

The election of Arnau de Torroja as ninth Master of the Knights Templar (1180): An enigmatic decision reconsidered

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Ever since Saladin took power in 1174, the Crusader States had been slipping deeper and deeper into a serious crisis,¹ a crisis which inevitably would also affect its most lasting creation, the military orders. In fact, the orders and their officials were an inextricable part of the struggle for power which would have such disastrous effects on the kingdom. Two dignitaries in particular stood in the eye of the gathering storm – the Master of the Templars and the Master of the Hospitallers. It has been calculated that in the years immediately preceding the battle of Hattin, the two orders were by far the most important landholders, owning up to 35% of the soil, and their military strength conferred on them a vital role in the defence of the realm.² Evidently, their senior officials wielded considerable power.

Although several overviews on the Templars and Hospitallers exist, some of them excellent, relatively little attention has been given to

¹ On the political situation of the year 1180 in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: R. RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291*, Innsbruck 1898 (Repr. 1966), p. 388-451; M. W. BALDWIN, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)*, Princeton 1936, Repr. Amsterdam 1969; P. W. EDBURY / J. G. ROWE, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge Studies in medieval life and thought, Fourth series 8), Cambridge 1988; H. E. MAYER, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Urban-Taschenbücher 86), 10. Ed., Stuttgart 2006, p. 135-168; J. RICHARD, *The Crusades: c. 1071 - c. 1291*, Cambridge [u.a.] 1999, p. 190-215; B. HAMILTON, *The Leper King and his Heirs. Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London 2000; H. E. MAYER, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften 40; 1-2), Hannover 1996, vol. 1, p. 166-271; vol. 2, p. 191-558.

² G. BAYER, *Die Verschiebungen der Grundbesitzverhältnisse in Palästina während der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, *Palästina-Jahrbuch* 32 (1936), p. 101-110. J. PRÄWER, *Military Orders and Crusade Politics in the Second Half of the XIIth Century*, in: *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein / Manfred HELLMANN (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), Sigmaringen 1980, p. 217-231, here: 225-226; S. TIBBLE, *Monarchy and lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1099 - 1291*, Oxford 1989, p. 111-112, 119-120; M. BARBER: *The new knighthood: a history of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge [u.a.] 1994, p. 89.

the order's masters. Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele's *Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolimitani magistri* remains the only comprehensive study to date.³ This is surprising, for the origins, the actions and the personalities of these high-ranking officials are of more than mere biographical interest. Their careers throw light on the structure of a religious, military, economic and political institution highly influenced by individuals and their mutual relationships.

I

Needless to say, some masters have roused historians' curiosity to a stronger degree than others: Hugo de Payns and Jacques de Molay, the Temple's first and last *magistri*, and Gerard de Rideford, the proud and vengeful knight who led his troops to disaster at Cresson and Hattin, have been studied on more than one occasion.⁴ In contrast, Gerard's immediate predecessor, Arnaldus de Turre Rubea, remained an obscure figure – so much so that the latter's thoughts and motives were often simply identified with those of his successor.⁵ Only recently has the

³ Marie-Luise BULST-THIELE, "Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolimitani magistri". Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19-1314 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 86), Göttingen 1974; as preparatory studies for a future monograph see Jochen Burgtorf's articles: J. BURGTORF, The Order of the Hospital's high dignitaries and their claims on the inheritance of deceased brethren - regulations and conflicts, in: *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995), ed. Michel BALARD (Publications de la Sorbonne. Série Byzantina Sorbonensia, 14), Paris 1996, p. 255-265; J. Burgtorf, Wind beneath the wings: subordinate headquarters officials in the Hospital and the Temple from the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries, in: *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen J. NICHOLSON, Aldershot 1998, p. 217-224.

⁴ BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae domus* (cf. note 3), p. 19-29, 106-122, 295-359; T. LEROY: Hugues de Payns: chevalier champenois, fondateur de l'Ordre des Templiers, Troyes 2001; S. CERRINI: Le fondateur de l'ordre du Temple à ses frères: Hugues de Payns et le Sermo Christi militibus, in: *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard / Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. Michel BALARD / Benjamin Zeev KEDAR / Jonathan RILEY-SMITH, Aldershot [u.a.] 2002, p. 99-110; A. DEMURGER: Jacques de Molay: le crépuscule des templiers (Biographie Payot), Paris 2002.

⁵ On Arnaldus see C. d. F. Du Cange, *Les familles d'outre-mer de Du Cange*, ed. E. G. REY (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France 18), Paris 1869, p. 877-878; P. SCHICKL, Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens in Katalonien und Aragon, *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 28 (1975), p. 91-229, here: 194-196; Alan J. FOREY,

ninth master of the Templars received the attention he deserves.⁶ The long neglect was all the more astonishing considering that Arnold led the Templars at a crucial moment in the history of the order and the Crusader States, a time characterized by the frantic search for allies against Saladin's waxing power and by the bitter struggle between the barons of Outremer.

The election of the ninth master to the Order of the Knights Templar in 1180 might well have surprised many an observer, and even recently the decision has been termed "enigmatic".⁷ First, Arnoldus de Turre Rubea was elected in absence – the first time this had hitherto occurred.⁸ Second and more importantly, the candidate had not originated in central France or the Crusader States, i. e. from among the court officials.⁹ This is surprising, since all of his predecessors had been drawn from one of these areas. The election of 1180 becomes even more astonishing when one realizes that Arnoldus de Turre Rubea was not French at all. As Bulst-Thiele and others have already pointed out, he was of Spanish – to be exact of Catalan – origin. Arnau de Torroja, to use his Catalan name, had been master of Provence and Spain prior to his election.

The Templars in the Corona de Aragón, London 1973, p. 55-56; BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae domus* (cf. note 3), p. 99-105.

⁶ J. M. SANS I TRAVÉ, *Arnau de Torroja: un català mestre major de l'ordre del Temple (1118/20?-1184)*, Barcelona 2006.

⁷ HAMILTON, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 164.

⁸ Cf. the as yet unpublished article by Jochen BURGTORF, *Li maistre ou cil qui tenra son leuc: The Order of the Temple's Central Government in the Absence of the Master*. Many thanks to the author for having let me read the manuscript. On the election procedure see H. D. CURZON, *La règle du Temple* (Ouvrages publiés par la société de l'histoire de France 75 = Société de l'Histoire de France 228), Paris 1886, § 198-223; J. M. UPTON-WARD, *The rule of the Templars: the French text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Studies in the history of medieval religion 4), Rochester, NY, USA 1992, p. 67-72. There is no evidence to support the assumption by Josep Maria SANS I TRAVÉ that the election was held in summer 1181, after the candidate had arrived in Palestine: Sans i Travé, *Arnau de Torroja* (cf. note 6), p. 111.

⁹ BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae domus* (cf. note 3), p. 1-105; Hans Eberhard MAYER, *Herrschaft und Verwaltung im Königreich Jerusalem*, *Historische Zeitschrift* 261 (1995), 695-738, here: 711; Jean RICHARD, *Les Templiers et les Hospitaliers en Bourgogne et en Champagne méridionale*, in: *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef FLECKENSTEIN / Manfred HELLMANN (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), Sigmaringen 1980, p. 231-242.

When Arnau arrived in Jerusalem in late spring / early summer of 1181,¹⁰ Saladin had just signed a two-year armistice with the King of Jerusalem and the Count of Tripoli. But that did not mean that fighting ended in Palestine, for Reynald of Châtillon continued to clash with the Muslims. Notably, the sources do not mention any participation on the part of the Templars in these skirmishes, neither do the knights seem to have fought in the campaigns in Galilee, northern Syria and Transjordan.¹¹ Saladin used the time the treaty with the Christians offered him to conquer Aleppo and subdue northern Syria, thus encircling the Crusader States from both north and south. His capture of Aleppo did not make the barons of Outremer unite, quite the contrary.¹² In this situation of inner turmoil we see the master of the Templars taking a cautious stand, a position between the lines. He does not seem to have openly sided with the party close to Agnes of Courtenay and Guy of Lusignan; on the other hand, when the latter fell out of favour in 1184, the Templar Master pleaded before King Baldwin on the baron's behalf.¹³ Shortly afterwards, Arnau de Torroja set sail with the Patriarch

¹⁰ Arnau's successor as master of the Provence and Spain is first mentioned in April 1181: Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (1070-1200), 2 vols., ed. R. SAROBE I HUESCA (Diplomatariis / Fundació Noguera 16-17), Lleida 1998, p. 578-579, Nr. 380; SANS I TRAVÉ, Arnau de Torroja (cf. note 6), p. 108, postpones Arnau's departure until July 1181, as some of the Templar's alleged companions still signed documents up to that date.

¹¹ G. REGAN, Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem, London, New York, Sydney 1987, p. 67-83; M. A. KÖHLER, Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients N.F. 12), Berlin [u.a.] 1991, p. 300-327. According to the Ernoul the Templar and Hospitaller masters were present when the Christian and Muslim armies nearly clashed at Saffuriya: Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, ed. M. L. d. MAS LATRIE, Paris 1871, p. 97-98, 100.

¹² M. W. BALDWIN, The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189, in: History of the Crusades I: The First Hundred Years, ed. H. W. Hazard 1955, p. 590-621; BALDWIN, Raymond III of Tripolis (cf. note 1), p. 56-61 declares Arnau a member of the court party; R. L. NICHOLSON, Joscelyn III and the fall of the Crusader states: 1134-1199, Leiden 1973; G. LIGATO, Guglielmo Lungaspada di Monferrato e le istituzioni politiche dell'Oriente latino, in: Atti del Congresso Internazionale „Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli oceani“, Alessandria, 2-6 aprile 1990, ed. L. Balletto (Biblioteca della Società di Storia Arte e Archeologia. Accademia degli Immobili 27), Alessandria 1993, p. 153-185.

¹³ *Indicatur ergo apud eandem urbem curia generalis, ad quam cum die statuta regni principes convenissent, cepit patriarcha, utrumque magistrum, Templi videlicet et Hospitalis, in ea verbo habens consortes, dominum regem convenire et etiam flexo genu pro comite intercedere, ut rancore deposito eum in gratiam suam restitueret, cumque statim exaditi non fuissent cum indignatione simul non solum a curia, verum a*

of Jerusalem and the Hospitaller Master to seek the aid of the pope, Frederick Barbarossa, Philipp Augustus and Henry II.¹⁴ But he was never to meet the kings of England, France and the Roman Empire, for on September 30th 1184, the Master of the Temple died at Verona.¹⁵

Who was this man whom we encounter on diplomatic, but not on military missions – although he was the leader of one of the most formidable fighting forces of his time? What made the brethren and those who influenced them choose him?

civitate – Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon* (Corpus Christianorum, *Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63), ed. R. B. C. HUYGENS, Turnhout 1986, p. 1063.

¹⁴ About the delegation, its background and its objects see: A. CARTELLIERI, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich*, vol. 2: *Der Kreuzzug (1187-1191)*, Leipzig 1906, Repr. Aalen 1984, p. 18-25; H. E. MAYER, *Kaiserrecht und Heiliges Land*, in: *Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte*, ed. H. Fuhrmann u.a. (Kieler historische Studien 16), Stuttgart 1972, p. 193-208; H. E. MAYER, *Henry II of England and the Holy Land*, *English Historical Review* 97 (1982), p. 721-739; R. HIESTAND, “*Precipua tocius christianismi columpna*”. *Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug*, in: *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. A. HAVERKAMP (Vorträge und Forschungen 40), Sigmaringen 1992, p. 51-108, here: 62-63; G. LIGATO, *Il magister ospedaliero Ruggero des Moulins nella crisi finale del regno Latino di Gerusalemme (1182-1187)*, *Antonianum* 71 (1996), p. 495-522, particularly 500-509; J. PHILLIPS, *Defenders of the Holy Land. Relations between the Latin East and the West 1119-1187*, Oxford 1999, p. 253-263; K. KIRSTEIN, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291* (Berliner historische Studien 35 = Ordensstudien 16), Berlin 2002, p. 344-348; HAMILTON, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 201, 212-214, 253-263; N. JASPERT, *Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)*, *Deutsches Archiv* 60 (2005), p. 483-516, particularly p. 484-486.

¹⁵ *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica; The historical works of Master Ralpf de Diceto, Dean of London*. Edited from the original manuscripts by William STUBBS (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores* 68), London 1876, vol. 2, p. 25-37; *Ex Radulphi de Diceto operibus historicis*, in: *MGH SS 27*, p. 249-293, here: 274; *The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I: A.D. 1169-1192 = Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis AD 1169-1192*. Known commonly under the name of *Benedict of Peterborough*, vol. 1 (*Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 49), London 1867, p. 331; *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M. R. MORGAN (*Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades* 14), Paris 1982, p. 46. The main objects of negotiation treated in Verona are named in: Hamilton, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 256-257; G. BAAKEN, *Unio regni ad imperium. Die Verhandlungen von Verona 1184 und die Eheabredung zwischen König Heinrich VI. und Konstanze von Sizilien*, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 52 (1972), p. 219-297.

II

The Iberian Peninsula in general and Catalonia in particular are areas traditionally believed to have had only minimal ties to the Holy Land. It is assumed that ever since Pope Urban II wrote to the clergy and the barons of Catalonia in 1089 and 1096, forbidding them to travel to Jerusalem and requiring that they fight the Muslims in their own land instead, the Catalans had refrained from joining the crusades and focussed on the "Reconquista".¹⁶ The fact that the church repeatedly promised the combatants in Palestine and Spain identical indulgences allegedly contributed to the seeming absence of Spaniards in the Holy Land, and indeed, until the campaign led by James I *el Conqueridor* in 1269, large Spanish contingents did not take part in the crusades.¹⁷

However, a detailed examination of the extant documentation shows that Catalans were in fact present in Palestine in a much larger degree than often assumed.¹⁸ Scores of twelfth century testaments bear

¹⁶ D. MANSILLA, La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216 (Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, sección registros 1), Madrid 1955, Nr. 29; P. F. KEHR, Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia I: Katalanien (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, NF 18) Göttingen 1926, p. 287; R. A. FLETCHER, Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 37 (1987), p. 31-49, here: 43: "In the light of this, we might look for incipient crusading consciousness in Spain from about the third decade of the twelfth century. And we are not disappointed."; cf. J. RICHARD, Histoire des croisades, Paris 1996, p. 414: "...Espagne, peu touchée par les croisades, mais non étrangère au pèlerinage".

¹⁷ R. RÖHRICHT, Der Kreuzzug des König Jacob I. von Aragonien (1269), Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichte 11 (1890), p. 372-396; E. M. HIERRO: Die byzantinisch-katalanischen Beziehungen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Chronik Jakobs I. von Katalonien-Aragon (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 37), München 1996; C. De AYALA MARTÍNEZ: Reflexiones en torno a la cruzada aragonesa de 1269, in: Dona Ferentes – homenaje a F. Torrent, ed. Jesús de la Villa, Madrid 1994, p. 17-26.

¹⁸ Cf. on this issue: M. FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Españoles en las Cruzadas, Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia 5 (1817), p. 37-205 (Repr. Madrid 1986); J. GUDIOL I CUNILL, De peregrins i peregrinatges religiosos catalans, Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 3 (1928), p. 93-119; Antonio UBIETA ARTETA, La participación navarro-aragonesa en la primera cruzada, Príncipe de Viana 8 (1947), p. 357-383; A. RODRIGUEZ GONZÁLEZ, Galicia y los Santos Lugares en el medioevo, Compostellanum 2 (1957), p. 207-217; J. I. Fernández de VIANA Y VIEITES, Documentos sobre peregrinos gallegos a Jerusalén en la Edad Media, Estudios Mindonienses 7 (1991), p. 405-421; N. JASPERS, Stift und Stadt. Das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145--1423 (Berliner Historische Studien 24 = Ordensstudien X), Berlin 1996, p. 69-79; N. JASPERS, 'Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus, orate': die Kathedralskapitel von Compostela und Jerusalem in der ersten Hälfte des 12.

witness to the unbroken tradition of embarking on a pilgrimage *ad sanctissimum sepulcrum* – in fact, Jerusalem remained a more attractive goal for Catalans than Santiago de Compostela –, and trans-Pyrenean feudal ties made many a north-Catalan noble join his French overlord on an expedition to Palestine. Documentation from the Crusader States reveals that there was a sizeable number of Iberian settlers amongst the inhabitants of the new *suburbia* which the Latins founded after 1099, and many a clergyman, amongst them members of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, its prior and several bishops came from the Iberian Peninsula. Arnau de Torroja is therefore a further example – albeit an especially prominent one – of the trans-Mediterranean ties and mobility between Catalonia and Palestine in the Twelfth Century.

As we have seen, relatively little is known of the master's activity in the east. The abundant Catalan archives however yield many hundred references both to him and to his family, so much so that we are able to situate Arnau de Torroja in his original, regional context in much greater detail than any other Templar master of the twelfth Century.¹⁹ A reconstruction of Arnau's career prior to 1180 may help us understand his election at such a critical moment in the history of the Crusader States. We may comprehend why the brethren chose the head of one of the order's distant provinces,²⁰ an outsider without ties to France, its intellectual homeland, and without an office within the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Jahrhunderts, in: Santiago, Roma, Jerusalén. III Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos, ed. P. Caucci von Saucken, Santiago de Compostela 1999, p. 187-212; N. JASPERT, Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden und die Kreuzzugsbewegung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel, in: Europa in der späten Salierzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Werner Goetz, ed. K. HERBERS, Stuttgart 2001, p. 91-117; P. JOSSEAND, Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252-1369) (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velazquez 31), Madrid 2004, p. 583-609; P. CLAVERIE: La dévotion envers les Lieux saints dans la Catalogne médiévale, in: Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard (Byzantina Sorbonensia 20), Paris 2004, p. 127-137.

¹⁹ The study by Josep Maria SANS I TRAVÉ, Arnau de Torroja (cf. note 6), centres on this regional context and expounds it in all necessary detail. Consequently, the following overview will concentrate on issues not dealt with in depth by Sans i Travé; references will be reduced to the most necessary.

²⁰ On the Templars in the Arago-Catalan Crown see FOREY, The Templars (cf. note 5); Schickl, Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens (cf. note 5); Maria Luisa LEDESMA RUBIO, Templarios y Hospitalarios en la Corona de Aragón (Colección Básica Aragonesa 37), Zaragoza 1982; Ll. PAGAROLAS, La comanda del Temple de Tortosa, primer període (1148-1213), Tortosa 1984; M. Pujol i Canelles, Els Templers a l'Empordà. La comanda del Temple de Castelló d'Empúries, Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanencs 1 (1984), p. 99-247; A. CONTE, La encomienda del Temple de

III

The Torrojas²¹ took their family name from a stronghold in central Catalonia which Arnau's grandfather is first known to have controlled at the end of the eleventh century. The family, however, had held important positions for some time before that. A hundred years earlier, a forefather named Miró belonged to the court of the count of Urgell in north Catalonia had held the castle of Solsona – the centre of the family's power for centuries to come.²² The Torrojas contributed to and benefited from the county's territorial expansion during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and Bernat Ecard de Torroja, the future Templar's father, had succeeded in acquiring considerable wealth and power by his death on May 23rd 1143.²³ Bernat left five sons:²⁴ William, Berenguer, Peter, Arnau and Raymond, the last of whom however was to die shortly later in battle.²⁵ The four remaining brothers were all to make exceptional careers for themselves.²⁶ One can say without exaggeration

Huesca, Huesca 1986; F. CASTILLON CORTADO, *Los templarios de Monzón* (Huesca), siglos XII-XIII, Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita 39-40 (1981), p. 7-99.

²¹ J. SERRA Y VILARÓ, *Senyoriu de la vescomtal família Miró*, Barcelona 1909; A. LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès en la història de Catalunya*, Lleida 1986, p. 182-183; A. LLORENS I SOLÉ, *La valuosa ajuda bèl·lica i diplomàtica, prestada al Comte de Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, pels Torroja, senyors del Castell de Solsona*, *Medievalia* 8 (1988), p. 253-263.

²² On the relation between the town and the family of the Torroja in the XII century see: D. COSTA Y BOFARULL, *Memorias de la ciudad de Solsona y su Iglesia* (Biblioteca Histórica de la Biblioteca Balmes Ser. II 22), Barcelona 1954, p. 190-195; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 167-199; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *La valuosa ajuda* (cf. note 21), p. 253-263, mit Genealogie auf p. 255; A. Bach Riu, *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Solsona* (1101 - 1200), 2 vols. (Fundació Noguera. Diplomatari 26-27), Barcelona 2002.

²³ J. SERRA Y VILARÓ, *Senyoriu de la vescomtal família Miró*, Barcelona 1909; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 182-183; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *La valuosa ajuda* (cf. note 21); Schickl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templarordens* (cf. note 5), p. 194-196. SANS I TRAVÉ: *Arnau de Torroja* (cf. note 6), p. 18-22.

²⁴ Possibly a sixth son by the name of Ponç should be added, but information on him is scant and insecure: SANS I TRAVÉ: *Arnau de Torroja* (cf. note 6), p. 17.

²⁵ COSTA Y BOFARULL, *Memorias de la ciudad de Solsona* (cf. Note 22), vol. 1, p. 191; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 173-174.

²⁶ M. AURELL, *Le personnel politique catalan et aragonais en Provence sous Alphonse Ier* (1162-1196), *Annales du Midi* 93 (1981), p. 121-139; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *La valuosa ajuda* (cf. note 21); U. VONES-LIEBENSTEIN: *Saint Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel* (11. und 12. Jahrhundert), 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Victorina 6), Paris-Turnhout 1996, vol. 1, p. 320-323, 351.

that by the second third of the century, the Torrojas played a central role in Catalan politics. They owed their rise to a change in political alliance. In the 1140s, they practically cease to be named in documents from the court of Urgell and instead, they increasingly appear in connection with the powerful count of Barcelona and his court. Convenient marriages prepared the path: the brothers were soon related to some of the most influential families at court – with the Jorba and the Cervera – and can often be traced amongst a group of belligerent nobles with strong possessions in southern Catalonia.²⁷ Most particularly, the marriage of Ramon II de Torroja to Gaia de Cervera, Count Ramon Berenguer IV's niece, seems to have been the turning point in the relationship between the family and the house of Barcelona.²⁸ Berenguer de Torroja became one of the count's *comitores*,²⁹ in whose name he held several castles in the newly conquered areas of southern Catalonia and with whom he signed many charters, amongst them the great donation to the Templars in 1143.³⁰ His brothers were to rise higher still. William entered the chapter of Barcelona cathedral,³¹ where he soon held the position of a

²⁷ The Torrojas constantly figure in charters with members of the Pujalt, Anglesola (Bernat) and Cervera (Guillem and Ponç) families, all which they often shared possessions.

²⁸ He married Gaia de Cervera, daughter of Ponç de Cervera, thus founding the line of the viscounts de Bas. Raymond was a son of Arnold's deceased brother. Arnold's sister Saurina married an influential member of the Barcelonese court, Gerau de Iorba – *Diplomatari de Poblet I* (960-1177), ed. A. Altisent, Barcelona 1993, p. 571, p. 571.

²⁹ On the *comitores* see Pierre BONNASSIE, *The Noble and the Ignoble: A New Nobility and a New Servitude in Catalonia at the End of the Eleventh Century*, in: *Idem, From Slavery to Feudalism in South - Western Europe*, (Übers.) Cambridge 1991, p. 195-243.

³⁰ F. RAZQUIN FABREGAT, *Los castillos de la Segarra*, Ilerda 1 (1943), p. 51-65; U. VONES LIEBENSTEIN, *Saint Ruf* (cf. note 26), p. 331-332; T. N. BISSON, *Fiscal Accounts in Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings: 1156-1213*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1984, p. 223, 225. Berenguer took part in the most important military campaigns of his master, amongst them those against Tortosa and Lleida, whose "carta de població" he even signed: J. LLADONOSA PUJOL, *Història de Lleida*, 2 vols., Lleida 1972, p. 121, 126. He also accompanied the count on diplomatic missions: F. MIQUEL ROSELL (ed.), *Liber Feudorum Maior*. *Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Textos y estudios de la Corona de Aragón 1-2), Barcelona 1945-47, Nr. 31. The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona mentions him among the king's entourage on several occasions between 1148-1158, and he can be traced from 1143 until his death on August 1st 1160. Cf. his last will: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny* (cf. note 10), p. 199-203, Nr. 98; p. 205-209, Nr. 102.

³¹ J. SÁNCHEZ REAL, *El Archiepiscopologio de Luis Pons de Icart* (1572), Tarragona 1954, p. 78-85; J. BLANCH, *Archiepiscopologi de la Santa Església Metropolitana i Primada de Tarragona* (1665), Tarragona 1951, p. 106-110; J. VILLANUEVA, *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España*, XIX: Barcelona y Tarragona, Madrid 1851, p. 160-

sacristan.³² In 1144 he was elected bishop of Barcelona and in 1171 he became archbishop of Tarragona, thus holding the highest ecclesiastical office in the entire realm. His ties to the count were so close that he was chosen to be one of the tutors to prince Raymond, the future King Alfonso II when Raymond Berenguer IV died in 1162.³³ At that time his brother Peter held the Aragonese see of Saragossa, consequently the two most important dioceses of the Crown were in the hands of the Torroja family. Peter de Torroja had been abbot to the house of Austin Canons at Vilabertran³⁴ before being named Bishop of Saragossa in 1152, a sure sign of his close ties to the Count of Barcelona.³⁵ He proved to be a true servant to his master, whom he often accompanied on diplomatic missions.³⁶ Peter held the bishop's seat for over thirty years and died in 1184, just six months before his brother, the Templar Master.

This short survey of Arnau de Torroja's forefathers and brothers should suffice to illustrate that the ninth master of the Templars was no local upstart, but rather a member of an extremely influential baronial clan who held key political and ecclesiastical positions in the expanding Arago-Catalan Crown. This clan incidentally showed a remarkable sympathy for the ideals of collective poverty propagated by the Austin Canons and other religious reform movements of the eleventh century. Bernat Ecard de Torroja, the brothers' father, had entered the house of

-163; 190-197; S. PUIG I PUIG, *Episcopologio de la sede barcenonense. Apuntes para la historia de la iglesia de Barcelona* (Biblioteca Balmes I,1), Barcelona 1929, p. 157-169; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. Note 21), p. 184-188.

³² He appears as an archdeacon – possibly of Urgell – in 1135: LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 172-173.

³³ J. Ventura, *Alfons „El Cast“: el primer comte-rei* (Biblioteca biogràfica catalana 28), Barcelona 1961, p. 88, 91. William often is mentioned at the comital court, where he signed a number of documents: J. CARUANA, *Itinerario de Alfonso II de Aragón*, Zaragoza 1962, p. 3-117, p. 3-75. Jeronimo Zurita explains a series of important decisions of the years 1164-66 influenced by both William and Peter de Torroja.

³⁴ J. M. MARQUÈS I PLANAGUMÀ, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran (968-1300)* (Monografies Empordaneses 1), Figueres 1995, p. XXIII. He died in March 1184 (ibidem.), not in 1164 – cf. J. M. SANS I TRAVÉ, *Arnau de Torroja* (cf. note 6), p. 27.

³⁵ The election must be seen in context with the complicated proceedings leading to the creation of the Arago-Catalan crown: cf. LLORENS I SOLÉ, *La valuosa ajuda* (cf. note 21), p. 260.

³⁶ Peter signed many of the king's charters: Caruana, *Itinerario* (cf. note 33), p. 3-117, among them various treaties (for example with the count of Toulouse (18 April 1176), the king of Castile (August 1177) and the Treaty of Cazola (March 1179): *Liber feudorum maior* (cf. note 30), vol. 1, Nr. 35; vol. 2, Nr. 899; Caruana, *Itinerario* (cf. note 33), p. 98. He also seems to have been sent on missions to Castile: Caruana, *Itinerario* (cf. note 33), p. 26: *qui tunc [1167] erat venturus de Alfonsus rex Castellensis*.

Santa Maria de Solsona with the consent of his wife shortly before his death in 1143.³⁷ In 1163, three of the four brothers were present at the second consecration of the church at Solsona.³⁸ Both Torroja bishops, Peter and William, followed the rule of Saint Augustine. They, as well as other members of the family including Arnau, fostered the Austin Canons and particularly the congregation of Saint Ruf in Avignon. The monastery closest to the family, Santa Maria de Solsona, followed the rule of this Avignonese centre, and Saint Ruf de Lleida, which was built on land donated by Berenguer de Torroja,³⁹ was even a direct member of the congregation. Peter de Torroja strove to impose the rule of Saint Augustine in his cathedral chapter,⁴⁰ and his brother William not only consecrated an Abbot of Saint Ruf as Bishop of Tortosa, but also founded a house of Austin Canons in Barcelona.⁴¹

The Torrojas showed similar benevolence towards the Templars. Ramon I and Berenguer de Torroja signed the famous donation charter of 1143 with which the count of Barcelona and the order reached an

³⁷ COSTA, *Memorias* (cf. note 22), vol. 1, p. 189; Llorens i Solé, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), 172.

³⁸ COSTA, *Memorias* (cf. note 22), vol. 1, p. 642-645, Nr. 20.

³⁹ U. VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *Les débuts de l'abbaye de Saint-Ruf à Avignon au XIe siècle: contexte politique et religieux*, in: *Crises et réformes dans l'Eglise. De la réforme grégorienne à la préréforme* (Actes du 115e congrès national des Sociétés Savantes, Avignon 1990), Paris 1991, p. 9-27; EADEM, *Saint Ruf und Spanien* (cf. note 26), vol. 2, p. 674-678, Nr. 12, 13. In 1156 Berenguer signed a document together with abbot Raymond of Saint Ruf – *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 4, ed. F. Bofarull i Sans, Barcelona 1849, p. 230-232; see VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *Saint Ruf und Spanien* (cf. note 26), p. 303 – and on his death in 1161 he was buried in the congregation's dependancy in Lleida: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny* (cf. note 10) p. 199-203, Nr. 98; p. 205-209, Nr. 102.

⁴⁰ P. F. KEHR, *Papsturkunden in Spanien. Vorarbeiten zur Hispania Pontificia II: Navarra*, 2 vols. (Abh. der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, NF 22), Berlin 1928, p. 422-424; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 191-192; Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint Ruf und Spanien* (cf. note 26), p. 304 and 587, who mentions a copy of Saint Ruf's rule housed in Saragosse which was possibly written under Peter's pontificate. Peter also ceded a church to the canons of Vilabertran, whose prior he had been: MARQUÈS I PLANAGUMÀ, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran* (cf. note 34), Nr. 555, 607.

⁴¹ While the monastery of Santa Eulàlia del Camp was William's own foundation, he does not seem to have been personally involved in the creation of the second house of canons (Santa Anna), although several members of his chapter were: JASPERS, *Stift und Stadt* (cf. note 18), p. 57-65.

agreement over the last will of Alfonso I, el Batallador.⁴² Ramon and his son,⁴³ as well as his brothers Peter,⁴⁴ Berenguer⁴⁵ and Arnau⁴⁶ all favoured the order through donations, especially the house at Barbens.⁴⁷ Neither was Arnau the only member of the family to travel to Jerusalem or join the Templars. His nephew went on pilgrimage to Palestine in 1175 and possibly even returned there with Arnau when the latter took office in Jerusalem in 1181,⁴⁸ while several of Arnau's relatives appear as *confratres* or *fratres* of the order.⁴⁹

Arnau himself is first named in documents dating from 1132/33.⁵⁰ He participated in the major military campaigns of those years, the expeditions against Tortosa and Lleida in 1148/49, for he held possessions in both towns shortly after their conquest⁵¹ and he evidently belonged to the entourage of Raymond Berenguer IV, in whose name he was offered as a hostage to the Genovese in 1153.⁵² Even before joining

⁴² Together with his brother Berenguer and his nephew Raymond – Colección de documentos inéditos (cf. note 39), p. 97, Nr. 43.

⁴³ Donations in 1164, 1167, 1177 and 1181. J. MIRET Y SANS, *Les cases de templers y hospitalers en Catalunya. aplech de noves y documents històrics*, Barcelona 1909 (Repr. 2006), p. 104, 106, 156, 310; SCHICKL, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens* (cf. note 5), 150, FOREY, *The Templars* (cf. note 5), p. 56, 108.

⁴⁴ As Bishop of Saragosse: FOREY, *The Templars* (cf. note 5), p. 160, 371, Nr. V.

⁴⁵ Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10), p. 199-202, Nr. 98.

⁴⁶ Donations in Tortosa (1153): Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10), p. 143, Nr. 53. Further grants in GRALLERA, AGUILLELLA AND BARBENS: *Ibidem*, p. 241-242, Nr. 129; FOREY, *The Templars* (cf. note 5), 55.

⁴⁷ SCHICKL, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens* (cf. note 5), p. 150; FOREY, *The Templars* (cf. Note 5), p. 56.

⁴⁸ COSTA, *Memorias* (cf. note 22), vol. 1, p. 192; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 175.

⁴⁹ Raymond of Torroja is listed as *confrater*: Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. Note 10), S. 460, Nr. 311.

⁵⁰ In August 1132 and Novembre 1133 he signed a donation to Sant Maria of Solsona by his parents together with his brothers Raymond and Berenguer: LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 171, 173. BACH RIU, *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Diocesà* (cf. note 22), p. 320-321, Nr. 253; 1135: *ibidem*, p. 338, Nr. 271. A document from 1123 mentioning Arnau appears to be misdated: Bach Riu, *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Diocesà* (cf. note 22), p. 247, Nr. 182.

⁵¹ Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10), vol. 1, p. 110, Nr. 21; p. 190-191, Nr. 93. LLADONOSA PUJOL (cf. note 30), p. 132-133. LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 185; *Diplomatari de Poblet*, ed. A. Altisent (cf. note 28), Nr. 138.

⁵² Together with his brother Berenguer and his nephew Raymond – Colección de documentos inéditos (cf. note), p. 212-216, Nr. 128. In 1160 he signed a charter by

the Order of the Temple he showed his support of it by several generous donations,⁵³ and in winter 1162/1163 he finally took the habit of the *fratres Templi Salomonis*. Just two years later he was named *magister in partibus Hispaniae et Provinciae*,⁵⁴ a position he held until his elevation to the master's office in 1180.

IV

What impact did Arnau's twenty five year long career as master in Spain and the Provence have? If one should choose one trait among his many activities, which would best characterize him, it would arguably not be that of a military leader or a professed religious, but rather his ability as an administrator.⁵⁵ Scores of documents bear witness to his control of economic affairs in the Catalan houses; his signature can be found on sales, rents, loans and emphyteutic grants. The master seems to have been omnipresent, for he can be traced in the Provence as well as in Aragon and Catalonia, where he signed documents from Tortosa in the south right up to Saint-Gilles in the north. During his period as provincial master nine new houses were founded and set on a firm administrative basis.⁵⁶ It is no coincidence that the important cartulary of Gardeny was begun under his supervision.⁵⁷ The new master seems to

Raymond Bernguer IV, in which the count promised not to expoliate the goods of deceased clerics: Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona (s. IX-XIV), ed. Josep Maria Marquès Planegumà (Fundació Noguera, Diplomataris 2), Barcelona 1993, Nr. 304.

⁵³ Arnau also favoured the Cistercian monastery of Poblet: Donation of a field in Lleida on April 23rd (1151), for which the Cistercians recieved *Arnau de Torroja et animabus parentorum suorum in oracionibus et beneficiis nostris per secula cuncta*: Diplomataris de Poblet, ed. A. Altisent (cf. note 28), Nr. 138.

⁵⁴ Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10), vol. 1, p. 170-171, Nr. 154; with addition *ac Provintie*: ibidem, p. 285, Nr. 167; on Arnau's career in Provence see: D. SELWOOD, *Knights of the cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c. 1100 - c. 1300*, Woodbridge 1999, p. 154-155; D. CARRAZ: *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124 - 1312): ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales), Lyon 2005, p. 93, 98, 111, 318, 321, 426, 428.

⁵⁵ SANS I TRAVÉ: Arnau de Torroja (cf. note), p. 54-76 provides an overview of his further activities during these years.

⁵⁶ Corbins, Luna, Barbens, Puig-Reig, Cerdanya, Berguedà, Huesca, Barberà, Navarra, Ascó, Granyena and La Zaida – cf. SANS I TRAVÉ: Arnau de Torroja (cf. note 6), p. 64-65.

⁵⁷ Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10). On the house see Prim BERTRAN I ROIGÉ, *Gardeny: Els templers de Lleida*, in: *Coneixes la teva*

have been a methodical man who made sure that the books were kept in order. He was foremost among those responsible for the amazing wealth of the Arago-Catalan Templars at the end of the twelfth century, which enabled them to loan substantial sums to monarchs and barons alike.⁵⁸ The Templars of the Crusader States, who were on the verge of bankruptcy in 1180, may well have had Arnau's financial experience in mind when they elected him. It is unclear if Arnau de Torroja had any direct part in conceiving the fiscal reforms introduced in the Crusader States during his office. But the administrative innovations accepted by the English Templars shortly thereafter have in fact been attributed to the trip he embarked on in 1184.⁵⁹

Arnau was nevertheless far more than an experienced soldier and an exact book-keeper. He was also – and this trait may have recommended him more than any other for the difficult post to which he was assigned – a senior diplomat. It is remarkable for which delicate and important missions the baron was chosen. In 1150 he signed a treaty

ciutat? Lleida, la ciutat dels dos turons, Lleida 1992, p. 11-42. Castilian chartularies have also been attributed to his influence: G. Martínez Díez, *Los templarios en la corona de Castilla* (Piedras Angulares 4), Burgos 1993, p. 127.

⁵⁸ Loan of 1100 morabatin to Alfonso II in 1164: A. I. SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza: documentos (1162-1196)* (Fuentes históricas aragonesas 23), Zaragoza 1995, p. 53-54, Nr. 18; further 1200 morabatin to Alfonso II in 1167: MIRET Y SANS, *Les cases de templers y hospitalers* (cf. note 43), p. 106-107; Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (cf. note 10), p. 289-290, Nr. 172. Loan of 5000 morabatin to Alfonso II in 1169: SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón* (cf. note 58), p. 104-106, Nr. 63; BISSON, *Fiscal Accounts* (cf. note 30), Nr. 22; PAGAROLAS, *Comanda* (cf. note 20), p. 162-163, app. Nr. 312; M. Vilar BONET, *Actividades financieras de la Orden del Temple en la Corona de Aragón*, in: VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona 1962, vol. 2, p. 577-585, here: 579-80. Mention of a loan of 500 morabatin to Alfonso II in 1175: Sánchez Casabón, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón* (cf. note 58), p. 275-277, Nr. 192; BISSON, *Fiscal Accounts* (cf. note 30), Nr. 26; VILAR BONET, *Actividades* (supra), p. 580. Mention of a loan of 400 morabatin to Alfonso II in 1175: SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón* (cf. note 58), p. 283, Nr. 198; BISSON, *Fiscal Accounts* (cf. note 30), Nr. 28. Loan of 100 morabation to Ramon de Castelar in order to embark on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1168): VILAR BONET, *Actividades* (supra), p. 581-582. Cf. T. N. BISSON, *Credit, prices and agrarian production in Catalonia. A Templar account (1180-1188)*, in: *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. W. C. Jordan / B. McNab / T. F. Ruiz, Princeton 1976, p. 229-249, Repr. in: *Idem, Medieval France and her Pyrenean Neighbours. Studies in early institutional history* (Studies presented to the International Commission for the History and Parliamentary Institutions 70), London – Renceverte 1989, p. 287-302. [with an Edition of the records from 1181-1188, p. 300-302].

⁵⁹ Cf. HAMILTON, *Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 186-188.

between his master and the Viscount of Beziers;⁶⁰ in 1174 he travelled to Saragosse when his king married the young princess Sancha of Castile.⁶¹ And in 1179 he was one of the Arago-Catalan signers of the crucial treaty of Cazola, in which the kings of Aragon and Castile divided the Iberian Peninsula into zones for future conquest.⁶² But Arnau is not only to be found on diplomatic service for his own king, his abilities were also recognized by other rulers. In 1176 the monarchs of Navarre and Castile – under the auspices of Alfonso II of Aragon – agreed to send a four-head committee to the court of King Henry II of England to solve the conflicts which had arisen between them.⁶³ According to several documents conserved in the Cotton Manuscripts and cited by Roger of Howden, a Templar named "Ar." de Torella was one of those chosen to go.⁶⁴ Bearing in mind that the place-names in the texts are often faulty

⁶⁰ SCHICKL, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens* (cf. note 5), p. 195, note 67.

⁶¹ Together with his brother William: SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón* (cf. note 58), p. 236-238, Nr. 161; Caruana, *Itinerario* (cf. note 33), p. 73-74.

⁶² J. GONZÁLEZ, *El Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, 3 vols. (Textos / Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 25-27), Madrid 1960, vol. 3, p. 528-530, Nr. 319; *Liber feudorum maior* (cf. note 30), vol. 1, p. 48-51, Nr. 34-35; A. BÜSCHGENS, *Die politischen Verträge Alfons' VIII. von Kastilien (1158 - 1214) mit Aragón-Katalonien und Navarra: diplomatische Strategien und Konfliktlösung im mittelalterlichen Spanien* (Europäische Hochschulschriften III/678), Frankfurt a.M. 1995, p. 91-99. To the practice in general: cf. P. GUICHARD, *Avant Tordesillas: La délimitation des terres de reconquête dans l'Espagne des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, in: *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, ed. M. Balard; A. Ducellier (Série Byzantina Sorbonensia 17), Paris 1998, p. 453-460.

⁶³ The appeals sent by the Kings of Castile and Navarra have been published by González, *El Reino de Castilla* (cf. note 62), vol. 3, p. 456-528, Nr. 277-279; cf. The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I (cf. note 15), p. 139, 156; *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (*Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* 51), London 1869, Repr. 1964, vol. 2, p. 120-131. Generally about the relation between Henry II and the Iberian realms cf. D. W. LOMAX, *Los 'Magni rotuli pipae' y el medioevo hispánico*, *Anuario de estudios medievales* 1 (1964), p. 543-548; S. Schröder, *Macht und Gabe: materielle Kultur am Hof Heinrichs II. von England* (*Historische Studien* 481), Husum 2004, p. 95-96; I. FLEISCH, *Sacerdotium - Regnum - Studium: Der westiberische Raum und die europäische Universitätskultur im Hochmittelalter*. *Prosopographische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien* (*Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt* 4), Münster 2006, s. v., p. 174-178.

⁶⁴ *Et ad hoc iudicium audiendum isti reges quatuor fideles elegerunt videlicet, Iohannem episcopum Tirasonensem, et Petrum de Areis, et Ar. de Torrella et Gunterum Petro de Rinoso, ut de istis, duo vel tres vel omnes cum nunciis ad cuiam regis Anglie pergant ...* (25. August 1176): GONZÁLEZ, *El Reino de Castilla* (cf. note 62), vol. 3, p. 441-442, Nr. 267. Cf. The chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I (cf. note 15), vol. 1,

and the reading of "Torroja" for "Torella" can even be found in contemporary texts,⁶⁵ it seems very plausible that the man the kings entrusted with the mission was no other than Arnau de Torroja, even more so considering that the templar was personally known to both kings.⁶⁶ Evidently, Arnau de Torroja was seen as a man of compromise, as a pacifier so to speak. Even though Arnau finally did not undertake the trip to the English court, for he is not named among the delegates in the royal sentence,⁶⁷ the project to send him there demonstrates that he was seen as a man of diplomatic abilities. Indeed, between 1150 and his election as master in 1180 he repeatedly acted as an arbitrator or mediator in other instances.⁶⁸

p. 142: *Ar. de Torrela* – and following him: Roger of Howden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (cf. note 63), p. 123.

⁶⁵ An example for the confusion of Torroja with Torella can be found in the cartulary of Gardeny, in which the Templar Aimeric de Torrelles is termed Aimeric de Torroja: *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny* (cf. note 10), p. 406, Nr. 266.

⁶⁶ Arnold as master of the Temple in "Hispania" had received a donation from Sancho as early back as 1173 Consuelo GUTIERREZ DEL ARROYO, *Catálogo de la documentación Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en el Archivo Nacional. Siglos XII-XIX*, 2 vols. (Fuentes para la historia de Navarra 63, 1-2), Pamplona 1992, Nr. 3347.

⁶⁷ GONZÁLEZ, *El Reino de Castilla* (cf. note 62), vol. 3, p. 459-461, Nr. 279; *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (cf. Note 63), vol. 2, p. 120: *Johannes episcopus de Tarenzum, et Petrus de Areiso, et Guntherus frater Templi, et Petrus de Rinoso*. Here the author was confusing two individuals, the Templar and *Guntherus Petrus de Rinoso* (Garcia Pedro de Rinoso). Roger describes the proceedings in detail (*ibidem*, p. 121-131).

⁶⁸ A further sign of his zeal for compromise is the agreements he signed with the bishop of Lleida in 1173 and before 1179 and the Hospitallers in 1180: R. HIESTAND, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius 1: Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. III 77), Göttingen 1972, Nr. 103; cf. also his role as arbitrator in various judicial disputes: VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *Saint Ruf* (cf. note 26), p. 649, amongst them one between Alfonso II and his brother William de Torroja in 1173 (*mediante consilio venerabilium virorum ... A[rmaldi] de Turre Rubea*): SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón* (cf. Note 58), p. 218-220, Nr. 148; SÁNCHEZ REAL, *Archiepiscopologio* (cf. Note 31), p. 79-82. It would be tempting to suspect Arnau behind the co-operation treaty signed by the Hospitallers and Templars in September 1178 at Salamanca; but there is no evidence to prove the point and Arnau was not among the document's signatories. Cf. B. SCHWENK, *Honor und utilitas. Eine Skizze zur Kooperation spanischer Ritterorden im 12. Jahrhundert*, in: *Ritterorden und Region - politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. NOWAK (Ordines militares 8), Toruń 1995, p. 91-98.

V

With this in mind, the events of 1181 become somewhat more understandable. The brethren in Jerusalem did not elect a hardy Spanish champion of the Reconquista, as one can occasionally read,⁶⁹ for in the Arago-Catalan Crown, the 1160s and 70s were a period of stability and peace at the borders.⁷⁰ Instead, in the crusader kingdoms with their growing inner tensions the Templars chose a man distinguished by his administrative and most of all by his diplomatic abilities. Undoubtedly, other factors may also have influenced their choice. Arnau surely had important advocates. Procurators of the order like Geoffrey Fulcher – another prominent, internationally active Templar who acted as a mediator in conflicts – had got to know him personally during visits in Aragon,⁷¹ and Arnau might even have undertaken a journey to Jerusalem himself prior to his election.⁷² He as well as his brothers William and Peter were well known at the apostolic curia through Cardinal Hyacinth, the future Pope Celestine III.⁷³ Pope Alexander III may well have had an

⁶⁹ BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae domus* (cf. note 3), p. 100; SANS I TRAVÉ: Arnau de Torroja (cf. note 6), p. 13, 105, 110, 120.

⁷⁰ LEDESMA RUBIO, *Templarios y Hospitalarios* (cf. Note 20), p. 45-51.

⁷¹ SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Alfonso II Rey de Aragón (cf. Note 58), p. 119-122, Nr. 74 (1169). This interesting figure is presented by Jochen BURGTORF, *Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?, in: Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung - Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer / K. Herbers / N. Jaspert (*Campus Historische Studien* 29), Frankfurt a. M. 2001, p. 165-200, particularly p. 165-167, 191-193

⁷² This is suspected by Josep Maria Sans i Travé because of two documentary lagunae for the years 1165-1166 and 1171-1173. His supposition becomes a certainty in the course of his study: SANS I TRAVÉ: Arnau de Torroja (cf. note 6), p. 51, 75, 118, 119.

⁷³ The cardinal had visited Spain as apostolic legate twice (1154/55 and 1173) and had met the brothers on both occasions. William himself acted as an apostolic legate, which shows his close ties to the curia: Gener GOZALVO I BOU, *Cànons del concili de Lleida 1173 al.lusius a la Pau i Treva*, *Medievalia* 9 (1990), p. 153-160, 154, note 6; KEHR, *Papsturkunden* (cf. note 16), Nr. 66, 103, 106, 109, 110, 118, 155, 157, 159, 160-161; Caruana, *Itinerario* (cf. note 33), p. 74. On the relations between the papacy and the Templars during those years see Hiestand, *Papsturkunden* (cf. note 68), p. 94-95, Nr. 145-161. Cardinal Hyacinth is attested on several occasions with members of the Torroja family and knew Arnau personally: In 1174 he was at Alfonso's II wedding with Sancha of Castile together with William and Arnau de Torroja – SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Alfonso II Rey de Aragón (cf. note 58), p. 236-238, Nr. 161. A papal bull 1179 mentions an agreement between Arnau de Torroja and the bishop of Lleida reached with help of William de Torroja, Peter de Torroja and cardinal Hyacinth: HIESTAND, *Papsturkunden* (cf. note 68, Nr. 103. On Hyacinth see: J. Leineweber, *Studien zur Geschichte Papst Cölestins III*, Jena 1905; S. WEISS, *Die*

important say in the events leading to Arnau's election, as some historians suggest.⁷⁴ Alfonso II continued to favour the order in Spain after Arnau's promotion to the mastership and even had close political and familiar ties to the counts of Toulouse, Raymond of Tripoli's relatives.⁷⁵

In spite of these ties, Arnau did not side with the native barons but largely maintained a neutral position. Contemporary sources do not clearly associate him with any of the warring factions, and even William of Tyre, who pours his disdain over Arnau's predecessor, remains strangely silent as far as the Catalan is concerned.⁷⁶ Indeed, the few records we have of Arnau's activity in Palestine seem to corroborate his reputation as a pacifier. In 1181 we find him travelling with the master of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem in order to reach an agreement with Bohemond of Antioch.⁷⁷ Two years later Arnau intervened on behalf of Guy of Lusignan to avert the complete defeat of the court party.⁷⁸ In the same year, the Templars under Arnau also reached an accord with the monastery of Valle Josaphat.⁷⁹ Only recently has the Templar's „bonne volonté“ during these years been underlined.⁸⁰ Even when death caught

Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten von Leo IX. bis Coelestin III.: (1049-1198) (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters 13), Köln [u.a.] 1995, p. 182-183; FLEISCH (cf. note 63), p. 443.

⁷⁴ HAMILTON, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 164; Barber, *The new knighthood* (cf. note 2), p. 109, 353.

⁷⁵ Donation of Tortosa (March 1182): SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Alfonso II Rey de Aragón (cf. note 58), p. 450-457, Nr. 339, not only to the order in general, but – perhaps with some pride – *venerabili domui Milicie Templi et fratri Arnaldi de Turre Rubea, in transmarinis et cismarinis partibus magistri maiori*. Further grants: *Ibidem*, p. 459-460, Nr. 341; p. 473-474, Nr. 350.

⁷⁶ F. LUNDGREEN, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden* (Historische Studien 97), Berlin 1911, Repr. Vaduz 1965, p. 133-134. The only mentions are in book 22, chapter 7 and book 23, chapter 1.

⁷⁷ About this Delegation, sent to mediate in Bohemund's III's marriage-dispute: BULST-THIELE, *Sacrae domus* (cf. note 3), p. 100; H. E. MAYER, *Varia Antiochena*. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert (MGH, Studien und Texte 6), Hannover 1993, p. 166; HAMILTON, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 164-165. Shortly after, two Templars were sent to the West – no doubt also on behalf of their master – to seek aid for the troubled kingdom: Hamilton, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 169.

⁷⁸ *Chronicon* (cf. note 13), p. 1063.

⁷⁹ H. F. DELABORDE, *Chartes de terre sainte provenant de l'abbaye de N. D. de Josaphat* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 19), Paris 1880, p. 89-90, Nr. 42; R. Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani 1097-1291*, Innsbruck 1893, Nr. 631.

⁸⁰ P. CLAVERIE, *Les débuts de l'ordre du Temple en Orient*, *Le Moyen Age* 111 (2005), p. 545-594, here: 588.

up with him in September 1184 in Verona, the restless Templar was once again on a diplomatic mission, en tour to Henry II, who had been called upon in the Castilian-Navarrese conflict seven years before.⁸¹

VI

But in spite of this wide array of outstanding personal abilities and connections; they alone are not sufficient to explain the strange election of 1180. A further and perhaps decisive element becomes apparent by extending one's perspective to other military religious orders of the Iberian peninsula. 1180 was not only an important year for the relations between the Templars of Aragon and Palestine, for in the very same year two further instances can be discerned, which are both perfect examples for trans-Mediterranean contacts among the military religious orders.⁸²

The first of these cases is the donation conferred by Bohemond III of Antioch in September 1180 upon the Order of St James – under the condition that the latter establish itself in his principality. The second is

⁸¹ Arnau's earlier diplomatic dealings with Henry II may be added to the reasons for his participation in the legation given by Bernard Hamilton: HAMILTON, *The Leper King* (cf. note 1), p. 254-255.

⁸² On the internationality and mobility of the military orders see: K. Elm, *Gli ordini militari. Un ceto di vita religiosa tra universalismo e particolarismo*, in: *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, ed. E. Coli / M. Del Marco / F. Tommasi, Perugia 1994, p. 9-29; J. M. RODRÍGUEZ GARCÍA, *El internacionalismo de las órdenes militares 'hispanas' en el siglo XIII*, *Studia Historica* 18-19 (2000-2001), p. 187-209; *The crusades and the military orders. Expanding the frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi / J. Laslowsky, Budapest 2001; A. Mur i Raurell, *Relaciones europeas de las Órdenes militares Hispánicas durante el siglo XIII*, in: *España y el Sacro Imperio. Procesos de cambio, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la "europeización" siglos XI-XIII*, ed. K. Herbers / K. Rudolf / J. Valdeón Barque, Valladolid 2002, p. 179-272; C. De AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la edad media siglos XII - XV*, Madrid 2003, p. 21-63, particularly 21-22, 55-63; A. MUR I RAURELL, *Relaciones Europeas de las Órdenes Militares Hispánicas durante el siglo XIV*, in: *Spanien und das römisch-deutsche Reich vom 14. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des habsburgischen Großreiches: Konstruktionen des Eigenen und des Fremden*, ed. K. Herbers / N. Jaspert (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 1), Münster, Berlin 2004, p. 135-184; *L' Ordine teutonico nel Mediterraneo: atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) - Mesagne - Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, ed. H. Houben (*Acta Theutonica* 1), Galatina (Lecce) 2004; JOSSERAND, *Eglise et pouvoir* (cf. note 18), p. 583-609; *International mobility in the military orders (twelfth to fifteenth centuries): travelling on Christ's business*, ed. H. J. Nicholson / J. Burgtorf, Cardiff 2006.

the papal approval of the Order of Mountjoy issued in May of the same year by Pope Alexander III. Two further cases, thus, of the military orders establishing or strengthening ties across the Mediterranean between the Iberian Peninsula and the Levant, both of which occurred in 1180 – truly a decisive year for the relations between East and West for the Iberian Peninsula.

Not much is known about Prince Bohemond's donation to the Order of St James.⁸³ The document in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid originally kept in the order's archive in Uclés was presented and interpreted by Eloy Benito Ruano over 40 years ago. It was issued in the Prince's Palace in Antioch on the advice and recommendation of the local patriarch and transferred possession of two castles and four further localities to the order. Some of these donations still needed to be conquered by the Christians. In order to do so – and thus to receive the grant –, the Prince urged Pedro Fernández, the order's master, to move to *Outremer* with a sufficiently large contingent of armed men during the course of the following year. Lately, Rudolf Hiestand has shown that the patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges, had probably spent some time in Toledo and undoubtedly maintained contacts with this Castilian archbishopric. These Toledan-Antiochene ties are sufficient to explain this strange document, which takes a solitary position in the Order of St James's history; for nothing more came of the plan to attract the Spanish brethren to Antioch, and the charter remains our sole source for the short-lived and ultimately futile initiative.

VII

Very much the same may be said of our second case, the Order of Mountjoy. Not very much is known at all of this institution.⁸⁴ Two factors in particular have contributed to its neglect. First, it is difficult to

⁸³ C. CAHEN, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Institut français de Damas. Bibliothèque orientale 1), Paris 1940, p. 514-515; E. BENITO RUANO, *Santiago, Calatrava y Antiochia*, *Anuario de Estudios medievales* 1 (1964), p. 549-558, Repr. in: E. Benito Ruano, *Estudios santiagouistas* (Publicaciones / Colegio Universitario de León 8), León 1978, p. 15-28, with an edition of the text on p. 550-551 and 16-17. A recent and improved edition based on the original in Madrid is to be found in: MAYER, *Varia Antiochena* (cf. note 77), p. 114, no. 3; On Bohemund's advisor, the Patriarch of Antiochia Aimery of Limoges: R. HIESTAND, *Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 73 (1993), p. 70-117.

follow its historical development, as it frequently changed its headquarters and even its name. Second it was only short-lived, for its history in the strict sense only spans a few decades in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, this community belongs to an impressive group of Iberian institutes which includes the confraternities and Orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, Avís, Santiago, Alcalá de la Selva, San Marcos de León and Ávila, all of which were founded in the second half of the twelfth century. Their sheer quantity confers upon the Iberian Peninsula an exceptional position in the history of the military religious orders.⁸⁵

More than any other military Order that of Mountjoy was marked by a charismatic founder.⁸⁶ The Leonese Count Rodrigo de Sarria († 1188) was an enigmatic character totally devoted to the struggle against the Muslims.⁸⁷ He originated from a wealthy and powerful family from Lugo in Galicia that goes back at least to the beginning of the 12th century, when its members can be identified at the court of the Leonese

⁸⁴ Alan Forey's groundbreaking article is still fundamental reading on the history of the order: A. FOREY, *The Order of Mountjoy*, *Speculum* 46 (1971), p. 250-266. Previous studies: J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *L'Ordre de Montjoie*, *Revue de l'Orient latin* 1 (1893), p. 42-57; A. BLÁZQUEZ JIMÉNEZ, *Bosquejo histórico de la Orden de Monte Gaudio*, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 71 (1917), p. 138-172; GONZÁLEZ, *El Reino de Castilla* (cf. note 62), vol. 2, p. 584-591. More recent contributions: SCHICKL, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens* (cf. note 5), p. 91-229, particularly p. 165-167; J. M. SÁNCHEZ PAGÍN, *El conde don Rodrigo Álvarez de Sarria, fundador de la orden militar de Monte Gaudio*, *Compostellanum* 28 (1983), p. 273-298; De AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las órdenes militares* (cf. note 17), p. 103-107. The thoughts expounded here have mainly been put to paper in N. JASPERT, *Transmediterrane Wechselwirkungen im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Ritterorden von Montjoie und der Templerorden*, in: *Die Ritterorden als Träger von Herrschaft: Territorien, Städte, Grundbesitz und Kirchen*, ed. R. Czaya / J. Sarnowsky (*Ordines militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica*, 14), Toruń 2007 p. 257-278.

⁸⁵ Cf. two recent syntheses on the history of the Iberian military orders: De AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las órdenes militares* (cf. note 17); JOSSEFAND, *Eglise et pouvoir* (cf. note 18).

⁸⁶ On the importance of charismatic founders for the monastic world in general cf. K. ELM: *Die Bedeutung historischer Legitimation für Entstehung und Funktion des mittelalterlichen Ordenswesens*, in: *Herkunft und Ursprung. Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation*, ed. Peter Wunderli, Düsseldorf 1994, p. 71-90; J. SARNOWSKY: *Das historische Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 110 (1999), p. 315-330; *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter: Akten des 3. Internationalen Kongresses des „Italienisch-deutschen Zentrums für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte“ in Verbindung mit Projekt C „Institutionelle Strukturen religiöser Orden im Mittelalter“*, ed. G. Andenna / G. Melville, Münster 2005.

⁸⁷ On The History Of This Family cf. Blázquez JIMÉNEZ, *Bosquejo histórico* (cf. note 84), p. 139-142; SÁNCHEZ Pagín, *El conde don Rodrigo* (cf. note 84).

kings. His grandfather, Count Rodrigo Velaz de Sarria, was an adviser to Queen Urraca and to Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela, while his father, Count Álvaro Rodríguez de Sarria, had been an experienced military leader belonging to the entourage of King Fernando II and had married Sancha Fernández de Traba, daughter of the influential Count Fernando Pérez de Traba.⁸⁸ Rodrigo himself had originally vowed to join the Templars, but instead established relations with the confraternity of Cáceres, the founding of which he testified in 1170/1171.⁸⁹ After a short period as member of the Order of St James,⁹⁰ Rodrigo de Sarria left the young institution in order to follow a stricter form of religious life and found a military order which followed the Cistercian rule.⁹¹ This came about in Aragon, where King Alfonso II (1162-1194) endowed Rodrigo and his brethren with the Castle of Alfambra close to Teruel in the south of his realm in 1174.⁹² In this newly conquered zone, the Templars did

⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 374-381, and M. CALLEJA PUERTA: El conde Suero Vermúdez, su parentela y su entorno social: la aristocracia asturleonese en los siglos XI y XII, Oviedo 2001, p. 156.

⁸⁹ BLÁZQUEZ JIMÉNEZ, Bosquejo histórico (cf. note 84), p. 142. Rodrigo's initial desire to join the Templars was later used as an argument in their favour: Ibidem, p. 168-170; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, L'Ordre de Montjoie (cf. note 84), p. 56, Nr. IV: *Postmodum vero dictus Framus, ad presentiam nostram accedens, pro se ac fratribus militie Templi respondit, quod, cum olim Rodericus comes, qui ordinem fratrum Montis Gaudii primus invenit, fratribus militie Templi firmiter promissset, quod, si forte aliquando communem vitam dimitteret, ad eorum ordinem se transferret, deinde ipse cum uxore habitum fratrum de Spata suscepit.*

⁹⁰ On the order of Santiago will see D. W. LOMAX, La orden de Santiago: 1170-1275 (Escuela de Estudios Medievales 38), Madrid 1965; J. L. MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ, Orígenes de la Orden Militar de Santiago (1170-1195) (Anuario de estudios medievales. Anejos 6), Barcelona 1974; E. SASTRE SANTOS, La Orden de Santiago y su regla, Madrid 1981; E. SASTRE SANTOS, El martirologio de Uclés y los orígenes de la Orden de Santiago, Hispania sacra. Revista española de historia eclesiástica 34 (1982), p. 217-252. On Rodrigo's wife, Doña María Ponce de Minerva: SÁNCHEZ PAGÍN, El conde don Rodrigo (cf. note 84), p. 386-392.

⁹¹ At least this is what the confirmation by Alexander III from 1177 relates: [...] *cum iam pridem in militia sancti Iacobi religionis habitum suscepisses et iuxta institutionem ipsius ordinis gratum exhibuisses domino famulatum, postmodum volens te artius divinis obsequiis mancipare a predicto cardinali accepta licentia ad artorem religionem transeundi te ad locum alium transtulisti, ubi tu et hii, qui in eodem loco tecum sunt, ad Dei servitium deputati instituta Cistercien(sis) ordinis observatis ea tamen a generali capitulo Cistercien(sis) moderatione adhibita, quod armis uti possitis contra paganos et defensionem christianitatis intendere, et in quibusdam aliis austeritate ordinis temperata* – HIESTAND, Papsturkunden (cf. note 68), p. 278-280, Nr. 89 (24 December 1177). Cf. the confirmation by Urban III from 1186/87: *ibidem*, p. 370-371, Nr. 183; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, L'Ordre de Montjoie (cf. note 84), p. 54-55, Nr. III.

⁹² SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Alfonso II Rey de Aragón (cf. note 58), p. 252, Nr. 173: [...] *ad servicium Omnipotentis Dei et omnium fidelium christianorum et ad impugnationem*

not yet hold ample possessions,⁹³ and the king evidently proposed fostering a second military institution, perhaps one with closer ties to the royal house.⁹⁴ Three years later, Pope Alexander III conferred his approval on the new foundation.⁹⁵ By then, however, the latter had taken a strange turn. Rodrigo de Sarria had moved to Palestine, where he received donations on Mountjoy – the Mons Gaudii – close to Jerusalem.⁹⁶ The confraternity now changed its name, calling itself *Militia sanctae Mariae Montis Gaudii de Ierusalem* and receiving several further donations during the following months from high-ranking ecclesiastical and lay donors such as Reynald of Châtillon, William Longsword of Montferrat, Princess Sybill and the Prior of the Chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁷ Three years later, on May 15th of our key year 1180, Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) confirmed these and other possessions in Acre, Palmaria and Ascalon, but also in Lombardy and Spain; He also ended the community's submission to the Cistercians, exempted it from tithes and allowed it to celebrate mass in times of

paganorum per secula cuncta [...] et faciatis inde pacem et guerram per me et successores meos contra moros. Schenkung von Fuentes de Alfambra im Jahre 1175: *ibidem*, p. 267, Nr. 187.

⁹³ On the Knights Templar in the Crown of Aragon and see note 5.

⁹⁴ On Alfonso II's attitude to the military orders see De AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las órdenes militares* (cf. note 17), p. 97-108; P. JOSSEAND, „Ad bonum Christianitatis et destructionem saracenorum“. L'abbaye de La Sauve-Majeure et l'ordre militaire d'Alcalá de la Selva, in: *Les ordres religieux militaires dans le Midi (XIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 41), Toulouse 2006, p. 319-332.

⁹⁵ Cf. note 91.

⁹⁶ Mount Joy was very closely tied to crusading ideals, as is illustrated by the fact that “Montjoie” became the battle cry of Christian fighters against Muslims (for example in the “Wilhelmslied” and the “Chanson d’Antioche”). The ship, that carried Louis IX of France to the Levant in 1248, was also given that name – cf. *Chanson de Guillaume*, ed. B. Schmolke-Hasselmann (*Klassische Texte des romanischen Mittelalters in zweisprachigen Ausgaben* 20), München 1983; S. DUPARC-QUIOC, *La Chanson d’Antioche: éd. [crit.] du texte d’après la version ancienne*, 2 vols. (*Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades* 11), Paris 1976-1978, vol. 2, s.v.; J. M. A. BEER, The letter of Jean Sarrasin, crusader, in: *Journeys toward God. Pilgrimage and crusade*, ed. Barbara Nelson Sargent-Baur (*Studies in medieval culture* 30), Kalamazoo, Mich. 1992, p. 135-155, here: 136, 141.

⁹⁷ RÖHRICHT, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (cf. note 79), Nr. 553, 553a, 561; *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier (*Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades* 15), Paris 1984, p. 355-356, Appendice 5; J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Inventaire de pièces de terre Sainte de l’Ordre de l’Hôpital*, *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 3 (1895), p. 36-106, here: 61, Nr. 119. On the dating see HIESTAND, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius* (cf. Note 90), p. 279, Nr. 89; MAYER, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige* (cf. Note 1), vol. 2, p. 383-385, 875.

interdict.⁹⁸ Only now had the Order of Mountjoy officially come into being. Once again, we must ask for the motives behind these relations between the Iberian Peninsular and the Latin East. The *Historia Compostellana* relates that Rodrigo's paternal grandfather, Count Rodrigo Velaz, had already visited the Holy Places in 1121;⁹⁹ and his maternal grandfather, Fernando Pérez de Traba, had even visited Palestine twice.¹⁰⁰ Rodrigo de Sarria thus might well have continued a family tradition. Neither should one underestimate the founder's zeal for combating the Muslims wherever they were.

The Order of Mountjoy was not the only Iberian military order or confraternity marked by a trans-Mediterranean orientation. In the first half of the twelfth century, Iberian confraternities like the Militia of Monreal had already envisaged military action on the Iberian peninsular as comparable to that in the Latin East.¹⁰¹ The same can be observed in the second half of the century: practically simultaneously to the Order of Mountjoy's foundation, the Militia of Ávila had been created, the objective of which was to combat Christ's enemies, if need be all the way to Jerusalem.¹⁰² Neither was the Order of Mountjoy the only one to be active and receive endowments in both geographical areas – one need only think of the Hospitallers and the Templars.¹⁰³ But Count Rodrigo's

⁹⁸ HIESTAND, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius (cf. note 68), p. 308-312, Nr. 122; 315-319, Nr. 125.

⁹⁹ *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey (*Corpus Christianorum* 70), Turnhout 1988, p. 288, Lib. II, cap. 42; cf. Jaspert, *Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus* (cf. note 18), p. 192-193.

¹⁰⁰ In 1147 und 1152: FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE, *Españoles en las Cruzadas* (cf. note 18), p. 46; M. R. GARCÍA ALVAREZ, *Los Arias de Galicia y sus relaciones con Fernando II de León y Alfonso I de Portugal*, *Bracara Augusta* 20 (1966), p. 25-41, here: p. 32-33; cf. Jaspert, *Pro nobis, qui pro vobis oramus* (cf. note 18), p. 192.

¹⁰¹ N. JASPERT, *Frühformen der geistlichen Ritterorden und die Kreuzzugsbewegung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, in: *Europa in der späten Salierzeit. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Werner Goetz*, ed. K. Herbers, Stuttgart 2001, p. 91-117. On the ties between the Iberian military orders and the Holy Land also see Jossierand, *Eglise et pouvoir* (cf. note 18), p. 601-605.

¹⁰² *Si, quod accidat, Sarracenis ab Yspaniae partibus citra mare propulsis, in terra de Marrocos magister et capitulum ire propuserit, eos adiuuare sicut fratres non desistant. Similiter et si necesse fuerit in Iherusalem* – cf. *Bullarium equestris ordinis sancti Iacobi de Spata*, ed. A. Antonio Francisco Aguado de Córdoba / A. Alemán y Rosales / J. López Agurleta, Madrid 1719, p. 8-9. Cf. MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ, *Orígenes de la Orden* (cf. note 90), p. 577-578; JOSSEERAND, *Eglise et pouvoir* (cf. note 18), p. 603.

¹⁰³ On these orders dependencies on the Iberian peninsula see the syntheses: LEDESMA RUBIO, *Templarios y Hospitalarios* (cf. note 20); MARTÍNEZ DíEZ, *Los templarios en la corona de Castilla* (cf. note 57); M. BONET DONATO, *La Orden del Hospital en la*

foundation was the only institute to nominally to move its headquarters from the Peninsula to Palestine.

But in spite of its extraordinary expansion and its prominent title, the Order of Mountjoy never truly succeeded in establishing its centre in Jerusalem, quite the contrary. After 1180, the eastern sources suddenly fall silent, and no more is heard of the Spanish order. On the Iberian Peninsular however, its history continued, albeit in a rather topsy-turvy fashion. The Castle of Alfambra remained its true headquarter, from which the order defended the Kingdom of Aragon's southern frontier against the Muslims of Valencia.¹⁰⁴ However, it is far from clear to which extent the order effectively participated in these fights. It did endeavour to recruit Brabanzone fighters as members in order to combat the Muslims, receiving permission to do so from Pope Alexander III to do so in 1180. However, the plans undertaken one year later to lead a substantial contingent south bore no fruit, which is hardly surprising, considering that the Brabanzones had been harshly criticised at the Third Lateran Council of 1179. The initiative to incorporate them into the Order of Mountjoy can hardly have contributed to the latter's reputation, and in fact the amount of donations and other forms of support diminished noticeably after 1180. In 1186, plans were voiced for the first time to incorporate the Order of Montjoy into that of the Templars, but for a while, King Alfonso II of Aragon still favoured the institution. After assigning it the Castle of Villed in 1187, he amalgamated it with the Hospital of Santo Redentor of Teruel in 1188, which had been founded in 1180 and was dedicated to ransoming captive Christians from the hands of the Muslims. Consequently, a quarter of all revenues were to be spent on this charitable end. After Rodrigo's death in 1188, turmoil broke out within the community, which was finally incorporated into the Order of the Temple in 1196. There is no need to summarise here the

Corona de Aragón: poder y gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta (ss. XII - XV) (Biblioteca de historia 22), Madrid 1994; J. FUGUET I SANS / C. PLAZA ARQUÉ, Los templarios en la Peninsula Ibérica, Barcelona 2006; J. M. SANS I TRAVÉ, Els templers catalans de la Rosa a la Creu (Els ordes MILITARS 4), LLEIDA 1996; G. MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ, Los Templarios en los Reinos de España, Barcelona 2001; FUGUET I SANS/ Plaza Arqué, Los templarios en la Peninsula Ibérica (cf. note 103).

¹⁰⁴ On the military situation on the Aragonese frontier at the end of the 12th century see J. M. LACARRA: Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro, 2 vols. (Textos medievales 62/63), Zaragoza 1982; C. LALIENA CORBERA: Sistema social, estructura agraria y organización del poder en el Bajo Aragón en la edad media (siglos XII-XV), Teruel 1987; M. L. LEDESMA RUBIO: La sociedad de frontera en Aragón: siglos XII y XIII, in: Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval (Seminario de Historia Medieval 2), Zaragoza 1993, p. 31-50.

trials and tribulations this decision caused, it will suffice to call to memory the Castilian brothers' refusal to join the Templars, their founding of the Order of Montfragüe and the latter's ultimate incorporation into the Order of Calatrava in 1221. Even then, some brethren refused to accept submission, and it took a further decade until Count Rodrigo de Sarria's foundation truly had ceased to exist.

VIII

The Order of Mountjoy's rapid disappearance after its founder's death and the Order of the Templar's successes at the end of the 12th and during the 13th century should not make us blind to the concrete situation in 1180. The fall of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem ended this short phase of intensive Iberian-Palestinian ties, which have since been forgotten – even by historians. In the key year 1180, however, everything seemed to indicate that one of the Templars' most important patrons, Alfonso II of Aragon, was on the point of diverting his goodwill and patronage to a different military order, an order that furthermore had just transferred its headquarters to the Crusader States, where it was receiving massive support the King, his family and the local church, even acquiring papal approval.¹⁰⁵

The choice of a man who for many years had belonged to the immediate surroundings of the royal Aragonese Court and whose brothers maintained close ties to the King may be seen as a clever move on the part of the Templars – as a counter-offensive so to speak. A counter-offensive aimed at stalling the loss of influence in one of the order's most important provinces – in political, economic and also military terms. Arnau's outstanding administrative and diplomatic credentials will no doubt have eased the decision, just as the excellent relations he and his brothers maintained with the papal curia.¹⁰⁶

But only when one takes the Mediterranean dimension of the events into account by extending one's perspective to other orders, does

¹⁰⁵ Even Arnau de Torroja's brother, Peter of Saragossa, made donations to the order of Montjoy: DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *L'Ordre de Montjoie* (cf. note 84), p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Arnau was not the only member of the family who travelled to Jerusalem or joined the Templars. His nephew undertook a pilgrimage in the year 1175 and might have returned there when Arnau took over his position as master: COSTA Y BOFARULL, *Memorias de la ciudad de Solsona* (cf. note 22), vol. 1, p. 192; LLORENS I SOLÉ, *Solsona i el Solsonès* (cf. note 21), p. 175.

it become apparent, that our Catalonian Templar was an excellent, perhaps even the best candidate of all. Admittedly, this hypothesis is based purely on circumstantial evidence. We have no document to prove this assumption. However, the events of 1180 and in the following years fall into place so neatly, viewed from the perspective exposed here, that it is difficult not to suspect an Iberian background to the decisions taken in the Levant that year.

If this assumption is correct, the Templars' hopes were completely fulfilled. The Order of Mountjoy never developed into a serious competitor of the Templars, even though Alfonso II once again fostered the order – after the Battle of Hattin. It must remain open if the institution's fall was due to its founder's death and the upheavals this demise brought about, as one can generally read, or if it was also due to the Templars' activities, as suggested here. It may be no coincidence that two years after Arnau de Torroja's and two years before Rodrigo de Sarria's death the suggestion was first voiced to amalgamate the Order of Mountjoy – not with the Cistercians – but with the Templars! And when this idea was effectively brought about in 1196, it was also due to the intervention of the King of Aragon. The counter-offensive of 1180 thus proved to have been an utter success.