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Castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia, 1257-1276

by

Marius Nielsen

A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
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Department of History

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## Castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia, 1257-1276

Marius Nielsen, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2004

For my thesis I proposed to study the registered charters of James I (1208-1276), King of Aragon, to examine how castles were distributed and utilized in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia for the period 1257-1276. A little over two thousand register charters were issued for Valencia during this period. Around 250 of the two thousand charters mention castles indicating the importance of castles in the administration of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. Although there are many works on Western European castles the majority focus on castles in France, Britain and the Crusader States in the Middle East and rely on archeological not primary source material because their interest is on the form not function of castles. The purpose of this thesis is not to present a revolutionary new idea or to challenge existing works or theories but to study untapped primary source material to better understand royal administration of castles in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. The thesis is divided into four chapters: Introduction, Security, Administrative and Financial, and Conclusion.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Castles, symbols of power and authority in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, performed a variety of functions because of the security offered by their presence, defenses, and garrisons. This was the case even with castles not built by Europeans such as those found in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia. Located in eastern Spain along the Mediterranean coast, Valencia was a Muslim kingdom that was conquered by James I (1208-1276), king of Aragon, in a series of campaigns beginning in 1232 and lasting until 1245. After the conquest the existing network of Muslim fortifications was retained and reborn as European castles that provided security for the administration of Valencia and the collection of its resources.

Castles were built in feudal Europe as secure residences of the nobility from which they administered and protected their rural estates. The power and wealth of the nobility in feudal Europe came not from urban centers but from their land holdings in the countryside.<sup>1</sup> Towns and cities from the third to the tenth century did not disappear but they did decline in importance and became smaller in size. This began in the late Roman Empire because of a lack of revenues due to the disruption of trading and tax collection. The decline of urban centers continued under the various Germanic tribes who settled in the former lands of the Roman Empire because they favored villages in the countryside over settlement in the Roman cities and towns. For example, in Merovingian France

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<sup>1</sup> John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1100-1300* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 1.

the nobility resided in manors, which were converted Roman villas, and from these administered their estates in the countryside.<sup>2</sup>

Attacks in the tenth century by the Saracens, Magyars and Vikings demonstrated the vulnerability of the European countryside, and fortifications were built to hinder the ability of the raiders to move swiftly along the rivers and through the rural areas.<sup>3</sup> In France the first castles built were called motte and bailey after their design. The motte was a natural or artificial mound upon which a wooden tower, surrounded by a palisade, was constructed. The tower, in addition to serving as the final defense point of the castle, was the residence of the noble who controlled the castle and his family. Located below the motte was the bailey, a large enclosed space, which contained the industries to support the castle and its garrison. In addition the bailey served as a temporary shelter for the surrounding villagers and their livestock.<sup>4</sup>

Castles in feudal Europe performed a variety of functions. They were the residences of the nobility because they provided security in an insecure time.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> James E. Vance, *The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 82-86.

<sup>3</sup> R.L.C. Jones, "Fortifications and Sieges in Western Europe c.800-1450", in *Medieval Warfare*, ed. Maurice Keen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 166.

<sup>4</sup> J.E. Kaufmann and H.W. Kaufmann, *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2001), 23, 109; Joseph and Frances Gies, *Life in a Medieval Castle* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 58.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 206; Kristian Molin,

Castles were also the administrative, financial, and judicial centers for the districts they dominated and controlled. Revenues generated by these districts were collected and stored at castles.<sup>6</sup> Most importantly castles were strongholds that protected the interests of the nobility and provided secure bases for attacks, raids, or patrols.<sup>7</sup>

Castles in feudal Europe, protected by a layered system of defense, were formidable strongholds that could be captured only with specialized equipment or the expenditure of time, often months or years, and lives. Defensive features along the curtain wall surrounding the bailey included towers and hoardings that were platforms extending out from the wall, which allowed missiles and hot liquids to be poured onto attackers close to the castle. The entrance to the bailey was secured with a fortified gate.<sup>8</sup>

The use of stone improved the defensive features of castles in feudal Europe. Castles were originally built of wood but by the end of the eleventh century stone was used because wood decayed and was vulnerable to fire.<sup>9</sup> The new stone castles differed in appearance from the motte and bailey castles. A square keep replaced the wood tower and the motte was no longer used because

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*Unknown Crusader Castles* (New York and London: Hambledon and London, 2001), 271-273.

<sup>6</sup> Prestwich, *Armies*, 206; France, *Western Warfare*, 84; Molin, *Crusader Castles*, 280-281.

<sup>7</sup> France, *Western Warfare*, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Kaufmann, *Medieval Fortress*, 25, 31, 37, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Kaufmann, *Medieval Fortress*, 34-35.



it could not support the weight of the stone.<sup>10</sup> The curtain wall was improved with the addition of crenellations, which alternated between solid portions called merlons and spaces known as crenels. More towers were added and the hoardings were replaced with machicolations.<sup>11</sup> The gatehouse was also strengthened with the introduction of the portcullis, a wood, iron or iron shod spiked gate which could be lowered quickly and trap an attacker in the gatehouse. Murder holes in the ceiling of the gatehouse allowed the defenders to then shower attackers with missiles, projectiles, and boiling liquids.<sup>12</sup>

The layered defenses made castles invaluable in securing and maintaining control over conquered territory; this was especially demonstrated in England after the Norman invasion in 1066. By building castles the Normans were able to control a large and rebellious population with only a small army.<sup>13</sup> Castles of the motte and bailey type were used to control the towns and to protect ports, roads, and rivers. The small towns remained important in Anglo-Saxon England because castles were not, unlike in other areas in Western Europe, built in England until the coming of the Normans. As a result towns, rather than castles, were the administrative, financial, legal, religious and defensive centers for the

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<sup>10</sup> Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, Ltd., 1984), 46.

<sup>11</sup> Gies, *Medieval Castle*, 24, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Kaufmann, *Medieval Fortress*, 31.

<sup>13</sup> John Beeler, *Warfare in England 1066-1189* (New York: Barnes and Noble Book, 1996), 51-52.

shires of Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>14</sup> After the conquest however, castles which now dominated the towns, performed these functions in the shires.<sup>15</sup>

Castles were also built to provide security for the administration of the crusader principalities established in Syria late in the eleventh century. Like the Normans the crusaders, owing to a shortage of manpower, relied on castles to maintain their conquests in Syria.<sup>16</sup> Castles were the defensive, administrative, judicial, and financial centers for the districts they controlled. In addition, castles functioned as residences, providing a secure place for the storage of arms, supplies, and revenues, or food gathered from local districts.<sup>17</sup> Militarily, castles delayed an invader, allowing an opposing army to be raised, providing a secure place for armies to assemble, and offering shelter to a defeated army.<sup>18</sup>

James did not need to build castles to defend and administer Valencia because of the numerous existing Muslim fortifications, which Christians occupied and used as European castles. To the European conquerors these fortifications did not appear to differ from castles in feudal Europe because they

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<sup>14</sup> Barbara English, "Towns, Mottes and Ring-Works of the Conquest," in *The Medieval Military Revolution*, ed. Andrew Ayton and J.L. Price (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1995), 45; Beeler, *Warfare England*, 52.

<sup>15</sup> English, "Towns," 47.

<sup>16</sup> R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 60; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999), 467.

<sup>17</sup> Molin, *Crusader Castles*, 56, 271-276, 280-282; Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 470.

<sup>18</sup> Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 208-209.

seemed to have been built to dominate their towns and villages. It did not matter that this was not the case before the conquest, because, afterwards, the former Muslim fortifications did come to dominate the towns and villages in Valencia. The evidence for this change is provided by a series of registered charters first issued in 1257. As seen in the registered charters, examined more fully in the next two chapters, these fortifications were used as castles to administer and control a district composed of towns, villages, and their attachments such as mills and mines.

The castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia were originally three types of Muslim fortifications: castles, towers, and citadels. A Muslim castle, known as a *hisn* (pl. *husūn*), was built as a temporary shelter for villagers to occupy with their livestock when attacked. The first *husūn* appeared in Spain as early as the eighth century but most were built beginning in the tenth century.<sup>19</sup> Towers were the basic component of all Muslim fortification and the most numerous type were early warning and communication posts. Towers were also built to protect villagers in which case they were similar in appearance to *husūn*.<sup>20</sup> Citadels, called *kasabas*, were first built in Spain during the Umayyad period (756-929) to maintain control over urban centers and their inhabitants. They

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<sup>19</sup> Thomas Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 15.

<sup>20</sup> Juan Zozaya, "Fortifications of al-Andalus," in *al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. J. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 65-66.

strengthened the defenses of cities and towns and were used as residences and to house garrisons.<sup>21</sup>

*Husūn*, because of their role as temporary shelters, did not have the layered defenses common to European castles, and as a result they were simpler fortifications in comparison. *Husūn* were composed of a tower and cistern placed in a large enclosed area called an *albacar*. At Ahin, a *hisn* in the Sierra de Espadan region, the tower had four floors with an open area on top that was used as a fighting platform. Water was an important consideration, and *husūn* typically had one or more cisterns inside the *albacar*.<sup>22</sup>

As *husūn* evolved a garrison was added and the *albacar* was expanded and multiplied, but the defenses were not improved. Early *husūn* were unoccupied temporary shelters without garrisons, but in the eleventh century the *taifa* principalities that replaced the Umayyad caliphate viewed *husūn* differently and added garrisons. With the addition of a garrison the size of the internal space was increased and divided by internal walls into multiple *albacars*. At Ahin three interior walls, connecting to the tower and the outer wall, created three

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<sup>21</sup> H. Terrasse, "Burdj: Military Architecture in the Muslim West," in 1: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1319; H. Terrasse, "Hisn: The Muslim West," in 3: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 498.

<sup>22</sup> Glick, *Muslim Castle*, 15; For Ahin see Karl Butzer, Elisabeth Butzer, and Juan F. Mateu, "Medieval Muslim Communities of the Sierra de Espadan, Kingdom of Valencia," *Viator*, 17 (1986); 362-363.

*albacars*; within these three were two buildings for the use of the garrison as living quarters.<sup>23</sup>

The difference between Muslim castles and those in feudal Europe was the result of Byzantine influence on Muslim fortifications. For defense, the Byzantine Empire relied on a network of fortified cities supported by a variety of other fortifications. These included castles, different in form and function from those later built in feudal Europe, that protected communication, trade and invasion routes and agricultural and industrial areas. In addition, smaller forts were used as early warning and communication posts and along the road networks.<sup>24</sup> After the Muslim conquest of the Byzantine provinces of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa this system of defense based on urban centers was retained and it influenced the defensive networks throughout the Islamic Empire.<sup>25</sup>

The Muslim fortifications in Valencia remained intact, because the conquest was achieved with few sieges or battles; this was a result of James's skill as both a military commander and a negotiator. He attacked the strongest fortification in a region, thereby cutting off the others from receiving either assistance or supplies. The remaining fortifications in the network would then

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<sup>23</sup> Glick, *Muslim Castle*, 15; for Ahin see Butzer, "Muslim Communities," 362-363.

<sup>24</sup> Clive Foss and David Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1986), 8, 16; David Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare Source Book Volume 2: Christian Europe and its Neighbors* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1996), 41, 80.

often surrender after a brief period of negotiation. The conditions of surrender were typically generous and the Muslim population of Valencia often remained in place under their own laws, religion and local leaders.<sup>26</sup>

This strategy was successful because political divisions resulting from the collapse of the Almohad caliphate undermined the defense of Valencia. The Muslim population in al-Andalus accepted the Almohads, North African fundamentalists who believed in a strict Islamic orthodoxy, as rulers as long as they were victorious against the Christian kingdoms. The defeat of the fanatical Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 led to the collapse of their empire. After Las Navas de Tolosa the Almohads swiftly lost control over al-Andalus and struggled to retain possession of North Africa.<sup>27</sup>

In al-Andalus Ibn Hūd led a popular uprising against the Almohads and in 1228 he acknowledged the authority of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. From Murcia, a kingdom on the southern border of Valencia, Ibn Hūd gained control over Granada, Almería, Jaén, Córdoba, Malaga and Seville. The capture of Córdoba by Castile in 1236 however, resulted in the fall of Ibn Hūd as his popularity rested on his ability to defend al-Andalus from Christian attacks. Ibn

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<sup>25</sup> Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 35-36.

<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc, 1972), 82; Robert Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 28-30.

Hūd fled to southern Valencia before settling in Murcia, where he was assassinated in 1238.<sup>28</sup>

The collapse of the Almohad caliphate left Valencia isolated and politically fragmented. Valencia was divided among Abū Zayd, the rebel Zayyān, and warlords in southern Valencia. Abū Zayd was the governor of Valencia and the last Almohad official in al-Andalus. He was forced to pay tribute to James, weakening his position in Valencia. In 1228 Zayyān, a member of the powerful Banu Mardinish clan that controlled southern Valencia, rebelled and a year after he had captured Valencia city Abū Zayd was deposed as ruler of Valencia. However, Zayyān was unable to gain the support of his clan, and southern Valencia, under the rule of various warlords, remained outside his control. With northern Valencia remaining under the control of Abū Zayd Valencia was divided among these warring factions. Abū Zayd complicated matters by converting to Christianity and entering into an alliance with James. As part of the alliance Abū Zayd granted James as tribute any territory that he could conquer in Valencia.<sup>29</sup>

James conquered Valencia over a period of fifteen years using a strategy of force and negotiation. With the collapse of the Almohad caliphate and the internal divisions within Valencia, there was no central government to organize a

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<sup>28</sup> Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1975), 339; Jackson, *Medieval Spain*, 83-84.

<sup>29</sup> Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London and New York: Longman, 1996), 269; Burns, *Islam*, 31-35. O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 341-345.

field army to oppose the invasion by James in 1233.<sup>30</sup> Because of the lack of opposition James was able to overcome the many fortifications in Valencia by capturing the strongest fortification in a region and then raiding the surrounding countryside to force the other fortifications to surrender.<sup>31</sup> For example, within three years after the town of Burriana was besieged and captured the remaining fortifications in northern Valencia surrendered.<sup>32</sup> In 1236 James also took possession of Puig de Cebelloa, located twelve miles from Valencia City, and which had been destroyed by Zayyān as he retreated to Valencia City. Rebuilt as Puig de Santa Maria, the castle was used as a base to raid the countryside because James realized that Valencia City was too strong to be taken in an attack.<sup>33</sup> Zayyān managed to assemble an army but his attack on the Puig was defeated.<sup>34</sup> James then besieged Valencia City, accepting its surrender in September 1238.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Robert I. Burns and Paul E. Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 219-224.

<sup>31</sup> Derek Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978), 148; Burns, *Muslims, Christians*, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Burns, *Muslims, Christians*, 35; Burns, *Islam*, 16.

<sup>33</sup> James I of Aragon, *Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, 2 vols, trans. John Forster (Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers, Ltd., 1968); orig. 1883: 312-318.

<sup>34</sup> James I, *Chronicle*, 324-325; Burns and Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures*, 227.

<sup>35</sup> T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 66; Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and*



Because Zayyān did not control the southern region of Valencia, it was not included in his surrender to James. After seeing Játiva, however, James was determined to have both the fortress and the southern region of Valencia as well. The fortress of Játiva had captured James's imagination, but it proved difficult to take. James made three attacks on Játiva but was unable to take it by force. He had to agree to a conditional surrender, which exchanged the fortress for the castle of Montesa, with the ruler of Játiva in 1244. The smaller of Játiva's two castles was turned over first and James was to receive the main castle two years later.<sup>36</sup> In 1245 James declared, when he received the surrender of Biar after a siege of six months, the conquest of Valencia complete.<sup>37</sup>

After the conquest, improvements were made to some of the Muslim fortifications to strengthen their defenses. The registered charters did not always specify the work to be done, however, as seen at Onda where Pere Capellades was to use the revenues of the castle for "improvements that you should make there."<sup>38</sup> In 1263 similar instructions were given to Arnau de Montsó for the

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*Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 103-104.

<sup>36</sup> Robert I. Burns and Paul E. Chevedden, "The Finest Castle in the World," *History Today* 49, no. 11 (Nov. 1999): 12-13; Burns, *Islam*, 339; James, *Chronicle*, 449.

<sup>37</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 468-474; Burns, *Islam*, 340-342.

<sup>38</sup> Robert I. Burns, ed., *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276*, vol. 2: *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257-1263*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) [hereafter *Diplomatarium II*], doc. 378 (24 May 1261). The original registered document is found in Barcelona, Arxiv de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancillería, Regoster II, fol. 233 *bis* v [hereafter referred to and

castles of Penã Cadiell and Bergia and Jaume Sarroca for the castle of Sumacárcel.<sup>39</sup> The charters issued to Bertran de Vilanova in 1266 and later 1268 were more specific about the additions that were to be made at Sumacárcel and Jijona respectively:

We wish and command to you that you should construct and build one tower on the summit of the said castle of Sumacárcel, and repair the castle works, and also you should construct another tower above the gate of the castle itself in the lower wall.<sup>40</sup>

At Jijona Bertran de Vilanova was provided with money to build a castle or *alcazar*. "You will have made or built there an *alcazar* near the new large tower that is there- for that work we give to you 1,500 sous."<sup>41</sup>

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cited by Reg. number and fol. number only]. There are catalogs to the registered documents of James and his son Peter for Valencia by J. E. Martínez Ferrando entitled *Catálogo de los documentos del antiguo reino de Valencia*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1934). Since many knew these catalogs, Burns himself worked from them, and I have used them to locate microfilmed copies or typescript copies belonging to Dr. Larry J. Simon for those documents of James not yet published by Burns in his *Diplomatarium*, I will supply all Martínez Ferrando numbers [hereafter MF number, in this instance MF: 369]. The document document states in part, "et in melioramentis que ibi feceritis."

<sup>39</sup> For Arnau de Montso see, *Diplomatarium II*, Doc. 467 (9 May 1263), Reg. 14, fols. 17v-18 (Arabic 19). MF 460; For Jaume Sarraca see Burns, *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 484 (25 July 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 32rv; MF 477.

<sup>40</sup> Robert I. Burns, ed., *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of its Conqueror Jaume I, 1257-1276*, vol. 3: *Transition in Crusader Valencia: Years of triumph, years of war, 1264-1270*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) [hereafter *Diplomatarium III*], doc. 664; Reg. 15, fol. 2; MF 639: "volumus et mandamus vobis quod faciatis construi et edificane unam turrin in sumitate dicti castri de Summa Carcere, et reparare celoquiam, et facias eciam construi aliam turrin super portam ipsius castri in muro inferiori."

<sup>41</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 775; Reg. 15, fol. 84v. MF 747: "feceritis seu operatus fueritis alcacar prope turrin novam malorem que ibidem est- ad quod opus damus vobis mille et quingentos solidos."

James retained possession of the majority of castles in Valencia to prevent the nobility from gaining too much control over Valencia and its wealth. The desire by James to limit the power of the nobility was a result of his long and difficult minority. He was five when his father King Peter II of Aragon (ruled 1196-1213) was defeated and killed fighting Simon de Montfort at the battle of Muret in 1213. James would later place the blame for the defeat on both his father and the nobility. He writes that Peter had “passed in debauchery” the night before the battle and the next day he was “exhausted . . . so that he could not stand up at mass, when it came to the Gospel.”<sup>42</sup> However James did not spare the nobility, writing that, “the men did not know how to range for the battle, nor how to move together, every baron fought by himself and against the order of war.”<sup>43</sup>

James was held prisoner by Simon, whose daughter he was to have married, for a year after Muret. In 1214 Pope Innocent III, pressured by the Aragonese nobility, ordered Simon to release James. Released from captivity James was proclaimed king at a general council held at Lérida in August. James was then placed under the protection of the Templars and spent his childhood at Monzón, a castle held by the Order. The Kingdom of Aragon was placed under the protection of the Papacy and Pope Innocent III, along with the papal legate assigned by him to Aragon, ordered the Templars to keep the peace and restore the financial situation of the Kingdom.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 17.

<sup>43</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 17-18

Innocent III also established a council of regents from the leading nobles to govern Aragon during James's minority. War among the nobility soon occurred over old feuds and for dominance in the regency. Two factions emerged, one led by the deceased King Pedro's brother Prince Fernando and the other by Count Sancho of Provence, "each of whom hoped to be king" James would later write.<sup>45</sup> The wars of the nobility during the long minority of James strained the relationship between the crown and the nobility.<sup>46</sup>

James left Monzón when he was nine and was pulled into the wars of the nobility supporting first one faction then another for several years.<sup>47</sup> The nobility failed to support his early efforts against Valencia and in 1225 James failed to take Peñíscola, an event that led to a rebellion of the Aragonese nobility and towns. The rebellion ended in 1227 with the peace of Alcalá giving James full control over his kingdom for the first time.<sup>48</sup> However, his struggles with the nobility would continue throughout his reign.

The continual hostility of the nobility was due in part to grievances they had against the king. The nobility feared the growing power of the king's bureaucracy because of the loss of several rights that were seen by the nobles as theirs by custom. Economically, the nobility felt threatened by the crown

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<sup>44</sup> O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 334; James, *Chronicle*, 18-19.

<sup>45</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 20.

<sup>46</sup> Donald Kagay, "Structures of Baronial Dissent and Revolt under James I (1213-1276)," *Mediaevistik*, 1 (1988), 62.

<sup>47</sup> Kagay, "Baronial," 62.

monopolies and they were angered at the slow repayment of loans by the king and the devaluation of currency.<sup>49</sup> Militarily, the nobility and the king had different intentions and the nobles were reluctant to serve James on his campaigns. For example, the nobles wanted to continue raiding Valencia as it would provide riches for them but little advantage for the king.<sup>50</sup> At Burriana the nobility tried to pressure James into ending the siege because the supplies had run out. Supported by the military orders and town militias James was able to continue the siege that was later successfully concluded.<sup>51</sup> Later at the siege of Valencia City the nobles did not want James to capture the city as they wished to pillage it.<sup>52</sup>

After Valencia the nobility opposed other campaigns proposed by James. The nobles were reluctant to serve James during the Murcia campaign of 1264 because they saw no profit in it for themselves. James intended to return Murcia to Castile once it was conquered and his nobles did not want to fight a war for Castile.<sup>53</sup> The unrest among the nobles in the 1260s erupted into a rebellion in 1275 centered on the revolt of the king's illegitimate son Pere Ferrandis. Nearing the end of his life James allowed Pere, a legitimate son and his appointed

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<sup>48</sup> Bisson, *Aragon*, 61.

<sup>49</sup> Kagay, "Baronial," 63.

<sup>50</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 36.

<sup>51</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 257, 269-271.

<sup>52</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 384-385.

<sup>53</sup> Bisson, *Aragon*, 71; Kagay, "Baronial," 62.

successor, to put down the rebellion.<sup>54</sup> The friction between a king and his nobility was not unusual during the Middle Ages. James like other monarchs had to find sources of support to counter the power and hostility of the nobility. He found this support from the church and the towns.

The success of the Valencian campaign was due to the military and financial assistance of the church and the towns. In support of the conquest of Valencia Pope Gregory IX in 1235 declared the Peace and Truce of God throughout Aragon and Catalonia. Also the Pope demanded that the nobles renew their oath of loyalty to James.<sup>55</sup> Later Pope Gregory censured and threatened to excommunicate the nobles after they sought to end the conquest of Valencia after the victory at the battle of Puig de Santa Maria in 1237.<sup>56</sup> Militarily the church supported the conquest through the participation of the military orders whose leaders were often present in the strategy meetings that James held. During the Mudejar rebellion the church supported James politically and financially as well.<sup>57</sup>

The towns provided knights and infantry as well trained as the nobles and their retainers. Also the militias of the towns provided a skilled workforce. Townsmen did the rebuilding of the strategic castle of Puig in preparation for

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<sup>54</sup> Bisson, *Aragon*, 71-73.

<sup>55</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 102.

<sup>56</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 103.

raids against Valencia City from Daroca and Teurel.<sup>58</sup> Although after Valencia was conquered the support from the towns was less sure James could still rely on their assistance during the rebellions of the nobility.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to controlling the nobility James maintained possession of the castles in Valencia because he needed their wealth to alleviate his poor financial situation. James wrote that his father “was the most bounteous king there ever was in Spain, the most courteous and the most gracious, so that he gave away much treasure, through which his revenue and lands were diminished.”<sup>60</sup> The financial situation was made worse by the baronial conflicts that occurred during James’ minority. The nobility attacked supporters of the crown and sources of royal revenues such as royal roads, the clergy, peasants on lands owned by the crown or those who supported the king, and towns loyal to the king.<sup>61</sup> Pope Innocent III through his legate and the Templars tried to repair the financial situation for James during his minority. Money was raised to buy back the royal properties that had been given away by Peter as collateral. Also, the remaining

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<sup>57</sup> See Robert Burns, “The Crusade against al-Azraq: A Thirteenth Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective,” *The American Historical Review* 93, (February 1988); 80-106.

<sup>58</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 317-318.

<sup>59</sup> James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War*, (Berkley 1988), 3, 83-84.

<sup>60</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 12-13.

<sup>61</sup> Kagay, “Baronial,” 64.

castles and estates could not be given away without consent and taxes from Jews and Mudejars were to be collected by the Templars.<sup>62</sup>

As king, James had access to many sources of revenue but his spending outstripped his resources. The income he received from crown lands, tribute, payments in lieu of services, tolls, monopolies and judicial fees and fines was not enough to cover his expenses.<sup>63</sup> The special taxes that he collected as king had to be granted multiple times to cover financial emergencies. In Catalonia he collected the *bovatge*, a tax on livestock that he received at coronation. It was to be given to the king only once but James asked for it and received it three times for his coronation and the campaigns against Majorca and Valencia.<sup>64</sup> In Aragon he received the *monetaticum*, a tax every seven years of one morabatin for every house or property that was worth more than fifteen morabatins. In return for this tax the king agreed not to devalue the currency. James was granted the *monetaticum* twice for his promise to keep the Jaca currency at its current value for ten years and once for keeping its value consistent during his lifetime. He also received it for agreeing to keep the value of his father's coinage for ten years.<sup>65</sup> The lack of a central treasury forced James to borrow against present and future revenues.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Bisson, *Aragon*, 60; Burns, *Islam*, 19.

<sup>63</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 154-155.

<sup>64</sup> O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 342.

<sup>65</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 163-164.



War brought additional wealth from tribute, church revenues, and plunder. James received tribute to stop his attacks on Valencia and later as part of an alliance with the deposed ruler Abū Zayd. The paying of tribute, called *paria*, was begun in the eleventh century by the *taifa* principalities that had succeeded the Umayyad caliphate.<sup>67</sup> Abū Zayd began to pay tribute in 1225 after the failed attack on Peñíscola.<sup>68</sup> Additional tributes were paid in 1229 when James received one-fourth of Valencia's revenues. In 1236 this was increased to one-fifth and Abū Zayd became first an ally then later a vassal of James. The estimate for this tribute was around 100,000 besants, which indicates the wealth that Valencia possessed.<sup>69</sup>

By declaring the conquest of Valencia a crusade, James was able to collect some of the income of the church. James was able to take one-twentieth of the church revenues in his kingdom for three years to finance a crusade. He also tried to take the portion of the church's revenue that was to be used to support the crusader Kingdom in the Holy Land, as there was reluctance to collect for crusading efforts outside Spain. James also took the *tercias* or one-third of the tithe collected by the church and used for upkeep of church properties. But James also resorted to confiscating the property of the clergy and he attempted to exact tribute from the church. This antagonized the church and

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<sup>66</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 19.

<sup>67</sup> Lomax, *Reconquest*, 64.

<sup>68</sup> O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 341.

James was forced to offer assurances that he was participating on a crusade in order to collect church revenues.<sup>70</sup>

The conquest of Valencia, although costly, also provided sources of revenues. James had to borrow heavily to pay for the campaign; he borrowed for example 60,000 sous from both the military orders and the town of Lérida to pay for supply ships and the garrison at the castle of Puig de Santa Maria respectively.<sup>71</sup> But by capturing fortifications James acquired much needed wealth from plunder and the sale of prisoners into slavery. For example the taking of the tower of Montcada produced 100,000 besants of plunder from silk and cotton cloth, pearl necklaces, gold and silver bracelets. In addition James received 100 of the 1,147 prisoners that were captured and he sold them for 17,000 sous, which was used to repay his some of his creditors. James complained that if he had been able to wait a month he could have had more, but his creditors were demanding payment.<sup>72</sup>

With the successful conquest of Valencia James increased the size of his kingdom and the amount of revenue available to him. Before Valencia James ruled a kingdom roughly 87,000 square kilometers in size. With the addition of

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<sup>69</sup> Robert Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975), 109.

<sup>70</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 156-158; Donald Kagay, "Army Mobilization, Royal Administration and the Realm in the Thirteenth Century Crown of Aragon," in *Vol Two: Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns*, (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 103-104.

<sup>71</sup> O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 172.

<sup>72</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 307-312.

Valencia this increased to 104,000 square kilometers.<sup>73</sup> The revenue of Valencia under Islamic rulers was estimated at 500,000 besants which equals 1,875,000 sous.<sup>74</sup> According to Roman law all conquered land belonged to the king by right of conquest.<sup>75</sup> James retained one-third of Valencia for himself and distributed the remainder as rewards to the nobility, church and the military orders.<sup>76</sup>

After Valencia was conquered the existing Muslim fortifications were used as castles, allowing a smaller number of invaders to control a larger number of hostile conquered people, such as previously seen in Norman England and the crusader principalities in Syria. The Muslim fortifications were taken intact in Valencia because surrender agreements were more common than sieges. James retained possession of the castles to limit the power of the nobility and to keep the wealth of Valencia for his own use. The defenses of the castles were improved and castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia, as in feudal Europe, functioned as the centers of defense, administration and finance for the districts they controlled.

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<sup>73</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 15.

<sup>74</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 17.

<sup>75</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 21.

<sup>76</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 15.

## Chapter Two: Security

The successful conquest of Valencia did not bring peace to the Kingdom. A revolt by the powerful southern warlord al-Azraq in 1247 developed into a general Mudejar rebellion that would continue until the reign of Peter (1276-1285), the son and successor of James. The situation in Valencia after the conquest made control of castles important for maintaining possession of the Kingdom. As seen in the registered charters castles were garrisoned, during the period 1257 to 1276, to control rebellious areas, protect valuable resources, guard possible invasion points and to provide a secure base for campaigns.

Castles were important in securing the conquest of Valencia because there were too few Christian settlers to control an increasing hostile Mudejar population, as Muslims under Christian rule are known. The surrender agreements, used to expedite the conquest, left many local Muslim leaders in positions of power and the Muslim population, largely intact in the countryside. In addition after the conquest the Muslim population remained the majority because of sparse Christian settlement. By 1276 only 30,000 Christians had settled in Valencia much below the 100,000 that James estimated would be necessary to secure the conquest.<sup>77</sup>

The surrender agreements combined with the lack of Christian settlers created an unstable situation particularly in southern Valencia where the Mudejar uprising would begin with the revolt of the famous rebel al-Azraq. A powerful Mudejar lord, al-Azraq controlled the mountainous Pego territory in southern

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<sup>77</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 22-23.

Valencia that featured eight valleys containing numerous villages, towns, and castles. From this territory al-Azraq could threaten both the western inland road from Játiva and the coastal highway in the east.<sup>78</sup>

James had reason to believe the Pego territory to be secured because in 1244 al-Azraq became the vassal of Prince Alfonso, the first-born son of James.<sup>79</sup> Al-Azraq performed homage for the castles of Alcalá and Perpunchent, which he was allowed to keep in perpetuity. The castle of Alcalá was important as it guarded the Alcalá valley where al-Azraq had built his palace from which he ruled the Pego territory. Alfonso received the castles of Pop and Tárbená along with half the revenues from the castles of Castell, Margarida, Cheroles, and Gallinera for three years. After that time the castles were to be surrendered to Alfonso as well. During these three years though al-Azraq was allowed, as a vassal of the king, to acquire additional castles in the Pego territory.<sup>80</sup>

In 1247 instead of turning over the additional castles to Alfonso al-Azraq revolted and succeeded in capturing several castles near the Alcalá Valley. The first mentioned by James in his chronicle was the hilltop castle of Gallinera

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<sup>78</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 325-326.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Burns gives two different dates for when the homage was performed. For 1244, the most likely date because al-Azraq would revolt three years later rather than surrender further castles, see Burns, *Islam*, 325. For 1245 and a discussion of the Romance and Islamic documents see Burns, *MCJ*, chapter 10, "Voices of Silence: al-Azraq and the French connection: why the Valencian crusade never ended," 239-284.

<sup>80</sup> Burns, *MCJ*, 248.

located north of Alcalá that protected the entrance to the Vall de Gallinera.<sup>81</sup> Also taken was the castle of Serra in the Ebo Valley south of Turis, a town in the Alcalá Valley.<sup>82</sup> The third castle that al-Azraq took control of was Pego located on a hillside south of the town with the same name.<sup>83</sup>

The revolt of al-Azraq concerned James greatly and he immediately went to Valencia in the hope that his presence would end the revolt. Arriving at Burriana he received word, however, that al-Azraq had taken the castle of Penaguila, described by James as “a place of so much importance and honor.”<sup>84</sup> Penaguila was a hilltop castle located south of Alcalá in the Sierra Aitana region.<sup>85</sup> Regarding the capture of Penaguila James writes that he was “deeply concerned at it, since instead of my arrival at Valencia having made al-Azraq repent of what he had done, he was doing still greater mischief.”<sup>86</sup> James felt betrayed by al-Azraq and his reaction to the revolt caused the conflict to spread.

The revolt of al-Azraq developed into a general Mudejar rebellion in response to the decision by James to expel all Muslims from Valencia. At a

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<sup>81</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 476; Robert I. Burns, “Rehearsal for the Sicilian War: Pere el Gran and the Mudejar Countercrusade in the Kingdom of Valencia 1276-1278,” in vol. 2 of *La societa mediterranea all'epoca del vespro* [= *XI Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona*] (Palermo: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere, e arti, 1983-1984), 270 n. 27; Burns, *Islam*, 327.

<sup>82</sup> Burns, “Rehearsal,” 280 n. 84; Burns, *Islam*, 326.

<sup>83</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 326.

<sup>84</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 478.

<sup>85</sup> Burns, “Rehearsal,” 271 n. 34.

council meeting that was held at Valencia city in 1247 James announced his plan to the dismay of those present. James writes that the nobles “who had Saracen vassals spoke with reluctance, for what I proposed did not seem to please them.”<sup>87</sup> The nobility did not want the Mudejar population expelled for economic reasons. There were not enough Christian settlers to take the place of the Mudejars. As a result of the objections by the nobility James relented and the mass expulsion did not take place but there were local expulsions at Alcira, Valdigna, and Játiva.<sup>88</sup>

A more practical response was the dispatching of additional soldiers to reinforce the garrisons in Valencia. James sent a total of four hundred knights ordering “castles to be strengthened; where the garrisons could not defend themselves well and stoutly in case of attack, companies of men were sent till there were enough in each place.” The fortress of Játiva, for example, received “sixty men between knights and squires, properly armed.”<sup>89</sup>

The ease at which the Mudejars captured several castles in the opening stages of the rebellion indicates that the additional knights were needed, as it appears that several castles had either small or no garrisons at all. James reports the loss of ten or twelve castles to the Mudejars who were “rising in such towns as could not resist, and attacking castles and villages, with the help of their

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<sup>86</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 478.

<sup>87</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 482.

<sup>88</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 23.

<sup>89</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 480, 483.

neighbors, all around.”<sup>90</sup> Mudejars who could not take a fortification gathered at the southern castle of Montesa while those who “remained made al-Azraq their captain.”<sup>91</sup>

The turning point of the first stage of the Mudejar rebellion came in 1249. First James suffered a setback when the Mudejars defeated 3,000 men gathered from several northern districts.<sup>92</sup> Then came word that a Mudejar army organized and equipped by al-Azraq, but not led by him, was attacking the strategic castle of Penacadel. If the castle was captured it would hinder communications in southern Valencia as Penacadel controlled access to several provinces.<sup>93</sup>

James assembled a relief army but did not lead it because his advisors were concerned that if James should be killed, a possibility due to the mountainous terrain that made cavalry operations difficult and victory uncertain, the situation would become worse. The relief army, without James, managed to break the siege and severely defeat the Mudejar army, the remnants of which retreated to Alcala.<sup>94</sup> The failure of al-Azraq to take Penacadel ended the first phase of the rebellion and was followed by a lengthy period of stalemate.

The stalemate ended when al-Azraq secured an alliance with Castile because this was a situation that James would not tolerate. In 1244 Castile tried

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<sup>90</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 484-485.

<sup>91</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 485-486.

<sup>92</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 487.

<sup>93</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 487; Burns, “Crusade,” 95.



to take Alcira and Játiva in violation of the treaty of Cazola, signed in 1179 and which gave Valencia to Aragon. James responded by capturing several Castilian border towns forcing Castile to withdraw from Valencia. Peace was restored with the signing of the treaty of Alminza that confirmed the conditions established earlier in treaty of Cazola.<sup>95</sup> James saw the alliance between Castile and al-Azraq as another violation of the treaties. However, he agreed to Castile's request for a one-year truce with al-Azraq, which lasted from Easter 1257 to Easter 1258.<sup>96</sup>

James used the year to prepare a new campaign while al-Azraq, relying too much on the perceived security of his alliance with Castile, failed to appreciate the danger he faced. James managed to bribe an unnamed advisor to al-Azraq into betraying the Mudejar lord. The advisor convinced al-Azraq to sell the grain that had been stored for the winter and use the money to pay his soldiers. The advisor told al-Azraq that he would not need the extra food because the alliance with Castile would be their protection from an attack by James. This protection proved illusory because when the truce ended James refused to extend it.<sup>97</sup>

James began his second campaign against al-Azraq in 1258 and within a matter of months he had conquered all the Pego territory. From the castles of

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<sup>94</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 488.

<sup>95</sup> O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 348.

<sup>96</sup> Burns, "Crusade," 104-105.

<sup>97</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 490-491.

Játiva and Biar, used as bases for the campaign, James entered the Pego territory and immediately the castles of Planes, Castell and Pego surrendered to him.<sup>98</sup> Continuing the advance James next attacked Alcalá in an attempt at capturing al-Azraq; he fled, but Alcalá surrendered after an eight-day siege. James then captured Gallinera and “sixteen more castles that al-Azraq had taken” before receiving the surrender of al-Azraq.<sup>99</sup>

With the defeat and exile of al-Azraq the Mudejar rebellion was temporarily suppressed, although areas of unrest remained in southern Valencia, particularly in the Pego territory, where various castles remained under the control of Mudejar lords. Not every Mudejar lord who controlled a castle rebelled but those who did, as seen in the register charters, lost their castles and were exiled from Valencia.

In 1258 Orcheta, Finestrat, and Las Torres, located in the Pego territory, were given to the Mudejar Lord of Tifash and his son Sa'd in perpetuity.<sup>100</sup> By 1270, however, James had recovered these castles and had given them, along with Mola and Serra, to his concubine Berenguera Alfons in perpetuity.<sup>101</sup> Two

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<sup>98</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 494

<sup>99</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 494.

<sup>100</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 144 (16 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 77v; MF 139: “damus, concedimus . . . tibi Tevicino, et filio tuo Cahat et vestris in perpetuum castra et villas de Orchita, de Fonestrat, et de Turribus.”

<sup>101</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (21 August 1270); Reg. Canc. 16, fol. 205v; MF 1002: “damus et concedimus vobis, karissime et dilecte nostre dompne Berengarie Alfonsi, et filio seu filiis vestris masculis quos a nobis habebitis, in perpetuum . . . castra et villas de Orchita et de Serra et de Mola et de Finestrat et de Torres.”

years later Berenguera still had possession of these castles; this is seen in a charter that gave her possession of Carricola, another castle located nearby in the Pego territory.<sup>102</sup>

As a condition of his surrender and voluntary exile al-Azraq requested that Abū Ja'far, his nephew and successor, should retain control over the castle of Polop.<sup>103</sup> This agreement was confirmed in a charter issued to Abū Ja'far in 1263, which also gave to him control over a nearby tower, called Altea.<sup>104</sup> In 1269 Abū Ja'far was still in possession of both these fortifications and was collecting revenues from their districts for James. He was required to pay in three installments 600 sous yearly throughout from the revenues of Polop, Altea, and Almácer, Benibraïm, and Murta villages that he held in the district of Jalón.<sup>105</sup> By 1271 though Abū Ja'far had lost possession of castle which was

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<sup>102</sup> Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter, ACA), James I (13 March 1272); Reg. Canc. 21, fol. 15v; MF 1255: "dederimus vobis, karissime et dilecte nostre dompne Berengarie Alfonsi, castra et villas de Tarbena et de Moxen et de Serra et de Finestrat et de Carricola."

<sup>103</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 494.

<sup>104</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 500 (30 September 1263); Reg. 12, fol. 118v; MF 492: "damus et concedimus . . . tibi Abuliafar Hamet . . . in perpetuum castrum et villam de Polop et turrem que dicitur Altea."

<sup>105</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 920 (22 April 1269); Reg. 16, fol. 156; MF 881: "volumus et concedimus tibi, algaziro Abiafer, quod tu et tui successores habeatis castrum et villam de Polop cum terminis suis, et Alteiam, et illas alquerias quas tenes in Xalon nomine Almacerof et Benibrahim et Murta cum terminis et pertinenciis suis . . . tu pro predictis tenearis facere et facias nobis et nostris annuatim . . . ad retencionem ipsius castri, sexcentos solidos regalium Valencie annuales per tres terminos."

given by James to Bertran de Bello Podico along with Torres Torres and Serra as a gift.<sup>106</sup>

The register charters are more specific about the reasons for the change in ownership of Tárbená. Located south of Pego the castle of Tárbená in 1264 was given to a Mudejar *qa'id* or castellan named Muhammad "to always hold it for us."<sup>107</sup> After a failed rebellion in 1268 Muhammad lost the castle; this is seen in the charter that granted Tárbená and Jalón to James's concubine Berenguera Alfons. She was to have the castles:

with all their villages and appurtenances and with the villages that the *qa'id* Muhammad and his nephew Bakrun and other Saracens who have now retired with him from the Kingdom of Valencia (when the said *qa'id* surrendered his land to us) held in the valley of Jalón.<sup>108</sup>

Local uprisings continued from the defeat and exile of al-Azraq in 1258 to his return, with assistance of the Muslim kingdoms of Morocco and Granada, in 1276. The reappearance of the famous rebel ignited another general rebellion throughout Valencia that would not be suppressed until 1278, two years after the

<sup>106</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (6 June 1271); Reg. Canc. 16, fol. 254v; MF 1140: "damus et concedimus vobis, dilecto nostro Bertrando de Bello Podio . . . castrum et villam de Torres Torres, et castrum et villam de Serra, et castrum et villam de Polop."

<sup>107</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 588 (5 November 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 236l; MF 573: "damus et concedimus vobis alcaydo Mahomet et vestris, totum castrum integriter de Tarbana."

<sup>108</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 838 (4 May 1268); Reg. 15, fol. 105v.-106; MF 806: "damus et concedimus . . . vobis karissime et dilecte nostre dompne Berengarie Alfonsi . . . in perpetuum per franchum et liberum alodium, castra et villas de Tarbena et de Exalone, cum alcheriis et terminis suis et cum alqueriis quas alcaidus Mahometus et Bocoronus nepos eius ac alii Sarraceni qui cum eo

death of James. Although al-Azraq was killed attacking the castle of Alcoy in 1276 the rebellion continued under other Mudejar leaders and nearly succeed in undoing James's conquest.<sup>109</sup> The conditions in Valencia were so bad that James left instructions that his body should be buried in Valencia until the rebellion was suppressed.

In case I happen to die while he [Peter] was engaged in fortifying the castles, not at that time to remove my body from the kingdom, as the country might then be in peril through the absence of the Infante En Pere.<sup>110</sup>

The Mudejar rebellion in Valencia ended in 1278 with the capture of the southern castle of Montesa by Peter.<sup>111</sup>

Castles allowed James to maintain possession of Valencia during the long period of Mudejar unrest. Although the castles in Valencia lacked the layered defenses common to castles in feudal Europe they were able to provide security through their garrisons and, in some cases, from their location. The strongest fortification in Valencia was the southern fortress of Játiva, which was built into the Sierra de Alcoy mountain range. Játiva contained two castles above a fortified town, all of which was surrounded by a wall that was in turn protected by numerous towers. The only access to the castles was by an easily defended narrow pass. Játiva was able to withstand a long siege because it was well

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recesserunt a regno Valencie modo (quando dictus alcaidus terram suam nobis reddidit) habebant in valle Exalois"

<sup>109</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 43-44; James, *Chronicle*, 667-670.

<sup>110</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 675.

<sup>111</sup> O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 378.

provisioned with supplies and a spring, providing fresh water, flowed into the fortress.<sup>112</sup>

Although James often gave the revenues of Játiva to his creditors he retained possession of the fortress and assigned royal administrators to govern it. In 1257 Gonsal Llop de Pomer was appointed *alcalde* or governor for an unspecified period of time.<sup>113</sup> Arnau de Romani, who was collecting the revenues of Játiva to recover a debt, was assigned as castellan in 1267. He was ordered to keep “in guarding the castle of Játiva forty men, and six dogs, and one other man with one animal for transporting wood and food and necessities to the said castle.”<sup>114</sup> In 1270 James ordered one of his secretaries, a member of the powerful Moncada family, to organize the defense of Játiva. A castellan was to be appointed for the fortress and Játiva was to be garrisoned with thirty men, two dogs and one animal.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Burns, *Negotiating Cultures*, 63; Burns and Chevedden, “The Finest Castle,” 12.

<sup>113</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 49 (30 October 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 43v; MF 50: “assignamus vobis Goncalvo Lupi de Pomar alcaido castri Xative.”

<sup>114</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 716 (5 March 1267); Reg. 15, fol. 46v; MF 687: “teneatis in custodia castri Xative quadraginta homines, et sex canes, et unum alium hominem cum una bestia pro apportandis lignis et victualibus et necessariis ad dictum castrum.”

<sup>115</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (1270); Reg. Canc. 16, fol. 212; MF 1012: “promittimus vobis, Pericono de Montechateno senescalco nostro, quod dabimus vobis (dum castrum Xative pro nobis tenueritis) ad triginta homines custodes dicti castri . . . et pro alcaido ipsius castri . . . et pro duobus canibus . . . et pro una azemila.”

Another important castle in southern Valencia was Biar, which was located in a valley of the same name southwest of Játiva.<sup>116</sup> In 1259 Arnau de Montsó was appointed governor of both Biar and its supporting castle of Almirra. Biar was to be garrisoned with fifteen men and Almirra was assigned three men.<sup>117</sup> The garrison of Almirra was increased in 1261 when it was transferred to Gil Sanç d'Alagó who had paid James's debt to Arnau de Montsó. Gil Sanç d'Alagó "was to keep in guarding the said castle fifteen men."<sup>118</sup> The garrison of Biar changed in 1271 when a new governor was appointed. The garrison was to be composed of "twelve men and one female and one animal and one mule and three dogs."<sup>119</sup>

James also garrisoned several other castles in southern Valencia, particularly in the Pego territory, to control the rebellious Mudejar population. The need for this is demonstrated by the fact that many of the Mudejar aljamas or

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<sup>116</sup> Burns, "Rehearsal," 287 n. 139.

<sup>117</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 240 (10 September 1259); Reg. 10, fol. 119; MF 237; "tradimus tibi, Arnaldo de Montesono, ad custodiendum castra nostra de Biar et de Almidrano, quod inde sis alcaidus dum nobis placuerit. Et teneas in castro de Biar XV homines, et in castro de Almidrano III homines."

<sup>118</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 373 (15 April 1261); Reg. II, fol. 232v; MF 363: "Tradimus et concedimus vobis . . . castrum nostrum de Almizadrano . . . teneatis in custodia dicti castri quattuor homines, et recipiatis ac colligatis omnes redditus, exitus et iura nostra dicti castri . . . et ipsos mille solidos vos dicto Arnaldo de Montsonce de mandato nostro solvistis."

<sup>119</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (1271); Reg. Canc. 16, fol. 235v; MF 1064: "concedimus tibi, Petro de Seguro alcaido de Biar, quod in custodia seu retinencia dicti castri, dum cum sic ipsum tenueris, habeas et teneas duodecim homines et unam feminam et unum acemilium et unam azemilam et tres canes."

communities that surrendered to Peter in 1278 were located in the Pego territory.<sup>120</sup> After Pego was captured in 1258 James handed over control of the castle to his trusted retainer the knight-financier Arnau de Romani. Until al-Azraq was defeated Arnau de Romani was required to garrison the castle with ten men. Afterwards the garrison was to be reduced to four men and a supply animal.<sup>121</sup> By 1260 Arnau de Romani had lost control over Pego and Pere de Berbegal, archpriest of Daroca, was appointed castellan. The size of the garrison remained the same, though, as Pere de Berbegal was to “hold in guarding and retaining the castle of Pego four men and one animal.”<sup>122</sup>

James entrusted the important castles of Alcalá and Gallinera, both in the Pego territory, to his illegitimate son Pere Ferran in 1267. Located in the Vall de Ebo near Pego the castle of Alcalá protected a town that shared the same name and the former palace of al-Azraq. Pere Ferran was to garrison the castle with six men and two dogs.<sup>123</sup> The castle of Gallinera dominated the Vall de Gallinera, which contained eight towns and a supporting castle at Benisilli.

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<sup>120</sup> See Robert Burns, “Rehearsal for the Sicilian War: Pere el Gran and the Mudejar Countercrusade in the Kingdom of Valencia 1276-1278,” 259-287.

<sup>121</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 124 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 65v; MF 121: “dum guerra duraverit inter nos et Aladracum, teneatis X homines in castro de Pego pro custodia ipsius, et unam bestiam. Transacta vero guerra, non teneatis ibi nisi tantum IIII homines et unam bestiam.”

<sup>122</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 289 (12 July 1260); Reg. II, fol. 176; MF 284: “teneatis in custodia et retencione castri de Pego quattuor homines et unam bestiam.”



Interestingly the garrison assigned to Gallinera, fifteen men and six dogs, was larger than that assigned to Alcala.<sup>124</sup>

The Mudejar Rebellion was not contained to southern Valencia, however, and several castles in the northern and central regions were garrisoned as well. Although northern and central Valencia were more secure than the south because the majority of Christian settlers choose to settle in these regions, particularly in the cities, and the Mudejar population was largely concentrated in the south, the vulnerability of these areas was first demonstrated during the 1247 general uprising. As a response to the threat posed by the general uprising at that time, James ordered that Segorbe, Almenara, Murviedro and Castellon be garrisoned for example.<sup>125</sup>

The inclusion of several aljamas from northern and central Valencia in the surrender treaty signed in 1278 illustrates the continual hostility of the Mudejar population in these regions. James provided garrisons to several northern and central castles, as he did in southern Valencia, to maintain control over the Mudejar population. These included the castles of Castellon and Alpuente, which were garrisoned in 1258 as part of the second campaign against al-Azraq. Castellon, located between Peñíscola and Burriana, was provided with a garrison

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<sup>123</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 722 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, fol. 87rv; MF 692: "in custodia castri de alcalano debetis tenere sex homines et duos canes (qui faciunt unum hominem)"; Burns, "Rehearsal," 270 n. 28.

<sup>124</sup> Burns, *MCJ*, 253; *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 722 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, fol. 87rv; MF 692: "in custodia castri de alcalano debetis tenere sex homines et duos canes (qui faciunt unum hominem), et in castro de Gallinera quindecim homines et sex canes (qui faciunt tres homines)."

of fifteen men and four dogs.<sup>126</sup> The castle of Alpuente, located on the border between Valencia and Aragon, was built on a hill overlooking a fortified town of the same name. It was entrusted to Palahi de Foces, whose family strongly supported James throughout his reign, and garrisoned with ten men.<sup>127</sup>

Alpuente was a major Mudejar center and earlier had been a major political entity in Valencia. Alpuente was one of three *taifa* principalities in Valencia that appeared in the eleventh century after the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate. It was wealthy enough to have paid El Cid (c. 1043-1099) a tribute of 10,000 dinars when he invaded Valencia late in the eleventh century.<sup>128</sup> James received Alpuente in 1229, later reaffirmed in 1236, from Abū Zayd.<sup>129</sup> Alpuente is listed as one of the Mudejar aljamas that surrendered to Peter in 1278; this indicates that it was a center of unrest in the north. Although the exact role of Alpuente in the rebellion is unclear, the castle and town most likely contributed a small number of men and supplies at various times.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to controlling the Mudejar population castles were also used to protect important resources such as the salt mines located within Valencia.

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<sup>125</sup> Burns, "Crusade," 89-90.

<sup>126</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152.

<sup>127</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 34 (21 September 1257), Reg. 10, fol. 20; MF 35: "teneatis decem homines continue ad custodiendum castrum de Alpont quod vos tenetis"; Burns, "Rehearsal," n. 55.

<sup>128</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 51, 54.

<sup>129</sup> Burns, "Rehearsal," 275 n. 55.

<sup>130</sup> Burns, "Rehearsal," 260-261.

Castles provided protection to the miners and a secure place to store the salt once it was mined.<sup>131</sup> Salt mines as a royal monopoly that generated large amounts of revenue for the crown.<sup>132</sup> One was near the castle of Calpe in the southern province of Denia, located on the eastern hinterland of the Pego territory. The value of salt, combined with the threat posed by al-Azraq to this particular salt mine, led to the garrisoning of the castle in 1257. Pere Martí Perixolo, appointed castellan of Calpe, was ordered to “hold there for the guarding of that castle fifteen men uninterrupted.”<sup>133</sup>

At Peñíscola James assigned a garrison not only to defend the local salt mine but also to guard against a possible invasion. In 1238 a Tunisian fleet, blocked from landing supplies at Valencia City, attacked the northern castle and town of Peñíscola. The garrison of the castle and militia from the town were able to defeat the invasion but the attack demonstrated the need to secure the ports in Valencia against a possible invasion from Muslim kingdoms in North Africa.<sup>134</sup> In 1258 Guillem de Plana, who was holding the castle as collateral, was ordered to garrison Peñíscola with six men.<sup>135</sup> A year later Guillem de Plana, still in control

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<sup>131</sup> Molin, *Crusader Castles*, 284.

<sup>132</sup> See Robert I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975), 146-150.

<sup>133</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 42 (26 September 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 41; MF 43: “teneatis ibi pro custodia illius castri XV homines continue.”

<sup>134</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 379.

<sup>135</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 203 (9 December 1258); Reg. 10, fols. 86v-87; MF 198: “Concedimus eciam vobis quod in dicto castro teneatis sex homines”

of the castle, was again ordered to keep six men in the castle.<sup>136</sup> In 1270 Ramon de Montcada, Lord of Fraga, who was collecting from the revenues of Peñíscola 5,000 sous presented to him as a gift by James, was to garrison the castle with five men.<sup>137</sup>

Another port was located in the south at Denia, which was a *taifa* principality, like Alpuente, in the eleventh century. However, Denia took no active part in the Mudejar rebellion, although it was listed as one of the aljamas that surrender to Peter in 1278.<sup>138</sup> James garrisoned Denia because of its port and the threat posed al-Azraq, because the Pego territory bordered Denia, and because of its history of as an independent Muslim kingdom. In 1258 Sanç de Corella was ordered to garrison Denia with fifteen men and its supporting castle of Sagarria, located on the border where the districts of Denia and Pego meet, with ten.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 229 (4 July 1259); Reg. 10, fol. 113v.-114; MF 226: "Concedimus eciam vobis quod teneatis in castro de Paniscola VI homines."

<sup>137</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (1271); Reg. Canc. 16, fol. 244; MF 1120: "Assignamus vobis nobili Raimundo de Moncada, domino de Fraga: quinque milia solidorum regaliū Valencie pro honore, habendos et recipiendos de redditibus et exitibus . . . et iuribus nostris omnibus castri et ville Peniscole . . . et quingentos solidos . . . pro quinque hominibus dum tenueritis ipsum castrum."

<sup>138</sup> Burns, "Rehearsal," 271 n. 35.

<sup>139</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc 105 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fols. 64v.-65; MF 1102: "Pro quibus omnibus denariis impignoramus vobis de presenti omnes redditus, exitus, et quoslibet alios proventus nostros de Denia et de Segarria et terminorum suorum . . . teneatis in castro de Denia pro ipso custodiendo quindecim homines, et in castro de Segarria decem homines;" Burns, "Rehearsal," 272 n. 37.

The Mudejar rebellion in the neighboring kingdom of Murcia also resulted in the garrisoning of castles because of the concern that the uprising would incite the volatile Mudejar population in Valencia. In 1264 the Muslim kingdom of Granada instigated rebellions by Mudejars in all the lands of Castile in retaliation for the attempt by Castile to gain control over the straits of Gibraltar. As a result there was an uprising in Murcia, a kingdom on the southern border of Valencia that Castile had acquired in 1243. Fearing that the rebellion would spread to Valencia, James responded to the pleas for assistance from his daughter who was the Queen of Castile. Over a period of two years James conquered Murcia, then handed it back to Castile, an act that angered his nobility.<sup>140</sup>

In 1265 James entrusted his illegitimate son Pere Ferran with securing southern Valencia; this illustrates the concern he had regarding the Murcia situation. Pere Ferran was to garrison the castles of Concentaina, Rellou, Ibi and Bocairente “clearly for as long as the internal war between the Kingdom of Castile and the Kingdom of Granada should be finished.”<sup>141</sup> Thirty men were assigned to Concentaina, located near the Serpis River in the Sierra Mariola, which borders the districts of Alcoy and Penáguila. Rellou, a hilltop castle in a mountainous valley bordering the districts of Orcheta, Penáguila, and Sella, was assigned twenty men. Six men were garrisoned at both Ibi, a castle in the Alcoy region,

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<sup>140</sup> O’Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 365; L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 45; James, *Chronicle*, 501-503.

and Bocaliente.<sup>142</sup> Similarly in 1264 Vital de Sarria was to “hold fifteen men in guarding of the castle of Confrides, that you hold for us.”<sup>143</sup> Confrides, in mountainous country on a height two miles from the town that shares the same name, is near Alcoy.<sup>144</sup>

The registered charters do not specify the composition of the garrisons however; the small number of men assigned to each castle indicates the presence of knights. Knights were accompanied by as few as eight to as many as twenty lightly armed retainers.<sup>145</sup> The term lightly armed simply meant that the retainers were not as well equipped as knights. However, there would be little difference in appearance between the retainers and knights as both would be equipped with a mail hauberk, helmet, lance and sword. Although the retainers were used as skirmishers and for reconnaissance in battle they would support the knights and take an active part in the fighting.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 572 (1 July 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 193v; MF 554: “tam diu videlicet quousque guerra regis Castelle et regis Granate penitus sit finita.”

<sup>142</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 572 (1 July 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 193v; MF 554: “in castro de Concentania inter omnes XXX homines teneatis; et in castro de Releu XX homines teneatis, inter omnes; et in castro de Ibi, inter omnes, VI homines teneatis, et in castro de Bocayren, inter omnes, sex homines teneais”; For Concentaina see Burns, “Rehearsal,” 271 n. 33; For Relleu see Burns, “Rehearsal,” 272-273 n. 43; For Ibi see Burns, “Rehearsal,” 286 n. 136.

<sup>143</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 579 (23 July 1264); Reg. 14, fol. 60; MF 564: “teneatis de cetero quindecim homines in custodia castri de Confrides, quod pro nobis tenetis.”

<sup>144</sup> Burns, “Rehearsal,” 284-285 n. 108.

<sup>145</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, 104, note to doc. 572; O’Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 128.

The difference between a knight and his retainers, known by various names including sergeants, esquires, or men-at arms, was more social than military. The retainers were individuals who did not become knights because of the expense or the obligations that were associated with knighthood.<sup>147</sup> Because of their low social status the registered charters would not mention the retainers. Knights emerged in Western Europe around the tenth century from the social classes of free peasants and the lower nobility. Although knights had the status of nobility it was the lowest level and it was not a respected title at this time.<sup>148</sup> The effort made by the Catholic Church to restrain the violent impulses of the knights changed the image of knights and in part created the new social order of knighthood.<sup>149</sup> By the twelfth century knights were recognized as members of a distinct social class associated with the nobility.<sup>150</sup>

In the Christian kingdoms of Spain there existed two classes of knights. As in feudal Europe there were the noble knights composed of the great nobles or *ricos hombres*, the lesser nobles called *hidalgos*, and the *caballeros* or knights who occupied the lowest order of nobility.<sup>151</sup> The nobility owed service to the

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<sup>146</sup> Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111.

<sup>147</sup> France, *Western Warfare*, 60-61; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 109-111.

<sup>148</sup> Frances Gies, *The Knight in History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 14.

<sup>149</sup> Gies, *Knight*, 17-20.

<sup>150</sup> France, *Western Warfare*, 58; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 106.

<sup>151</sup> John Beeler, *Warfare in Feudal Europe: 730-1200* (London: Cornell University, 1971), 168.

king because of their noble status not because they held land from the king. This was a remnant of the Visigothic Kingdom where everyone had the obligation to serve the king in war or peace. By the tenth century though the nobles were compensated with privileges, freed from paying taxes for example, and benefices, estates or money, for their services. Because the benefices did not require an act of homage they were not feudal.<sup>152</sup>

The presence of war dogs in many of the garrison is interesting but unexplained. Robert Burns suggests that the Mudejars, as one of their military duties, provided the war dog teams.<sup>153</sup> Most of the war dogs were assigned to castles in southern Valencia suggesting that they were used for patrolling around the castle as a means of providing security against infiltrators. In 1258 four dogs were at Castellon, one at Sumacárcel in 1263, four at Murviedro in 1266 and in 1267 six were to be garrisoned at Játiva, Gallinera and Castalla, and two at Alcalá.<sup>154</sup>

The garrisons assigned by the king were paid a yearly salary from the revenues of the castles they guarded. This situation was not uncommon in Spain

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<sup>152</sup> Lourie, "Society," 60.

<sup>153</sup> Burns, *Islam*, 298.

<sup>154</sup> For Castellon 1258: *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152; For Sumacárcel 1263: *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 484 (25 July 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 32rv; MF 477; For Murviedro 1266: *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 703 (4 October 1266); Reg. 15, fol. 32; MF 674; For Játiva 1267: *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 716 (5 March 1267) Reg. 15, fol. 46v; MF 687; For Gallinera and Alcalá 1267: *Diplomatarium III*, doc 722 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, fol. 87rv; MF 692; For Castalla 1267: *Diplomatarium III*, Doc. 723 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, col. 87v; MF 693.



and as early as the tenth century in Catalonia permanent garrisons were established in border castles and paid a salary from the revenues of the surrounding district.<sup>155</sup> By the eleventh century payment for all forms of military services, made possible by the large amounts of tribute received from the *taifa* principalities, was common in all the Christian Kingdoms of Spain.<sup>156</sup> As seen in the registered charters each of the men or knights received 150 sous per year.<sup>157</sup> The cost of war dogs varied according to the number of dogs assigned to the castles. At Castellon the cost was “four dogs in the place of one man” or 150 sous for the four dogs.<sup>158</sup> The six dogs at Castalla were equivalent to three men at a cost of 150 sous each.<sup>159</sup> The one dog at Sumacárcel cost 75 Sous though for a year.<sup>160</sup> There was also an expense for supply animals as seen at Castalla where Pere Ferran was to pay “180 sous for fodder for the aforesaid two pack animals.”<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Beeler, *Warfare Europe*, 163.

<sup>156</sup> Lourie, “Society,” 60.

<sup>157</sup> See for example *Diplomatarium III*, Doc. 723 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, col. 87v; MF 693: “quinguaginta solidos regalium pro unoquoque hominum predictorum”

<sup>158</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152: “quattuor canum loco unius hominis”

<sup>159</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, Doc. 723 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, col. 87v; MF 693: “sex canes (qui faciunt tres homines);” For salary see above n. 92.

<sup>160</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 484 (25 July 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 32rv; MF 477: “et teneatis ibidem quandam mulierem et unum canem, pro qua muliere et cane promittimus vobis dare in anno centum L. solidos regalium.”

Because of the expense of garrisoning a castle the duty was often made an obligation of local militias created to defend their districts. The creation of militias at Játiva and Alcira can be seen in two registered charters issued in 1265 in 1265. The “prominent men” of these towns was granted the privilege of tax exemption if they owed a horse “worth 40 gold pieces” and suitable armour.<sup>162</sup> At first to qualify as *caballeros villanos* a freeman had to have a horse and two saddles, be armed with a lance and protected by a padded jacket, helmet, and shield.<sup>163</sup> By the thirtieth century *caballeros villanos* were armed with a lance and sword and protected by a shield, helmet, linked mail jacket over a quilted jacket and armour for their thighs and arms.<sup>164</sup> This was similar to the noble knights except the nobles, who could afford them, were protected by helmets and mail hauberks with mittens.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, Doc. 723 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, col. 87v; MF 693: “et centum octuaginta solidos regalium pro cibata predictarum duarum bestiarum.”

<sup>162</sup> For Játiva see *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 651 (8 November 1265); Reg. 13, fol. 285; MF 627: “Damus vobis universis probis hominibus Xative presentibus et futuris quod illi qui tenuerint equum precii XL aureorum cum suis armaturis: quod non tenantur mittere aliqua, exaccione regali;” For Alcira see *Diplomatarium III*, Doc. 678 (18 April 1265); Reg. 15, fol. 12v; MF 651: “Damus et concedimus et indulgemus vobis, probis hominibus et toti universitati Algezire tam presentibus quam futuris... qui tenebunt continue equum precii quadraginta aureorum et arma in villa predicta, sint franchi... omni questia sive peita et redempcione exercitus et qualibet alia exaccione sive demanda regali.”

<sup>163</sup> Powers, *Society*, 128.

<sup>164</sup> Powers, *Society*, 128.

<sup>165</sup> David Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050-1350: Western Europe and the Crusader States* (London: Greenhill Books, 1999), 137-138 note to figure 347 A-F.

Towns captured and resettled by the Christian kingdoms during the reconquest were expected to provide for their own defense by organizing and maintaining a militia.<sup>166</sup> Because of the low number of Christian settlers in Valencia the situation was different and there was a greater reliance on the Mudejar population to provide local defense. The situation was not unusual as demonstrated during the conquest. The Muslim townsmen of Peñíscola helped the Christian garrison of ten knights defeat the Tunisian fleet that attacked the coastal castle and town in 1238.<sup>167</sup> Similarly, after the town of Almenara had surrendered the Muslim townsmen agreed to help James take the citadel because it was held by a *qa'id* appointed by Zayyān and not from the area.<sup>168</sup> Although the uprising after the conquest made the loyalty of the Mudejar population questionable the Mudejars were still expected to provide military service, which was often waived in return for cash payments. However, the Mudejars, like the Christian population in Valencia, were expected to defend their towns and nearby castles against any attacker.

In addition to entrusting castles to town militias James gave them as gifts to avoid the expense of garrisoning. For example in 1264 James granted to “our beloved Arnau de Montsó, and your successors in perpetuity one after the other, our castle of Almirra only, with the towers and other military constructions made and to be made there.” Arnau de Montsó was to “faithfully guard” the castle for

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<sup>166</sup> Powers, *Society*, 104.

<sup>167</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 379.

James and “always you should keep in the castle itself two double sentinel-watches.”<sup>169</sup>

Castles were also offered as gifts in order to place more of them under Christian control. In 1270 the knight Berenguer de Lacera was given as a gift the castles of Alarch and Sanchet with their villages and attachments “in perpetuity” on the condition that Berenguer and his family permanently reside in Valencia.<sup>170</sup> In 1271 Bertran de Bello Podico received the castles of Torres Torres, Serra, and Polop in perpetuity under the same condition: “You and yours in your life and after your death your first male son should make always to have personal residence in the Kingdom of Valencia.”<sup>171</sup>

Castles, provided with garrisons either by the king or town militias, were important to the security of the crusader Kingdom of Valencia because after the

<sup>168</sup> James, *Chronicle*, 361.

<sup>169</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 547 (17 May 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 174; MF 532: “damus et concedimus vobis, fideli nostro Arnaldo de Monsono, et vestris successoribus in perpetuum uni post alium, castrum nostrum de Almizra tantum, cum turribus et aliis bastimentis ibidem factis et faciendis . . . quod illud nobis fideliter custodiatis, et teneatis semper in eodem castro duas guaytas duplices, et condirectum operatum vos et vestri, nobis et nostris videlicet, perpetuo teneatis.”

<sup>170</sup> Arch. Crown, Jaume I (14 August 1270); Reg. 16, fol. 205; MF 1001: “damus et concedimus, vobis Berengario de Lacera militi et vestris sive quibus volueritis, in perpetuum... castra et villas ac alquerias de Alarch et de Sanchet . . . in hac tamen condicione quod vos et vestri teneamini facere in regno Valencie residenciam personalem pro castris et villis supra dictis.”

<sup>171</sup> ACA, Jaume I (7 June 1271); Reg. 16, fol. 254v; MF 1140: “damus et concedimus vobis, dilecto nostro Bertrando de Bello Podio, et vestris in perpetuum . . . castrum et villam de Torres Torres, et castrum et villam de Serra, et castrum et villam de Polop . . . sub hac condicione et pacto quod vos et vestri in vita vestra et post obitum vestrum unus de filiis vestris mansculis faciatis semper in regno Valencie residenciam habere personalem.”

conquest the majority of the population of the kingdom remained Muslim and resistant to Christian rule. The revolt of al-Azraq and the subsequent Mudejar rebellion showed James how tentative his hold was on Valencia. Because there was not a large influx of Christian settlers into Valencia, castles were necessary to control the Mudejar population.

### Chapter Three: Administrative and Financial Functions

Castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia, like those in Western Europe, functioned as administrative and financial centers for their districts. They were also valuable property of the king and castles were utilized most often for financial purposes. Castles provided a secure place for the collection and storage of the revenues from the districts they dominated and controlled. James used the wealth generated by castles to repay his debts and to raise money through the sale of castles or their revenues. As a result although castles were the administrative and financial centers for Valencia most were held by the king's creditors or by tax farmers and not by paid royal administrators.

Creditors of the king were given control over castles and their revenues until the debt was repaid. In 1258 Arnau de Romani was given the castle of Pego "with each and every of the aforesaid, you may have, hold and collect presently in paying of the said having been owed, until you and yours are fully satisfied from everything."<sup>172</sup> In some of the registered charters the period of time a creditor was to hold a castle was specified. Droc Eximén was to hold the castles of Sumacárcel, Tous, and Tárbena along with the town of Cárcer for twelve years to recover a debt of 12,000 sous. "And from those sources you may have in a

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<sup>172</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 123 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66; MF 120: "Ita quod vos et vestri ipsum castrum cum predictis omnibus et singulis habeatis, teneatis, et percipiatis in solucionem iam dicti debiti, donec de ipso sit vobis et vestris plenarie satisfactum."

single year 1,000 sous of the Kingdom of Valencia, that you may keep and receive in a year in paying of the said monies.”<sup>173</sup>

The number of years, however, a tax farmer could hold a castle was limited. Tax farmers were speculators who paid a sum of money to collect the revenues of a castle for a fixed number of years. For example, in 1261 James sold the castle and district of Denia to a group of tax farmers that included his mistress Teresa Gil de Vidaure. They were to have control “from here through ten years first about to come and complete, all revenues, incomes, and profits.”<sup>174</sup>

Although the majority of castles remained the possession of the king a few were given away as hereditary gifts. For example, James in 1264 granted to “our faithful Arnau de Montsó, and to your successors in perpetuity one after the other, our castle of Almirra.”<sup>175</sup> Jijona was given to Bertran de Vilanova in 1268 “for all the days of your life.”<sup>176</sup> Hereditary ownership of castles, however, was an

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<sup>173</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: “Et inde habeatis singulis annis mille solidos regalium Valencie, quos retineatis et accipiatís quolibet anno in solucíonem dictorum denariorum.”

<sup>174</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 348 (27 March 1261); Reg. II, fols. 197v-198; MF 339: “Per nos et nostros vendimus vobis, dilecte nostre domine Taresie Egidii de Vidaure, Bernardo Scribe baiulo Valencie, Petro de Capellades scriptori nostro, Bernardo de Alzamora habitatori Castilionis campi de Burriana, Petro Iohannis de Gerunda, Petro de Pucullull, et yours hinc ad decem annos primos venturos et completos, omnes redditus, exitus, et proventus.”

<sup>175</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 547 (17 May 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 174; MF 532: “Per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, fideli nostro Arnaldo de Monsono, et vestris successoribus in perpetuum unipost alium, castrum nostrum de Almizra.”

exception as James did not want to lose control over castles because of the economic loss and the threat posed by independent lords in possession of strongholds.

Governors appointed by James administered the few castles that had not been distributed by James to his creditors or tax farmers. In 1257 Gonsal Llop de Pomer was appointed *alcalde* or governor of Játiva. His salary, not specified by the registered charter, was to come from a variety of sources that included the public sale of the bailiwick of Játiva, the salt monopoly and dye works of the area in addition to a levy on the Mudejars of the district.<sup>177</sup> A year later James appointed Arnau de Montsó governor of the southern castles of Biar and Almirra.<sup>178</sup>

Each castle was assigned a local military commander called a castellan. The castellan was responsible for the defense of both the castle and its district and received a yearly salary along with gifts. At Onda in 1261 Pere de Capellades was ordered to appoint a castellan “with a horse” and to pay him a

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<sup>176</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 775 (10 March 1268); Reg. 15, fol. 84v; MF 747: “damus et concedimus vobis, Bertrando de Vilanova, castrum et villam de Sexona... diebus omnibus vite vestre.”

<sup>177</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 49 (30 October 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 43v; MF 50: “assignamus vobis Goncalvo Lupi de Pomar alcaido castri Xative . . . damus pro custodia predicti castri . . . super denariis baiulie Xative et super denariis salis, tinturarie, et morarie eiusdem loci; ita quod postquam reditus et exitus omnium predictarum rerum et singularum annis singulis per baiulum nostrum vendi fuerint et collocati, emptores eorum intrent vobis per manus et obligent se vobis pro precii empconum ipsarum.”

<sup>178</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 240 (10 September 1259); Reg. 10, fol. 119; MF 237: “tradimus tibi, Arnaldo de Montesono, ad custodiendum castra nostra de Biar et de Almidrano, quod inde siis alcaidus dum nobis placuerit.”



salary of 500 sous a year.<sup>179</sup> In 1267 at Castalla Pere Ferran was provide “two pack for the use of the castellan of the said castle.”<sup>180</sup> Berenguer de Latera knight was appointed castellan of Penáguila in 1272 and received a yearly salary of 1,500 sous.<sup>181</sup>

In addition to a castellan each castle also had a bailiff responsible for collecting the revenues of a castle’s district. Bailiffs received a salary, which was typically one-tenth of the revenues they collected.<sup>182</sup> In 1258 Bonanat de Guia was appointed bailiff of Sumacárcel, Tous and Tárbená for four years. He was to collect all the revenues from the castles including the land tax but not the hospitality tax or *peita*. From those revenues Bonanat De Guia was to give the king 1,000 sous each year.<sup>183</sup> Guic de Guillem, assigned to the castle of

<sup>179</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 379 (24 May 1261); Reg. II, fol. 254; MF 370: “mandamus vobis Petro de Capellades quod ab hac die in antea teneatis, in custodia et retencione castri de Onda . . . unum alcaidum cum sua equitatura . . . et pro dicto alcaidum cum sua equitatura XVIII denarios quolibet die.”

<sup>180</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 723 (25 April 1267); Reg. 14, col. 87v; MF 693: “mandamus vobis, dilecto filio nostro Petro Ferrandi tenenti locum nostrum in rego Valencie, quod in custodia castri de Cactaylla . . . et duas bestias ad opus alcaidi dicti castri.”

<sup>181</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (1272); Reg. Canc. 21, fol. 78; MF 1366: “concedimus vobis, Berengario de Latera militi, castrum nostrum de Penaguila . . . pro salario et alcaidia vestra dicti castri mille et quingentos solidos regalium Valencie singulis annis.”

<sup>182</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 216.

<sup>183</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 75 (22 February 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 40; MF 74: “damus et concedimus... almagram et omnibus aliis redditibus, exitibus, et proventibus . . . excepta cena et peita, hinc ad uattuor annos continue completos... et detis nobis mille solidos regalium in unoquoque dictorum quattuor annorum, videlicet in fine anni.”

Cocentaina in 1260 for a three-year term, was ordered to pay James 1,500 sous yearly from the revenues that he collected from the castle's district.<sup>184</sup>

Although James appointed most bailiffs there were exceptions. For example at Játiva in 1267 Arnau de Romani was granted "the said revenues and incomes you may keep, collect, gather and who or whom you should wish in your place."<sup>185</sup> Pere Dies also received permission to assign his own officials in the same year. "You and yours, or whom you will have wished in your place, should have and hold the said castle and village of Gartx and the aforesaid villages."<sup>186</sup> At Tárbenà Adam of Paterna was allowed to appoint his own castellans and bailiffs because of the vast sums of money he had lent to both James and his son Pere.<sup>187</sup>

Bailiffs operated from castles, which functioned as the financial centers for the Kingdom of Valencia, and collected revenues from the districts controlled by

<sup>184</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 288 (22 March 1260); Reg. II, fol. 173; MF 288: "percipiatis et habeatis omnes redditus et exitus dicti castri et ville et termini sui, per totum spacium dictorum trium annorum . . . pro unoquoque dictorum trium annorum, MD solidos regalium Valencie."

<sup>185</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 716 (5 March 1267); Reg. 15, fol. 46v; MF 687: "dictos redditus et exitus teneatis, colligatis, et percipiatis vos et quem vel quos volueritis loco vestri."

<sup>186</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 725 (26 April 1267); Reg. 14, fol. 88; MF 696: "vos et vestris, vel quem volueritis loco vestri habeatis et teneatis dictum castrum et villam de Gargio et alquerias predictas"

<sup>187</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 795 (5 April 1268); Reg. 14, fol. 95; MF 766: "Concedimus insuper vobis quod possitis in dictis locis ponere alcaidum et alcaidum, baiulum et baiulos, quem vel quos volueritis loco vestri, qui predictum castrum, vallem, villas et loca teneant pro vobis et vestrias, et redditus, exitus, et iura ipsorum percipiant integre atque plene loco vestri."

castles. As in feudal Europe castles provided security for the collection and storage of revenues gathered from a variety of sources.<sup>188</sup> In the crusader Kingdom of Valencia the revenues collected by the bailiffs included royal monopolies, taxes and fees placed on people, goods and services, judicial revenues, and money substitutes for service.

Royal monopolies existed on community services such as salt mines, mills, ovens, and caravansaries or fonduks. Revenues were acquired from the taxes and fees placed on the use of these services. Salt mines produced their income from the sale of salt. Salt was a valued resource in the Middle Ages and in Valencia it was acquired from mines located at Valencia city, Alcira, Burriana, Calpe, Játiva, Peñíscola and at Arcos, a town on the western border of Valencia.<sup>189</sup> The value of salt can be seen in the registered charter issued in 1273 to the Mudejars living in the Guadalest valley in which James ordered that the Mudejars in the valley were to buy only salt from the mines in Valencia.<sup>190</sup>

Although James retained control over the salt mines he often used the revenues they produced to repay loans. Pere de Berbegal in 1263 was granted “the place of Arcos de las Salinas and the salt works themselves of that place and all revenues and incomes that We have and ought to have.” However the

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<sup>188</sup> Molin, *Crusader Castles*, 280.

<sup>189</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 146.

<sup>190</sup> Arch. Crown, James I (1273), Reg. Canc. 21, fol. 80v; MF 1376: “et quod eciam Sarraceni dicti castri et vallis eiusdem teneantur uti sale salinarum nostrarum.”

royal administrator of the salt works, Salamah of Daroca, remained in place and was responsible for paying Pere de Berbegal. "Salamah of Daroca the Jew should hold the said salt works and he should give to you in a single year 8,000 Jaca sueldos."<sup>191</sup> In 1267 Arnau de Montsó, the bailiff in Valencia below the Júcar at the time, received "all the revenues and incomes of the salt works of your aforesaid bailiwick without retention by us."<sup>192</sup> These would be the salt mines located at Játiva and Calpe.

Mills and ovens were other royal monopolies collected from the district of a castle and they produced revenue from the fees and taxes placed on their use. Numerous mills were built in the towns and countryside of Valencia and they were used to grind wheat and barley, to carry water, and to make paper, olive oil, dyes, and cosmetics. A rental fee was placed on the use of mills.<sup>193</sup> Public and privately owned ovens were located in most towns and the use of both was taxed.<sup>194</sup>

The incomes from mills and ovens, like the revenues from the salt mines, were collected from a castle. Both were valuable and as seen in the registered

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<sup>191</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 454 (6 March 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 14; MF 445: "tradimus et impignoramus vobis castrum de Cancharies, et locum de Archos, et salinas ipsius loci et omnes redditus et exitus quos ibi habemus et habere debemus . . . Calema de Darocha ludeus teneat dictas salinas, et donet vobis quolibet anno octo milia solidorum iaccensium."

<sup>192</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 467 (9 May 1263); Reg. 14, fols; 17v-18 (Arabic 19); MF 460: "omnes redditus et exitus salinarum baiulite vestre predictae sine aliqua retencione nostra."

<sup>193</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 53-54, 56.

<sup>194</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 49.

charters mills and ovens were distributed only as gifts. For example in 1258 Gil Eximén received the castle of Margarida with the mills and ovens in the castle's district.<sup>195</sup> Similarly in 1259 Sanc Martí d'Oblites and his wife received the castle of Bicorp with its mills and ovens.<sup>196</sup>

Also collected from castles were the revenues gained from the taxes and fees placed on the operation of another royal monopoly the caravansari or fonduk. In the countryside a caravansari was a fortification that served as a communication link that provided limited protection along roads and caravan routes.<sup>197</sup> They were built to shelter travelers and merchants and their animals and baggage.<sup>198</sup> A caravansari consisted of a square building with two levels in a walled compound. The lower level was for the animals and baggage and the upper floor was for the guests. In the towns, as well as the countryside, caravansaries served as inns, storage facilities, postal and custom offices, and taverns.<sup>199</sup>

Taxes both general and specific were another major source of revenue collected from castles. The *peita* could mean a general tax collected yearly, as

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<sup>195</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129: "concedimus per hereditatam propriam, francham, et liberam vobis Egidio Eximini et vestris in perpetuum castrum de Margarita . . . cum . . . furnis, molendinis."

<sup>196</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 237 (29 August 1259); Reg. II, fol. 166; MF 233: "deamus et concedimus vobis, Sancio Martini de Oblitis, et Orie uxori vestre . . . castrum et alcheriam de Becorb . . . cum molendinis, furnis"

<sup>197</sup> Zozaya, "Fortifications," 65.

<sup>198</sup> Hillenbrand, *Crusades*, 366.

was the case at Jijona in 1268.<sup>200</sup> At Jinona Bertran de Vilanova was allowed “to impose 300 sous for *peita* on the men of Jijona and its districts” each year on the festival of St. Michael.<sup>201</sup> The *peita* was also a community income tax applied to both Muslims and Christians. Property was assessed and taxed at one sous per pound of goods owned or for every twenty sous of their value.<sup>202</sup> The registered charter that granted Sumacárcel, Tous, Tárbenà and the town of Cárcer to Droc Eximén in 1258 illustrates this form of the *peita*. “However, we retain for us the *peita* that we will apply to the Saracens and Christians of the said castles and place just as we spread to all men in the Kingdom of Valencia.”<sup>203</sup> Although Droc Eximén was denied the *peita* Bernat d’Arrom Olocaiba collected this form of the *peita* in 1257 at the castle of Olocaiba, by Guillem de Rocafull at Planes in 1261 and by Egidio Eximini at Margarida in 1258.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 64.

<sup>200</sup> For a discussion of the various meanings of *peita* see Burns, *Colonialism*, 96-102.

<sup>201</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 775 (10 March 1268); Reg. 15, fol. 84v; MF 747: “volumus et concedimus vobis quod in unoquoque anno, in festo Sancti Michaelis Septembris, possitis iactare trecentos solidos pro *peita*, hominibus de Sexona et terminorum suorum.”

<sup>202</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 98-99.

<sup>203</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: “Retinemus tamen nobis *peitam* quam icatabimus Sarracenis et Christianis dictorum castrorum et locorum, prout iactamus hominibus regni Valencie.”

<sup>204</sup> For Olocaiba see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 32 (21 September 1257); Reg. 10, fol. 19v; MF 34; For Planes see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 364 (13 April 1261); Reg. II, fol. 239v; MF 355; For Margarida see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129.

In addition to the *peita* another tax called *questia* was collected from the districts controlled by the castles. The *questia* was an arbitrary forced tax that was resented and as a result the collection of the tax was often waived on crown lands. This happened at Gandía and Alcira in 1274, for example, when the knights who controlled these districts asked James for tax relief.<sup>205</sup> However, Gil Eximén was allowed to collect the *questia* from the castle of Margarida, which was given to him as a gift in 1258.<sup>206</sup> Similarly the executors for the estate of Eximén Pere d'Arenos were allowed to collect the *questia* at Murviedro that they held as collateral.<sup>207</sup>

A third tax collected from castles was the *almagram* or land tax. Although infrequently collected, the *almagram* generated a large amount of revenue.<sup>208</sup> At Pego in 1269, for example, the *almagram* collected was 930 besants or 3,000 sous collected at one besant from 930 sections of land, the most revenue gathered from the castle's district that year.<sup>209</sup> To repay a loan James allowed Arnau de Romani to collect the *almagram* in 1258 at Pego from both Christians

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<sup>205</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 102-103.

<sup>206</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129.

<sup>207</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 702 (3 October 1266); Reg. 15, fols. 31v.-32; MF 673.

<sup>208</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 104-105.

<sup>209</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 105.

and Mudejars.<sup>210</sup> Droc Eximén also collected it from Sumacárcel, Tous, and Tárbenà in 1258.<sup>211</sup>

As seen in the registered charters another tax collected from castles was the *monetaticum*. This was a special tax granted to the king in return for maintaining the current value of currency.<sup>212</sup> It appears in the registered charter that presented the castle of Palma de Gandía to Arnau de Romani in 1269 as a gift.<sup>213</sup> Although formerly introduced in Valencia in 1266 the *monetaticum* appears in an earlier registered charter that granted the castle of Margarida to Gil Eximén in 1258.<sup>214</sup> This indicates that the *monetaticum* was collected in Valencia some time before it was officially recognized.<sup>215</sup>

In addition to taxes, castles also generated revenues from fees placed on people, goods, and services in their districts. For example, Gil Eimen and Arnau de Romani collected the *ademprivium* from the castles of Margarida and Palma

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<sup>210</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 123 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66; MF 720: “cum almagram et cum aliis redditibus, exitibus, et proventibus, quos nobis in predicto castro et villa et alcheriis et terminis eorundem, et a Christianis et Sarracenis ibi habitantibus et habitaturis debemus percipere.”

<sup>211</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: “cum almagram, et cum aliis redditibus, exitibus, et proventibus quos nobis in predictis castris et alchariis et terminis eorundem et a Christianis et Sarraceniis ibi habitantibus et habitaturis debemus percipere.”

<sup>212</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 150-151.

<sup>213</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 941 (29 June 1269); Reg. 16, fols. 181v-182; MF 902.

<sup>214</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129.



de Gandía that they had received from James as gifts in 1258.<sup>216</sup> This was a fee charged for using materials such as pastures, firewood or water. Because it was arbitrarily placed on commonly used materials it was resented and like the *questia* it was often waived.<sup>217</sup>

Another fee collected from castles was the *herbaticum*. Introduced by James early in his reign to generate more income, the *herbaticum* was a pasturage fee that took six lambs out of every 1,000 each year in exchange for waiving the fees charged for using pastures and passing through grazing lands.<sup>218</sup> The fee generated a modest amount of revenue. At the castle of Sumacárcel, in 1268, for example 150 sous were collected.<sup>219</sup> In 1267 Pere Dies received 780 sous from Garcia Sanc “collector of the *herbaticum* from our Kingdom of Valencia.”<sup>220</sup> At Pego in 1269 the *herbaticum* raised 79 besants or 300 sous.<sup>221</sup> Pere De Capellades was allowed to collect the fee from the castle

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<sup>215</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 151.

<sup>216</sup> For Gil Eximen see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129; For Arnau de Romani see *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 941 (29 June 1269); Reg. 16, fols. 181v-182; MF 902.

<sup>217</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 206-207.

<sup>218</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 156-157.

<sup>219</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 157.

<sup>220</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 725 (26 April 1267); Reg. 14, fol. 88; MF 696: “De quo debito predicto deduximus septingentos et octuaginta solidos, quos vos a Garcia Sancii, collectore herbagii nostri regni Valencie pro Petro Lupi Destella, habuistis et recepistis.”

<sup>221</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 157.

of Onda along with its other revenues in 1261, as was Jaume Sarroca at Sumacárcel in 1263.<sup>222</sup>

Tribute from the Mudejar population of Valencia, in the form of agricultural rents called *tributum*, was also collected from the districts controlled by castles. Like the *paria* paid by the *taifa* principalities the *tributum* collected one-fifth or one-tenth of farmer's crop. A sampling of crops from Pego in 1268 and 1269 shows that seventy besants were paid for fifty baskets of figs, ninety four besants and 1 millares for 30 cafizes of wheat, and sixteen besants and seven diners for 3,300 kilos of cucumbers. From Sumacárcel in 1268 six hundred sous was collected as *tributum*.<sup>223</sup> Gil Eximén received the *tributum* from the castle of Margarida in 1258 and in 1266 the executors of the estate of Eximén Pere d'Arenos collected it from the district of Murviedro castle.<sup>224</sup>

Revenue was also collected from civil and criminal fines. The castles in Valencia, like those in Western Europe, functioned as the judicial centers for their districts. Judicial proceedings were held in or near castles allowing for the secure storing of any fines collected.<sup>225</sup> As seen at Játiva fines were collected for the crimes of manslaughter, theft, and rape while civil fines from paternity suits

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<sup>222</sup> For Onda see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 378 (24 May 1261); Reg. II, fol. 233; MF 369; For Sumacarcel see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 484 (25 July 121283); Reg. 14, fol. 32rv; MF 477.

<sup>223</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 117-118.

<sup>224</sup> For Margarida see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 132 (26 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66 *bis* v; MF 129; For Murviedro see *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 702 (3 Oct 1266); Reg. 15, fols. 31v.-32; MF 673.

brought in twenty sous from “delinquent males” and single, pregnant women were fined five sous each. Additional income was gathered from granting pardons in capital criminal cases. At Denia in 1261 James allowed the collection of criminal and civil justice income:

except that from those who will have been condemned to death or mutilation of member, from whom We do not want that money being received, but if by chance they should be they come to us and We and We do pardon them for money, all the money itself you should have and receive.<sup>226</sup>

Similar conditions applied to Bernat Escrivá at Murviedro in that year.<sup>227</sup> The king was owed one-third or one-fourth, a portion called *calonia*, of the total income collected from fines.<sup>228</sup>

Other revenues collected at castles included money substitutes for services such as hospitality, labor, and military. The hospitality service or *cena* was the result of the poorly maintained roads that made travel difficult in feudal Europe during the Middle Ages. In Spain the old Roman roads were often impassible during heavy rains. As a result it was cheaper to have supplies gathered and stored at castles and other fortified sites that the king would visit on

<sup>225</sup> Molin, *Crusader Castles*, 280.

<sup>226</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc 348 (27 March 1261); Reg. II, fols. 197v-198; MF 339: “exceptis illis qui ad mortem fuerint condemnati velad mutilacionem membrorum, de quibus nolumus quod pecunia recipiatur, ipsam pecuniam totam habeatis et recipiatis.”

<sup>227</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 374 (20 April 1261); Reg. II, fol. 204rv; MF 365: “exceptis illis qui ad mortem fuerint condemnati velad mutilacionem membrorum, de quibus nolumus quod pecunia recipiatur, ipsam pecuniam totam habeatis et recipiatis.”

his travels.<sup>229</sup> It was the obligation of the king's vassals to feed and shelter both the king and his attendants when he visited. Like most medieval monarchs James did not have a permanent capital; instead, he traveled throughout his kingdoms with his entourage from one residence to another.<sup>230</sup> This obligation was later changed into a tax of a fixed amount paid yearly to the crown.<sup>231</sup>

*Sofra* or labor service was a Muslim civic, not feudal, obligation that was retained under Christian rule. Commonly the obligation was for villagers to transport water and wood to a castle, can be seen in the charter granting the castle of Castellon to Romeo Martí 1258.<sup>232</sup> "Also we wish and command that all the Saracens there in the said castle and its district, present and future, should make there labor service of water and wood."<sup>233</sup> Like other services could also mean the tax imposed for waiving actual service. At Olocaiba in 1257 Bernat Roman collected *sofra* as a tax with the other revenues of the castle and its district to repay a loan.<sup>234</sup> At Bergia in 1264 *sofra* was also collected as a tax and with other special fees it was used to pay for the garrison.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 176-177.

<sup>229</sup> France, *Western Warfare*, 2; Lomax, *Reconquest*, 95.

<sup>230</sup> Kagay, "Mobilization," 97; Burns, *Colonialism*, 171.

<sup>231</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 173.

<sup>232</sup> For *sofra* see Glick, *Muslim Castle*, 17; Burns, *MCJ*, 67-71.

<sup>233</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152: "Volumus eciam et mandamus quod Sarraceni omnes iam dicti castri et terminorum eius presentes atque futuri, faciant ibi cofras de aqua et lignis."

The obligation to serve the king militarily could also be waived with a proper payment and like the other money substitutes it was collected from a castle. These payments were called *exercitus* for campaigning and *cavalcade* for raiding duties. Christians and Mudejars could substitute their service with monetary payments and these revenues were collected at castles. In particular it was preferred that the Mudejars substituted money for service because their loyalty during the rebellion was suspect.<sup>236</sup>

Castles were wealthy properties of the crown as a result of the income collected from their districts. James used castles to repay his debts and sold both castles and their revenues to raise money. The use of castles as collateral was in violation of the *Costum d'Espanya* or *Forum Ispanie*. However, the *Costum d'Espanya* was often ignored or waived in the registered charters. For example in 1258 Droc Eximén was released from "the natural law of Spain" that stated a vassal "ought not hold castles from their natural lords for debts."<sup>237</sup> In the same year the *Costum d'Espanya* was also waived for Ferran de Pena:

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<sup>234</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 32 (21 September 1257); Reg. 10, fol. 19v; MF 34.

<sup>235</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 551 (23 May 1264); Reg. 13, fol. 176; MF 536: "Mandantes alamino de Gallinera et almuxino de Godalech quod predictos nongentos solidos . . . sovant pro nobis vobis . . . from redivitibus cofre, alaminatus, et scribanie locorum predictorum"

<sup>236</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 139-140.

<sup>237</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: "absolventes vos ab omni fide et ab omni fidelitate, et specialiter super hoc quod racione fidei vel nature quam secundum forum Hispanie naturales non debent suis dominis naturalibus castra pro debito retinere"

You or yours are not to be held to us or ours to give back the castle itself by reason of nature or trust, and not because of any custom, law or forum, for as long as it is said above you and yours should be satisfied from all the aforesaid money.<sup>238</sup>

The *Costum d'Espanya* was waived for most creditors regardless of their social status. The knight Arnau de Romani in 1258 and again in 1265 was exempted from the *Costum d'Espanya* as was the "citizen of Valencia" Guillem de Plana in 1258 and then again a year later.<sup>239</sup> James also waived the *Costum d'Espanya* for his secretary Pere de Capellades in 1261 and the bailiff Arnau de Montsó two years later.<sup>240</sup> James also excused family members, Jaume Sarroca, illegitimate son and secretary to the king, in 1263 and Pere Ferrandis, another illegitimate son, in 1259.<sup>241</sup> James waived the *Costum d'Espanya* because by borrowing money James was able to acquire the sum he needed quickly whereas

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<sup>238</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 191 (4 July 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 70v; MF 186: "Nec vos or vestri teneamini nobis or notris ipsum castrum reddere ratione nature seu fidei, nec ratione alicuius consuetudinins, iuris or fori, quosque ut superius dictum est sit vobis et vestris de tota predicta pecunia satisfactum."

<sup>239</sup> For Arnau de Romani 1258 see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 123 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66; MF 120; For 1265 see *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 646 (1 November 1265); Reg. 13, fol. 283rv; MF 623; For Guillem de Plana 1258 see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 203 (9 December 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 86v-87; MF 198; For 1259 see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 229 (4 July 1259); Reg. 10, fols. 113v-114; MF 226; For Pere de Capellades see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 378 (24 May 1261); Reg. II, fol. 233 *bis* v; MF 369.

<sup>240</sup> For Pere de Capellades see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 378 (24 May 1261); Reg. II, fol. 233 *bis* v; MF 369. For Arnau de Montso see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 467 (9 May 1263); Reg. 14, fols. 17v-18 (Arabic 19); MF 460.

<sup>241</sup> For Jaume Sarroca see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 484 (25 July 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 32rv; MF 477; For Pere Ferrandis see *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 929 (24 May 1269); Reg. 16, fol. 166; MF 889.

he would have to wait for the revenues of a castle to be collected. Also James avoided the expense of paying a royal administrator to gather the revenues of a castle by distributing castles to his creditors.

James distributed several castles to repay the large sums of money he borrowed for the 1258 campaign against al-Azraq. James received loans from Droc Eximén, Arnau de Romani and Ferran Pere de Pina for reasons unspecified in the charters. However, given that the year of the documents was 1258 and James received the loans while in Valencia, it can be inferred that the loans were made to pay for the campaign against al-Azraq. From Droc Eximén James borrowed 6,500 sous, Arnau de Romani loaned James 10,000 sous and Ferran Pere de Pina loaned James 1,000 gold Alfonsine morabatins.<sup>242</sup> Guillem de Plana made a timely loan of 7,242 sous and six diners to James in 1258 at the siege of Alcalá the headquarters of al-Azraq.<sup>243</sup>

James also owed Sanc de Corella who had paid Bernat Escrivá 1,500 for “guarding the castles of Denia and Segarria” an expense that can be partly

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<sup>242</sup> For Droc Eximen see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: “nos debere Drogo Eximini et vestris sex milia et quingentos solidos regalium Valencie, quos nobis in Valencia causa mutui tradidistis”; For Arnau de Romani see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 123 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66; MF 120: “Nos debere vobis Arnaldo de Romanino militi et vestris X milia solidorum regalium Valemcie, quos nobis in Valencia mutuastis”; For Ferran Pere de Pina see *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 191 (4 July 1259); Reg. 10, fol. 70v; MF 186: “Et debemus vobis mille morabatinos bons alfonsinos in auro, quos nunc nobis mutuavistis in Valencia.”

<sup>243</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 203 (9 December 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 86v-87; MF 198: “nos debere vobis Guillelmo de Plana, civi Valencie, septem milia ducentos quadraginta duos solidos et VI denarios regalium Valencie, quos nobis . . . tradidistis, dum eramus in obsidione de Alcalano contra Alacrach.”

attributed to the Mudejar rebellion.<sup>244</sup> In the same charter acknowledging the loan for the al-Azraq campaign it was recognized that Droc Eximén was also owed 5,500 sous that he paid Ramon de Mirambell at James's request.<sup>245</sup> And Ferran Pere de Pina was also owed a further 3,117 gold Josephine mazmodins "that to you remain to be paid from the 5,000 mazmodins for which you held the castle of Morella in pledge from us."<sup>246</sup>

In addition to operational money James had to repay those who had provided supplies for the campaign. Supplies of food were in kind and they were obtained either on credit or seized. Food consisted of animals such as cows, rams, and sheep and wheat, millet, and barley that was used to make bread, biscuits or porridge.<sup>247</sup> In the same charter that acknowledged that Sanç de Corella was owed for paying Bernat Escrivá for James it was also recognized that he was owed 4,280 sous for supplies that included "cows, rams, and food."<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 105 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fols. 64v.-65; MF 102: "debemus vobis mille quingentos solidos regalium Valencie pro expensis quos Bernardus Serbia facerat in custodia castrorum de Denia et de Sagarria."

<sup>245</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: "debemus vobis quinque millia et D solidus regalium Valencie, pro quibus constituimus nos vobis debitores et paccatores pro Raimundo de Mirambello, cui eos debebamus."

<sup>246</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 191 (4 July 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 70v; MF 186: "nos debere vobis, Ferrando Petri de Pina, et vestris tria milia centum et decem septem mazmudinas iucefias boni auri iustique ponderis, que vobis remanent ad solvendum de quinque milibus mazmudinarum pro quibus tenetis castrum de Morella obligatum a nobis."

<sup>247</sup> For the diet of the Aragonese army see Kagay, "Mobilization," 106.

<sup>248</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 105 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fols. 64v.-65; MF 102: "recognoscimus et confitemur debere vobis Sancio de Corella quattuor milia



James owed Romeo Martí for 500 sheep for 2,250 sous purchased for the castellan at the castle of Castellon and one twenty sheep worth 540 sous that James had seized.<sup>249</sup>

James repaid his debts from the campaign by granting temporary control over castles to his creditors. The castles of Sumacárcel, Tous and Tárbenà were given Droc Eximén was to collect his 12,000 sous from the “*almagram* and all other revenues, profits, incomes and profits” of the castles and from the town of Cárcer. He was not allowed to collect the *peita* however.<sup>250</sup> Sanç de Corella was to collect what he was owed from “all our revenue, income, and any other profit” of Denia and Segarria.<sup>251</sup> Castellon and its district went to Romeo Martí “with all its districts and appurtenances and with all revenues, incomes, and all other

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ducentos octoginta solidos regalium Valencie pro vaccis, arietibus, et cibaria que nobis causa mutui tradidistis.”

<sup>249</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152: “nos debere vobis Romeo Martini duo milia ducentos et quinquaginta solidos, pro quingentis ovibus, quas a vobis habuimus et dedimus alcaido de Castello. Et debemus vobis ex alia parte quingentos et quadraginta solidos regalium, pro centum et viginti ovibus, quas vobis emendamus pro illis que fuerunt raubate et barreiate de mandato nostro.”

<sup>250</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 106 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 64rv; MF 103: “obligamus vobis in presenti castra de Somacarcet, de Thovos, et de Terrabona, et alchariam de Carcer, cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis et alchariis dictorum castrorum, cum *almagram*, et cum aliis redditibus, exitibus, et proventus . . . Retinemus tamen nobis *peitam*.”

<sup>251</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 105 (30 April 1258); Reg. 10, fols. 64v.-65; MF 102: “Pro quibus omnibus denariis impignoramus vobis de presenti omnes redditus, exitus, et quoslibet alios proventus nostros de Denia et de Segarria et terminorum suorum.”

receipts from the castle and of its district.”<sup>252</sup> Guillem de Plana received Peñíscola “for as long for you and yours should be fully satisfied from the aforesaid money in the said place.”<sup>253</sup> The castle of Pego “with *almagram* and other revenues, incomes and profits” from the district was used to repay Arnau de Romani.<sup>254</sup> From Morella and its district Ferran Pere de Pina which he was to collect 15,000 sous a year. From that amount 2,000 was “for the guarding and administrating of that castle” and the remaining 13,000 was to be used in paying off the debt.<sup>255</sup>

Castles were also used to repay royal officials who had either loaned money to James or repaid his debts to others. Pere de Capellades described in the charter as “our faithful secretary”<sup>256</sup> made several loans to James including

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<sup>252</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 155 (28 June 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 68; MF 152: “Pro quibus impignoramus et tradimus vobis castrum de Castello, cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis suis et cum redditibus, exitibus, ac aliis iuribus omnibus ipsius castri et terminorum eius.”

<sup>253</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 203 (9 December 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 86v-87; MF 198: “Pro quibus tradimus et obligamus vobis in presenti castrum nostrum et villam de Panischola . . . with omnibus aliis redditibus et exitibus et proventibus . . . teneatis quousque de predictis denariis vobis et vestris sit in eisdem plenarie satisfactum.”

<sup>254</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 123 (14 May 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 66; MF 120: “Pro quibus impignoramus, tradimus, et obligamus vobis in presenti castrum et villam de Pego.”

<sup>255</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 191 (4 July 1258); Reg. 10, fol. 70v; MF 186. “Pro quibus omnibus . . . tradimus et obligamus vobis et vestris, de presenti, castrum et villam de Morella... recipiatis et habeatis annis singulis pro quindecim mille solidis regalium. De quibus habeatis et retineatis duo mille solidos pro custodia et retencione illius castri; et residua tredecim mille solidorum recipiatis in solutione debiti ante dicti.”

one where the money was taken from the revenues he was collecting to repay previous loans. In a charter from 1261 James acknowledged he owed Pere 333 gold Alfonsine morabatins and five denaries, 434 sous, 1,595 Jaca sueldos and 499 Barcelona sous. This was in addition to the 5,500 sous that Pere had paid to Ramon de Mirambell for James.<sup>257</sup> This loan shows the variety of money that was used in Valencia. James introduced the Valencian solidus in 1247 and it was intended to be the standard currency for Valencia. However it did not exist except as a penny or denarius.<sup>258</sup>

The solidus was used to pay tribute, taxes and debts but in cases where money exchanged hands it was substituted for gold or silver. In 1247 forty-eight sous equaled one silver mark, four sous for one gold Josephine mazmodin minted in Morocco, six sous for one gold Alfonsine morabatin minted in Castile, eight and one half sous for one gold Almoravid morabatin and three and three-fourths sous for one silver besant. Twelve diners equaled eighteen Barcelona diners, fifteen Jaca diners, and sixteen Melgorian diners which was popular in

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<sup>256</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 457 (31 March 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 16; MF 449: "fidelis noster scriptor Petrus de Capellades."

<sup>257</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 378 (24 May 1261); Reg. 14, fol. 16; MF 449: "debere vobis . . . trecentos triginta tres morabatinos et quinque denarios alfonsinos bonos novos in auro et rectique pensi, et quadringentos triginta quattuor solidos regalium Valencie, et mille quingentos nonaginta quinque solidos iaccenses, et quadringentos nonaginta novem solidos barchinonesnses... Item debemus vobis quinque debitores vobis pro Raimundo de Mirambello . . . cui ipsos denarios debebamus."

<sup>258</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 28-29.

Occitan provinces of Montpellier. The exchange rate was established in theory but in reality the value of the solidus decreased over time.<sup>259</sup>

To repay the loan James granted Pere de Capellades the castle of Onda “with its towns, districts and appurtenances, and with all revenues, incomes, profits, wealth, pasturage fees, and all other receipts of the said place.”<sup>260</sup> Two years later Pere was still collecting on this debt when he paid Taraç de Granyena 1,200 sous for James as indicated by the new registered charter he was issued. “You have paid from our command, from the revenues and incomes of Onda, Taraç de Garanyena.” Pere was to continue holding Onda until all debts had been paid.<sup>261</sup> Penã Cadiell and Berida went to Arnau de Montsó, bailiff below the Júcar in 1263 for paying 10,000 sous to the Count of Urgel for James.<sup>262</sup> Also in that year Gil Eximén, bailiff above the Júcar, paid another debt for James. He gave Artal d’Horta 1,150 sous this amount was to be collected from the revenues

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<sup>259</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 29.

<sup>260</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 378 (24 May 1261); Reg. 14, fol. 16; MF 449: “Pro quibus omnibus morabatinis et denariis . . . tradimus, obligamus, et impignoramus... castrum nostrum et villam de Onda . . . cum omnibus alcheriis, terminis, et pertinenciis suis, et cum omnibus redditibus, exitibus, proventibus, censibus, herbaticis, et aliis omnibus iuribus eorundem.”

<sup>261</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 457 (31 March 1263); Reg. 14, fol. 16; MF 449: “dedistis et solvistis de Mandato nostro, de redditibus videlicet et exitibus de Onda, Tarragono de Graynena mille ducentos solidos regalium Valencie quos sibi debebamus.”

<sup>262</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 467 (9 May 1263); Reg. 14, fols. 17v-18. (Arabic 19); MF 460: “debere vobis Arnaldo de Monsono, baiulo nostro in regno, Valencie a rivo Xuchari ultra, et vestris decem milia solidorum regalium Valencie; quos modo nobis in Ilerda mutuastis, et ipsos de mandato nostri dedistis comiti urgellensi.”

of the castle of Chulilla.<sup>263</sup> Arnau de Montsó, with a larger debt, was to collect all the revenues from the castles he was assigned as well as all the pasturage fees from the Kingdom of Valencia and revenues from the salt works in his bailiwick.<sup>264</sup>

Creditors submitted audits and if they showed a debt had been repaid the castles were returned to James. In 1276 Andre de Puigvert returned the castle Confrides, which he held for three years, after he had submitted an audit that showed he had been repaid.<sup>265</sup> Also in that year Joan de Montsó:

returned to us presently in Denia a good and proper legal accounting: of the above revenues and incomes and all our receipts of the castles of Penacandella, and of Rogato, and of Carbonera, and of Beldesa, and of Montes, and of the other places of the districts of the said castles.

The audit showed that the debt was paid and Joan de Montsó was also reimbursed for the expenses that he incurred while administering the castles.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>263</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 502 (1 Oct 1262); Reg. 12, fol. 40v; MF 494: “debere vobis fideli nostro Egidio Eximini baiulo nostro in regno Valencie a rivo Xucari citra MCL solidos regalium, quos dedistis et solvistis pro nobis Artall de Orta . . . habendos et percipiendos in redditibus et exitibus eiusdem castri et ville de Xullella.”

<sup>264</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 467 (9 May 1263); Reg. 14, fols. 17v-18. (Arabic 19); MF 460: “obligamus et impignoramus vobis . . . omnibus redditibus, exitibus, proventibus, censibus, et omnibus aliis iuribus eiusdem . . . et totum herbagium regni Valencie, et omnes redditus et exitus salinarum baiulie vestre predicte.”

<sup>265</sup> ACA, Jaime I (5 Feb 1276); Reg. 20, fol. 316; MF 1904: “recognoscimus et confitemus vobis, Andree de Podio Viridi . . . vos reddidisse nobis modo in Valencia bonum et rectum ac legale compotum: super redditibus, exitibus, coloniis, ac iuribus nostris castri et ville de Confrides et terminorum suorum.”

<sup>266</sup> ACA, Jaime I (24 Feb 1276); Reg. 19, fol. 10; MF 1920: “Recognoscimus et confitemur vobis, Iohanni de Montesono . . . vos reddidisse

James also sold either castles or just their revenues to tax-farmers for a specified period of time. It was a gamble for tax-farmers because they had to calculate how much revenue would remain after all expenses were paid. Also if there was a bad year and revenues dropped a tax-farmer could lose everything.<sup>267</sup> However, there was the potential for making money in this speculation and that attracted the tax-farmers such as Bernat Escrivá in 1264.

Bernat Escrivá purchased the castle of Murviedro and its district for five years at 8,000 sous per year. It was an unusual sale in that the purchase price of 40,000 sous was to be used to pay off a loan that Bernat had made to James. Bernat was to collect “all revenues, incomes, and profits, civil and criminal fees, potential income, tariffs, transit fees, rentals, real-estate fees, gains, service and all other receipts” that the king collected there except treasure trove and the confiscated property of heretics.<sup>268</sup>

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nobis modo in Denia bonum et rectum ac legale computum: super redditibus et exitibus ac iuribus nostris omnibus castrorum de Penacandello, et de Rogato, et Carbonera, et de Beldesa, et de Montes, et de aliis locis terminorum dictorum castrorum que pro nobis recipistis.”

<sup>267</sup> Burns, *Colonialism*, 219.

<sup>268</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 374 (20 April 1264); Reg. II, fol 204rv; MF 365: “vendimus vobis Bernardo Escribe baiulo nostro Valencie . . . omnes redditus, exitus, et proventus, iusticias civiles et criminales, et aventuras, lezdas, pedagium, censualia, laudima, percacia, servicia, et omnia alia iura nostra et singula que nos habemus et debemus haere et percipere quoquo modo in Muroveteri et in alqueriis . . . exceptis inde bonis horticorum et pecuniam seu theasaurum inventum, que nobis et nostris retinemus . . . donetis inde nobis et nostris in unoquoque V annorum octo milia solidorum regalium Valencie, quos recipiatis et habeatis in solucionem debitorum, quos vobis debemus.”

James also sold some castles to raise money. In 1257 James gave the option to “all our faithful men of Murviedro and its district” to buy the neighboring castles of Serra and Torres Torres located in central Valencia to the north of Valencia city.<sup>269</sup> In 1269 a similar option was offered to Arnau de Romani “to buy and you may buy the castle and town of Villalonga, with all their villages, districts, and appurtenances.”<sup>270</sup> Located in the Pego territory near the Alcoy River, the castle of Villalonga was owed by Constanca the widow of Didac Llop de Biscaia. In order for the sale to take place she had to have James’s permission which was given in a later charter.<sup>271</sup> None of the charters mention a purchase price but James did offer 10,000 sous to help Murviedro purchase Torres Torres.<sup>272</sup>

James placed conditions on the inhabitants of Murviedro for reselling the castles of Serra and Torres Torres. Serra was sold “under this condition that whenever you or yours will have wished to sale the aforesaid castle of Serra, you

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<sup>269</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 23 (31 August 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 32v; MF 24: “damus licenciam et liberam postestatem vobis, fidelibus nostris universis hominibus Murvieteris et terminorum eius, quod possitis emere castra et villas de Serra et de Turribus Turribus cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis suis.”

<sup>270</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 910 (12 April 1269); Reg. 16, fol. 147; MF 872: “damus plenam licenciam et potestatem vobis, dilecto nostro Arnaldo de Romanino militi, quod possitis emere et ematis castrum et villam de Villalonga, cum alqueriis et terminis ac pertinenciis suis omnibus.”

<sup>271</sup> *Diplomatarium III*, doc. 931 (16 June 1269); Reg. 16, fol. 17iv; MF 892: “Damus et concedimus vobis dompne Constancie uxori quondam Didaci Luppi de Viscanya, et Luppo Didaci filio vestro, quod possitis vendere Arnaldo de Romanino militi castrum et villam de Villalonga.”

<sup>272</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 23 (31 August 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 32v; MF 24: “Verum cum semper proponamus vos prosequi gracia, beneficio, et amore, promittimus vobis quod quandocumque empcionem facietis de predicto castro de

should sell and give back the castle itself to us and ours for that price for which you had it.”<sup>273</sup> If James did not want the castle he gave up control over Serra and Murviedro was able to sell it whoever they wished including clerics and knights.<sup>274</sup> Torres Torres had a special condition. “However with the castle of Torres Torres you or yours should wish to sell, you should be able to sell the castle itself together or separately only to men who are from our service and not others.”<sup>275</sup> Arnau was not bound by such restricts as he was a trusted retainer whereas James wanted to retain some control over the castles sold to Murviedro to prevent them from being used against him.

Castles were the financial and administrative centers for the crusader Kingdom of Valencia. James retained possession of the majority of the castles in order to limit the power of the nobility and retain the wealth of Valencia for his own use. He distributed castles to creditors and tax farmers for limited periods of time after which the castle was returned to the king. Castles were valuable to the

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Turribus Turribus, dambimus vobis X milia solidorum regalium Valencie in ipsius auxilium empcionis.”

<sup>273</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 23 (31 August 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 32v; MF 24: “sub hac condicione adiecta quod quandocumque vos vel vestri predictum castrum de Serra vendere volueritis, vos ipsum nobis et nostris vendatis et reddatis pro illo precio pro quo ipsum habuistis.”

<sup>274</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 23 (31 August 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 32v; MF 24: “Si vero illud nos vel nostri pro eo precio noluerimus retinere, vos et vestri possitis ipsum vendere clericis, ordinibus, militibus, et quibuscumque personis velitis libere et sine impedimento ac contradiccione nostra et nostrorum ac cuiuscumque persone.”

<sup>275</sup> *Diplomatarium II*, doc. 23 (31 August 1257); Reg. 9, fol. 32v; MF 24: “Cum autem castrum de Turribus Turribus vos vel vestri volueritis vendere,



king because of their wealth, which was acquired from the districts controlled and administered from castles. From the security of castles bailiffs collected the revenues generated by the districts from royal monopolies, taxes and fees, judicial income, and money substitutes. This revenue was used by James to repay his creditors or sold to tax farmers to raise money. As a result James appointed only a few governors to administer castles because most were controlled by his creditors or tax farmers.

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possitis ipsum simul et particulariter vendere tantum hominibus qui sint de servicio nostro et non aliis.”

## Chapter Four: Conclusion

Castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia performed three important and linked functions. They provided security for the administration and collection of the resources of the districts that they controlled. Castles were vital during the period 1257-1276 covered by the registered charters because of the unstable situation in Valencia. After the conquest Christian settlement failed to appear in the numbers needed to provide a balance with the Muslim or Mudejar population which remained largely intact in the countryside. In addition Mudejar lords retained possession of several castles, primarily in southern Valencia, and these remained centers of unrest until 1278 when Peter, the son and successor to James, finally managed to suppress the Mudejar rebellion.

The castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia are interesting because originally they were three types of Muslim fortifications linked in a defensive network adopted from the Byzantine Empire. Citadels enhanced the defenses of the urban centers, and rural castles called *husūn*, along with towers of similar appearance, protected the villagers and their livestock. This network was retained but the fortifications, as seen in the registered charters, were renamed and reborn as Western European castles.

Castles in feudal Europe were built as residences for the nobility that protected their rural estates. They functioned as defensive, administrative and financial centers for the districts that they controlled. Castles in feudal Europe were impressive strongholds with layered defenses that were improved when stone replaced wood as the preferred building material. Because of these defenses castles allowed a small number of conquerors, as seen for example in

Norman England and the crusader states in Syria, to maintain possession of an area and control the native population which remained the majority and perhaps hostile to them

James also used castles to secure his conquest of Valencia but he did not need to build them because of the existence of numerous Muslim fortifications. These defenses remained intact after the conquest because surrender agreements were used more often than sieges during the conquest of Valencia. Although the castles in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia did not have multiple walls, towers and fortified gates that were common to castles in Western Europe they were still strongholds that were difficult to take, when garrisoned, without special equipment. At the siege of the castle Penacadel in 1249 the Mudejar army supplied and organized by the powerful southern Mudejar lord al-Azraq possessed artillery, but in general the Mudejar rebels lacked siege equipment. Although some castles were lost during the initial Mudejar uprising in 1247, these appear to have had inadequate or no garrisons.

Basic information on the garrisons assigned to the castles between 1257-1276 is obtained from the registered charters. The majority of garrisons were assigned to castles in southern Valencia, particularly in the Pego territory, to control the Mudejar population. A few Mudejar centers in the north were also garrisoned for similar reasons. Other castles that James garrisoned guarded valued resources like the salt mines near Calpe and Peñíscola and possible invasion points such as the ports at Denia and Peñíscola. The garrisons were paid a yearly salary from the revenues of the districts controlled by the castles to which they were assigned. Because of the expense the obligation to garrison

castles was made the duty of town militias. Because of the sparse Christian settlement the Mudejar population was often made responsible for local defense.

From the security of castles financial officers called bailiffs collected the revenue generated by the castle's districts from royal monopolies, taxes, fees, and money substitutes. Castles were secure bases for the collection and storage of these revenues, which made them valuable properties of the crown. James used castles and their revenues to repay his creditors or sold them to raise money. As a result, although James assigned a few governors, most castles were administered by the king's creditors or by tax-farmers.

James was determined to maintain control over the castles in Valencia to limit the power of the nobility and to retain the wealth of Valencia for his own purposes. As a result James distributed castles for limited periods of time to his creditors and to tax-farmers. Some castles were sold, in one case to a town, in another case to a trusted retainer, and some given as gifts for security reasons, but these were exceptions.

It took several decades and two kings to secure the conquest of Valencia. Castles were important in the consolidation as evidenced by their numerous references in the registered charters, which provide a better understanding of royal administration of castles in the Middle Ages. From the registered charters interesting information is obtained on the financial role of castles, which were strongholds but also the property of the crown and often used as collateral. Although originally Muslim fortifications the castles of the crusader Kingdom of Valencia, like those in Western Europe, functioned as the defensive, administrative and financial centers for the districts they controlled.

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