* (probably his brother) on the other, a wall on the reverse side, indicating that it was on the inside wall of the *morería*, and on a fourth side the public road. This property included both entrances and exits. Peter also gave to *Berenger Malferid* houses which he had accepted, or seized, from the Jewish prefect (*acaptavi eas de prefecto hebreo*), though the document did not specify whether these houses were inside the *morería*.⁶³⁷

The following day (August 6), Arnald, Aimeric and Bernard of Cornellà also gave to

Guilelmus of Tordera some houses near the Temple cellar in the *morería* (*villa*

⁶³⁶ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 221-2, 253-4.

⁶³⁷ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 251, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 80, fols. 38v-39; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 139, Miret y Sans, *Cartoral...*, 17-18; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 43.

serracenorum) next to the far gate of Gardeny, for two morabetinos *Lupis in cens*. *Guilelmus* would owe this to the Temple annually at Easter for all time. These bordered the houses which *Bernat* and *Berenger Malferid* held on one side, Peter of Belvis' on the other, a wall on the reverse side (probably the *morería's* again) and on the fourth side the public road. *Bernat Malferid* was one of the witnesses.⁶³⁸ It was common to have neighbours who were Templar witnesses in these transactions. Thus, their required consent was implied as much as the unnamed brethren's in documents. On August 2, *Prophed* of Girona [identified by Sarobe as a Jew] sold to Aimeric and Bernard of Cornellà the houses with corrals (*casales et curtalem*) next to their cellar, in exchange for 13 morabetinos *Lupis*. These houses bordered the Templars' cellar on one side, their *orto et retro* on another and on the remaining two sides in streets. They appear to have been the houses which the Temple had given to Peter Moliner and Guilelmus of Tordera. *Prophed*, Peter Bufa and *Ezra ben Abraham* signed the document. The witnesses included *Aszach Morrut* and *Naquir*, a Jew. This complicated series of transactions shows that Jews and Christians owned property in the *morería* during this period, and that a military order had granted or sold it to them as its associates.

In 1176, the Temple rented out more land around its cellar. This time, it was a third of an *ortus* (probably the *orto et retro* mentioned in the *Prophed* document) which the Templars had behind their cellar in the *morería* (*villa sarrazenorum*). They rented it to *Ponç Panisser*, *Guillem Bonfil* and Peter Bufa for a *cens* of ten sous which they owed the Temple for bread and wine annually at the feast of Saint Michael (in September) for all time. This last indicated that they were *confratres* of the Temple--specifically, corrodors, those who received a subsidy of food or other support (such as lodging) from the Temple. The men did not own the property outright but it was not strictly a rental. If they wished to sell or pledge it, they had to inform the Temple ten days beforehand. If the Temple did not wish for them to sell or pledge it, "unless this was to soldiers and holy men (*preter militibus et sanctis*)", the Order could forbid it. The property had an irrigation ditch, and bordered the Temple's cellar on another side, as well as the houses of *Ponç Panisser* and streets on two further sides. In addition, for this gift, the Temple also accepted 15 sous per person.⁶³⁹ One can thus see how lucrative this one cellar in the *morería* was to the Temple and other Christians. The Temple's interest also shows how

⁶³⁸ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 252, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 81, fol. 39.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid*, I:289, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 109, fols. 48v-49.

lucrative businesses were in the *morería*. Apparently, the Temple was not content simply to tax the *morería* but involved itself directly in *morería* commerce as well. This is also backed up by the evidence of the interaction with the Muslim guild official, Obaquer the *cantareler*.

The documents about the cellar also show the strong foothold that the Temple had inside this supposedly sacrosanct Muslim space. It was not unusual for Christians to encroach upon the *morerías* in the 14th century.⁶⁴⁰ This very early example of such encroachment shows mixing, not just between Christian lords and Muslim space, but between all three religions. The Lleidan *cuyraça*⁶⁴¹ saw no such mixing, at least not in Templar documentation. As the example of this cellar shows, the Templars in Gardeny engaged in direct business transactions with Lleidan Muslims, exploiting and competing with them at the same time. In such a situation, Muslims may even have sought to become Temple associates to share in the benefits of association while avoiding the worst of the exploitation.

The Templars did not have either the *morería* or its business to themselves. In 1188, Ramon of Montcada, with the wish and assent of Ermengard VIII of Urgell, conceded to Peter of Bellví, for life, all of his rights, *cens* and receipts from the baths of the King (*illis balneis domini regis Aragonensium*), which were in the *morería*.⁶⁴² This was a more standard concession than the Temple's transactions. The King technically considered all of the Muslims in the Crown of Aragon to be his.⁶⁴³ It would not have excited the same anger that the Templars' cellar may have done in the Muslim quarter. The Jewish *alfachim* mentioned in 1189, however, must have excited considerable anger when he alienated his own property in the *morería*.⁶⁴⁴ The King took even more *morería* control away from the Muslims when, in 1195, he conceded to Peter of Saint Cross in perpetuity the license to build and construct an oven for jugs (*cantaris*) and pots (*ollis*) in the parish of Saint Laurentius, in the *morería*. Alfonso further made this oven free and clear of all *cens* and of all *lezda*, *questia*, *usatico* and all exactions. Undoubtedly, this made it very difficult for any Muslims (who did have to pay all those rents and taxes) to

⁶⁴⁰ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 30.

⁶⁴¹ *Cuiraza*-- a specifically Lleidan word for the Jewish quarter.

⁶⁴² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 521.

⁶⁴³ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 70-1.

⁶⁴⁴ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 538; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 143; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 41-3.

compete with him.⁶⁴⁵ The *questia* (known as "*cheste*" in the document) was the major tax levied on Jews and Muslims. It was a considerable burden on all non-Christians in Lleida and a lucrative income for any Christian who could acquire a share of it.⁶⁴⁶ On the other hand, Peter may have contributed to the *morería*'s economy by hiring Muslim workers to work the business. Thus, the actual impact of Peter's business, successful or not, is unknown.

The cemetery of the Muslims created further conflict, since the Templars possessed land and installed Christian tenants there.⁶⁴⁷ The Jewish cemetery, first mentioned in a document from 1157,⁶⁴⁸ appears to have been relatively unmolested, and was surrounded by Jewish property, specifically agricultural land.⁶⁴⁹ Not so the Muslim cemetery. The Temple, in 1192, gave to Arnald of Llor and his wife *Guilherme* an *ortus* which the Temple held next to the cemetery of the Muslims (*iuxta cimiterium sarrazenorum*). This bordered on other Christian properties, namely the *orto* of Gernard of Angularia, the *alod* of Peter of Untinnana and the *honor* of Peter Puculul. Again, Arnald and *Guilherme* appear to have been Temple *confratres*, or at least tenants. They paid a *cens* of 5 sous Lleidan money and bread and wine at the festival of Saint Michael. Nor were they allowed to alienate the land to either soldiers or clerics (the Temple's two main competitor groups).⁶⁵⁰ This was a standard prohibition in Templar documents. In some documents the Latin seems to say the opposite, as in the case of *Ponç Panisser* in 1176, but that is probably a scribal error. It is unlikely that the Templars changed policies on the subject.

Conclusion

Thus, in Lleida, though initially conditions for non-Christians seem very similar to those in her sister city of Tortosa, the results, in cross-cultural relations, were quite different. In Lleida, the Jews enjoyed high status, providing the King with *baillis* and other royal

⁶⁴⁵ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 645; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 141.

⁶⁴⁶ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 172; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 106-7; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 21; Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Els Templers Catalans: de la Rosa a la Creu* (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 1999 (2nd ed.)), 185.

⁶⁴⁷ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, I: 499, 504, 586, p.53.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I: 76, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 74, fol. 37; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, 76-7; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 21.

⁶⁴⁹ Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica ...*, II: 443, Cartulary of Gardeny, doc. 242, fol. 110 [dated May 6, 1183].

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II: 586.

officials. The Lleidan Muslims, on the other hand, suffered frequent encroachment by non-Muslims upon their communal space. In Lleida, the borders of the Muslim quarter were quite porous, with Christians and the Temple, even Jews, holding considerable property and power within the *morería*. It is difficult to say how much the Muslims suffered or benefited from this, but the *morería* does seem to have suffered some erosion of Muslim space. The *cuyraça* suffered from no such erosion. Yet, the status of the Jews was dependant on the same unpredictable outside factors as that of the Muslims. The walls of the *cuyraça/calls/juderías* were always impregnable only in theory, even in the "golden age" of the 12th and 13th centuries.

There were both Muslims and Jews who held privileges from the Temple equivalent to making them *confratres* of the Temple, though there were no royal Muslim officials. Perhaps, the Muslims of Lleida were not so much under siege, as they were more assimilated into the city's life early on. The Mozarabs, whatever their importance in Lleida, do not figure as a significant factor in Templar records for the area in the 12th century.

Many of the Temple's vassals, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, were grouped into a single area, "under Gardeny" (*subtus Garden*), which appears to have been between the castle and the river Segrià. This area, also called "Fontanet", was intensively cultivated, including vineyards and mills, in particular. It reflects the lively agricultural and economic life of both the city and of the Templar house on Gardeny. A similar area on the eastern side of Lleida, Pardinyes, played a significant role in Temple land acquisition and distribution to non-Christian tenants. The Temple was especially involved in the extensive network of mills there, producing both cloth and grain.

While Gardeny was the main commandery for the area, and was in charge of a number of other commanderies, subcommanderies and houses, its control over them seems to have been both stronger than either Tortosa's or Miravet's over the Ebro Valley district, and more fragmentary. None of Gardeny's subordinate houses ever became as strong as Miravet, Horta or Ascó (with the possible exception of Barbens). Even their number and locations are in question. Nor do they figure largely in the documents, which are focused on the area of Lleida. As such, most surviving documentation, both for the Temple and for its interactions with non-Christians in the area, focuses heavily on the immediate environs on Lleida. The Gardeny documentation shows no indication, however, that the Templars drove out, or had fewer interactions

with, non-Christians in the lesser commanderies.

Gardeny was a central commandery--having connections, not just with Tortosa and Miravet, but also strong ties to Barberà in the immediate south-east, Monzón to the northwest, Huesca further north and west, and Zaragoza due west. The historical dominance of Zaragoza from Muslim times was not reflected, however, in relations between Templar houses. It appears that there were too many cultural (not to mention, linguistic) differences between the two areas for Zaragoza to establish dominance over Gardeny.

Muslims and Jews often went unidentified as such in the documents. Since distinction between the three religions later became critical, this is confusing. It is doubtful that this reflects actual religious mixing. The universal emphasis by members of all three religions on distinct identities in the documents makes such casual confusion unlikely. What it may actually reflect is the nature of memory in this society. Most involved in these documents seem to have relied strongly on oral tradition (the use of "prodhomes" for example) and were probably illiterate. Many, if not all, documents were records of actual meetings in which both the participants listed at the beginning of the document and the witnesses listed at the end saw each other face to face. In such situations, who was which religion and status would usually be clear from dress, appearance (facial hair, for example), gestures and speech. Also, particularly in the case of Templar agreements with tenants or *confratres*, the participants and witnesses knew each other well. These local transactions usually recorded, not the beginning of social and economic interactions between community members, but watersheds within long-established group relationships.

The sporadic, though frequent, scribal use of designations like "Saracen" and "Jew" seem to emphasise the ubiquity of these groups rather than any blurring of lines between them. To the scribes, these differences may have seemed so obvious that they felt it unnecessary to mention them unless they needed to highlight an individual's religion vis-a-vis others, or to highlight a group of non-Christians. Scribes did not always identify Muslims and Jews as such in Tortosan Templar documents, either. However, there seems to have been less need, as well. Perhaps the chaos of Lleida's siege and conquest had shaken up societal rules that the orderly transfer of power in Tortosa was better able to preserve.

THE TEMPLARS IN MONZÓN AND BARCELONA

Introduction

At first glance, the Templar provincial houses of Monzón and Barcelona had little in common. Monzón was a small and unimportant town compared to Barcelona. Zaragoza would have been the more logical choice as a provincial house for the Temple in terms of centrality of Aragonese administration and importance of commerce. At the same time, the even more obscure commandery of Palau, 12 kilometres northwest of Barcelona, remained the official provincial house in Catalonia until Barcelona superseded it in the late 13th century.

While Templar growth of infrastructure in the Crown of Aragon followed previous patterns of population and repopulation on a local level, the Templars followed their own logic and needs in establishing commanderies and distributing the power of their administration. This partly explains the importance of Monzón in the history of the Temple in Catalonia and Aragón, as well as the late rise to prominence of the more logically placed commandery in Barcelona. By the late 13th century, Monzón and Barcelona had become the provincial houses of Aragon and Catalonia respectively. Monzón became not only one of the most important castles in the region, but also one of the richest on the border between the Kingdom and the County.⁶⁵¹ It became the administrative lynchpin between the houses in Aragon and Catalonia⁶⁵² and then the centre for resistance against the King's forces during the Trial from December 1308 to June 1309.

Both the commanders of Palau and of Barcelona frequently conducted temporary administrative duties for the King, though the Order as a whole was never integrated into the royal infrastructure on a permanent basis.⁶⁵³ Fully independent of royal control in theory, the Temple remained partially independent of royal authority, even in the realities of local politics. This affected where they established their provincial houses and how those houses evolved. The Barcelona house dominated Catalonia as Monzón did Aragon, to the point that the two houses were among the few allowed to have their own

⁶⁵¹ When the houses were assessed by the Hospitallers immediately following the Temple's suppression, Monzón supplied 2500 Barcelonan libras in contrast to Miravet's 2000; A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 102, 314, 319.

⁶⁵² Francisco Castellón Cortada, "Los Templarios de Monzón (Huesca), (siglos XII-XIII)," in *Jeronimo Zurita: Cuadernos de Historia*, vol. 39-40 (1981): 7-99.

⁶⁵³ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 344-6.

cemeteries, in which they could bury anyone they wanted--usually their *confratres*.⁶⁵⁴

Why did this process occur in Monzón and Barcelona? How did it affect the Temple's relations with its associates, particularly non-Christians, in the area? Also, what was the relationship between the Temple and the Jews of both Monzón and Barcelona (there was no Muslim quarter in either city)? Monzón had one of the most powerful *aljamas* in Jewish Aragon and Catalonia. This *aljama* and the Temple banded together in the 1280s and 1290s to resist the King's attempts to tax the Jews of Monzón. Why did this occur in Monzón but not Barcelona?

Origins of Templar/non-Christian relations in Monzón

The city of Monzón (also Montissonis, Mansha, Mansio or Montsó) dates to at least Roman times.⁶⁵⁵ During the Muslim period, it contained a sizable Mozarab population that was serviced by three churches. The Christian period began when Sancho Ramirez retook the town on June 24, 1089. He used it as a base of operations for subsequent campaigns.⁶⁵⁶

The Templars did not pick Monzón as a site for a commandery. As with most 12th century Templar acquisitions involving large, important fortifications in the Crown of Aragon, this was a royal/comital grant. The preexisting Muslim fortress (along with the surrounding territory) was ceded to them in Alfonso the Battler's will in 1134 and in the Treaty at Girona by his successor Ramon Berenguer IV in 1143. The charter was reconfirmed in 1144 and again in 1149 when the newly-established commandery in Lleida/Gardeny finally sent officers to occupy it. It is unclear whether these brothers established a house as soon as they arrived in 1149 or merely administered acquisitions there for the first few years, but the house existed and was operational by the time the King granted the castle at Miravet to Monzón in 1153.⁶⁵⁷ Miravet later came under Tortosa's jurisdiction. Being in the middle of the triangle formed by Zaragoza, Huesca and Lleida, Monzón was in a critical position for the newly-augmented Crown. This was probably the reason for its early acquisition by the Christians and continuous use thereafter.

⁶⁵⁴ From 1246 onward, however, the Temple had to share part of the bequests of those buried in its cemetery with the diocese of Barcelona; *Ibid*, 111, 172-3.

⁶⁵⁵ Francisco Castellón Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón", in *Ilerda*, no. 36 (1975): 41-96.

⁶⁵⁶ Castellón Cortada, "Los Templarios de Monzón," 7-8.

⁶⁵⁷ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 92.

The Muslims had already built a fortress on the strategically advantageous crag overlooking the town. The 10th century Muslim *donjon* from this fortress still survives at the heart of the Templar fortifications and subsequent augmentations.⁶⁵⁸ The castle was secure enough under the Temple that James I and some of his nobles kept jewels there in the 13th century.⁶⁵⁹ As at Miravet, the Templars built their fortress on the structures and design of their Muslim predecessors rather than tearing them down and rebuilding them on a new plan. They were not unique in this respect. It was a common practice in Spain to establish new military structures based on old ones.

The town of Monzón was built around the northern face of the castle ridge, straddling the River Cinca.⁶⁶⁰ There was an extensive mill system,⁶⁶¹ as in Lleida and Tortosa. The Temple also engaged in animal husbandry, owning 1061 sheep and goats, 182 pigs and 250 wethers in Monzón in an inventory from 1289.⁶⁶² The house was wealthy enough to keep some of its own artisans, namely a shoemaker, smith and tanner, and also a small collection of books.⁶⁶³

There was no Muslim quarter in town, since all Muslim population appears to have fled from the town itself since Monzón's conquest.⁶⁶⁴ There were Muslims living in the area, however. A dispute between the Templars and the Bishop of Lleida from 1160 mentions the *decimas* which the Templars were receiving from a *sarraceno* named Kalat Fon (*Calaphone Sarraceno* in the document).⁶⁶⁵ A later document from 1240 mentions the resettlement of Christian and Muslim populations from the Monzón-administered

⁶⁵⁸ Castellón Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 59.

⁶⁵⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 347, doc. 385.

⁶⁶⁰ This is probably what is now called the Río Sosa, a very shallow river, which bisects the town from west to east. The Templar castle and what survives of the old town are on the south side of the river. However, 13th century disputes over ferry rights indicate that the medieval town straddled both banks; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 194-5.

⁶⁶¹ Castellón Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 84-93, doc. 8; *Libro Verde*. Catedral Lérida, folio, 274; ACA, SJJ, Gardeny, 2.244.

⁶⁶² Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 238-9.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid*, 280-1.

⁶⁶⁴ Several property-owning Muslims appeared in the original conquest charter, however, and the King signed the document in Arabic, indicating an initial attempt to retain the Muslim population of the town, as in the Ebro Valley; Castellón Cortada, Francisco. "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 74, doc. 1; *Libro Verde*. Catedral Lérida, folios 14 and following.

⁶⁶⁵ Castellón Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 66, 77-9, doc. 4; *Libro Verde*. Catedral Lérida, folios 51-2.

villages of Filsena and Orsuyera, where the Templars had several mills, to Belver.⁶⁶⁶ The Templars had combined these villages into a single town, Belver de Cinca, in 1200.⁶⁶⁷

The Temple also kept Muslim slaves, 49 in the inventories of 1289, including the only woman listed among the Temple slaves in Aragon (though not in Catalonia). Most of these had been captured in raids and would have served in the household as skilled artisans. But where the Temple kept large numbers of slaves, as at Monzón, some of them may have worked in the fields.⁶⁶⁸

The Mozarab population remained after the reconquest of the area, and played a role in local politics as late as the early 14th century. *Bonanato Maçarech*, a local man and a cleric with the Temple, received the Templar-controlled church of Crespano in 1299.⁶⁶⁹ It was a common practice to make Templar chaplains vicars of Templar churches in and around Monzón.⁶⁷⁰ *D. maçarecho* also appears twice in a document of homage by the Temple vassals of Monzón to the commander in 1240. Likely, he is the same man as the *Dominicus maçarechus* who appears near the end of the document. Three other vassals with the same designation appear as well: *Jacobus maçarecho*, *Benedictus maçarecho* and *Simonus maçarechus*. Castillón Cortada identifies these men as "colonos musulmanes y judíos (Muslim and Jewish tenants or settlers)".⁶⁷¹ These *maçarechos* were probably tenants, but it is very unlikely that they were non-Christians. While "Jacob" and "Simon" could be Jewish names, they could also be Christian, and the men appeared in the middle of other Christian names. The other names, "Benedict" and "Dominic", are clearly Christian. Another *maçarecho* from a 1260 document had the even more distinctively Christian name of "*Petrus Arnaldi Maçareco*".⁶⁷²

The Jewish quarter in Monzón was built up against the cliff, on the southwestern side

⁶⁶⁶ María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales*, Vol. 18, *Fuentes Históricas Aragonesas* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991), 180; Perg. 133, armari 23 comuns; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910), 28 and 170, p. 233-35.

⁶⁶⁷ Castillón Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón", 47-8.

⁶⁶⁸ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 285-6.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 410-12, doc. XL; A 1089 document of donation from the *Libro Verde Catedral Lérida* refers to the Mozarabs of Monzón as "*mazarechos*". One of the three churches in Monzón was called "*San Esteban de los Maçarechos (gente de oriente - an eastern race)*". In 1192, the Templars ceded control of this church to the Bishop of Lleida; Castillón Cortada, Francisco. "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 43, n. 8, 47, 69.

⁶⁷⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 274.

⁶⁷¹ Castillón Cortada, Francisco. "Los Templarios de Monzón," 55-9.

⁶⁷² *Ibid*, 85; *Libro Verde*, fol. 359, doc. 278.

of town.⁶⁷³ Most of the original *judería* in Monzón was destroyed during the siege of the Temple in 1308.⁶⁷⁴ The Cathedral is on the southeastern side of town, near the road up to the Castle. Even in the 12th century, the Jewish *aljama* in Monzón was rich and influential enough to produce the royal bailiff, *Yahia ben David* of Monzón, who set up the administration of post-conquest Lleida for the King from the 1160s to the 1190s.⁶⁷⁵ He worked closely with the Templars in both Aragon and Catalonia.⁶⁷⁶ Possibly, he was also the bailiff named Jafia who appeared in Templar documents from Barberà in the 1160s and 1170s.⁶⁷⁷ In the 13th century, certain individuals in the Monzón *judería* were even richer and closer to the King. *Çaleme de Daroca*, "a Jew of Monzón" (*Iudeo Montissoni*) was able to clear a royal debt of 3,850 Alfonsine gold morabetinos and 5,000 Castillian morabetinos owed to him since 1257 by receiving the franchise of a saltworks in Valencian territory in 1263.⁶⁷⁸

The Jewish *aljama* in Monzón was also large enough to appoint its own tax officials, who collected money due to the Jews there.⁶⁷⁹ Monzón was one of the 17 major *aljamas* of Aragon. The *aljama* sent delegates to Barcelona (the only Aragonese *aljama* besides Fraga to do so) for an assembly in November 1282. Peter III had called the conference to discuss the distribution among the Catalan Jews of the King's extraordinary tax on them of 100 thousand Barcelonan sous, to subsidise his foreign adventures.⁶⁸⁰ Monzón also sent two representatives to the assembly of Aragonese Jews in Huesca that Peter ordered in January 1285. Only Zaragoza and Huesca, with five delegates each, had more than two.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷³ Between what is now known as the Plaza San Juan and the Carrer de Obispo. A low archway near the Carrer la Fuente does survive. This is likely post-Templar in period.

⁶⁷⁴ Register of the Royal Chancellery 212, folio 60, verso.

⁶⁷⁵ Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [originally 1961, trans. from Hebrew by Louis Schoffman]), 57-6.

⁶⁷⁶ Abraham A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain: Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages, Volume II* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942), 229.

⁶⁷⁷ Josep Maria Sans i Travé, ed., *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212), Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I*, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), doc. 78.

⁶⁷⁸ Robert I. Burns, ed. *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257-1263. Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276, vol II: Documents 1-500* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 8-9, doc. 5; Reg. 10, fol. 1. MF: 7 and doc. 498, p. 438-9; Reg. 14, fol. 41. MF: 490.

⁶⁷⁹ Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 107.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁸¹ The meeting place was later changed twice, and the delegates eventually met in Alagón; *Ibid.*, 175.

But Monzón's *judería*, though powerful and prosperous, was not a content community during the late 13th century, the period for which most documentation involving the Temple and its Jewish subjects there survives. Some time before 1286, the synagogue there collapsed, and the *aljama* subsequently suffered a heavy fine for rebuilding it without royal permission.⁶⁸² This may have been the beginning of the Monzón Jews' inclination to support the Temple over the King as their preferred lord in taxation matters.

The Jews of Aragon were fragmented and riven by political, legal and religious disputes during this period.⁶⁸³ Monzón was not immune to this unrest. R. Shelomo ben Adret, a respected, conservative jurist in the Crown during the mid-13th century, complained that the Jews of Monzón did not remaining standing while the Torah was brought in and displayed in the synagogue, as they should.⁶⁸⁴ It is not surprising then, that not only were the Jews of Monzón involved in a jurisdictional dispute with the Jews of Lleida and in a tax dispute with the Jews of Barbastro at the time, but were also dealing with former members who had converted to Christianity and now turned their hostility on their previous coreligionists. These converts wanted the Church to forbid Christians from consuming (and presumably buying) meat, wine and bread from Jews. They were thwarted from this purpose by the bribing of the judicial officials involved in the case, though the Temple may have exercised its influence in favour of the Jews, as well.⁶⁸⁵ Though the King found converts useful in his service, both the Temple and the Hospital regarded converts to Christianity with considerable suspicion, even hostility, and would not have supported their cause against a loyal non-Christian community.⁶⁸⁶ An apostate, even one converting to Christianity, was still betraying his old religion.

This division within Aragonese and Catalanian Judaism did not go unnoticed by the

⁶⁸² Ibid, 211.

⁶⁸³ The more centralised royal administration in Aragon (as opposed to the looser county administration of Catalonia) also created problems. The Jews in other towns of Aragon opposed the dominance of the *aljama* in Zaragoza. So strong was this resistance that the meeting-place of the representatives of the Aragonese *aljamas*, originally in Zaragoza, had to be changed frequently; Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 175.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid, 221.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid, 56.

⁶⁸⁶ One of the most famous instances of this hostility is the murder by Templars of the ambassador to the Assassins in Palestine after the Assassin leader reportedly offered to convert to Christianity. Though the main chronicler of this story, William of Tyre, is well-known for his hostility to the Order, the Templar suspicion of apostates is amply backed up by their common refusal to free slaves who converted to Christianity, despite ecclesiastical prohibitions against Christians keeping Christians as slaves; Alan Forey, "The military orders and the conversion of Muslims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002): 1-22.

Papacy, which encouraged Jewish conversion to Christianity, as well as investigations, beginning in the 1230s, by mendicant friars from France.⁶⁸⁷ Possibly, this was why the King granted to the *collecta* (provincial council) of *aljamas* subject to Barcelona the right to close their gates to anyone they chose in 1260.⁶⁸⁸

Though the Templars seemed willing to defend the Monzón *aljama* against the local Christian community, they were not always able to do so. In one incident, around 1260, Christian townspeople attacked the *judería* after the Jews obtained a royal order to help them collect debts. The Christians apparently owed many of these to Jewish artisans. The Christians wounded some Jews, evicted one tailor from his shop and declared that they would no longer allow the Jewish artisans to practice among Christians. The Templar commander tried to intervene but was unable to stop the mob, at least initially. The Christians may have ignored the commander because of the tensions which were growing up between the Temple and the town during the late 13th century over the juridical rights of the Temple over the town.⁶⁸⁹ It is unlikely, however, that the Christians were able to make good their threats, as the Jews were too important to the town economically either to ostracise or evict.⁶⁹⁰

The violence of the incident indicates the Christians' frustration and recognition of their economic dependence on the Jews. The Jews, on the other hand, though surely frightened by the mob, did not leave, indicating a dependence of their own on the Christians and a preference for the Temple as their lords. Though it was technically very difficult for non-Christian populations to migrate, the Jews of Monzón could have got permission from the King. The King allowed a group of Aragonese Muslims to leave Christian territory under similar circumstances in 1280. The Muslims, exarics under the lordship of the Templar castle in Siresa, chose to leave after being attacked. Though the Temple tried to get the King to help get them back, this attempt was apparently unsuccessful.⁶⁹¹ If he saw a benefit to himself, the King could and would nullify Temple authority regarding its vassals. However, he could only do this successfully when the vassals wanted to switch lordship to him.

⁶⁸⁷ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 150-1.

⁶⁸⁸ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 207.

⁶⁸⁹ Castellón Cortada, "Los Templarios de Monzón," 47-53.

⁶⁹⁰ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 150. Baer's vagueness with dates and documentation makes this particular incident dubious in its details.

⁶⁹¹ Isabel A. O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xàtiva, 1240-1327*, vol. 44, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, Hugh Kennedy, Paul Magdalino, David Abulafia, et al, eds. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 148-9.

The Nature of Temple lordship in Monzón

Ramon Berenguer IV gave complete dominion over the castle and town of Monzón to the Temple in his original charter in 1143. His grandson Peter I confirmed this at the end of the 12th century. Not only did all inhabitants or potential inhabitants of the area have to gain permission from the Temple to build anything within one mile of Monzón, but Ramon Berenguer also granted "all graces, privileges, freedoms, immunities" (*omnibus graciis, privilegiis, franquitatibus, inmunitatibus*) to the Temple.⁶⁹² Peter, for his part, further forbade any churchman or layman from engaging in business,⁶⁹³ administering or exacting justice or exacting either *lezda* (toll on merchandise) or *pedaticum* (probably *pedagio*--a transport tax) within the stated mile radius of the town without permission from the Temple.⁶⁹⁴

The Temple lost most of its lordship rights to the Christian townspeople over the course of the 13th century. While it retained the right to approve candidates for town offices, it eventually lost the right to appoint them. A dispute in 1173 about the ferry across the Cinca resulted in the Order retaining half of its right to the tolls only in exchange for paying half of the maintenance costs. The Templars did not gain control from the town over Monzón's main irrigation canal until 1230. In this agreement, the townspeople were allowed to irrigate more land, if they so chose. The Templars later paid 20,000 sous in 1250 for control of the weights in the town.⁶⁹⁵ This was an important right if the Temple wanted to control the lucrative market business in the area.

The relationship between the Temple and the King also became more troubled over time. In 1292, after a long dispute over who should tax the Jews in Monzón (and whether he should be able to tax them on top of the Temple's taxes), James II granted to the Temple the privilege to have soldiers and to exact redemptions, services, demands, *bovatge* (cattle tax), *herbatge* (a tax on pasturage), *monedaje* (an unspecified monetary tax, rather than in kind), *carraije* (a toll tax), *cens* (rent), *usatge* (a toll

⁶⁹² Castellón Cortada, Francisco. "Los Templarios de Monzón," 7-99.

⁶⁹³ Most significantly, running a mill or otherwise engaging in the specifics of breadmaking, running a public bathhouse, or selling oil, all franchises sought as monopolies by the Temple in Lleida and Tortosa (*nullus ecclesiasticus aut laicus...per unum milare extenduntur villam vel populatione aliqua aut fumum vel macellum vel balnea aut tintorerias vel aleum de lino vel tenere fanecas ad mensurandum bladum...molendina, vero...*); *Ibid*, 16-7, *Libro Verde*, fol. 211, doc. 212.

⁶⁹⁴ "...accipere iustitias aut leudas vel pedatica aut justitiam stabilire vel mercatum habere seu celebrare absque licentia et voluntate predictorum Magistri et fratrum..."; *Ibid*.

⁶⁹⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 192-7.

tax), *lezda*, *portatico* (a carriage tax), and customs taxes both new and old.⁶⁹⁶ The monarchs of Aragon were anxious that Monzón should prosper and were willing to make large concessions to the Temple to foster this. James I had even granted an annual fair of ten days to the town, hence the Temple's need to gain control of the weights for measuring goods.⁶⁹⁷ The main tax which the Temple paid the King was the *cenar*, or hospitality tax (i.e. the cost of putting up members of the royal family in Templar housing) but as late as 1305, the Templars of Monzón were refusing to pay it in any way save in kind.⁶⁹⁸

Taxes and jurisdictions in dispute

The Jews of Monzón used the Temple to their advantage against the *aljama* of Lleida, and its patron the King, in a tax dispute which lasted through the latter part of the 13th century and touched on the reigns of five Aragonese kings. In Tortosa, disputes over taxes and lordship rights began immediately due to the King's vacillation over ceding lordship of the city to any one party. In Lleida, the conflicts were local, between the Templars and the Bishop of Lleida.

In Monzón, the Templars held full lordship over the town from an early date. Thus, the problems there began later, in the reign of James I. He treated the Templars as his foster family--which they were. This close relationship proved both beneficial and burdensome to the Temple. In Monzón in 1221, for example, James acknowledged the Temple's claim to the right not to appear in the lay court in Zaragoza.⁶⁹⁹ James' frequent warfare in Valencia, however, stretched his descendants' monetary resources. They were forced to broaden their tax base beyond the general *peita* which James had unsuccessfully tried to extract from the Temple during his reign. Alfonso III, Peter III, Alfonso IV and James II all tried to repeal some of the generous tax immunities which James had made to the Temple, especially by exacting extraordinary taxes on the Templars at both Monzón and Barcelona. These new taxes were voluntary, but only in theory.⁷⁰⁰ Nor did the Kings always recognise the Temple's right to avoid lay justice when the Temple would not settle with claimants.⁷⁰¹ The Temple, to no one's surprise,

⁶⁹⁶ Castellón Cortada, Francisco. "Los Templarios de Monzón," 14.

⁶⁹⁷ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 114.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 125.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 118.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 128-30.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid*, 119.

resisted these encroachments on their privileges vociferously. To the surprise of all three Kings, so did the Temple's associates, among them the favourite royal cash cows--the Jews.

Another problem which James I created with his concessions was that both Muslims and Jews in the area had grown used to paying their taxes and taking their complaints to the Temple alone. The Muslims of Orsuyera, for example, were paying to "Dominicus of Valeluparis preceptor of the mills" (*Dominici de Valelupari preceptoris molendinorum*) in that town (who answered to the commander in Monzón), "peita and redemption taxes which they owe during the three continuous years that we (the Temple) relax against the enemy, and from others truly the collections and fruits which we (the Temple) from these should receive and have for these three years, except for *zofris* (the sofra wood tax specific to the Muslims that they paid for the upkeep of the castle), *alguacilam* (literally, in Castillian, "bailiff", probably a tax to support the office) and *nafegam* (possibly a river toll tax on boats) and *denarios cens* (the denarius yearly rent).⁷⁰²

The dispute began in the mid-1270s, during Alfonso III's reign, and continued to simmer for the next three decades. The Jewish *aljama* of Lleida, from at least 1268 onward, claimed that the Jews of Monzón and Fraga fell under its jurisdiction, according to ancient custom. It therefore required them to pay taxes to it so that it could then pay them to the King. When Monzón and Fraga balked at this, the Lleidan *aljama* enlisted the support of Alfonso against the Templars in Monzón, who represented the claims of the *aljamas* in Monzón and Fraga before the King. Part of this confusion stemmed from James I's indecision where to put the border between Catalonia and Aragon, particularly for his Jews. Initially, he made the Jews of Lleida part of Aragon, but later made them part of Catalonia. The situation remained fluid during the reign of Alfonso III and continued so into the reign of Peter III. Peter finally assigned the Lleidan *aljama* to Catalonia in 1285, but Monzón's status remained in doubt until James II assigned it to Aragon.⁷⁰³ Following the suppression of the Temple in 1312, the *aljama* in Monzón, and its dependencies, became subject to Huesca.⁷⁰⁴ However, there was no *aljama* as such in

⁷⁰² *Sarracenis uero omnibus sicuti christianis per tres dictos continuos annos laxamus hostem, caualcatam sive peyertam et redempcionem illarum et de aliis uero colleccionibus et fructibus quos templum de hiis solet percipere et habere per dictos tres continuos annos laxamus eis et suis medietatem integre exceptis zofris, alguacilam et nafegam et denarios censuales*; Ledesma Rubio, *Cartas de población*, doc. 180; Perg. 133, armari 23 comuns; Miret y Sans, *Les cases...*, p. 233-35.

⁷⁰³ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 187-8.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 193.

Monzón between 1308 and 1315. The *judería* was destroyed during the siege of the Templar castle in 1308 and was not allowed to be rebuilt until 1315, by royal decree.⁷⁰⁵ So abject was the community, which had fled to Alcolea, that the King remitted all of the tribute of the Jews of Monzón, which they had not paid during the siege, and reduced the share of their community tax, over five years, from 400 to 200 sous.⁷⁰⁶

In 1289, on August 4, a letter from the King to *Raimundo de Besalu*, archdeacon of Ribagorza in the diocese of Lleida acknowledged that the Jews of Monzón were claiming exemption from paying the royal taxes of *questia* and *peita*.⁷⁰⁷ The King appears to have used the archdeacon as an arbiter, since the King's advocate was identified as a certain *Felipe* in a document from 1290.⁷⁰⁸

In a document sent two days earlier to the provincial master of the Temple, Berenguer of San Justo, the King acknowledged that the actual dispute was between himself and the Temple, indicating that the Jews were in fact paying the disputed taxes to the Temple already.⁷⁰⁹ Since the Temple was representing the Jews legally in the case, the Jews were possibly also paying less to the Temple than they would to the King. Or, more likely, the King was trying to force them to pay twice, once to the Temple and once to himself. In the same document, the King acknowledged that he had extracted 4000 Jacan sous from the Jews of Monzón, but that this did not establish a legal precedent in his favour regarding the disputed taxes.

This dispute was still ongoing when the Trial interrupted it permanently. As late as 1300, James II was complaining that the Jews of Monzón were still not paying the disputed taxes. He called them "disobedient and rebels" (*inobedientes et rebelles*) in a letter to the vicar and curate (probably the bishop) of Lleida. He forbade the vicar, or whoever was in his place, from taking the Jews' part in the dispute, and demanded that any debtors to the Jews should disclose their debts to the vicar under pain of corporal punishment.⁷¹⁰ This may explain why the Jews might prefer the Templars as their legal representatives in the ecclesiastical and royal courts. As a corporate body long used to near-equal interactions with the King (and technically answerable only to the Pope), the Templars could better resist aggressive behaviours from both kings and clerics.

⁷⁰⁵ Register of the Royal Chancellery 205, folio 235 v0; Reg. 212, folio 60, verso.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid, 210, folio 20, verso.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid, 80, folio 30 v0.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid, 81, folio 92 v0 -93.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid, 80, folio 3 v0.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid, 332, folio 93, verso.

The dispute intensified when, in 1289, Alfonso III and in 1300, James II, summoned the Temple's men directly to war without doing it through the house, though this was becoming a customary practice of the King.⁷¹¹ These men appear to have been all Christians, though some of them may have been Muslim, as well. The Temple's concern appears to have stemmed, not from these requests for aid, per se, but other issues. There were two problems. On the one hand, some of the requests were for aid in wars against other Christians--specifically Castille. Not only was this problematical in terms of the Temple's holdings in Castille, but also because killing Christians was specifically forbidden by the *Rule*. The second problem entailed one of precedent, especially when the King sent summonses directly to the Temple's men without calling out the Temple, or even informing the commander of the area, first. The Temple clearly did not want to cede any more control of its associates--Christian or non-Christian--to the King than it was forced to do.

Also, customary or not, the action would not have made the Temple easier about the intentions of either King, particularly since the Templar castellan of Monzón, in 1284, had forbidden the vassals of the house to swear any oath to those Aragonese nobles who opposed the King of Aragon at the time. This appears to have been an attempt to maintain neutrality between the Kings of Aragon and Castille during their border wars. The castellan at Monzón asserted that the men and goods of the Order could only be subject to a non-Templar by "special order of the Master overseas and the Convent".⁷¹² The Templars' claim may have stemmed from Peter II's confirmation, in 1210, of the Temple's right to exact military obligations from its vassals at Monzón. After the townspeople made an unsuccessful attempt to claim the privilege of military exemption (using what was probably a 13th century forgery of an 11th century document) from an order by the Temple to muster at Játiva in 1287 and Valencia in 1289, the Templars fined them 12,000 Jacan sous for their default.⁷¹³ This fine was later reduced to 8,000 sous by Jacques de Molay, the Temple's last Grand Master. The Grand Master held the right to reverse the decisions of house commanders on appeal.⁷¹⁴

The Order seems at this time to have been struggling to protect *and* control its men, both Christian and non-Christian. The Christians, for their part, seem to have been

⁷¹¹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 134-5.

⁷¹² *Ibid*, 330, 346.

⁷¹³ *Ibid*, 224.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid*, 331.

seeking more autonomy from lordship in general in the area. The non-Christians, on the other hand, seem to have been seeking Templar protection from royal and rival non-Christian groups' exploitation.

The castellan at Monzón's claim may also have stemmed from James I's statement in 1261 that he was willing to hear cases by men of the Temple which the Grand Master refused to hear. In 1282, Peter III further asserted that all appeals in Aragon, Templar or otherwise, fell under his jurisdiction. James II expanded this decision in 1302, to include appeals to lower royal officials. He was ultimately unable to prove his case after the Hospitallers took over Templar lands, despite his right to do so according to the *Usatges* of Barcelona.⁷¹⁵ In the case of the muster in 1285, however, the King hesitated to call up Temple men alone, since he would generally also call up the Temple brethren when going to war. Though the *Usatges* of Barcelona allowed him to do so, he disliked sending the Templars' men alone to war or the Templars against other Christians.⁷¹⁶ This reluctance may have been because it was easier to defray the cost of such musters to the Temple if the Temple led its own men to war.

In 1258, James I conceded to the Temple, among privileges in other areas, the "pedagio (a transport tax) of Monzón" (*pedagio Montissoni*) and "the *questia* of the Jews and the franchises of Lleidan citizenship" (*questiis Iudeorum et franchitatibus civitatis Ilerdensis*).⁷¹⁷ This was a vast franchise. The *questia* was the largest tax levied against the Muslims and the Jews specifically, and the *peita* was an equally lucrative tax made by vassals of all religions to their lords. On top of this, the Templars received the right to make Lleidan citizens.

The Temple's possession of such franchises soon became problematical, for both jurisdictional and financial reasons. The Jews of Monzón were technically under the jurisdiction of the Lleidan *aljama*. But the Lleidan *aljama* frequently came into conflict with neighbouring *aljamas* on the Aragonese-Catalan border. In 1271, James granted to the Jews of Monzón the right to pay their taxes alongside the Jews of Barbastro for the goods and properties that each held in the other's town.⁷¹⁸ This was the resolution of a conflict between the *aljamas* of Monzón and Barbastro, in which the Jews of Monzón

⁷¹⁵ Ibid, 132-3.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid, 136-7; Donald Kagay, ed. *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 63-4, regs. 1-2.

⁷¹⁷ Burns, *Foundations II*, 141-3, doc. 165, p. 141-3; Reg. 10, fols. 82v-83. MF: 162.

⁷¹⁸ Register of the Royal Chancellery 16, folio 252 v0.

had asked the Templar commander there to act as their legal representative before the King, which he agreed to do. The Jews in Alagón, Egea and Tauste failed in similar attempts to reorganise their taxation under Alfonso III and Peter III. Nor was even the compromise between Monzón and Barbastro very successful. The Jews of Monzón subsequently banned wine imports from Barbastro, and were only forced to repeal the ban by royal decree in 1288. The King, however, refused to prevent the Jews of Monzón from unofficially boycotting Barbastro's wine.⁷¹⁹

The agreement between Monzón and Barbastro, however temporary, created a conflict with the *aljama* of Lleida, which claimed both *juderías* under its jurisdiction. In 1289, Alfonso IV ordered the Jews of Albalate, Alcoetge, Pomar and Granadella, under pain of excommunication by the *aljama* of Lleida, to pay the disputed taxes along with the Jews of Monzón to the Temple, as they traditionally did.⁷²⁰ However, Alfonso also supported the Lleidan *aljama's* claim to jurisdiction over the Templars in relation to these northern *aljamas*.⁷²¹ The *aljamas* to the north were attempting in this period to break free of the control of the Lleidan *collecta* but they were also in conflict with each other over trade issues, as the dispute between Monzón and Barbastro shows. What is interesting is that the Temple, representing Monzón, and the King, representing Lleida, ended up on opposite sides of the tax disputes between the rival *aljamas*. This was despite the strong presence of the Gardeny commandery in Lleida. Perhaps the earlier disputes between the Temple in Monzón and the diocese in Lleida had permanently reduced the Temple's influence over the Lleidan *aljama*, allowing the King to step in and assert control. Or perhaps the King hoped to use the Lleidan *aljama* to bring those Jews north of Lleida (many of whom acknowledged Temple lordship) under the Lleidan *aljama's* control, and therefore back under his authority. What is most interesting is that the King, who in theory was lord over all non-Christians in his realm, apparently could no longer directly take back lordship of the Jews in Monzón from the Temple by this period. Instead, he had to fight a long legal battle against the Temple, their *de facto* lord, to take back this coveted tax franchise.

⁷¹⁹ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 166, 171.

⁷²⁰ Register of the Royal Chancellery 80, folio 31 v0. Indicated in J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal Volume II* (Madrid, 1875-76), 146, note 1.

⁷²¹ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 187.

Law and Lawlessness

Apparently, the reason why the King opposed the Order over the Monzón *aljama* was not just because the Templars were the main beneficiaries of the tax, but because they acted as the legal representatives for the Jews of Monzón in court. This was significant loss of control for the King because he was supposed to be the Jews' sole legal representative in the Crown.⁷²² This special status of the Temple came out in several legal cases of the same period, which were separate from the dispute over taxation. In one remarkable case from 1284, the Temple represented a Jewish doctor named *Vidal Especero* before the King against a Christian who had kidnapped him through deception and extorted money from him:

"Pedro III has been informed by the complaint of the brothers of the militia of the Temple that *Pedro de Arey*, having come to fraud in Monzón, has treacherously asked *Vidal Especero*, a Jew of the lord of that place (Monzón), to put himself close by the wife of the noble *Bernardo de Mauleone* in order to treat an illness of her eyes. Confident in the words of the said *Pedro de Arey*, having been provided by the latter with a mount and the money necessary for his voyage, *Vidal Especero* put himself near the said woman by the public road, whereupon *Pedro de Arey* seized him and brought him prisoner to the castle of Monfalco, whence he would only let him [Vidal] leave with the help of a ransom of 3,000 Jacan sous. The king sends word to Raymond of Mulina, provost (*viguier*, a Provençal term) of Ribagorza and Palats, to proceed against *Pedro de Arey* and against his goods/chattels."⁷²³

In this case, Vidal sought (and found) justice through the intercession of his lord, the commander of the Temple in Monzón. It was a touchy situation, for if Vidal had been unable to prove that he had been deceived while acting in good faith to treat a patient, he might have been accused of rape or adultery (defined as having sex with a married woman) with a Christian woman and would have faced a penalty of death. Sex between the religions by this period was placed in the similar category to heresy, and was punishable by burning. Vidal needed the solid backing of a lord as influential as the

⁷²² Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 85-6.

⁷²³ Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon, Volume I*, doc. 1182; Register of the Royal Chancellery 44, folio 235 v0.

Temple to prove his innocence, though the King could also be lenient in such cases.⁷²⁴

Vidal's case was not unusual for the period. The Crown of Aragon suffered from an increase in violence in all of its communities during the late 13th and early 14th centuries.⁷²⁵ The rapid economic growth in the Crown during this period resulted in social unrest for both Christians and Jews.⁷²⁶ Between 1257 and 1327, for example, the Jewish communities in Aragon saw over 60 murders of Jews by Jews. Both Barbastro and Monzón saw at least one murder each during this period. Rape was also a common crime. In 1279, the Templar commander had to allow officials in addition to the *jurados* (*alcaldes*) to carry out inquests in the area, as the crime rate had increased so much. The Temple, however, would keep any fines and retained the right to administer justice to any offenders who were caught.⁷²⁷ The situation was aggravated by the King's willingness to cancel even the worst crimes when offered a sufficiently lucrative bribe.

In an instance similar to Vidal's from 1286, Alfonso IV interceded when the Templar commander, Peter, complained that a Bernard of Segalar had seized property in relation to a commission for fifteen "arks" (*archas*) demanded by his predecessor Peter III from the Jews of Monzón. The King ordered Bernard to return the confiscated property to the commander.⁷²⁸

The Templars were not always on the side of the Jews, however, as James I's concession from 1258 shows. In it, he promised to intercede on the Temple's behalf, at his own expense, if the family of a certain *Aaron*, a Jew, who had died in Morocco, made a petition or action for outside judgment concerning his goods and other things. The document does not make clear what the dispute was about, whether the Templars had been responsible for *Aaron's* death or had confiscated his property in lieu of unpaid debts to them.⁷²⁹ Since the case did not appear in the later disputes between the Temple and James' successors, it must have been resolved within the King's lifetime, though which side was satisfied with the result is unknown.

⁷²⁴ Even in the more serious cases of interreligious adultery during this period, the King was usually willing to be paid off. Sexual mores in the Jewish communities of 12th and 13th century Aragón and Catalonia were relaxed and sexual relations between unmarried Jewish men and women were perfectly legal, though frowned upon by the community rabbis; Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 270-3.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid*, 288-96.

⁷²⁶ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 192-3, 288-5.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid*, 192-3.

⁷²⁸ Register of the Royal Chancellery 66, folio 128 v0.

⁷²⁹ Burns, *Foundations II*, 141-3, doc. 165.

Social violence was exacerbated by class conflict within Jewish communities. An *aljama* was run by a group of *secretarii*, controlled by the richest families, during this period. In Barcelona, this group had seven members.⁷³⁰ An aristocracy arose in the *aljamas* of larger cities like Barcelona and Zaragoza. Some Jews became so rich, or rose so high in the King's court through their work as the King's *baillis*, *alfaquis* and scribes, that their communities began to ascribe Davidic ancestry to them. Others, truthfully or otherwise, became "free Jews" due to their perceived descent from associates of the military orders, the Templars in particular.⁷³¹ These Jews drew hostility not only from poor and rich Christians, but also from the poorer, and the more conservative, members of their own communities. Some of the new aristocracy were accused of using their association with the King to avoid charges and punishment for adultery, theft, rape and even murder.⁷³² This aristocracy also came into conflict with Jewish religious authorities from southern Spain and France and northern Europe, who viewed them as immoral and heretical.⁷³³ While the Aragonese kings, worried by the increasing social unrest that this division between rich and poor created, did show some sympathy toward the poor, their ambivalent policies during the period did little to alleviate the situation overall.⁷³⁴ There is no clear evidence in the Temple documents to indicate that the Order acted with any more decisiveness. Christian relations with non-Christians throughout this period in the Crown of Aragon were characterised by chronic devotion to shortterm opportunism.

The Temple and the *Call* in Barcelona

Barcelona was not officially the provincial house of the Temple in Catalonia until after 1272.⁷³⁵ Prior to that, the provincial house was Palau del Vallès (now Palau-Solità), about 12 kilometers northwest of Barcelona. The Temple first began acquiring property there

⁷³⁰ In Hebrew, a member of this office could also be called *Ne'eman*, *adelantado* or *baror*; Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 99-101.

⁷³¹ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 144-6. Judah aben Lavi de la Cavalleria, *bailli* of Zaragoza during the mid-13th century, claimed descent from a Jewish vassal of the Temple.

⁷³² Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*; 239-41, 295-6.

⁷³³ Neuman, *The Jews in Spain*, vol. II, 9-14.

⁷³⁴ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*; 239-41.

⁷³⁵ Barchinonensis (Barcelona), like Monzón, was a Roman city. It was founded sometime between 10 and 15 BC. In pre-Muslim times, it had been overshadowed only by Tarrachonensis (Tarragona), the provincial capital. A Jewish quarter had existed in Barcelona from at least the Carolingian period onward. No Muslim quarter survived to the 12th century, the city having been reconquered in 801 by Louis the Pious. Nor did any Muslims live in the area, as they did in Monzón.

in 1131, and the convent was established between 1150 and 1160.⁷³⁶ Though set on the ridge over two fertile river valleys, Palau was not a major port or centre with the importance of Barcelona, or at a crossroads between major urban centres, like Monzón. Even most of the signatories in one major transaction involving the house at Palau came from Barcelona not Palau. In this transaction, the commander of Palau borrowed 2,000 Barcelonan sous from the Jew Isaac Adreti in 1253.⁷³⁷ When Pope Innocent IV granted indulgences in 1249 to help the Temple pay for the building of a new church, it was in Barcelona, not Palau.⁷³⁸

However, in Barcelona, while the Temple prospered and had a large quarter outside the southeastern wall of the city, it had far more competition from other groups than it did in Monzón, including the King, the nobility, the secular church and other regular orders. Not only did the Temple have to contend with the secular arm of the church in the person of the Bishop (as in Lleida), but also with the King and his officials.⁷³⁹ While the King made great concessions to the Templars and allowed them considerable leeway on his frontiers where he needed their help, when the Templars were in proximity to him he expected their obedience and cooperation. This may have influenced their original decision to establish their provincial house to the northwest in Palau. Eventually, however, the strategic and economic importance of having an administrative house in a great port city and an establishment of a strong Templar presence there overrode these reservations and persuaded the Temple to relocate the Palau commandery to Barcelona sometime around 1282.⁷⁴⁰ This was unlike the situation in Tortosa, where the Temple began as a strong presence in the city and gradually moved its administrative operations north to Miravet.

One critical reason for this relocation was that the Temple was heavily involved in royal administration in some areas. The Jewish bailiff, *Jafia*, seen working with the Temple in Barberà in a document from 1175, was possibly from Barcelona. It is also

⁷³⁶ The house in Barcelona was established sometime between 1140 and 1150; Joan Fuguet Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995), 278-9.

⁷³⁷ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 388-10, doc. 20; ACA, parch. James I, no. 1332.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid*, 162.

⁷³⁹ The Templars in Monzón did not live free of conflict with the secular church, as a taxation dispute with the bishop of Lleida resulted in the deaths of several Templar vassals in 1301; *Ibid*, 177-8; The Temple, however, had more freedom in Monzón than in Lleida or Barcelona. Lleida was relatively far away and when the bishop engaged in a "discussion" with the Temple in Monzón, it was difficult for him to impose his will on what was a Templar area; Castillón Cortada, Francisco. "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón," 62-71.

⁷⁴⁰ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*; 101-2.

possible that he was the *Yafia* from Monzón who was organising the administration of Lleida for the King during the same period.⁷⁴¹ The Temple also interacted with individual Jews from Barcelona. The King made a complaint against both the Templars and the Hospitallers in 1280 for seizing the properties of Aragonese Jews after *Içach*, a Jew of the wealthy Cap family in Barcelona, fled to Acre. Apparently, this *Içach* owed the Temple (and many others in Catalonia) large sums of money, which he was supposed to hold in trust. The King also threatened to arrest *Içach* if he should return to the Crown of Aragon.⁷⁴² When *Içach* did return, however, he was not punished and retained his place in the *aljama's* aristocracy.⁷⁴³

The *call* in Barcelona was situated just west (and up the hill) of the Cathedral and dated from the 11th century onward.⁷⁴⁴ Despite its size and prestige at the time, only one street (Carrer del Call) indicates the place of the *call*, which was destroyed in 1391. None of the buildings of the *call* in Barcelona survive from the time of the *aljama*. The Barcelonan Jewish community was probably the richest *aljama* in the Crown of Aragon and the Kingdom of Valencia, as evidenced by its obligation to pay sixty thousand Barcelonan sous of the King's extraordinary tax of 100 thousand sous on the Catalan Jewry.⁷⁴⁵ The Barcelonan *aljama*, much like its Christian counterparts, was the administrative centre of Jewish government in the County of Barcelona. It was responsible, for example, for collecting the taxes of all the Catalonian *calles* during the 1280s. The Temple had some influence with the *aljama*. It interceded with the Infante Alfonso on behalf of the Tortosan *aljama* when that group complained of being

⁷⁴¹ Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà*, doc. 78; Parchments of Alfonso I.

⁷⁴² Jean Régné, ed. *History of the Jews in Aragon: Regesta and Documents, 1213-1327*, Vol. I, *Hispania Judaica* (Yom Tov Assis, ed. Jerusalem: The Magnus Press, 1978), doc. 804; Register of the Royal Chancellery 48, folio 67 v0.

⁷⁴³ Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I, 209-10.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 40.

⁷⁴⁵ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 181; These extraordinary taxes so impoverished the Temple's tenants in the late 13th century that in some places (such as in Gardeny) the Provincial Master was forced to reduce or forgive rents. In other places, such as Barcelona, the commander had to retain an attorney to collect the unpaid debts of the Temple's vassals there. In 1295, James II had to order his bailiff in Barcelona to help the Temple collect its tenth of royal revenues. The ongoing problem may have also have influenced the switch from proportional to fixed rents in some lands under the Barcelona house, though the main reason appears to have been a series of bad harvests which had reduced the value of the proportional rents. This appears to have been less of a problem in areas like Monzón, where reconquered land was more concentrated; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 222-4, 230-2; for altering of rents, see p. 400-2, doc. 29 and p. 407-9, doc. 38; for the King's order to his bailiff, see p. 404 doc. 33; ACA, Varia I, fol. 28.

overtaxed by the Barcelonan *aljama* in 1283.⁷⁴⁶

Other *aljamas* resented the Barcelonan Jews' power over them, leading to a lack of cohesion when it came to opposing any Christian predations. Though the *aljama* appears to have been under the lordship of the King, in his role as Count of Catalonia, it did have interactions with the Temple. It was one of the three great centres (along with Girona and Perpignan) for Torah studies in the Crown of Aragon in the 13th and 14th centuries.⁷⁴⁷ It was also the undisputed administrative head of the Jews in Catalonia, attested to by R. Shelomo ben Adret, the leading rabbinical expert in the Crown in the late 13th century. As with Zaragoza in Aragon, this created conflict between Barcelona and the Catalan *aljamas* subject to it.⁷⁴⁸

The Trial and its Aftermath

In France, the Templars were arrested in a series of dawn raids on October 13, 1307. Very few escaped. When the Templars in Spain heard this news, they were concerned for their colleagues in France, but felt little fear for their own position at first. The arrests (and the idea of trying the Templars in the Crown of Aragon) were unpopular, even among the Temple's traditional enemies in the secular church. King James II, himself, was not initially impressed. Following correspondence from King Philip IV of France and the involvement of Pope Clement V in December, however, James felt pressure to arrest the Templars in his own realm. James would not go against the Pope once Clement decided to start his own inquisition into the charges against the Order.⁷⁴⁹ He decided to arrest the brethren and confiscate their property in preparation for a trial. It is possible that he coveted the Temple's wealth and lands, but the situation was more complicated than that, at least in Spain. The Kings of Aragon prided themselves on their reputation for being Christian crusaders. To them, heresy was a serious charge that could not be ignored. This was why they had helped the Inquisition during the 13th century, despite its hostility toward the Jews of the Crown. At any rate, James seemed unwilling to oppose the Pope on such serious charges, even if he suspected that the Pope's

⁷⁴⁶ Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon, Volume I*, doc. 1058; Register of the Royal Chancellery 61, folio 125 v0.

⁷⁴⁷ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 330.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 183.

⁷⁴⁹ Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1-3, 47-9.

motives in the matter were compromised.⁷⁵⁰

Despite this, James' attack on the Temple was slow and hesitant. The Temple reacted by abandoning most of its possessions in the north and concentrating on defending the more heavily fortified commanderies in the south--such as Monzón and Miravet. Barcelona, being an indefensible convent in the King's city, was abandoned by December 11, 1307 and taken over by the royal *bailli*.⁷⁵¹ There is no indication that any Jews in Barcelona suffered for being associates of the Order. The Temple did not control the *aljama* in lordship there as it did in Monzón, and the Templars in Barcelona either fled or were arrested without offering armed resistance.

Throughout December, brothers from abandoned convents all over the Crown of Aragon (including Barcelona, Gardeny, Barberà, Zaragoza, Añesa, Ambel and possibly Novillas) came to Monzón. By the end of the month, the Templars were entrenched. Their main centres of defense became Miravet and Monzón.

In most places, the local associates of the Order were reluctant to aid the King against the besieged Templars, stating a variety of reasons. Some feared retribution from the Order, either immediately or after the Templars might regain their lands following their successful defense against the charges. Others were uneasy with the idea of abandoning Templar lordship for a new, uncertain lordship under the King or one of his vassals after so many years. Despite local differences between Templars and their neighbours, it was too fast a change in administration for many of the latter. The charges shocked people in the Crown of Aragon, especially those who had worked closely with the Temple, and they found it difficult to believe that such unexpected accusations could bring the Temple down.⁷⁵²

Some associates asserted outright that the Temple was innocent and that they would defend it. This group included those who helped defend a local Templar fortress or hid Temple property for the brethren because some of the brothers there were their relatives. The residents of Monzón even demanded a letter from the Pope before they would cooperate with the King's men. After Clement V issued his bull calling for the arrest of the Templars on November 22, 1307, the townspeople of Monzón continued surreptitiously to support the besieged Templars well into the autumn of 1308.

The blockades of all the Templar castles, including Monzón, were porous. They

⁷⁵⁰ A. J. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1-10.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid*, 12.

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, 24-5.

allowed both exchanges of information and an influx of supplies from sympathetic allies, despite attempts to tighten the net.⁷⁵³ In many areas of the Crown, the King tried to force or persuade the besieged brethren to surrender through pressure, or even threats against their relatives, *confratres*, vassals and slaves. His success was hampered by the lack of enthusiasm for the venture among Templar vassals, non-vassals and besiegers alike. One Cantaviejan was murdered at Monzón by an erstwhile comrade (a Catalan), after he shouted to the castle that the defenders should shoot the Catalans, not him. His killer seems to have been subsequently acquitted of murder.⁷⁵⁴ The royal-versus-Templar interaction in Monzón was particularly bad--royal officials were met with violence when they attempted to deliver the Pope's letter in January, as well as subsequent royal demands for surrender.⁷⁵⁵ Due to this local support, the apathy among the besiegers and the Monzon castle's excellently-fortified position, the Templars there were able to hold out until their negotiated surrender on June 1, 1309. Monzón the last Templar castle to fall in the Crown of Aragon.

It is unclear when the *judería* in Monzón was destroyed, though it may have been in August 1308 when the King approved the building of a siege tower in the town,⁷⁵⁶ or in March 1309, when the King's commander attacked the *judería*.⁷⁵⁷ It is equally unclear who did it, although the Templars may have done it themselves to prevent the besiegers from attacking their 'back door'.⁷⁵⁸ However, the steepness of the cliff there and the previous alliance between the Jews and the Temple in Monzón against the King indicate that it was more likely to have been the besiegers themselves who destroyed the *judería*, either as punishment for previous disputes with the King over taxes, local hostility toward the Jews or fear that the Jews, like the town's Christians, were aiding the defenders in the castle.⁷⁵⁹ The Templars maintained control over the *judería* until March 1309 by fortifying it against attack with siege towers, though the Jews apparently left before the fortifications began. During the fortification, the *judería* was looted.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵³ Ibid, 40-1.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid, 53.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, 24-34.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid, 37.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid, 45.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid, 36. The besieged Templars at Miravet forced the Muslims around the castle to flee their homes after damaging the buildings with siege engines during an attempt to gain control of the Ebro River.

⁷⁵⁹ Stephen of Castro, for example, profited from his service to the castellan (the title of the commander after 1277) at Monzón, and the provincial master, by receiving several bailiwicks; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 263.

⁷⁶⁰ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, 45, 59-60.

It is also unclear whether the Jews were expelled or left voluntarily to avoid harm. The late timing of their departure indicates expulsion, as well as cooperation with the Temple for most of the siege. The Templars would never have left the *judería* intact for over a year of their siege if the Jews had not been supporting them in some way, or at least hindering the royal forces' advance. One of the difficulties with both Monzón and Barcelona is that most of the surviving documentation for them comes from royal correspondence, which did not favour the Temple during this period.⁷⁶¹ It is possible that the Templars encouraged the Jews to leave Monzón to avoid casualties in a valuable group of associates. When they left, the Jews fled to Alcolea and put themselves under the protection of the lord there, rather than remaining near Monzón and submitting to the King.⁷⁶² If this was a final attempt to avoid the King's direct lordship, it was unsuccessful. The King remitted some of their taxes in 1312,⁷⁶³ before he allowed them to return to Monzón and rebuild their *judería*.⁷⁶⁴ His stated reason was that they had suffered enough already, but it is clear that he also intended finally to take them under his direct lordship, and tax them as he had previously wanted to do.

The fate of the Temple's Muslim tenants in the area of Monzón is less clear, but they appear to have come under the jurisdiction of the Hospital when it finally received Monzón in 1320. Slaves, however, like most movable Temple property in the Crown, were claimed by the King and turned over to various individuals.⁷⁶⁵ The surviving Templar brethren in the area maintained their innocence and were eventually released and pensioned out. Many remained at their old convents, under the Hospital. Some switched to other religious orders. Others returned to secular occupations, either willingly forfeiting their pensions or trying to retain them by fraud. The latter practice damaged the Temple's memory with some of its previous associates, but the Trial still remained unpopular in the Crown of Aragon.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶¹ Ibid, 256-7.

⁷⁶² Register of the Royal Chancellery 205, folio 235 v0.

⁷⁶³ Register of the Royal Chancellery 210, folio 20, verso.

⁷⁶⁴ Register of the Royal Chancellery 212, folio 60, verso.

⁷⁶⁵ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, 139-40.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid, 255.

Conclusion

The origins, careers and subsequent fates of the Temple and its non-Christian associates in Monzón and Barcelona were shaped by the nature of the regions in which the Temple acquired these houses. As a large, ancient and royal city, Barcelona required a Templar presence, but offered no foothold for the Temple to gain much of a power base. The rich Jewish *aljama* of Barcelona dominated eastern Catalonia, but was too far under the control of the Counts of Barcelona to provide many vassals to the Temple. Most interaction between the Templars and the Jews of Barcelona involved individual working relationships with the King's Jewish *baillis*. Later, the Templars also became involved in legal disputes with some of the more powerful members of the *aljama*. There was no significant Muslim presence in the area of Barcelona, since the city had been retaken three centuries earlier by the Carolingians.

Monzón, in contrast, rested on the fluid border between Aragon and Catalonia, old and new lands, and profited accordingly. It was one of the Temple's most significant early acquisitions in the Crown of Aragon. It was also one of the few major towns where the Templars held undisputed lordship over all inhabitants--Christian, Muslim and Jew--over a long period. Since Monzón was on the frontier, the King of Aragon initially was willing to cede near-complete control over the area to the Temple, including control of the non-Christians there. This explains the increase in emphasis on lord-vassal relationships in the Monzón documents over Templar documents in other areas such as Tortosa and Lleida.

The tension of control, therefore, over the initial Templar period occurred between the Templars and their vassals, not between Templars and rival lords. This changed, however, in the 13th century, as tax and jurisdictional disputes increased between the Templars and the King, the Templars and the bishops of Lleida and the Jewish *aljamas* of Monzón and Lleida. Christians and Jews reacted differently to Templar lordship. The Christians chose to move away from Templar control even if it meant increased royal interference, while the Jews moved further under Templar lordship to avoid outside, royal control. One major exception to the Christian response to Templar lordship in Monzón, however, was that of the Mozarabs, who continued to contribute personnel to the Temple until the Trial. The Jews of Monzón, meanwhile, profited as much from their Templar lordship as the Templars did, and further sought independence from Lleida in the south. They preferred the Templars to the King as their local lords to avoid

excessive taxation and exploitation by the King and other *aljamas*. This created conflict in the late 13th century between the Order and the King over the Aragonese Jews' jurisdiction.

Because of the strategic position of the old Muslim fortress at Monzón, the convent there became the focus for Templar resistance to arrest from 1307 to 1309. The siege at Monzón proved disastrous for the Jews there, but the Templars' ability to hold out for nearly a year and a half probably won them the lenient retirement for the Order that followed the Trial in Catalonia and Aragon.

THE TEMPLARS IN HUESCA

Huesca--From Muslim to Christian

Founded on the slopes of the foothills of the Pyrenees in northern Aragon, the Huesca house seems too far north to find Templar interactions with non-Christians. Yet, until 1096, Huesca was the third largest city in the *taifa* of Zaragoza.⁷⁶⁷ Perhaps more than any other city in this region, Huesca represents how unexpected and rapid was the reversal of fortunes for the Kingdom of Aragon and its Muslim enemies in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. In 1070, the kingdom of Aragon was a tiny state on the edge of extinction straddling the Pyrenees. It was dwarfed by its Christian neighbour, Navarre, to the northwest and its massive Muslim enemy, Zaragoza, on its southern border. Within eighty years, Aragon had expanded at the expense of Navarre and Zaragoza had become a Christian city absorbed into the newly competitive Aragon. This realm expanded further when Aragon and Catalonia came under the rule of a single dynasty in 1137, becoming the Crown of Aragon.

Huesca fell to the Christians in 1096, after a protracted struggle over the plain of Zaragoza. While many Muslims then fled south, this option became increasingly untenable after Zaragoza fell in late 1118.⁷⁶⁸ After Tortosa fell in 1148, Lleida in 1149 and Miravet in 1153, the Christian frontier extended so far south that emigration from Huesca to Muslim Spain became practically impossible. Thus, the Muslim population of Huesca remained, trapped in amber.

As in Tortosa and Lleida, much of the Muslim elite appears to have fled immediately after the initial conquest, leaving the poor--mostly exarics--behind. At any rate, one does not see the rich Muslims who appear in Templar documents from Tortosa, Lleida and Zaragoza in the records at Huesca. One of the qualities peculiar to this population was its vulnerability. The Muslims lacked the financial security and the political voice of the richer Jews, as well as the longterm social cohesiveness of the Jewish *aljama*. They were therefore more easily exploited and less likely to receive privileges than the Jews.

The Templars came late to Huesca, but still prospered there. The house at Huesca

⁷⁶⁷ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1992), 110.

⁷⁶⁸ Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Vol. 7, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, Michael Whitby, Paul Magdalino and Hugh Kennedy, et al., eds. (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 37-40.

had dependencies in Algás, Arnillas, *Baibinum*, Loreto and Pompién. In Huesca, the Temple house was an unfortified quarter about two thirds of the way up a hill, on the northern side of the city. While the layout remains much the same, noted in the street names and the city's map, all of the houses are modern. Certain internal architectural features at the ground level, such as the log-and-whitewash-ceilings, may reflect an adherence to the original building layout in subsequent rebuilding. These features can also be found in Templar, Hospitaller and medieval-era Jewish structures (particularly the low gates into the *call* or *judería*) in Monzón, Gardeny and L'Espluga de Francoli. The houses themselves may have been fortified, though no such evidence can be seen from the street, but nothing survives to indicate that there was a wall around the quarter. The Templars apparently felt less fear of Muslim attack or revolt in Huesca than they did at Novillas, Monzón, Barberà and Miravet during the late 12th century.

As in other areas, the Templars' close interactions with their non-Christian associates in Huesca were not reflected in the relative placement of the three quarters. The *judería* was southwest of the Templar quarter, near the bottom of the hill. Nothing of this quarter now remains, not even the layout of the streets, which have been broadened since medieval times. The *morería* was southeast of the Templar quarter and up the hill from the Jewish quarter. Unlike Lleida or Tortosa, the Jewish and Muslim quarters in Huesca were not built right next to each other, but in fact were separated by several streets. The broad, sprawling Muslim quarter has also been destroyed, although the general layout of the narrow streets, as in the Templar quarter, remains.

Establishment and disputed lordship at Huesca

The Temple first began consolidating acquisitions in and near Huesca in the 1140s. A brother named Ramon of Castellnou administered property acquisition in the area from 1146 to 1165, but the documents mention no commander until 1160.⁷⁶⁹ Angel Conté, in his study of the Temple house in Huesca, gives an establishment date of 1148.⁷⁷⁰ Since commanderies frequently did not appear in documents until well after their establishment and the Temple had been active in Aragon since at least the 1130s, there is no reason to believe that the Temple in Huesca's establishment postdated the 1150s at the latest.

⁷⁶⁹ A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 97.

⁷⁷⁰ Angel Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca* (Huesca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1986), 19.

As with other Templar houses in northern Aragon, the origins of the convent in Huesca are vague compared to its prominence. The Templars came there late, both in their own and in the city's initial history, which accounts for their relatively low profile in the city. The Huesca house was subject to Novillas, the original provincial house, initially. The Temple followed its usual habit in Huesca of not establishing a central commandery in a large city, later choosing Monzón, over which it had unquestioned lordship from 1143 onward, instead. It may seem strange, on the face of it, that the central house in the area was first Novillas and later Monzón. They were both small and unstable frontier towns on disputed borders, compared to large, secure, centrally-located Huesca. However, in both Novillas and Monzón, the Temple could be in charge of its own affairs without excessive competition from both royal and secular church powers--or, for that matter, from other regular orders. This was less true of Huesca, where the Templars had to compete with the bishop and nobility, both already well established there, for lordship.⁷⁷¹

Despite this handicap, the house in Huesca was still large and prosperous, as well as a connector between the head house of western Aragon, Novillas, and the head house of eastern Aragon, Monzón. Being at the edge of the foothills of the Pyrenees, Huesca was the link between the houses further south in Aragon and those to the north in the mountains. Those Muslims who lived in the area, even as far north as Jaca, ultimately answered to the house in Huesca.

By the time the Temple became established in Huesca, the basic parameters of the Order's overall infrastructure had already formed. The first donated property in Novillas predated that in Huesca by two decades. Just as there was little room for the Temple in the power base of Huesca, there appears to have been little room for the Huesca house in the power base of the Temple in western Aragon. However, Huesca was important because of its proximity to the Pyrenees, and because the city was a major Christian stronghold in northern Aragon after its conquest. For the same reasons that the Templars could not establish a central commandery in Huesca, they had to establish a house there to protect their place in local politics.

This relatively small place in the city's lordship did not stop the Temple from acquiring lucrative properties in and around Huesca in the latter half of the 12th century. The

⁷⁷¹ Ibid, 31.

Temple bought a number of shops in town, as well as numerous vineyards and mills.⁷⁷² Most of the mills in Huesca appear to have been used for cereal production, rather than cloth-making as in Lleida.⁷⁷³ In addition to mill industry and viticulture, the Temple also kept pasturage for sheep, and had oxen.⁷⁷⁴ Many acquisitions were purchases, but the Temple also received gifts and pledges of confraternity.

Relations with the local clergy appear to have been cordial, if unenthusiastic.⁷⁷⁵ There was a dispute in 1200 between the Bishop of Huesca and the Order over the Temple's rights to bury whomever it wanted in its cemeteries, though this was eventually resolved due to papal intervention. There were also disputes involving Templar *confratres*, since some charlatans were exacting alms or taxes by pretending to be Templars or to represent them. But this was a more general problem between the Order and the secular arm of the Church than one specific to Huesca.⁷⁷⁶

Confratres and Other Types of Christian Associates

Confratres and new brethren appeared frequently in the Huesca documents, though they were not always identified as such. There were specific formulae which reoccurred, such as the giving of one's body and soul and a piece of land to the Order. *Alcher* of Alcalá, for example gave and conceded "my body and my *hereditas*, so as I have in Alcalá or ought to have, void and populated, with no retention, for the soul of my father and mother or for my relatives...to God and to that house of the Temple of Solomon," in 1179.⁷⁷⁷ This relationship was confirmed by a further gift of a vineyard on the road of Fananas.⁷⁷⁸ The relationship became much less clear when it involved only certain elements, such as donation of land for the remedy of one's soul (or those of one's parents) or an exchange of land for a corrody (food, drink or lodging).

⁷⁷² *Ibid*, 40; Huesca 15; (a workshop-*tallada*, in 1159) AHN, Cód. 499, p. 57, no. 140; (a shoeshop in 1191) Huesca 120; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 81-1, no. 194; (three shops- *tendas*, in 1212) Huesca 159, Conté 284.1; AHN, Ordenes Militares, San Juan, carp. 681, doc. no. 5; ACA Canc. R. 310, fols. 69 c-v; (two shops in 1255) Huesca 213; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 42-3, no. 101.

⁷⁷³ Conte, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 224.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 281.

⁷⁷⁵ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 52.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 173.

⁷⁷⁷ "...*dono corpus meum et totam meam hereditatem, quantum ego habeo in Alchala vel habere debeo, herema vel populata, sine nullo retinimento, pro anima patris vel matris mee vel parentum meorum...a Deo et ad illa mason de Templo Salomonis*"; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, Vol. 70, *Textos medievales* (Zaragoza [Spain]: Anubar Ediciones, 1985), doc. 78; *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, Cód. 499, p. 11, no. 18.

⁷⁷⁸ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 79; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 11, no. 17.

It was difficult to tell whether an associate was joining as a full brother or a *confrater* since such distinctions could be vague in the documents, though not, apparently, to the participants themselves. Sometimes, as in the case of Peter of Huesca in 1192, associates joined as both.⁷⁷⁹ In Huesca, we see *confratres*, *donati*, and *socii* among Christian associates, but what these distinctions meant were often unclear.⁷⁸⁰ In the case of Alcher, he appears to have joined as a fully-professed brother. However, in the case of Maria, widow of *Raimundus Ortolanus*, who gave herself as a *donata* associate to the Temple in August of 1228, this simple formula becomes more problematical. In her donation, Maria says, "[I] with good spirit and wish give myself to the Lord God and offer my body to the blessed Mary [the Temple's patron saint]⁷⁸¹ and to the house of the Temple of the Militia of Huesca, in the hand and the power of brother *Poncius Menescalcius*, holding the place of master, and brother Peter of Turan, commander of the house in Huesca, and to brother Guillelmus of Palatio, subpreceptor of the same, and brother Peter of Huesca and brother Arnaldus, keymaster, and to the other brothers."⁷⁸² Maria gave the brothers in Huesca two Jacan sous in annual rent and some houses which she owned in Huesca, on the market of the Fusta. These houses bordered on the west and south "in the houses of that Muslim (*sarraceno*) who is called Alguazen (*in domos de illo sarraceno qui dicitur Alguazen*)".⁷⁸³

Maria's reasons for joining were as straightforward as those of any Temple brother--she made the donation for the "remission of my soul and that of my parents (*in remissione anime mee et parentum meorum*)" and because she feared "to see the pains of Hell and wish to arrive at the joy of Paradise (*timeo videre penas inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudia Paradisi*)". But most of all, she wanted to be buried in the Temple's cemetery.⁷⁸⁴

Maria shared some characteristics with the equally problematical Templar sister in

⁷⁷⁹ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 43.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid, 33.

⁷⁸¹ Helen Nicholson, "The Head of St Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints," in *Gendering the Crusades*, Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert, eds. (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2001), 108-120.

⁷⁸² "...ego Maria...bono animo et voluntate dono me Domino Deo et offero corpus meum beate Marie et domui Templi Milicie Osce, in manu et in potencia fratris Poncii Menescalcii, tenentis locum magistrum, et fratris Petri de Turan, comendatoris domus Osce, et fratris Guillelmi de Palatio, subpreceptoris eiusdem, et fratris Petri de Sancto Romano et fratris Petri de Osca et fratris A[ma]ldi, clavigeris, et aliorum fratrum nostrorum"; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, 181; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 80, no. 193.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

Rourell, the *Preceptrix* Ermengarda. She was a widow, she was rich and possibly belonged to the nobility (though the titles of neither Ermengarda nor Maria were clear) and she joined using the same language as that of male brethren. Even her entry as a *donata* associate would have entailed the brethren in Huesca violating the regulation against contact with women by swearing her in between the master's hands and giving her the kiss of peace. Perhaps this regulation was not honoured as strictly as implied by Bernard of Clairvaux and the Templars themselves.⁷⁸⁵ Regulation 68, was a later addition to the Latin Rule, indicating that the brethren were not all of one mind about associates--especially women--in the Order.⁷⁸⁶ This may be where we see an oral tradition that regulated those daily Temple affairs that did not appear in the *Rule*. The alternative is to assume that the Templars not infrequently stretched and broke their regulations in some areas, whereas in others they strictly followed them. Since the Templars had a reputation for strict discipline, such an *ad hoc* approach seems unlikely.⁷⁸⁷

The other problem which Maria raises with her uncertain status is the question of definitions. The fact that she asks to be buried in the Temple's cemetery does point to her joining solely as a lay sister, a *consoror*. However, in most other respects Maria makes the same actions as Alcher of Alcalá, who is classified as a full brother in the modern edition of the *Cartulary of Huesca*⁷⁸⁸: she gives her body (a full brother gave both his body and soul, "*anima et corpus*") to the Temple, and further gives property and money as well. What, then, is her status within the Temple? To be buried in the Temple cemetery means to be buried in the Temple habit, which is technically a

⁷⁸⁵ "We believe it to be a dangerous thing for any religious to look too much upon the face of woman. For this reason none of you may presume to kiss a woman, be it widow, young girl, aunt or any other; and henceforth the Knighthood of Jesus Christ should avoid at all costs the embraces of women, by which men have perished many times, so that they remain eternally before the face of God with a pure consciences and sure life"; Regulation 71; J. M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, Vol. 4, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), 36, reg. 71.

⁷⁸⁶ "By common counsel of all the chapter we forbid and order expulsion, for common vice, of anyone who without discretion was in the house of God and of the knights of the Temple; also that the sergeants and squires should not have white habits, from which custom great harm used to come to the house; for in the regions beyond the mountains false brothers, married men and others who said they were brothers of the Temple used to be sworn in; while they were of the world. They brought so much shame to us and harm to the Order of Knighthood that even their squires boasted of it; for this reason numerous scandals arose. Therefore let them assiduously be given black robes; but if these cannot be found, they should be given what is available in that province; or what is the least expensive, that is *burell* [a coarse woolen cloth]"; Regulation 68; Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 35-6, reg. 68.

⁷⁸⁷ Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance*, Vol. 4, *History of Warfare* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 35-40.

⁷⁸⁸ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, 79-80, doc. 87, and 201, doc. 181.

violation of regulation # 70.⁷⁸⁹ If men who were received on their deathbeds were seen as full brethren,⁷⁹⁰ why not Maria as well?

Martin don Esmon's case was a somewhat clearer example of *confrater* admission to the Order than either Maria or Alcher. It seems obvious that he was joining the Temple as a *confrater*, since he was married and joining with the consent of his wife.⁷⁹¹ Married brethren were not allowed to join as full brethren, and *confratres* were not allowed to join in such a way as to impoverish their spouses.⁷⁹² The Temple was not enthusiastic about becoming a refuge for married men trying to abandon their wives.

While the document does not mention Martin joining for a period of a year as a temporary brother, he did promise himself "body and soul" to the Temple and made his oath between the hands of the commander of the house in Huesca. Although this language is vaguer than in some *confratres* documents, it seems clear that Martin did join the Temple under this designation.

Mozarabic Culture and Navarrese Influences

There were certainly Mozarabs in Huesca up until the early 13th century. They appear in Temple documents, though not as prominently as in Monzón. The field of *Bartolomeo, mozarabi*, is mentioned in a land donation which two sisters, *Maria* and *Tota*, made to the Temple in 1196.⁷⁹³ *Bartolomeo* had died by 1200, as another document in that year mentions that his sons owned the same field at that time.⁷⁹⁴

In 1227, *Andreas mozaravi* sold a field in Papiello to the Temple, in exchange for "60 sous *denariorum* Jacan money good and firm" in perpetuity (*LX solidos denariorum lachensium monete bone et firme*).⁷⁹⁵ This kind of money was a modest sum, but not a small amount in comparison to other land sales in the area, such as that of *Guillelmus*

⁷⁸⁹ "The company of women is a dangerous thing, for by it the old devil has led many from the straight path to Paradise. Henceforth, let not ladies be admitted as sisters into the house of the Temple; that is why, very dear brothers, henceforth it is not fitting to follow this custom, that the flower of chastity is always maintained among you"; Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 36, reg. 70.

⁷⁹⁰ In 1219, Bertrand of Albero, similarly to Maria, offered his body to the Temple for burial. He contributed several heredities and the commander of the house welcomed him like a full brother of the Temple (despite calling him *socium*, a type of *confrater*). However, the language of the introduction indicates that Bernard was joining on his deathbed, after making his will, not as a full brother for life; *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, 170; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 11-12, no. 19.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid*, 93; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 27-8, no. 59.

⁷⁹² Regulations 69, 432, 433 and 630.

⁷⁹³ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, 128; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 76, no. 186.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 144; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 54, no. 131.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 180; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 62-3, no. 153.

Petrus, a shoemaker, and his wife *Maria*, who sold a plot of land to the Temple for 70 sous in 1160.⁷⁹⁶ *Andreas* must have had some wealth in order to own land of that value. The sale indicates that some Mozarabs were still a force of prominence and affluence in Huesca, a century and a half after the conquest. This makes sense if they were still such a strong presence in the Temple down in Monzón, as well.⁷⁹⁷ The retention of the name "Mozarab" also indicates a certain cultural and religious coherence and the continued existence of a Mozarabic identity in the 13th century in the city. But how coherent this community was is unknown. It may have been relatively short-lived in Huesca, as well. Alfonso the Battler had retrieved a large number of Mozarabs from Muslim territory during his campaigns in the south, and used them to repopulate the plain of Zaragoza. The Mozarabs in Huesca, therefore, could have been descendants of Christians from the south, rather than people who had lived in the area under Muslim rule before 1085.⁷⁹⁸

The documents remain vague about how much Mozarabic Temple associates moved around. The Mozarabs in Monzón and 12th century Tortosa were all local men of modest means. However, the Temple did have Navarrese *confratres* in several houses throughout Aragon and Catalonia—including Huesca, Novillas, Monzón, and Tortosa. Novillas and Huesca are logical due to their proximity to Navarre, Monzón less so and Tortosa most puzzling of all.

The common Navarrese name "Ennecho" (Iñigo) for Templar associates appears in several Templar documents from Huesca from the latter half of the 12th century. The name "Ennecho" was popular in Aragon during the 12th century. Its disappearance from Temple records by the early 13th century reflects the gradual estrangement between Navarre and Aragon during that period. The last mention appears in 1219.⁷⁹⁹ A typical document from 1158 discusses the donation of a *confrater* of the Order, *Don Ennec Sanz* of Binies.⁸⁰⁰ *Ennec* had promised the standard Aragonese donation of a horse and harness from a *confrater* (similar donations occur in lists of *confratres* from Novillas⁸⁰¹). However, when he died in 1158, his widow, *Doña Oriá*, could not give up the promised

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 17; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 54, no. 13.

⁷⁹⁷ Francisco Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los Templarios de Monzón", in *Ilerda*, no. 36 (1975): 41-96.

⁷⁹⁸ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1992), 20.

⁷⁹⁹ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 170; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 11-12, no. 19.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid*, doc. 13; Arco1 doc. 21, p. 443; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 57, no. 138.

⁸⁰¹ Ana Isabel Lapeña Paul, *Documentos de la encomienda templaria de Novillas (siglo XII)* (Barcelona: ETD Micropublicaciones, 1997), docs. 10 and 11.

horse and donated a field (*campo*) to the Temple instead. This field bordered the Temple on the east and the sons of *Alcoholi*, a Muslim (*moro*), on the south.⁸⁰² In this instance, the Templars, both the brethren and their *confrater*, bordered a Muslim's land.

Aljama Offices and Officers

An *Enec Pedrez, zavalmedina*, appeared as a witness to the transaction between Doña Oria and the Temple in 1158.⁸⁰³ The year before, the *zavalmedina* was one *Enec Pedres* (probably the same man), who also appeared as a witness to a Templar land transaction, this time the sale of a rich *hereditas* in Orris to Brother Ramon of Castellnou, in exchange for 1150 Jacan denarii.⁸⁰⁴ The *zavalmedina* (more commonly *zalmedina*), a Castilian word originally from the Arabic "*Sahib al-Madina*", was the supreme municipal judge of the Muslims, but in Aragon he could also be the inspector of the city.⁸⁰⁵ In Huesca, Peter II granted three franchises within the city to a certain *dompne Alvire* of Cerbillón and forbade the bailiff, vicar, *merinus* (a royal judicial official and territorial administrator who was "mayor" of the city, just as the *zalmedina* was "mayor" of the *morería*)⁸⁰⁶, *zavalmedina* and *repositarius* from molesting those working there, of any religion.⁸⁰⁷ He made a similar promise to the Jew *Solomon Avinverduth* in the same year.⁸⁰⁸ Those in the office mentioned during the Templar period all had Christian names. However, a Muslim *zalmedina* from 1363 is mentioned as appropriating an office for himself (the *tafurarius*), which was designated for collecting a fine on Christians who engaged in gaming in the *morería*.⁸⁰⁹

The offices of *zalmedina* and *merinus* could be combined. *Eneco Garces*, a witness to a Temple document in 1160, was both *merin* and *zalmedina* of Huesca.⁸¹⁰ The documents indicate that the *zalmedina* in Huesca was both the mayor of the *morería* and the inspector of the city. In a document from 1194, Don Peter of Arressa, the *zalmedina*

⁸⁰² *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 13; Arco1 doc. 21, p. 443; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 57, no. 138.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid, doc. 11; AHN Cód. 499, p. 38, no. 92.

⁸⁰⁵ Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 342.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid; 340.

⁸⁰⁷ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 159, Conté 284.1; AHN, Ordenes Militares, San Juan, carp. 681, doc. no. 5; ACA Canc. R. 310, fols. 69 c-v.

⁸⁰⁸ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 282.2; ACA, Cancillería, R.º 310, fol. 37 c-v.

⁸⁰⁹ John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 71.

⁸¹⁰ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 19; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 59, no. 145.

at that time, witnessed a document in which the Temple exchanged property with Don Enneco of Anzano, which bordered both on a vineyard of the Temple and one of a Muslim (*sarracenum*).⁸¹¹ The overall transaction involved land surrounding the *alhandeca* of Montaragon. This *alhandeca* was most likely an *alfondec*, a corn exchange market, and appears to have passed mostly into the hands of Christians by the end of the 12th century. As in the case of the offices of *alcald* and (to some extent) *zalmedina*, this was likely a Muslim institution that had been borrowed by Christians for Christian use, rather than a Muslim survival in itself.

Muslim associates of the Order

Boswell estimates the Muslim proportion of the population of Aragon at 30% of 240,000 (about 80,000), and the population of Muslims in Huesca at 540 or 5% of the city's population (though both of these figures come later, from the mid-14th century) at a time when an Aragonese city of Huesca's size would not have exceeded 10,000 souls in population.⁸¹² In Aragon, Muslims were a majority in some areas between the city and Ambel, southwest of Novillas. Ambel had a significant population that interacted with the brethren of the Temple and Hospital and was subject to the Temple house in Huesca.⁸¹³ However, the Muslims were cut off by a Christian majority to the south of that town. In Catalonia, a Christian majority extended as far south as Tarragona on the coast along a relatively straight line southeast-northwest to Lleida, near the Aragonese border. Very few Muslims lived north of this line in Catalonia after the conquest of that area.⁸¹⁴ This was not the case in Aragon. While the Muslims do not appear to have been in the majority in Aragon, as they were in the Kingdom of Valencia outside of the capital city well into the 14th century, they did comprise a significant minority.⁸¹⁵ They may also have remained the majority as far north as Miravet in the Ebro Valley throughout the Templar period.⁸¹⁶

⁸¹¹ Ibid, doc. 126; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 68-9, no. 168.

⁸¹² Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 1977; 7-8.

⁸¹³ Christopher Gerrard, "Opposing Identity: Muslims, Christians and the Military Orders in Rural Aragon," in *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 43 (1999): 143-160.

⁸¹⁴ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 7.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid; Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 13-14.

⁸¹⁶ Joan Fuguat Sans, *L'Arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, Editor, 1995), 78-9.

The Temple came to the area over fifty years after the conquest of the city and the redistribution of Muslim property to Christians. Even those rich Muslims like *Abdella Ibn Hanina*, who appears to have lingered until after 1100 in the area, left their property to other Christians before it came into Templar hands.⁸¹⁷ Despite missing the initial land grab, the Temple made sizable land acquisitions in the area. However, the Order did not benefit directly from the dispossession of the local Muslims, as it did in Tortosa and Lleida. Consequently, this may have resulted in better relations between the Templars and their Muslim associates than in the southern areas. Not having participated in the initial conquest and redistribution of territory, the Templars may have appeared to the local Muslims as more interested in taxation and collecting rent than outright seizure of land. Forey notes that many Christians in Aragon saw benefits in making some sort of alliance with the Temple, even when they already had a lord (hence the Templars' insistence in some documents that their *confratres* make no other such associations with any other religious groups or sell to soldiers or clerics).⁸¹⁸ The Templars could provide both legal and military protection, as well as exacting lower taxes than the nobility or the King. For associates in general, the Temple could be a formidable ally, and the non-Christians of Huesca appear to have felt the same way about the Order as their Christian neighbours on this issue. This is not surprising, as the non-Christians, who all came under the jurisdiction of the King, had fewer options than Christians in avoiding injustices that the King refused, or was unable, to correct, or the ones that he perpetrated himself. Their inability to leave and their dwindling influence exacerbated this lack of power in Muslim society. The Muslims around Huesca were lucrative groups but do not seem to have been as critical to the Christian infrastructure as their coreligionists in the more newly conquered south.

We see evidence of good relations between the Temple and Muslims in documents like the one concerning *Salema Moreno* a Muslim (*sarraceno*) and his family in 1295. The second name, Moreno, means "dark". Muslims could be classified as "white" (*albus*)⁸¹⁹ or "dark" (*moreno*). The Temple had a claim to ownership over *Salema* and his family (including his *predecessoribus*), indicating that he was, or had been, a slave. In addition

⁸¹⁷ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 1; Ubierto doc. 124, p. 385-6; AHN, Ordenes Militares, San Juan, carp. 681, doc. no. 1.

⁸¹⁸ Ramon Sarobe i Huesca, ed., *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny: 1070-1200* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998), I:252; *Cartulary of Gardeny*, doc. 81, fol. 39.

⁸¹⁹ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 398, doc. XXVI; ACA, parch. Peter III, no. 33.

to free Muslim tenants, the Temple did keep slaves at Huesca, as it did in other parts of the Crown of Aragon. An inventory from 1289 counted eight slaves in the house at Huesca.⁸²⁰

However, Salema also held property in rent from the Temple, namely some houses and a garden (*ortum*) in Huesca. Since slaves did not generally appear holding landed property in Templar documents, Salema's status was at least that of an *exaric*, though his second name implies that he may have been a former slave. Transfers of ownership involving Muslims frequently included references to their colour--though these slaves (or *exarics*) were not usually named in these transactions.⁸²¹ Also, Templar slaves were usually household servants and skilled workmen rather than agricultural workers.⁸²² The Templars' claim of "ownership" may have indicated a feudal obligation, possibly resulting from Salema's emancipation. Muslim slaves did not generally leave Temple service completely after they were emancipated, but remained in some sort of paid service to the Order. This arrangement meant that the former slave retained a means of support and the Temple retained his services.⁸²³

The document indicates that the Temple was protecting Salema from molestation by the monks at the monastery of Saint Peter the Ancient. Here, we see a Muslim tenant of the Temple depending on the Order to protect him legally from harassment.⁸²⁴

Interestingly, a document involving the protection of another Muslim tenant (this time of the Hospital) in 1433, the commander of the Hospital is identified as the "commander of the Temple in Huesca (*comandador del Temple de Oscha*)", even though this was an impossibility at that time. In this case, the commander was protecting *Jafel Olivito*, a Muslim (*moro*), and others from being expelled from their houses in Poyo de Fananes by the Reverend (*mossen*) *Xhemino* of that town and "his said accomplices" (*am los dits complices*).⁸²⁵ Why the commander would agree to be identified as such in the

⁸²⁰ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 202.

⁸²¹ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 110.

⁸²² Castillon Cortada, "Discusiones entre los obispos de Lerida y los Templarios de Monzón", 285-6.

⁸²³ Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de L'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Ordre (1213-1312), Volume II, Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona*, 1999, 34-5, doc. 28; ACA, GP, Cartulary of Tortosa, doc. 22-1r, fol 7r; Forey, p. 240, 303, note 196.

⁸²⁴ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 290.1; ACA, Cancillería, Registro 101, fols. 154 c.

⁸²⁵ "Dito es so que yo frare Bernardi de Morieres, comandador del Temple de Oscha, ey despendido por Jafel Olivito, moro de Poyo de Fayanas, basalho del horden que mossen Xhemino de Puyo de Fayanas a pres lo dit basalho meu del horden que son do casas de moros al dit logar de Poyo basalhos son seus...."; Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 296.3; AHN, Cód. 663 B, p. 91.

document (written in Castillian) or why the scribe would choose to make said identification is unknown. Perhaps the Muslims held a more positive memory of being under Templar lordship in "ancient" times than Hospitaller lordship in more recent times. Equally likely, the Muslims may have seen no great difference in treatment during the changeover to Hospitaller lordship between 1312 and 1319 and now conflated the two orders in their collective memory by the 15th century.

Muslim Survivals in Offices and Taxation

The legal tax status of Muslims was uncertain in Huesca. A royal law code of 1247 enshrined a general exemption of Muslim land from tithes to the Church. However, this was violated as much as it was enforced. A further problem arose in 1257, when the King's Muslims in Huesca excluded Muslims working for the monastery at Sigena from worship at the city mosques. The monastery's Muslim tenants, led by Hamet Avenhuda, refused to pay royal taxes, from which they were technically exempt. James I decreed that the Sigena Muslims had to pay any tax that benefited the entire community, but that they would also regain access to both mosques and cemeteries once they did. Temple Muslims would have been similarly exempt from royal taxation, at least in theory. Further, they may have been able to avoid the communal taxes, creating no small amount of resentment from the King's Muslims.⁸²⁶

Although some Muslim landholders fled after the conquest of Huesca, some remained. The sons of Albola are mentioned as owning a third of a cultivated field north, and uphill, from the earthen Roman wall, on the public road, in 1159. This land bordered a new Templar acquisition to the south.⁸²⁷ And despite the fact that the Muslim *aljama* was frequently headed by Christian officials in Huesca, the *morería* continued to have an *alcaid*. At any rate, the area had property still attributed to an *alcaid*, from which the Temple profited. In June 1160, Brother Ramon of Castellnou (referred to as "Don" in the document) bought a plot of land in Huesca, "in the known place which is called "at the mill of the *Alcaid*" (*Comparavit don R de Castro Novo, servus Dei et Milicie Templi...uno campo in Osca, in loco cognito que vocatur ad molin de Alcaid*), from *Guillelmus Petrus*, a shoemaker, and his wife *Maria*. The land was worth 70 Jacan sous of quarter denarii.⁸²⁸ This was not, apparently, the totality of the land around the mill,

⁸²⁶ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*; 197, 341.

⁸²⁷ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 15; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 57, no. 140.

⁸²⁸ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 17; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 54, no. 13.

however, as the Temple bought another plot in the *termino* of the "spring of the mill of the *Alcaid*" (*uno campo, qui est in termino de fonte de molin de Alcaid*), from Rogger, brother of Pere of Tremp and his wife *Iordana* for 130 sous Jacan quarter *denarii*.⁸²⁹ Even so, this was not the entirety of the land, as this plot bordered on the king's property in the south and that of the sons of Sancio Banzons in the east. It did, however, increase the Temple's land into a large, single plot, as it bordered *Guillelmus Petrus*, the shoemaker's, sale on the south, and also had access to the public road to the west making one large plot worth 200 sous. In 1169, Brother Ramon of Cervera bought two further plots of land in the same *termino* of the "spring of the mill of the *Alcaid*". These plots do not seem to have been coterminous with the previous plots. One of them bordered the public road in the north, but their other borders are not recognisable as any plots resting next to the Temple lands, though the scribe states that both plots were next to a *hereditas* of the Temple. The brothers bought these two plots for 250 sous, making each one about the same size and/or worth as that of the second plot from 1160.⁸³⁰

It would be easy to see this reference to the *Alcaid* as simply a survival in common memory of the ruler of Huesca's personal property or a reference to a Christian official. However, another document from 1170 shows the *Comitessa* Guillelma of Castellazolo donating a plot to the Temple under "the spring of the Muslim (*sarraceno*) *alcaite*" (*...et est subtus illa fonte de illo alcaite sarraceno*).⁸³¹ Christian documents from this period do not usually refer to *sarraceni* unless they mean Muslims who are actually present and living under Christian rule. In Huesca, both the terms *sarracenus* and *moro* were used. It is unlikely that the scribe would refer to a spring formerly in the possession of the *mauro alcaite*. *Mauro*, a more popular term in northern-European Templar documents, is a different term from *moro* (though the latter derives from it) and denotes a Muslim in Muslim lands (i.e. a Muslim captured in battle was a *maurus captivus*, not a *sarracenus captivus*, because he had usually been fighting in a Muslim army, not a Christian one), though scribes could use all three terms interchangeably. In other areas, it meant an African Muslim while a Saracen was a Muslim from the East, but this definition did not extend to Christian Iberia. Boswell notes that *moro* was a Castillian and Aragonese term while *sarracenus* was a Latin term, but the scribes made no real linguistic distinctions in

⁸²⁹ Ibid, doc. 19; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 59, no. 145.

⁸³⁰ Ibid, doc. 36; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 60, no. 149.

⁸³¹ Ibid, doc. 38; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 52, no. 124.

Huesca, mixing Latin with vernacular in other ways as well.⁸³²

The scribe also specifies said *alcaite* as being *sarraceno*. This might seem redundant at first. An *alcait* (*alcaid*) was always an official of the *morería*, regardless of whether he was Muslim or Christian. As we have seen in Tortosa, he was frequently Christian in some *morerías*. This therefore indicates that the spring was indeed under the control of the head official of the Huescan *morería*, particularly since none of the documents which mention this spring give water rights for it to any of the plots involved. This was not an inconsiderable right, since all of the plots were lucrative and, most likely, irrigated (though no irrigation canals are mentioned). The spring seems to have been the major water source for plots in the immediate vicinity. Land including the rights to the spring therefore also included water rights, making it more lucrative than land without access to water.

The mill, itself, however, was in the possession of the *Comitessa*, who donated it to the Temple in 1176. She gave the mill and its land at "the spring of the mill of the *Alcaite*, with its miller (*suo molinare*), all together, with exits and entrances and all its pertinences, with no retention" (*ad illa Fonte de molin de Alcaite, cum suo molinare, toto ab integro, cum exiis et regressiis et omnibus suis pertinenciis*).⁸³³ This mill bordered the river Ysola in the east and appears to have been coterminous with at least the later acquisitions of the Temple in that area.

The Temple, itself, continued to collect land around this area for the rest of the 12th century. The donation that it received from the *Comitessa* in 1170 bordered, on the north, the plot of *Don Spaniol* of Borza, which the Temple had bought in 1169.⁸³⁴ Within twenty years, the Temple had carefully acquired a lucrative mill and nearby land surrounding the *alcait's* spring. Either the name was indeed a survival and the spring belonged to one of the plots (most likely, that of the mill) or the Temple was unconcerned about having land with water rights retained by a Muslim official. If the latter were true, this would indicate that the *alcait* was also under the control of the Templars, or an associate.

While the area immediately around the spring of the *alcait* had no Muslim land, this was not strictly true of all the land bordering the river Ysola. As with other Temple land bordering rivers, the Ysola had a string of mills along its banks, and also vineyards. In

⁸³² Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 3, 27 n.3; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 1-5.

⁸³³ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 58; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 78, no. 189B and p.58, no. 143C.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid*, doc. 36; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 60, no. 149.

1180, García of Pompién a miller (*molinero*), *Matheo* his son, *Olalia* his daughter, and *Domna Sania* his wife, sold two shares which they had in mills belonging to *Iohan Aborrazin* on the river Ysola, for 40 Jacan sous. This land, which subsequently belonged to the Temple bordered the field of *Aben Zorqui*, a Muslim, in the west. His land was a vineyard.⁸³⁵

Another mysterious area mentioned in the documents is the "*lalmechoro*" of the Muslims in Huesca. The Temple received two fields on this property's western borders in February 1175 from Don Lop of Lavata and Don Girart, son of Guirard, both *confratres* and *corrodors* of the Order. The Temple land was an extension of its property on the western side. It appears that both the new Temple land and the "*lalmechoro de los moros*" bordered the River Ysola to the south.⁸³⁶ This land appears again as the "*almechora sarracenorum*" in 1224, in the town itself, on the northern side of a house which the Temple received in a land exchange and also to the north and west of houses owned by *Zequirini*, a *cantarero* (jug maker)--probably, by his name and profession, a Muslim.⁸³⁷

The Temple not-infrequently found itself forced to protect its Muslim tenants from predation by local Christians, particularly toward the end of the 13th century. In October of 1291, the Temple asked the royal representative (*superiuntarius*) to force Peter Aznarius of Casseda to return a mule which he had stolen from the Muslim *Albocaçer* of Hilela from a Muslim area in Pueyo de Fanyanars, a town to the east of Huesca.⁸³⁸ *Albocaçer* was a man of the Temple, identified in the document as "a Saracen of the Temple (*sarraceno Templi*)".⁸³⁹ The Temple informed the King of the theft, and he ordered his *superiuntarius* in Huesca to make Peter Aznarius give the mule back. *Albocaçer's* troubles with thieves were not over. In February of 1292, the King once again sent a letter to his *superiuntarius*, this time because the Temple complained that thieves had stolen 82 sheep from *Albocaçer* in the middle of the night. The King ordered his official to make an investigation into the incident, find out its truth and arrest any robbers, with the aim of seizing their property and restoring *Albocaçer's* own.

⁸³⁵ Ibid, doc. 81; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 67-8, no. 166.

⁸³⁶ Ibid, doc. 53; AHN Cód. 499, p. 41, no. 98; Ibid, doc. 54; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 53, no. 127.

⁸³⁷ Ibid, doc. 176; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 61-62, no. 151; This document gives a rare example of a scribe of the Temple (rather than the usual municipal scribe): "Guillelmus of Barcelona, scribe of brother Gaucelmus, preceptor of the house in Huesca of the Militia of the Temple".

⁸³⁸ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 234.

⁸³⁹ Ibid, 287.3; ACA, Cancillería, Registro 86, fol. 26 v.

Apparently, the *superiuntarius* had been slow to respond to the Temple's own investigation into the affair, not only in this case, but in the previous one and possibly others.⁸⁴⁰ The swiftness with which the Temple opted to petition the King implies a sour relationship on both sides. However, this may have been due to a change of administration involving the *superiuntarius*, instead. The official named in the first document (R. de Molina) was not the same as the individual in the second document (Luppus de Pomario) only four month later, even though the office was the same.

Despite the Muslim *aljama's* relative poverty compared to that of the Jewish *aljama*, the King's Muslims could enjoy similar exemptions to the King's Jews. This could hold true even after they became Temple Muslims. In 1209, for example, the King freed "Abdellanus Azeu, our Saracen of Huesca, son of *Mahumati Azeu*" (*Abdellanum Azeu sarracenum nostrum de Oscha*) under similar conditions, except that he freed Abdellanus from the Temple, as well, even as he gave Abdellanus to the Temple as a vassal.⁸⁴¹ Abdellanus was also freed from the jurisdiction of *aljama* officials and various forms of taxation, including: "*oste et cavalcata*, and from their redemptions and from all *questia*, *peita*, *paria*, *tolta fortia*, *pedido*, *precaria*, *usatico*, *bovatico*, *monetatico* and *sucursu* and from all services and exactions and demands [both] royal and local (*vicinale*) that could be said or named, and from all *lezda*, *pedatico* and *portatico*, *peso*, *mensuratico*, *usatico*, *tolta* and *consuetudine*, new and old, established and being established (*statutis et statuendis*) throughout our [the King's] land".⁸⁴²

Abdellanus' case shows the continuum between servile and free in Muslim communities of the 12th and 13th centuries. As with the document involving Solomon, there were no Muslim witnesses.⁸⁴³ It is possible, however, that this paucity of non-Christian witnesses for documents involving transfer of serfdom may have been because all non-Christians were technically serfs of the King and could not legally witness this particular type of transaction. One interesting aspect of the taxes from which Abdellanus and Solomon were exempted is the implication that Muslims and Jews in 13th century Huesca were still forced to pay the *parias* tribute, if only in theory.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid, 288.1; ACA, Cancillería, Registro 94, fols. 98 v - 99 c.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid, 94.

⁸⁴² "...*ab omni oste et cavalcata earumque redemptione et ab omni questia, peita, paria, tolta fortia, pedido, precaria, usatico, bovatico, monetatico et sucursu et ab omni servitio et exactione et demanda regali et vicinali que /30 dici vel nominati possit, ab omni lezda, pedatico et portatico, peso, mensuratico, usatico, tolta et consuetudine, novis et veteribus, statutis et statuendis per totam terram nostram*"; Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 282.1; ACA, Cancillería, R.º 310, fol. 36 c-v.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

Tenants and Associates

The Jews of Huesca were, of course, in a somewhat different situation. Of the two favoured groups of non-Christians, the Jews were always more favoured by the King, and usually also by the nobles. They tended to be better educated, and that small, rich upperclass among them was probably richer than the Muslims who remained in the Crown of Aragon. The Muslim identity found in Huescan Temple documents is more uniform than the Jewish identity, lower in status and far more agricultural. There were certainly poor people and agricultural workers among the Jews and they do show up in Huescan documentation. But the rich merchants who dominate some of these documents made a far greater impression on their Christian neighbours than the mass of poor non-Christians, Jewish or Muslim. Very few Muslims remaining in Christian lands could match this image.

The first appearance of a Jew in the Huescan Templar documents comes in 1163. *Eleazar* owned a vineyard in the foothills in a town called Orris. His plot bordered a large Temple property to the south, after *Dompna Tota*, a widow, sold her vineyard to the Temple for 190 sous of quarter denarios and a corrody of "bread and wine and fish and other trifles (*Aliala inter pan et vin et pex et alias minucias*)" which were worth 5 sous.⁸⁴⁴ We do not know whether *Eleazar* worked his own section of this vineyard or was an absentee landlord. Probably he at least administered it, since documents not infrequently identified working tenants as owners of property.

This area of vineyards first appears with the reference to *Eleazar* in 1163.⁸⁴⁵ At this time, *Aben Azfora* already owned his vineyard there and *Eleazar* owned the area to the south. A related property, a field, ended in the mountain part (the north), in the *orto* of *Perna*, a Muslim (*moro*), and on the south in an irrigation ditch. The arrangement also implied a *confrater* relationship between the donors of the properties (who were associates/dependents due to *Dompna Tota's* status as a corroder) and the Temple, and so, likely an association between the non-Christians surrounding the properties and the Temple.

Aben Azfora, who owned a property on the western side of *Dompna Tota's* vineyard, was identified in a later document as also being a Jew.⁸⁴⁶ In fact, the Temple property in this area was surrounded by a cluster of Jewish and Muslim properties near

⁸⁴⁴ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 25; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 38-9, no. 93.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid*, doc. 25; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 38-9, no. 93.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid*, doc. 49; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 87, no 204.

the river. In 1174, *Abraem* and his brother *Iuzef*, sons of *Maomat Zerbichal* (a Muslim), exchanged a field to the Temple on the river, which had a boundary on the public road, with a vineyard that had a border with *Aben Azfora*, *Galin Garcez* of Petraselz, the vineyard of *Abenmataf*, a Jew, and the vineyard of "those from Zebrian", to rent.⁸⁴⁷ The 1174 document which calls *Aben Azfora* a Jew involved this exchange. *Galin* and his field also appear in a document from 1172.⁸⁴⁸

The brothers agreed to cultivate the vineyard in perpetuity, and pay a third part of the fruit faithfully to the Temple. Despite the rent agreement, the two brothers did have the right to sell the vineyard. Vineyards were often owned and cultivated piecemeal by several tenants and owners. Documents also frequently indicate shared rights to irrigation canals, which were critical to maintaining heavily cultivated crops like wine grapes. This therefore implied a great deal of cooperation between tenants/owners of neighbouring plots in a single vineyard. It is very likely that *Aben Azfora*, *Galin* and *Abenmataf* were all Temple men, as, by making the exchange and the agreement to pay rent, *Abraem* and *Iuzef* were agreeing to become Temple tenants.

Though none of the other property owners listed on the boundaries of the 1174 plot were Muslim, three of the four witnesses were Muslims (*moros*)--*Alehaide*, *Amarguan Abnallaber* and *Eiza Abnezmei*--while a fourth was a Christian shoemaker named Bernard of Bolea.⁸⁴⁹ These witnesses were probably Temple men as well. By accepting a rental agreement in exchange for their own property, the brothers were, of course, becoming tenants of the Temple. Presumably, they did this, at least in part, for protection, both legal and physical. It may have been helpful to them to have agricultural property surrounded by correligious and Jews, just as they found it safer to live inside their own walled section of the city.⁸⁵⁰ Their new neighbours were equally tenants of the Temple, which would have increased the protection of their property over having a field on the public road. They could already have been tenants, since their previous plot bordered a property of the Temple's and there was no oath of vassalage in the document. The formal and distinctive term used for the document, "a charter of exchange" (*carta de camio*) however, and the fact that they were giving up a piece of

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid, AHN, Cód. 499, p. 87, no 204.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid, doc. 46; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 51, no. 121.

⁸⁴⁹ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 49; AHN, Cód. 499, p. 87, no 204.

⁸⁵⁰ *Juderías/calles and morerías* did not always have walls that divided them from the Christian section of town. In most of the Templar areas with surviving features that were studied, evidence of walls survives; Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 64.

property in exchange for one on which they paid rent, indicates that the brothers were becoming Temple men for the first time. That they also received the vineyard and all of its rights as an *hereditas* that they could pass on to their heirs (*isto campo ad propria hereditate illis et successoribus eorum per secula cuncta, amen*), indicates that they had a somewhat more equal relationship with the Temple than one would expect for exarics.

It is less clear whether the three Muslim witnesses were also associated with the Temple, or if so, whether the Temple was their only lord. If they were Temple men, why did the document present two Christian witnesses first for a legal interaction between Christians and Muslims? On the other hand, if the Muslim witnesses were associated with the two brothers, it is possible that *Abraem* and *Iuzef* chose three witnesses among their coreligionists who were also men of the Temple for the transaction.⁸⁵¹ To have three Muslim Temple men present for the transaction would have emphasised the new relationship between the two brothers and the Temple. Still, *Abraem* and *Iuzef* may also have used outside witnesses in order to give themselves a sort of protection against double-dealing by the Temple itself. If they used Temple men to witness the transaction, such witnesses would definitely be biased towards the Temple in any future conflicts between the brothers and the Temple.

Non-Christian tenants did not always form these arrangements directly with the Temple via written documentation, of course, particularly since they did not really have the right to make this sort of transaction. Technically, they belonged to the King. From time to time, documents appear in which the King (or another lord who has acquired rights over a non-Christian) gives a non-Christian to the Temple. This could be either a contract of slavery, or the more legalistic contract of a transfer of lordship. One can probably assume that if the non-Christian in question owned agricultural property of significant value, that person was not a slave and, if the property was large or lucrative enough, not a tenant. In a case similar to that of Abdellanus Azeu two years earlier, Peter II gave to the Temple a Jew of Huesca named *Solomon Avinverduth*, his wife, and all his possessions in 1211. The purpose of this appears to have been to separate Solomon from the authority of the Jewish *aljama* of Huesca, just as Peter had freed Abdellanus from the authority of the Muslim *aljama*. The King did not just give Solomon to the Temple, but enfranchised him to the Order, to make him "free and clear and quiet and immune in all his life from all the neighbourhood and power of the *aljama* (*algema*) of

⁸⁵¹ Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 122-9.

the Jews...and from redemption, and all *questia, pieta, paria, fortia, pedido, prestito, servitio, bovatico, monetatico* and all other exactions and royal demands and those of neighbours from all *lezda, pedatico, portatico, penso* and *mensuratico, usatico, tolta* and *consuetudinem* new and old, established and being established through all the king's dominion through land and sea and fresh water, with all things that he [Solomon] might carry or send.¹⁸⁵²

This effectively liberated Solomon from all obligations to his coreligionists in Huesca. The agreement appears to have resulted from a dispute between him and the Huescan *aljama*. The document further states: "Neither the *aljama* of the Jews or the *merinus* or the justice or the *zalmedina* or the majordomo or the *repostarius* or the elder or the *lezdarius* or the *pedagiarius* or any other man, king's man or otherwise may have jurisdiction over this man, nor can they excommunicate him nor pronounce anathema over him or interdict or send the *ligamentum* or cast him out or sell him without the king's permission, or prohibit him from school or synagogue or the sepulchre or circumcision or make any other cause against him. Anyone who does so will incur the king's wrath and a fine of 1000 morabetinos."¹⁸⁵³ Since such documents tended to deal in reality as it was seen, more than future worries, it seems clear that the *aljama* had attempted to fine Solomon, send Christian legal officials to force him to accede to their wishes and even excommunicate him. It also seems clear that he had undergone considerable harassment by the *aljama*. Probably, he was a valuable official of the King, and therefore, rich. The possibility of conflict is reinforced by the fact that no Jews witnessed the document, which is unusual. Why the Temple chose to accept lordship over

¹⁸⁵² "...franchum, liberum et quietum, ingenuum et immunem facimus predictum iudeum cum uxore et omni domo sua et cum omnibus rebus et bonis suis acquisitis et acquerendis in tota vita ipsius ab omni vicinitate et potestate de algema iudeorum inter quos fuerint et omni oste et cavalcata eorumque et redemptione et omni questia, peita, paria, fortia, pedido prestito, servitio, bovatico, monetatico acque sursu et ab omni fazcendera et exactione ac demanda regali et vicinali ab omni quoque lezda pedatico, portatico, penso et mensuratico, usatico, tolta et consuetudinem, novis et veteribus, statutis et estatuendis per omnia loca nostra dominationis per terram, videlicet, et mare et aquam dulcem, cum omnibus rebus et mercibus suis quas secum duxerint vel portaverint vel per nuntios aut capitularios suos miserint"; Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 282.2; ACA, Cancillería, R.º 310, fol. 37 c-v.

¹⁸⁵³ "...nullus iudeus neque aliqua algema iudeorum predictorum Salomonem Avinverduth unquam audeat excommunicare vel super eum /48 alathama aut interdictum vel ligamentum mittere vel iectaret aut emptionem vel venditionem alicuius rey prohibere vel propter eum scolam seu signagogam dimi- /51 tere vel ibi tacere vel ab oratione desistere aut separatim orare vel eum in eiecere aut negare vel prohibere sepulturam aut circuncisionem aliquo modo aliquo casu cartam venire in aliquo atemptaret, iram et indignationem nostram incurreret in aliquo atemptaret, iram et indignatiomen nostram incurreret et in super dampno /57 illato prius restituto in duplum pena mille morabetinorum a nobis sine aliquo remedio ferriretur"; *Ibid.*

Solomon is not clear from the document. However, the Order's relationship with Peter remained cordial enough that it took over the regency of his son when he died. The Temple's help in Solomon's enfranchisement may have been a favour to the King, since no money changed hands, at least according to the document.⁸⁵⁴ On the other hand, Abdellanus' example from the same time period indicates that the King was using this type of transfer as a way of binding his richer and more powerful non-Christian subjects more closely to him than to their own *aljamas*.

What the Templars got out of the transaction seems less clear than what the King and Solomon did. Solomon may have paid the Templars well for using them as a tax shield. The Templars did not take on non-Christian associates out of compassion, let alone any modern sense of religious tolerance. Also, while modern sensibilities might see Solomon's personal freedom as a case of the individual winning against an oppressive majority, some authors note that the Jewish upperclass's ability to pay off the King allowed rich Jews in the 13th century Crown of Aragon to avoid punishment for even serious crimes like rape and murder.⁸⁵⁵ Thus, Solomon's ability to escape the jurisdiction of his coreligionists had a divisive effect on his own group.

Not all of Huesca's Jews were as rich as Solomon. As in other places, Jewish artisans lived and practiced their trades in Huesca. In 1225, for example, *Dompnus Assalitus* of Gudal, a knight (*miles*), and his wife *domna Aurffresia*, sold to the Temple a vineyard in Huesca which bordered that of *Iacob*, a Jewish shoemaker (*zapatero*). The land, worth 350 morabetinos *alfonsinos* of gold, was very rich and included no *cens* or other tribute in the price. This was a very expensive property, so it seems likely that *Iacob's* property was much smaller, since a shoemaker certainly did not make as much as a knight.⁸⁵⁶

But the Jews who appeared most prominently in the Temple documents were, like Solomon, in the wealthy upper level of the *aljama*. In 1285, for example, when the King commanded the Temple to compel three Jews of Huesca to do a task for the Temple, it is clear that these men were at the very top of the *aljama's* economic hierarchy. These *cogedores* were ordered to create an "ark" (*una archa*) in which to store local taxes, "the

⁸⁵⁴ This was not such an uncommon thing, as Peter Sánchez of Sporreto made the house in Huesca guardian for his son when he joined the Order as a *confrater* in 1217. The son was not an oblate, because he could leave when he reached his majority after ten years; Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 285.

⁸⁵⁵ Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 288-296.

⁸⁵⁶ *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, doc. 178; AHN, Cód. 499, pp. 73-74, no. 179.

week's worth of the *dineros* which you [the Temple] have collected" (*la qual metan cada setmana los dineros que avran cogido*),⁸⁵⁷ during one of the times that the Temple was holding tax treasuries for the King. The three men were expected to keep this ark in a house of the Temple's own choosing, and make provisions to guard it. Variations of this document (begun with a Latin phrase, but otherwise written in vernacular) were also sent to the Temple commanders in Zaragoza, Tarazona, Turolus and the castle of Villed. In this case, the King was coopting the Temple into forcing the local Jews in the various chapters not only to cooperate, but aid, in their own taxation. The roots of the late 14th century trend of *aljama* self-autonomy becoming isolation and ghettoisation can be seen here. As the Temple documents from Monzón show, the Jews of Aragon did not accede to this trend willingly.

The Trial period

Huesca was taken over by royal officials as early as December 1307, after the King moved against the Temple.⁸⁵⁸ Being, at best, a fortified house two thirds of the way up the hill and including property scattered throughout the city, the Huesca convent could not withstand a siege the way Monzón and Miravet could. So, it was abandoned. The King wasted no time in cultivating the Jewish *aljama* during the period of the Trial, even when it came to dubious transactions. When *Mosse Abenardut* claimed that he had inherited a debt to the Templar house in Huesca of 40 Jacan sous from *Açmel Avindonat*, also of Huesca, the King immediately ordered the royal representative there to forgive it.⁸⁵⁹

Siege engines were sent from Huesca to aid in the siege at Monzón in 1309.⁸⁶⁰ After this, the Huescan Temple dropped out of the records, for the most part. One ex-brother was killed by a butcher at Huesca following the Trial, though why remains a mystery.⁸⁶¹ The Hospital took over the Temple's properties there. However, for some reason, some scribes were still calling the Hospital "the Temple" where the Muslims in Pueyo de Fanyanars were still being harassed by Christians as late as 1433.⁸⁶² Possibly, this was because the Temple had its own scribes in Huesca and Zaragoza, and these were

⁸⁵⁷ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 287.2; Regné 1379: 249; ACA, Cancillería, Registro 56, fol. 129 v [Zaragoza is 128].

⁸⁵⁸ A. J. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 12.

⁸⁵⁹ Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 294.1; ACA Canc. R. 291, fol. 212 v.

⁸⁶⁰ Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, 58-9.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁸⁶² Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca*, 296.3; AHN, Cód. 663 B, p. 91.

their descendants, still using the old terms.⁸⁶³

Conclusion

While the house in Huesca was large and influential in many ways, its late establishment and position in the far north of Aragon meant that it was overshadowed by Monzón, Zaragoza and Novillas in importance. The Jewish *aljama*, while prosperous, was also overshadowed by the *aljama* in Zaragoza. The Muslims who remained seem to have been a harried fragment, trapped well within Christian territory as either exarics or captives of war. Despite the fact that Muslims were still the majority in some rural areas of Aragon, the Christians had little to fear from Muslim violence by the late 12th century, either from invasion, as in 12th century Tortosa, or from revolt as in late 13th century Valencia. As such, it is surprising to find positive interactions between the Temple and its non-Christian tenants (and neighbours), though they did exist. We do not see 14th century-style Aragonese abuses of non-Christians in 12th and 13th century Huesca, though granted, other things had changed by that century besides a Christian consolidation of territory. Perhaps the Temple's willingness to protect its Muslim tenants in Pueyo de Fanyanars is why its memory persisted in that area for so long after its suppression. The Temple, being a latecomer to Huesca, may have seemed like a more tolerant lord than already-established Christian groups who had participated in the conquest of Huesca in 1096.

A notable factor of the Huescan documentation, aside from its coherence due to the survival of a Temple cartulary there, is the presence of two major documents involving a Jew and Muslim being enfranchised by the King. Also of note is the evidence of Temple concentration of mills and vineyard property in close proximity with non-Christian vineyard owners in the area. This would have required close cooperation between Temple and non-Christians in irrigation and harvest times. Ultimately, the memory of the Temple among non-Christians in and around Huesca was a positive one.

⁸⁶³ Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, 288.

CONCLUSION

The discussion of Templar associates is usually embedded in discussions of other aspects of the Order, where "associates" is the general category for laypeople connected to the Order in some type of symbiotic relationship.⁸⁶⁴ While many people in the Crown of Aragon interacted with the Order, not all of them did so in service to, or in association with, the Temple. The associates of the Temple extended out from the core of full brethren into all areas of Aragonese society, from the Count/Kings down to exarics and slaves. But the distinction between Temple associate and outsider, though attenuated in some ways, did exist.

The best-defined type of associate was the *confrater*, though the tenant was likely the most common category. The latter probably comprised the majority of what the documents call "*homines Templi* (Temple men)".⁸⁶⁵ There were also subcategories of *confratres*, such as the *donates*. But while some associates in other categories (i.e. the corrodors), might be *confratres*, as well, not all categories of associates were subcategories of *confratres*. Certainly not all tenants were *confratres*.

The *Rule* is vague about the administration of *confratres*.⁸⁶⁶ Many of the regulations for them seem to postdate the early period of the Order. Relatively little of the *Rule*, even the Catalan version, pertains specifically to Spain.⁸⁶⁷ The actual nature and role of associates, especially *confratres*, varied over time and space. In Spain, in the earlier and more remote houses, the *confratres* appear to have had a prominent role in the house's infrastructure--up to and including the office of preceptor. One must take this trend into account when looking at the evidence for female sisters in Spain and Portugal. Ermengarda of Oluja may or may not have been a full sister, though the terminology used for her (*soror*) was not ambiguous. What is remarkable is that she was

⁸⁶⁴ See, for example, the following discussions about the nature of *confratres*; Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *La Comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa: Institut d'Estudis Dertosenses, 1984), 128-32; A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 36-46; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, Inc., 2001), 130-6; Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Els Templers Catalans: De la Rosa a la Creu*, 2nd ed. (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 1999), 139-49; Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-c.1300* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 100-41.

⁸⁶⁵ Angel Conté, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca* (Huesca: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1986), 294.1.

⁸⁶⁶ Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister*, 117-22.

⁸⁶⁷ Upton-Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars*, xii-xiii.

unambiguously the *preceptrix* of the house of Rourell, with the power to accept new male members into the house.⁸⁶⁸ In the earliest house in Spain, Novillas, and possibly in her sister house, Douzens, the evidence indicates that the house may have been founded, and populated by, *confratres* before 1138. When early Novillas documents referred to someone (even someone high up in the house's infrastructure) as a *confrater* or the Order as a *confradia*, they do not seem to have been either imprecise or confused. In some areas of Aragon and Catalonia before 1150, the Temple appears to have been a confraternity and not, strictly speaking, a religious order of fully-professed brethren.

This pattern did not persist for the founding of new houses after 1150. In Tortosa, Gardeny, Huesca and especially Monzón, a strong hierarchy of fully-professed brethren, with clearly defined offices, ran those houses. However, only in Monzón, the one major town in this study where the Templars received full, unquestioned lordship early on, do we see documents of homage and other indications of the progression of a traditional lord-vassal relationship through the 12th and 13th centuries.⁸⁶⁹ In other places, the word "vassal" should be used with extreme caution, since it does not accurately describe the relatively horizontal relationship between the Templars and many of their associates.

The *Rule* also indicates that the opinion regarding *confratres* and other associates within the Temple was not uniform. This would explain why it was necessary to add Regulation 68 (forbidding the white habit to married brethren) to the *Rule* years after the Council of Troyes in 1129--probably not until the mid-1140s or later.⁸⁷⁰

Documentation from some houses show more evidence of associate activity than others. Some also show more connections with non-Christians than others. While the presence of free non-Christian associates may seem puzzling in a crusading order, the Templars' *raison d'être* never actually included either the conversion or the destruction of non-Christians. The Templars' mission was to protect the holy places in Palestine. The example of Our Lady of Saidnaiya and the story of Usamah Ibn Munqidh on the

⁸⁶⁸ Josep Maria Sans i Travé, ed., *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212)*, *Textos Jurídics Catalans, Documents I*, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997), doc. 193, Cartulary A-B, f. 177r; Nicholson, *The Knights Templar*, 132.

⁸⁶⁹ Francisco Castellón Cortada, "Los Templarios de Monzón (Huesca), (siglos XII-XIII)," in *Jeronimo Zurita: Cuadernos de Historia*, vol. 39-40 (1981): 54-9.

⁸⁷⁰ J. M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, Vol. 4, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), 35-6, reg. 68.

Temple Mount indicates that the Templars made no real distinction of which religion of worshippers they were preserving these shrines for.⁸⁷¹ Unlike later military orders, such as the Spanish military orders or the Teutonic Knights, the Templars were not based on a religious ideal that precluded them from cooperating with non-Christians.

The above thus explains why we see such unlikely groups as Mozarabs (whom much of the secular church saw as heretical), women (Christian and non-Christian), Jews and Muslims as free associates of the Order. Most non-Christians seemed to fall under the category of *homines*, tenants or vassals, although a few Muslim exarics did also appear in *confratres* lists and some were, of course, slaves. Jews appeared as *homines*, vassals, tenants or officials of the King, though never as slaves. Women appeared as tenants, corrodors, *consoroeres*, *donatae*, *soroeres* and even, on one occasion, officers of the Order. Mozarabs appeared as *confratres*, tenants and lower officers, such as chaplains in Templar churches.

One puzzling thing is that most of the Templar practice that governed the above groups, even in Spain, appears to have grown up, and been practiced, on an *ad hoc* basis. While the Templars did adapt to local conditions and infrastructure, however, they were also well-known for following a strict *Rule*.⁸⁷² Their interactions with the above groups were also more uniform than seems explainable by *ad hoc* procedures. It is possible that the references in the *Rule* to asking the advice of Templar *prodhomes* is asking more than their general experience, but also referring to a body of oral regulations and examples, never written down. Possibly, these were even based on the original Augustinian rule that the Templars followed until receiving their Cistercian-based rule in 1129.⁸⁷³

Non-Christians for their part (particularly Jews), found it useful to ally themselves with Templars for the same reason that Christians did--military protection, protection from excessive taxation, legal representation and (even in a few cases for the non-Christians) salvation. In numerous cases, non-Christians appear to have sought to associate themselves with the Temple rather than the other way around. On the other hand, the

⁸⁷¹ Bernard Hamilton, "Our Lady of Saidnaiya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, vol. 36, *Studies in Church History*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiastical History Society, 2000), 207-15.

⁸⁷² Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance*, vol. 4, *History of Warfare* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 35-43.

⁸⁷³ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, 11-2.

Temple also sought these associations because non-Christians were extremely lucrative tenants and vassals. These associations brought the Temple into frequent conflict with the King and other lords (as in Monzón) who also sought to exploit these lucrative and vulnerable groups.

The Templars do not seem to have been markedly more tolerant of non-Christians than other Christian lords in the Crown of Aragon, though in most cases, they tended to be on the more tolerant end of the local spectrum than some other lords. However, it is possible that their success in Spain relied partly on their ability to adapt to local conditions and engage in alliances and relatively friendly relations with both Muslim military opponents and Muslim subjects. It is also possible that they thrived in Spain precisely because the nature of their mission encouraged them to accommodate and adapt to local conditions rather than impose reforms and conversion, such as the mendicant orders did. Unlike the mendicant orders, the Temple was formed in a society where Christians were an embattled minority. For the Temple, the forcible imposition of Christianity in an area was not always (or possibly even often) the best strategy.

While the Templars were not tolerant in the modern sense, the evidence indicates that in Spain, the Temple and its associates, both non-Christian and Christian, engaged in mutual, reciprocal relationships that were wanted and beneficial to both sides. While these relationships were not usually equal, many of them (especially those between the brothers and Jewish *ballii* of the King) were more or less horizontal rather than vertical in the hierarchy of power in the Crown of Aragon. This gave non-Christians more power in their relationships than allowed in the traditional, feudal structure postulated for Templar relations with their vassals in northeastern Spain.⁸⁷⁴ Even in Monzón, where the Templars held full lordship, the Order gradually lost much of its feudal privileges over the course of the 13th century. The Templars' continual need for ready cash and goods to send to Palestine made them willing to sell off privileges to their vassals, instead of clinging to them as some other lords did. It may also have made them popular as lords for already pressed and vulnerable groups. Stressed by their own obligations to the Order in the Holy Land, the Templars were willing to negotiate their lordship in ways that local lords and the secular church were not.

The separate analysis of associates of the Temple (and not the Hospital) and of

⁸⁷⁴ Christopher Gerrard, "Opposing Identity: Muslims, Christians and the Military Orders in Rural Aragon," in *Medieval Archaeology: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 43 (1999): 143-160.

non-Christians in particular, is possibly the most important aspect of this study. Previous studies of Templars and non-Christians have included the Hospital as well, which pushes 12th-and-13th-century trends for both Orders into the 14th and 15th centuries.⁸⁷⁵ The danger here is that the much more abundant Hospitaller documentation of this later period makes it tempting to extrapolate these trends back into the 13th and 12th centuries. However, Christian-non-Christian relations saw a serious downturn in the 14th century that culminated in the pogroms of 1391 and resulted in the eventual forcible conversion and expulsion of all non-Christians in the late 15th and 16th centuries. The use of later Hospitaller documents, therefore, makes this expulsion seem inevitable much earlier than we really have evidence for that particular historical trend.⁸⁷⁶ The Templars were suppressed 180 years before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. It therefore seems unsafe to tie these two events together as the use of later Hospital documentation to explain Templar activities threatens to do.

Further, this study has shown that it is unsafe to extrapolate too much across space as well as time. The tolerance that the Templars showed in northeastern Spain did not necessarily apply outside the Crown of Aragon, either on the Iberian peninsula or further north. Templar treatment of non-Christians even seems to have varied between houses in the Crown itself. It therefore seems unfeasible to use Hospital documents to explain Templar practice when the Hospital does not appear to have treated its non-Christian (or even Christian) associates in the same way during the Templar period, let alone later.

The Templars were a unique religious order for their time and place. Their presence (and subsequent removal) had a significant impact on the lives of their associates, especially non-Christians.⁸⁷⁷ The final importance of this study lies in showing how documents reflect that impact and its results during the Templar period. Some of it was good, some harmful, but overall, the Templars and their associates appear to have had a beneficial and important influence on each others' lives. This influence bears further analysis in both Templar studies and Spanish cross-cultural historiography.

⁸⁷⁵ Notably: Gerrard, Miret y Sans and Ortega; Ibid; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya aplech de noves y documents historichs* (Barcelona [Spain]: Impr. de la Casa provincial de caritat, 1910); Pascual Ortega, *Musulmanes en Cataluña: Las Comunidades Musulmanas de las Encomiendas Templarias y Hospitalarias de Ascó y Miravet (Siglos XII-XIV)*. Barcelona: CSIC, 2000.

⁸⁷⁶ Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 9.

⁸⁷⁷ A. J. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 45, 59-60.

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