

PAUL FREEDMAN

*MILITARY ORDERS IN OSONA DURING THE TWELFTH
AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES **

It is difficult to determine precisely when the military orders of crusading knights first became active in Catalonia. Unlike Castile, León or Portugal, where national orders became extremely powerful, Catalonia was dominated by the European orders of the Temple and the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem.¹ These international orders, unlike the later knights of Santiago or Calatrava, did not owe their existence to the Reconquest. Their beginnings in Catalonia antedate the dramatic expansion that began in the mid twelfth century. The Templars and Hospitallers were formed by French knights in the third decade of the twelfth century for the purpose of defending the Holy Land. Their efforts in Europe were supposed to be devoted to raising money and men for the crusades across the sea. As their purpose was to protect the endangered Christian presence in the Near East, the orders naturally showed some initial reluctance to commit themselves to another major front against Islam, that of the Iberian peninsula. Even when they received land or fortresses in Catalonia and Aragon, the Templars and Hospitallers did not at first expend great energy on the expansion or protection of these possessions. They viewed territory donated in Catalonia and elsewhere on the peninsula as a source of revenue for eastern campaigns, not as the foundation for another sphere of warfare. Dangerous frontier castles donated to the Templars, for example, were regarded as a drain on the resources of the knights and so were often not occupied.²

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1. On the military orders in the medieval Iberian kingdoms see the bibliographical survey by Derek W. Lomax, *Las órdenes militares en la península ibérica durante la edad media* (Salamanca, 1976).

2. A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), pp. 16-17.

This changed suddenly with the death of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1134. By leaving his kingdom to the Templars and Hospitallers Alfonso made a gift whose extravagance forced the knights to take a serious interest in the Iberian front.³ The provisions of the king's will were never carried out and a direct consequence of the effort to evade Alfonso's reckless bequest was the unification of Aragon with the County of Barcelona. In compensation, however, the orders were granted immense rights over territories seized from Islam, or to be wrested from it in the future. By the middle of the twelfth century, therefore, the active participation of the crusading knights in the Reconquest was established.⁴

In the course of the next hundred years the Templars and Hospitallers came to control extensive tracts of land in the frontier regions. Fortresses such as Barberà, Monzón and Miravet testify to the power of the knights and it is not surprising that it is in connection with the frontier and the Reconquest that the orders are best known. It is important to realize, however, that as the military orders were drawn into peninsular affairs, their activities and interests were not limited to the frontier. The Templars and Hospitallers held land, revenue and urban property in *Catalunya Vella* as well as in the newly seized territories. Their property in this more settled part of the Crown of Aragon was divided into smaller and more dispersed pieces than was the case on the frontier where land taken by conquest was disposed of in large, compact units. In *Catalunya Vella* the orders had to fit themselves into an already existing structure of landholding. Their political sway and economic power were less obvious than in *Catalunya Nova* but formed a significant lordship in Barcelona, the Vallès, Cerdanya and Osona. The nature of this lordship is in itself an aspect of the evolution of land tenure in Catalonia.

It is debatable just how important to the fortunes of these military orders their property in *Catalunya Vella* was. A. J. Forey notes that the centers of power for the Templars were southern Aragon and the lower Ebro and Segre valleys. *Catalunya Vella* had only a small share of the Templars' property and only one of its territorial lordships (the castle of Puigreig).⁵ Nevertheless, the overall wealth of *Catalunya Vella* was sufficient to justify sustained efforts at exploitation. The Templars' efforts in Barcelona, for example, to assemble a compact territory around Montjuïc in the late twelfth century can not have

3. The effect of the will of Alfonso I on the Templars is discussed by Peter Schickl, «Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens in Katalonien und Aragon», *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 28 (1975), 115-135.

4. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 23-25 believes that the Templars did not desire any role in Iberian campaigns until 1143.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39.

been totally unprofitable.⁶ Clearly the attention of the orders was given to more than the fortresses and campaigns of the south and west.

Regardless of how useful *Catalunya Vella* ultimately proved to the orders, their impact on the region was unquestionably significant. They were among the largest landlords and in addition protected the holdings of other landlords and tenants. As a new force in *Catalunya Vella* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the orders offer the modern observer of their land administration a view of rural society and its changes during the High Middle Ages.

Both the Templars and Hospitallers were active in Osona. The Hospitallers were more important in the *comarca* and founded a local command or *domus*, as it was called, in Vic. The Templars were content to administer their property in Osona from their convent of Palau-solità in the Vallès. The records for Osona from both orders are not neatly arranged. Almost nothing regarding this region is found in the large collections preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (the Sección de Órdenes Militares) or in the Arxiu del Gran Priorat de Catalunya (which now forms part of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó). Documents for the military orders in Osona are found in collections in which they are interspersed with other records. Templar documents are scattered among the parchments of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó and the Arxiu Capitular de Vic. Hospitaller records are found almost exclusively among the parchments of calaix 6 in the capitular archive of Vic. It is probably this dispersed condition of the documents that has made them almost unnoticed. Joaquim Miret i Sans, for example, in his monumental study of Templar and Hospitaller foundations in Catalonia was only marginally aware of the existence of a Hospitaller command in Vic.⁷ Yet for the *comarca* of Osona there have survived at least ninety Hospitaller documents, eighty-five in the Vic archives, four in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, and one originally at Vic, now apparently lost, whose contents were described by Jaume Pasqual.⁸

As has been pointed out, the Hospitallers were the more energetic of the two military orders in Osona. They were given houses in Vic in 1140, but their *domus* there probably dates from 1172 at the earliest (when land for this purpose was obtained), and 1196 at the latest (when the *domus* of the Hospitallers is mentioned in a document of sale).⁹ By 1181 there was a local

6. The record of these acquisitions is contained in Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (= ACA), Cancilleria, Varia 1, ff. 1-5, 17-24v.

7. Joaquim Miret i Sans, *Les Cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1910), p. 198, mentions Arnau de Tous as a commander of Vic in 1228, but does not further describe the *domus* of Vic in the inventory of headquarters.

8. Jaume Pasqual, *Sacra Cathaloniae antiquitatis monumenta*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS no. 729, vol. 1, p. 60 contains a note concerning a Hospitaller document of 1205.

9. Arxiu Capitular de Vic (= ACV) calaix 6, 2298 (1140); 2413 (1172); Arxiu de la Mensa Episcopal de Vic (= AME), Llibre 11, no. 5 (1196).

commander of the Hospitallers, Guillem de Vilamitjana, who used the title *commendator Hospitalis in Vicum*.¹⁰ In 1190 Guillem was referred to as *procurator Ausone* and *procurator de Ospitalis Ausone*.¹¹ From 1192 until at least 1208, the local leader was Guillem de Gargalà who appears with a number of different titles, most often as *procurator*.¹² In 1197 he was called *commendator domus Ospitalis de Ausona*, suggesting that at least by this point there was a formal administrative headquarters in Vic.¹³

The appearance of the Hospitallers in Osona long antedates the founding of a *domus*. In 1126 a certain Arnau Pere pledged to the Hospitallers as security for a loan an alod and sacralia in Sant Hipòlit de Voltregà. Acting for the order in this instance were a married couple, Ponç Arnau and Ermessenda, and a priest, Arnau Ramon.¹⁴ Such early documents are rare and until 1170 there is little that survives to show what importance, if any, the Hospitallers had in the local economy. Sixteen documents exist for the years 1126 to 1170 and they record donations and disputes over land. Beginning in 1178, and becoming common after 1190, there appear transactions by which land was placed by its owners under the protection of the Hospitallers in return for annual payment.¹⁵ The amount of this payment was usually quite small, to the point of being merely symbolic (such as the common offering of two hens), although it might be substantial, resembling an outright donation, as in a part

10. ACV c. 6, 2047. Guillem had acted on behalf of the Hospitallers as early as 1161 (c. 6, 2639).

11. ACV c. 6, 42; 2529.

12. *Procurator Ausonensis*: ACV c. 6, 1812 (1192); *procurator ville Vici*: 46 (1192); *chomenador de Osone*: 47 (1193); *procurator Vici*: 1798 (1193).

13. ACV c. 6, 51.

14. ACV c. 6, 2270, which opens: «In nomine Domini ego Arnallus Petri inpignorator sum Iherosolimitano hospicio eiusque elemosinarii, id sunt Poncio Arnalli et uxori sue Ermisindis et Arnallo Raimundo presbiter.» This is dated «kalendas may, anno xvii regni Lodouico rege», and the King Louis referred to is almost certainly Louis VI (died 1137) as his son and successor was normally called *Ludovicus iunior*. Sometimes, however, the *iunior* might be left out, making it easy to mistake a later document for one belonging to the era of Louis VI. Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 6-9, dismisses some supposed early evidence concerning Templars in Catalonia on this basis. For ACV c. 66, 2270, however, the informal way in which the Hospitallers were represented encourages one to believe this is a document from the first years of the order. Documents of 1131 (c. 6, 15), 1134 (c. 6, 1180) and 1135 (c. 6, 908) also appear unequivocally to belong to the reign of the elder Louis. In ACV c. 6, 1180 the donor is Bernat Amat, viscount of Cardona, who died in about 1155 according to Santiago Sobrequés i Vidal, *Els barons de Catalunya*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1970), table between pp. 112-113. If this document referred to Louis VII its date would be 1163, and this is impossible because by then Bernat was dead.

15. ACV c. 6, 36 (1178) is the first such document. There are four protection agreements before 1190. Between 1190 and 1199 fourteen such agreements survive.

(*decima*) of revenue produced by a mill.¹⁶ Dues were collected more often in kind than in money, but by the early thirteenth century payments were frequently specified in money although they may still have been rendered in poultry or grain.¹⁷ Individual payments tended to be quite small, but the total quantity of wheat, barley, poultry and money paid to the order was probably substantial, while its obligations in return were minimal.

It is not apparent what immediate effect, if any, the protection offered by the Hospitallers had. Military orders protected land by erecting crosses at its borders to show that it fell under the guard of the knights. At a time when the Hospitallers were offering protection they found themselves unable to defend their own property and people against harassment and pillage by Pere de Sentfores, a local baron who claimed rights to land bequeathed by a relative of his to the Hospitallers.¹⁸ The direct intervention of the royal vicar for Osona was required in order to subdue Pere.¹⁹ Yet even if this incident leads one to wonder how useful the Hospitallers' protection was, it is clear from the surviving records that many small landholders sought it, especially during the last decade of the twelfth century.

Throughout late twelfth-century Catalonia there was a tendency to place land under the protection of powerful individuals and institutions. Great nobles offered protection through charters of *amparantia*.²⁰ The king himself promised protection to relatively humble owners of rural property.²¹ There was, then, a climate favoring commendation by those holding small pieces of land. It is nevertheless striking how frequently such documents show up for the military orders in Vic. Although protection was given by military orders in other parts of *Catalunya Vella*,²² the twenty-two Hospitaller documents of protection for Osona from 1178 until 1220 are an unusually concentrated group of documents.

It is possible that conditions in Osona provoked a sense of anxiety and a need for protection. The bishop of Vic and the Montcada family began a

16. ACV c. 6, 2529 (1190), an example of a symbolic payment of two hens; c. 6, 1421 (1181), the revenue from a mill.

17. Dues specified in money: ACV c. 6, 60 (1205); 63 (1208); 77 (1220).

18. The Hospitallers' complaint is ACV calaix 9, Episcopologi II, 92 (undated, circa 1199).

19. The judgment of the case is ACV c. 6, Episcopologi I, 57 (1199).

20. John C. Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000-1230* (forthcoming), chapter 6.

21. Some examples of royal protection to individuals: ACA perg. Alfons I, 264 (1174); 357 (1183); 609 (1191).

22. For example: ACA perg. Alfons I, 489 (1188), land and vineyards in Granollers; Alfons I, 660 (1193), a castle and alods in Argentona; Jaume I, 627 (1234), land in Estiula (Ripollès). According to Miret i Sans, *Les Cases*, p. 117, the Hospitallers in Cervera offered numerous charters of protection during the late twelfth century. See also below, note 31.

series of bitter quarrels over their divided lordship over Vic at this time.²³ Within the ecclesiastical sector of the town itself there was sufficient violence to provoke the pope to issue bulls in 1196 and 1199 referring to usurpations of church property and giving the bishop the right to resist by force if necessary.²⁴ The canons themselves and their often rowdy entourages disturbed the peace with their feuds.²⁵ Yet these problems affected only the city of Vic, while protection charters were issued for rural property. There is no evidence to suggest that Osona was particularly unstable in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The popularity of protection arrangements was due, in all likelihood, to the prestige of the order and the desire of laymen to associate themselves with it as a pious act.

It is certainly apparent in the language of protection charters that initially, especially in the 1190s, the placement of land under Hospitaller protection was considered a pious act, performed for the remedy of the souls of the donor and his family.²⁶ Beginning in the first years of the thirteenth century, however, a shift appears in the tone of protection documents. They begin to present themselves less as pious gestures and more as a species of personal subordination by a donor to the order. Naturally since the creation of the order men had become brethren of the Hospitallers, giving their bodies and souls and possessions to the knights, but the documents that appear in the early thirteenth century do not appear to involve association with the order but the subordination of peasant to lord. In 1205, for example, Bernat Ricart and his brothers gave themselves and their property to the Hospitallers of Vic who promised to protect them.²⁷ The Brothers were to pay twelve *solidi* per year. A condition of the agreement was that any brother who married should be considered released from the order's protection. The need to provide for release explicitly in the document shows how close this act was to a charter of servitude by which a peasant gave himself to a lord as the latter's property.

23. J. Shideler, «Les tactiques politiques des Montcada, seigneurs de Vic du début du XIII^e siècle», *Ausa* 9 (1982), 329-342; Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, «Les bregues sobre lo senyoríu de Vich en temps del rey En Jaume I», in *Congrés d'història de la Corona d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1909), vol. 1, pp. 194-218.

24. The bulls are ACV calaix 36, Privilegis apostòlics II, no. 34 and AME Llibre 4, no. 2. They are edited in Paul Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien* (Berlin, 1926-1928), vol. 1, nos. 271, 272.

25. ACV c. 9, Pergamins del Bisbe Guillem de Tavertet (unnumbered), April 15, 1199, contains an agreement between the bishop and chapter ending a dispute over violence by the canons' servants and defining episcopal jurisdiction over criminals seeking asylum in canons' houses.

26. ACV c. 6, 2529 (1190); 46 (1192); 1798 (1193).

27. ACV c. 6, 60. Other examples: 61 (206); 63 (1208).

Charters of servitude were becoming common in Osona after 1200 among tenants of the cathedral.²⁸

It is a logical but important step to pass from this relationship of limited dependence to a condition in which tenants recognized that they belonged to the Hospitallers; that they were the chattels of the order. Records in which peasants admit their servile status with regard to the Hospitallers first appear in 1220 and such documents may be understood as an outgrowth of earlier documents of simple protection.²⁹ Documents in which peasants acknowledged that their bodies and possessions belonged to a superior are termed recognition charters in which individuals recognized (*recognoverunt*) a relationship of dependence and personal subordination. Typical of such charters is a recognition performed in 1220 by a peasant named Arnau who stated that his person and property belonged to the Hospitallers.³⁰ As a token of this bond (*«pro firma possessione corporis mei»*) Arnau was to pay one capon a year. In return he obtained the protection of the knights. In this document protection was offered in the same language as that used in earlier charters, but Arnau was defended not as an independent farmer but as a possession of the Hospitallers: *«tanquam res suas proprias.»*³¹

When the Hospitallers exacted such recognition charters they did not thereby create radically new conditions of land tenure. The amount of annual payments did not increase, nor is there any indication that tenants who recognized their subjection to the order were forced to render exactions that would later be seen as proof of servitude, the so-called *«mals usos»* that regulated marriage and inheritance.³² The legal status of the peasants changed, not their customary payments, but once the legal change was made, tenurial conditions might

28. Charters of servitude first appear among tenants of the cathedral of Vic in the first years of the thirteenth century; Paul Freedman, «The Enserfment Process in Medieval Catalonia: Evidence from Ecclesiastical Sources», *Vivator* 13 (1982), 225-244.

29. The first document admitting personal dependence is ACV c. 6, 75 (1220). Beginning in 1220 there are also charters by which individuals gave themselves to the order, changing their status rather than acknowledging a condition that supposedly already existed. Examples of this are ACV c. 6, 77 (1220), 86 (1233); 87 (1234). Outside Osona recognition charters by tenants of military orders become common by 1240: ACA Perg. Jaume I, 690 (1237), Cerdanya; Jaume I, 812 (1240), probably in the Vallès.

30. ACV c. 6, 75. See Appendix 2 for transcription.

31. A similar type of commendation to the Templars, combining protection with servitude, existed in the Languedoc; Elisabeth Magnou, «Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XII^e siècle», *Annales du Midi* 73 (1961), 377-397. From documents of Albi, Douzens and Rouergue, Professor Magnou finds the beginning of servitude (although of a weak sort) in the mid twelfth century.

32. On the *«mals usos»*: Wladimir Piskorski, *El problema de la significación y del origen de los seis «malos usos» en Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1929. Russian ed., Kiev, 1899); Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle, croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse, 1975-1976), vol. 2, 826-827.

worsen in succeeding generations. Among the tenants of the military orders in *Catalunya Vella* the advent of recognition charters coincides with documents of manumission (*redemptio*), a coincidence that shows that within servile recognitions was implicit the notion of a peasantry bound to the land.³³

In early charters a peasant might set conditions for eventual release from obligations. As noted before, a protection document of 1205 included a provision by which the donors could withdraw from the arrangement if they married. Later, when people not only placed themselves in an ambiguous condition of protection but fully recognized the order's suzerainty (or even more forcefully, when they gave themselves to the order), there might still be some provision guaranteeing future enfranchisement upon payment of money, marriage, or a combination of the two.³⁴ Among those documents after 1220, however, the peasant making the recognition or handing himself over to the Hospitallers would renounce the possibility of seeking a new lord or of seeking a protected area where he would be immune from lordship (such as a town).³⁵ In such instances, surely, such tenants may be called serfs: they belonged to the knights, formally admitted their subordination through legal documents, and could not freely terminate the relationship.

Documents by which individuals gave property or themselves to the Hospitallers may thus be divided into four categories: donations (including association with the order as a brother), placement of land in protection, placement of persons along with property in protection, and the giving or recognizing of oneself as a chattel of the order. While there is some overlapping, the documents form a progression towards servitude. The period 1126 to 1170 was dominated by the donation. From 1170 to 1220 most records are for protection of property. A small group from the years 1205-1208 concern donors who gave both themselves and their property in protection. By 1220 the Hospitallers received numerous recognitions and donations of a fully servile nature.

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The Templars were not as active in Osona as were the Hospitallers. Although they had property in the town of Vic, the Templars, unlike the

33. Documents of manumission do not usually describe where the peasant lived. Three early examples of enfranchisement offered by the Templars of Palau-solità are ACA perg. Jaume I, 687 (1237); 1086 (1247); 1307 (1252).

34. ACV c. 6, 77 (1220); 82 (1223); 96 (1248), respectively.

35. An example of such renunciations is contained in ACV c. 6, 87 (1234), transcribed in Appendix 3.

Hospitallers, never established a local *commanda*. Their possessions in and around Vic were administered from Palau-solità and were not as important as property in the Vallès or in Barcelona and its territory.

Forty-three Templar documents concerning Osona are preserved in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó and in the cathedral of Vic. The first mention of the Templars in the diocese of Vic (but outside the *comarca* of Osona) is in connection with the castle of Granyena in the Segarra, given by Count Ramon Berenguer III in 1131 but not occupied by the knights until at least 1136.³⁶ For Osona the first Templar records are from 1135 and 1142 and concern donations in the area controlled by the castles of Gurb and Voltregà.³⁷ These would serve as the nuclei for future Templar acquisitions on the Plain of Vic. The other center for Templar property in the region was in Vic itself where houses were given to the order in 1170 by Pere, Viscount of Cardona.³⁸ Documents of the thirteenth century refer to a Templar lordship (*senioratus*) in which seems of have consisted of a group of houses by the gate into the Montcada sector of the town.³⁹

The Templars administered their property somewhat differently from the Hospitallers, although the pattern of an evolution toward servile land tenure is the same. The Templars in Osona tended to receive fewer outright donations that did their rivals, and they bought more property.⁴⁰ They appear to have pursued a more careful policy than that of the Hospitallers, acquiring land, often by purchase, that adjoined their existing possessions in places such as Gurb. This gave them a small number of relatively compact holdings, more easily administered than the scattered Hospitaller lands that were the result of haphazard donations.

The Templars in Osona never became involved in bestowing protection to

36. On the initial Templar presence at Granyena, see Paul Freedman, «Els Templers al castell de Granyena segons un document de l'Arxiu Episcopal de Vic», *Ausa* 10, fasc. 102 (1983).

37. ACA perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, 51 (1135), ed. Marquis d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple, 1119?-1150* (Paris, 1913), no. 112; ACA perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, 144 (1142), ed. d'Albon, *Cartulaire*, no. 283.

38. ACA perg. Alfons I, 87. The donation stipulated that the house should remain in possession of the nephews of the viscount during their lifetime although the Templars might lodge up to five brothers per year there.

39. A Templar *senioratus* or *dominio* in the town of Vic is mentioned in ACA perg. Jaume I, 351 (1228); 719 (1238); Arxiu de la Curia Fumada de Vic, vol. 6, 8 kal. Februarii 1260 (= 1261); and ACA perg. Jaume I, 1880 (1267). In ACA Jaume I, 446 (1232) the Templars established tenants in houses described as «ipsas domos nostras quas habemus in villa Vici apud portalem de Monte Chatano in nostro senioraticu...»

40. Sales: ACA perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, 203 (1148), ed. d'Albon, *Cartulaire*, no. 518; perg. Alfons I, 607 (1191); ACV c. 6, 1225 (1198).

the degree that the Hospitallers did." It may be that because they were without a local headquarters the Templars were not perceived to be as effective as the Hospitallers in protecting property, although there is an example of suppression of exactions against peasants contained in the renunciation made by the lord of Queralt to the Templars in 1240.⁴²

There are not enough Templar documents to justify sweeping conclusions about their land tenure policy. In 1229 the first recognition charter appears and thereafter tenants would occasionally acknowledge that their bodies and lands belonged to the Templars, that no prescription or immunity could break this tie, and that they would make annual payments as a token of their dependence.⁴³ Among the early charters of peasant enfranchisement issued by the Templars of Palau-solità is a document from 1238 signed by the Templar's bailiff for Osona, Tomàs Espanyol.⁴⁴ Otherwise it is usually impossible to deduce from such charters where the liberated peasant lived. Enfranchisement charters issued by Palau-solità become common after 1250 and although the majority were probably directed to tenants in the Vallès some no doubt concerned lands in Osona.

Several documents for the Plain of Vic show the manner in which tenants were established on lands owned by the order. In three documents of the early thirteenth century peasants received land near Gurb for annual payments ranging from *tasca* and *braciaticum* (approximately one-eleventh plus one-sixteenth of the harvest) to one-half. One document is for life-tenure, another is an emphyteutic agreement, permitting the tenant to alienate his manse, and the third is an agreement for an unspecified (but undoubtedly long) term.⁴⁵ The lordship of the Templars in Gurb, insofar as it can be reconstructed from a few records, allowed peasants personal liberty although the order received

4. Templar protection documents: ACA perg. Alfons I, 508 (1188); 667 (1193). In perg. Pere I, 380 (1211) the Templars of Palau-solità protected the extensive properties of Pere de Santa Eugenia, an important *senyor* in Osona. Elsewhere in *Catalunya Vella* the Templars frequently entered into protection arrangements; Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 110-111.

42. ACA perg. Jaume I, 815 (1240).

43. ACA perg. Jaume I, 380 (1229), ed. Forey, *The Templars*, p. 385; Jaume I, 1248 (1257); Alfons II, 124 (1286).

44. ACA perg. Jaume I, 714.

45. ACA perg. Jaume I, 23 (1214), the establishment of tenants on one-half a manse and a *barcharia* in Vespella de la Plana for *tasca* and *braciaticum*, some annual payments in meat and spelt, and 23 *solidi* as an entrance payment. ACA perg. Jaume I, 167 (1221-1222), a manse and orchard in Gurb given in life tenure for one-half its annual produce and a 120 *solidi* entrance payment. ACA perg. Jaume I, 317 (1227), a manse in Gurb let for one-fourth and *braciaticum*, 1 pair of hens, 300 *solidi* as entrance payment. The last document includes the typical emphyteutic provision of *fatiga*, permitting alienation of the property on condition that the Templars, as direct lords, be given the right to buy back control over the property within thirty days of an announcement of sale.

substantial portions of the crop and high entrance payments. Although not directly mentioned in surviving documents, servile tenants probably existed in Gurb along with the free ones. A donation by of a manse in Gurb by Berenguer de Queralt (who was among other things the *senyor* of Gurb) was made «cum ... censibus, usibus, seruiciis, adempratis, questis, toltis, forciis, placitis, stabillium hominum, redemptibus. ...»⁴⁶ Nearly a century later a dispute between the Templars and a tenant of the manse of Argila (in Vespella de la Plana) turned on the assertion by the tenant that it was custom within the *castrum* of Gurb that no redemption payment be demanded should peasants wish to leave.⁴⁷ The dispute was resolved by a general agreement affecting all tenants of Gurb establishing a low price for redemption, 5 *solidi*.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, in recognizing their obligation to make this payment, however low it was, the tenants admitted their servile condition.

An establishment in Sant Hipòlit de Voltregà shows a more harsh set of conditions than the free establishments in Gurb. Guillem de Roseto in 1255 received the manse of Roseto in return for annual payments totalling 20 *solidi*, 2 *denarii*, a one-fourth plus one-sixteenth portion of the crop from lands adjacent to the manse, and an entrance payment of 20 *solidi*.⁴⁹ As a further condition Guillem was to be considered the *homo proprius* of the order and would not be permitted to leave his manse.⁵⁰

It should be apparent that the Templars practiced several methods of letting out land. There was a tendency, however, for servile land tenure to become common toward the middle of the thirteenth century. For both military orders a variety of tenurial regimes coexisted but by 1250 servile arrangements predominated. This development began shortly after tenants of the cathedral of Vic first performed servile recognition in the opening years of the century.⁵¹ For a large portion of the peasants of Osona therefore a more harsh system of land tenure was imposed in the first part of the thirteenth century.

46. ACA perg. I, 79 (1200).

47. ACA perg. Jaume, 356 (1294): «ipso Guillelmo (*the tenant*) in contrarium allegante se et alios homines eiusdem mansi fuisse et esse exemptos ab omni redempcione de consuetudine dicti castri cum homines habitantes in termino dicti castri cuiusque fuerint dominationis non redemerint se.»

48. Ibid. Redemption prices were usually at least 10 *solidi*, e.g.: ACA perg. Jaume I, 714 (1238), 20 *solidi*; perg. Jaume I, Apèndix 25 (1255), 15 *solidi*; perg. Jaume I, 1686 (1262), 25 *solidi*; perg. Jaume I, 2265 (1276), 35 *solidi*.

49. ACA perg. Jaume I, 1420 (1255). Other documents showing servile land tenure in Voltregà include ACA perg. Jaume I, 1248 (1251); perg. Alfons II, 124 (1286), Alfons II, 125 (1286), all recognition charters.

50. ACA perg. Jaume I, 1420 (1255), the tenant Guillem de Roseto is to hold the manse of Roseto, «tamen tu et tui sitis semper homines proprii dicte milicie et teneatis dictum mansum affocatum et condirectum et in eo faciatis semper habitagium et continuam residentiam.»

51. See above, note 28.

The new regime does not appear to have greatly benefited either military order. Osona was ultimately not as profitable as the grand seigneuries to the south and west — in *Catalunya Nova* and Aragon. In 1225 the Hospitallers of Vic did accomplish the impressive acquisition of the fortress of Dos Castells, a gift from Bernat of Manlleu. This became at least theoretically the prize among their holdings in the region, but it took three years to wrest the castle from its castellans.⁵² For a time the Hospitaller commander in Vic bore the resounding title «Commander of Vic and Dos Castells,» but the castle was probably a liability and was not easy to defend against usurpation. In 1252 Dos Castells was sold to the king and shortly after that the decline of the order was underscored when the Hospitallers gave up their headquarters in Vic.⁵³ The office of commander or *procurator* of Vic continued to exist but by 1293, and most likely several decades earlier, the order's property in Osona was administered from Barcelona.⁵⁴ The Templars were more prosperous in the last decades of the thirteenth century, but their energies appear largely confined to the administration of their by now antique rights in Gurb and Sant Hipòlit de Voltregà.⁵⁵

The golden age of the military orders in Osona, such as it was, spanned the years 1180 to 1230. After the latter date their interest in the region declined and what had probably never been a highly profitable operation was allowed to decay. The orders had left an impression on Osona, however, and on its land tenure patterns. They were objects of pious donations, they were entrusted with the protection of land, and they assumed a role in the movement toward servile forms of land tenure. If Osona was never of vital significance for the Templars and Hospitallers, the influence of the military orders in turn on the region was nevertheless important.

Paul Freedman
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee
U.S.A.

52. *Els castells catalans* (Barcelona, 1968-1979), vol. 4, pp. 961, 962 note 10. Also relevant to this is ACA Ordres Militars, Secció 1, Armari 1, no. 90 (1228), a demand by the Hospitaller Magister of Emposta that the abbot of Ripoll and the bishop of Vic (who had presumably acted as arbiters in the disputes over the castle) return Dos Castells to the order.

53. For the sale of Dos Castells, *Els castells catalans*, loc. cit. The Hospitallers' house in Vic was abandoned sometime after 1258 according to Eduard Junyent, *La ciutat de Vic i la seva història* (Barcelona, 1976), p. 87.

54. ACV c. 6, 114 (1293).

55. ACA perg. Alfons II, 80 (1286); Alfons II, 124 (1286); Alfons II, 125 (1286); Alfons II, 190 (1287); Jaume II, 356 (1294).

Appendix

Example of protection offered by the Hospitallers of Vic

Arxiu Capitular de Vic. Calaix 6, no. 2626. (July 9, 1198)

Notum sit cunctis quod ego Berengarius de Medala et vxor mea Ermessendis et filius noster Berengarius, assensu et voluntate Guillelmi Raimundi de Monte Catano, mittimus et ponimus in deffensione et protectione Sancti Ospitalis Iherosolimitani et fratrum eius totum ipsum nostrum mansum de Fonte quem Berengarius de Fonte tenet per nos in parrochia Sancti Vinceii de Medala cum omnibus suis pertinenciis et tenedonibus et habitatoribus suis et cum omnibus rebus eorum. Tali pacto ut fratres Ospitalis deffendant et manuteneant ipsum mansum totum et omnes habitatores istius mansi cum omnibus rebus eorum dum sint infra cruces sicuti res suas proprias. Et ipsi fratres accipiant in isto manso pro ista guarda annuatim unum quartanum boni frumenti ad mensuram directam Vici et nichil aliud ibi aliquo modo demandare possint sine nostra voluntate. Quod est factum vii. idus iulii, anno Domini MCXCVIII. Sig+num Berengarii de Medala. Sig+num Ermessendis vxoris eius. Sig+num Berengarii, filii eorum. Sig+num Guillelmi Raimundi de Monte Catano. Sig+num Berengarii de Fonte. Sig+num Guillelmi de Uilla Maiori. Sig+num Guillelmi de Gargalad, procuratoris Ospitalis. Sig+num Petrus de Ulmo. Sig+num Raimundi de Prato. Sig+num Andree sacerdotis et publici ville Vice scriptoris +. Raimundus de Medaia qui hoc firmo.

Raimundus leuita qui hoc scripsit die et anno quo + supra.

Appendix 2

Example of a Charter of Recognition made to the Hospitallers of Vic

Arxiu Capitular de Vic. Calaix 6, no. 75. (February 6, 1220)

Notum sit cunctis quod ego Arnaldus, filius Lupeti de Podio, recognosco corpus meum et res meas uniuersas quas habeo et habiturus sum esse Sancti Ospitalis Iherosolimitani in manu et posse Guillelmi de Sancto Martino, procuratoris domus Ospitalis in Ausona. Et ipsum Ospitale suique fratres deffendant et manuteneant me et omnes res meas tanquam res suas proprias. Et pro firma possessione corporis mei conuenio dare annuatim ipsi Ospitali suisque fratribus in festo Omnium Sanctorum unum par caponum quibus datis nichil aliud ipsum Ospitale suique fratres in me siue in rebus meis ultra meam uoluntatem demandare attque exigere possin. Quod est factum viii idus februarii, anno Domini MCCXVIII. Sig+num Arnaldi, filii Lupeti de Podio. Sig+num

Guillelmi de Sancto Martino, procuratoris Ospitalis. Sig+num Bernardi de Paracols.

Sig+num Andree sacerdotis et publici ville Vici scriptoris +.

Johanes levita qui hoc scripsit die et anno quo + supra.

Appendix 3

Example of self-donation to the Hospitallers of Vic

Arxiu Capitular de Vic. Calaix 6, no. 87. (August 12, 1234)

Notum sit cunctis quod ego Bernardus de Trescolle et uxor mea Feraria bona et libera uoluntate damus corpora nostra et infantes nostros et res nostras quas habemus et habuerimus Deo et Hospitali Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani in posse et manu fratris Guillelmi de Sancto Martino, comendatoris et procuratoris domus eiusdem Hospitalis in Uico et in Ausona. Ita quod nullum alium seniore ualeamus reclamare nisi dictum Hospitale et comendatoris fratres eiusdem. Et nulla prescripcio temporum uel habitacio uillarum aut ciuitatum uel opidorum seu aliorum locorum nobis possit prodesse et dicto Hospitali suisque fratribus in aliquo obesse. Et pro firma nostrorum corporum et rerum et infantum nostrorum possessione, promittimus dare in uita nostra in quolibet anno dicto Hospitali unum par caponum. Sed dictus Hospitale et suos comendatores et fratres manuteneant et deffendant nos et omnes infantes et res nostras ut homines et res dicti Hospitalis et eorum proprias. Quod est factum pridie idus augusti, anno Domini MCCXXX quarto. Sig+num Berengarii de Trescolle. Sig+num Ferarie uxoris eius, nos qui predicta facimus et firmamus. Sig+num Ferarii de Sanians. Sig+num Petri Tixedor, testium huius rei.

Sig+ Petri de Ferigola, acholiti, scriptoris jurati.

Sig+num Petri de Avreis, Vicensis canonici et publici ville Vici notarii.

Raimundus Uta qu hoc scrpst mandato Petr d'Avres, publici Vicensis notarii, die et anno quo su + pra.

Appendix 4

Commandanders and procurators of the Hospitallers in Vic

Throughout the thirteenth century several people appear simultaneously to have acted in the name of the Hospitaller *domus* of Vic using the titles *comendator* or *procurator*. The list below is based on the appearance of such titles in surviving documents.

Guillem de Vilamitjana	1181-1190	<i>comendator</i>
Guillem de Gargalà	1192-1208	<i>comendator, procurator</i>
Guillem Capellà	1214-1215	<i>procurator</i>
Guillem de Juneda	1216, 1237, 1248	<i>comendator</i>
Guillem de Sant Martí	1217-1220, 1223, 1331, 1234-1325	<i>procurator</i> after 1231 <i>comendator</i>
Bernat de Palau	1220-1221	<i>procurator</i>
Arnau de Tous	1228	<i>comendator</i>
Arnau de Bellvei	1229-1233, 1240	<i>comendator</i>
Pere de Vallfogona	1237-1239	<i>procurator, comendator</i> (of Vic and Dos Castells)
Pere de Vallseca	1239	<i>comendator</i> (of Vic and Dos Castells)
Berenguer de Soler	1258-1262	<i>comendator</i>
Ramon de Fonollet	1265-1266, 1287	<i>procurator et locum tenens</i> described as <i>clericus Vici</i> and <i>procurator</i> acting with Bernat Vigatà (who in 1293 is <i>procurator</i> of Barcelona)