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# Preaching – Fighting – Organising: Religious Orders and the Christian Conquest of Mayūrqa/Mallorca (627–629 / 1229–1231)

**Abstract:** This chapter examines the Christian conquest of Mayūrqa/Mallorca (1229–1231). It highlights one specific group of actors central to the three stages of the conquest – its preparations, the military campaign itself and the organisation and establishment of the new society in the aftermath. It aims to contextualise the actions of regular clerics and friars within the secular framework of conquest studies, focusing specifically on the relationship between King James I and the religious orders. Throughout this chapter, I establish several functions of the nine religious orders present in the first years after the campaign: preaching and communicating on the king's behalf, advising the king in military and diplomatic matters, dealing with the remaining Muslim population, and providing spiritual as well as logistical infrastructure for the new Christian population.

## Introduction

*And we ordered two Dominican brothers to enter, in order to guard the king's chambers and treasure, and two knights with them, good and prudent men, so that with their squires they should help to protect and watch over the Almudaina, as we were very tired and wished to rest, as the sun had already set.*<sup>1</sup>

On 31 December 1229, Abū Yahyā, the ruler of Muslim Mayūrqa, accepted his defeat and surrendered the castle in Madina Mayūrqa, the future Palma de Mallorca, to King James the Conqueror, King of Aragon (r. 1213–1276). In the above quote from his autobiography, the reader meets King James, tired after a long siege and his final victory. To watch over his rest, James orders two Dominican friars to stand guard in front of his chambers together with two knights, showing the prominent place of the friars not only for James' spiritual well-being but also for his self-fashioning half a century later when writing his autobiography.<sup>2</sup> The scene provides an entry point into an

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<sup>1</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Bufbery, ch. 87, 109 f. *E metem-hi dos frares preicadors que guardàssem les cases del rei e el tresaur, e deu cavallers ab ells, bons e savis, tals, que ajudassen ab sos escuders a guardar e a vetllar l'Almudaina, car nós érem tots enutjats e volíem-nos reposar, e era ja lo sol post*, Llibre dels feits. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 87, 182.

<sup>2</sup> The *Llibre dels feits*, James' autobiography, was probably written in the 1270s and dictated by the king himself. It is one of the most important sources for the Mallorcan Conquest and therefore for this paper. All English quotes are from the translation: Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Bufbery. In the footnotes, I

analysis that contextualises the actions of regular clerics and friars within the secular framework of conquest studies, focussing specifically on the relationship between the king and the religious orders during the Christian conquest of Mayūrqa/Mallorca.

The Muslim defeat in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 brought about a significant change in the power dynamics of the Iberian Peninsula. Almohad al-Andalus again fell apart into so-called Taifa kingdoms, and neither the Hafids nor the Marinids were henceforth able to unite a Muslim force strong enough to stop the advance of the Christian invaders.<sup>3</sup> The Balearic Islands were part of this development. Since 1208, they were governed by Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad al-Tinmallī, the last *wālī* of Mayūrqa<sup>4</sup> installed by the Almohads. From 1229 to 1235, James I conquered the islands and integrated them into the Crown of Aragon as the Kingdom of Mallorca. The decision to undertake this operation had been made in December 1228 when the *corts* assembled in Barcelona approved the king's idea. On the one hand, it was to increase their and the king's wealth. On the other hand, it should bring prestige to the king when everyone would see that he had conquered a "kingdom (...) that is in the sea".<sup>5</sup> At first, participation in the campaign should only be open to the king's subjects. Depending on the resources an individual contributed, he would get his share of loot and land after a successful invasion. Later, the endeavour opened, and knights from other areas – especially Occitania – took part in the operation. For young James – who in his early years as a child king had often struggled with securing his power – his first major military endeavour was also supposed to have the effect of strengthening his influence within the Crown of Aragon.<sup>6</sup>

In order to contribute to this volume, one could analyse each of the participating groups – nobles, bishops, cities, and others – and their respective roles during the conquest of Mayūrqa/Mallorca. All of this would bring fascinating insights into the negotiation of rulership within the Crown of Aragon. However, I decided to focus on a group that has not been systematically analysed in this context: religious orders. Whereas for

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will provide the respective original Catalan quote from the critical edition: *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila. For information on structure and transmission of the *Llibre*, see Hauf Valls, *Llibre* (2013).

3 Smith, *Las Navas and the Restoration of Spain* (2012); Burns/Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures* (1999),

4. On the history and development of the Taifas see García-Sanjuan, *Replication and Fragmentation* (2020). In general on Las Navas de Tolosa see Fitz, *Las Navas de Tolosa* (2014).

4 During that period in the Iberian Peninsula, *wālī* usually designated an Almohad governor, see Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders* (1973), 355.

5 Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Bufbery, ch. 50, 73. *Regne (...), qui és dins mar*, *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 50, 133.

6 For a detailed analysis of the conquest, its preparation and aftermath, see Mas i Forners, *Conquestes* (2013) and Roser Nebot, Declive (2018) who, in contrast to older studies, include the only recently discovered and edited Arab chronicle of the Christian conquest, the *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqa*. See Al-Maḥzūmī, *Kitāb Tārīḥ Mayūrqa*. Ed. Ben Ma'mar / Roser / Rosselló Bordoy (2008). On further aspects of James' rule, see the chapters in the monumental edited volumes: Ferrer i Mallol, *Jaume I* (2013) or the biography Cingolani, *Jaume I* (2007).

the military orders, participation in a military operation directed against Muslims seems not too far off, mendicant friars or monastic orders might not be the first thing that comes to mind. But a conquest never ends with a capitulation of the conquered. Modern historiography has shown that conquering and governing a territory are two completely different stories. In that regard, it is essential to look at processes and developments taking place after the military conquest, mainly the integration of the conquered population as subjects of their new overlord or – as is the case in a conquest including a change of the dominant religion – providing the necessary means for a society to be built anew. My chapter will look at those developments through the lens of the religious actors that the king used to establish his rule. It aims to put together a bigger picture including all the orders on the island during the first c. 20 years after the conquest. Adopting this comparative approach and not only focussing on one group of religious orders will allow me to contextualise the specificities of the respective orders within the framework of the king's politics as well as the creation of a spiritual infrastructure necessary for a new Christian society. In total, nine orders fulfil those criteria, but surviving documentation and actual importance have led to a strong focus on the Dominicans and the Templars. The aim of this paper is thus not to analyse in detail the foundations of the respective convents but rather to look from the perspective of the king and the nobles and put into focus functions and areas in which religious orders played a crucial role during and after the conquest of Mayūrqa/Mallorca.

## The Campaign

### Preaching

Throughout the Later Middle Ages, the Dominicans were known as the Friars Preacher due to the focus of their founder Dominic on spreading the Word of God. It is therefore no surprise that we see them preaching in the context of the Mallorcan campaign. The context and function of this preaching were twofold: first, to attract people to take part in the conquest and second, to support the troops' morale during the campaign.<sup>7</sup> In 1229, when a potential conquest of Mayūrqa became more imminent, James I of Aragon convinced Pope Gregory IX to give this endeavour the status of a crusade, meaning that participants could gain forgiveness for their sins. To spread the word of this decision, the pope ordered members of the still very young Dominican order to support the king – probably on the latter's demand. On 29 November, the pope ordered the later sainted Ramon de Penyafort and the prior of the Dominican convent of Barcelona to

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<sup>7</sup> For a detailed analysis of Dominican preaching in a crusading context see Jakobsen's case study on the Eastern Baltic: *Jakobsen, Preachers* (2021).

preach the crusade in the ecclesiastical provinces of Arles and Narbonne.<sup>8</sup> Taking a look at the *Llibre del repartiment*, which records the distribution of land after the conquest, this preaching must have shown a certain success as there are quite a few nobles and knights from Occitania among those rewarded for their participation.<sup>9</sup>

To explore the second function of Dominican preaching, we must turn to the *Llibre dels feits*, in which James describes the role of the accompanying friars as follows:

*And nobody ever saw an army that fulfilled its duties so well; just as was preached by a Dominican friar who was called Friar Michael. He was in the army and was a reader in theology, and his companion was brother Berenguer de Castellbisbal. And when he gave absolution (which he had permission to do from the bishops), everybody would bring everything that he told them they should, whether it was wood or stone. Even the knights did not wait for the foot soldiers to bring things, but helped in every way they could. In front of them in their saddles they would bring by horse the stones for the fenevols. And the men of their houses did the same to supply the trebuchets, delivering the stones on frames that they had tied with cords round their necks. Indeed, when we ordered them to go with armoured horses to guard the war machines by night, or by day to guard those digging the tunnels, or to do whatever else that was necessary for the army, if it was ordered fifty should go, a hundred would go.<sup>10</sup>*

According to the *Llibre*, Miguel de Fabra – an important figure within the Dominican order<sup>11</sup> – had the permission to hear confessions and grant absolution given to him by the bishop, which hints at a somewhat institutionalised role within the army. He also was the confessor of King James, a function that granted him privileged access to the monarch. His socius Berenguer de Castellbisbal only gained importance later in his life, which is probably why the king included him by name in his account.<sup>12</sup> The composition of the *Llibre dels feits* took place in the last years of James' life, almost half a

<sup>8</sup> Corpus Documental Balear, no. 11, 26; French translation in *Vinas/Vinas, Conquête* (2004), 238.

<sup>9</sup> On the *repartiment* and its importance see *Rosselló Bordoy, Mayürqa* (2013). On the details of the conquest itself see footnote n. 6 above.

<sup>10</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. *Smith/Buffery*, ch. 69, 94. *E aquesta fo host que anc hom del món no en vi altra que tan bé faés ço que els preïcava un frare preïcador qui havia nom Micael, qui era en la host e era lector en teologia; e son company havia nom frare Berenguer de Castell Bisbal. E, quan ell los dava perdó (que n'havia poder dels bisbes), tot ço que ell los deïa que aduïxessen, o fusta o péra, no guardaven los cavallers que els hòmens de peu la hi aduïxessenm, que ells metien la mà en tot; e denant si en les selles aduïen en los cavalls les pedres per als fenévols, e als trabuquets iliuraven los hòmens de llurs cases e en fusts que havien ordits ab cordes aduïen-los les pedres dels trabuquets al coll. E, quan nós los manàvem que anassen vetllar de nuit, ab los cavalls guarnits, als genys, o de dies per guardar los cavadors o a fer negun ofici que mester dos a la host, quan hom los manava que hi anassen cinquanta, anaven-n'hi cent, Llibre dels feits. Ed. *Soldevila*, ch. 69, 161.*

<sup>11</sup> See the short biography in *Vinas/Vinas, Conquête* (2004), 278.

<sup>12</sup> Although he served as a witness for Pedro of Portugal's exchange of the County of Urgell for Mallorca in 1231, he only rose to prominence later: In 1245, he became Bishop of Girona but in 1246, James believed that the friar had betrayed him and ordered parts of his tongue to be cut out for which he was punished by the pope (see *Book of Deeds*. Ed. *Smith/Buffery*, n. 96, 94). It is thus not surprising that James remembers the friar who had only been Miguel's socius in 1229 but decides not to refer to his own punishment here.



century after the Mallorcan events. His account's minute and colourful details should therefore be viewed with caution. What it tells us, though, is the credit the king gives the two Dominican friars in the context of his victory.

The memorial importance of Miguel de Fabra did not remain unnoticed by Dominicans in later years, who saw the friar's participation in the Mallorcan conquest as a way to advance the order's prestige. In 1313, James II ordered the Dominican Pere Marsili to produce a Latin translation of the *Llibre dels feits* that would also be adapted to the style of the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is proof of the veneration Miguel de Fabra was accorded within the order's historiography as it not only translated the passages of Michael's role in the original *Llibre* but expanded on the topic by giving additional information. Following Pere Marsili's account, Miguel de Fabra was the first lector of the Dominican Order, a rank he received from Saint Dominic himself in Toulouse. The following eulogy tells tales about how contemporaries and later medieval historiographers perceived the role of the Dominicans. Miguel had been so popular in the army that his name was the most pronounced after that of God and Mother Mary. Pere Marsili further tells us that he had talked to many old Mallorcan Muslim slaves and converts who had told him that it had been the mother Mary and Miguel who had conquered the island.<sup>13</sup> This exaggerated and panegyric account – fuelled by inner-Dominican memoria – is nevertheless mirrored in the dedication of the first chapel on Mallorcan soil: Santa Maria de la Victoria y San Miguel, which became the heart of the Dominican convent in the royal palace as will be discussed later in this chapter. The Dominicans thus served – at least in the imagery of those who told the story – as spiritual advisors who held up the host's morale, a function they primarily fulfilled via preaching and confessions.

## Fighting and advising the king in military and diplomatic matters

The second function during the campaign concerns the orders' participation in military and diplomatic matters. In this regard, we must look primarily at the military orders. As Bonet Donato points out, the military engagement in the expansion of Christian territories on the Iberian Peninsula must be understood as one of their primordial *raison d'être* and led to a privileged relationship with the royal houses, espe-

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<sup>13</sup> *Erantque omnes de exercitu obedientes uerbo et monitis unius fratris Predicatoris qui dicebatur frater Michael, natione Castellanus, qui fuit primus lector in ordine Predicatorum, quem beatus Dominicus receperat Tolose ad ordinem, qui erat graciosus Predicator, et habebat socium dotatum, hominem Catalanum qui dicebatur frater Berengarius De Castroepiscopali. Iste frater Michael erat in exercitu tam dilectus, tantus uocatus, tantum requisitus, ut post nomen Die et beate Virginis eius nomen sepius dicebatur, unde processu temporis senes Sarraceni captiui et multi de primis facti neophyti qui in insula postea remanserunt, quos nos uidimus, interrogati de captione terre, dicere consueverant quod Maria et Michael ceperunt Maioricam, Petri Marsilii Opera Omnia. Ed. Biosca Bas, 109.*

cially in the Crown of Aragon.<sup>14</sup> The *Llibre del repartiment* gives us a clear idea about who participated in the conquest of Madina Mayūrqa: The Templars had joined with 525 knights and received land accordingly. With 525 knights or 7.4%, the Templars represented the fifth largest group within the conquering army, only surpassed by the king and the cities of Barcelona, Marseille, and Lleida.<sup>15</sup> James had a strong relationship with the Templars since his childhood, when they had taken part in his education.<sup>16</sup> We find traces of important individuals in both the *Llibre dels feits* and the documentary evidence. The first one is Bernat de Campanes, commander of Ribera, Vilhel and Miravet and lieutenant of the master of the Temple, who already appeared in a document before the campaign. On 28 August 1229, he promised to participate *cum militibus quos potero* and signed the document regulating the repartition of the conquered land in case of victory.<sup>17</sup> He was designated one of the authorities in charge of land distribution and figures as such in the final *repartiment*.<sup>18</sup> He also witnessed the first land-conceding documents.<sup>19</sup>

The second prominent individual from the ranks of the Templars is Ramon de Serra, who accompanied the king on his second voyage to Mallorca and became the commander of the Temple on the island.<sup>20</sup> He is prominently featured in the *Llibre dels feits* in the context of the submission of Menorca in 1231:

*And when we had arrived at our quarters at the Almudaina, Ramon de Serra the younger, (who was then commander of the Templar brothers on the island, and was so named because there was another Ramon de Serra, commander of Monzón), said to us: 'Lord, I would like to speak to you a little in private.' And we listened to him and he said: 'Do you wish to deliver a good stroke of war? If you send the galleys to Menorca, armed as they are, and you make it known to them that you have come to Majorca, they will be afraid. And you should let them know that if they wish to surrender to you, you would accept it, and that their death would grieve you much, and is a thing that you do not wish, if they do not wish it. And as they will be very afraid, I believe you will gain a great prize to your honour.'*<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bonet Donato, *Las órdenes militares* (2011), 246. See also Jaspert, *Military Orders* (2017) for a spatial analysis of the military orders at the frontier.

<sup>15</sup> La rememrança de Nuno Sanç. Ed. Mut Calafell / Rosselló Bordoy, 163–165.

<sup>16</sup> When James became king, he was transferred to Catalonia and educated by Guillem de Montredon, master of the Temple. See Ferrer i Maillol, *Jaume I: Vida i gestes* (2013), 15.

<sup>17</sup> Documentos. Ed. Huici/Pecourt, 230, Nr. 124, French translation in Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 236 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, n. 543, 146.

<sup>19</sup> See for instance the document from 1 March, Documentos. Ed. Huici/Pecourt, 269, 150, French translation in Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 269.

<sup>20</sup> Here the chronology in the *Llibre dels feits* wrongly places the submission of Menorca during James' second voyage to Mallorca. But due to the date of the Treaty of Capdepera it can only be his third voyage. See Ensenyat Pujol, *Tractat* (2009), 109.

<sup>21</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Buffery, ch. 117, 129. *E, quan fom davallats en nostre alberg en l'Almudaina, dix-nos En Ramon de Serra, lo jove, qui era llavors comanador dels frares del Temple en aquella illa, e per açò, deïm lo jove, que alter n'hi havia qui havia nom Ramon de Serra e era son oncle e era comana-*

In the king's account, Ramon was the one to give him the idea to convince the Menorcans to sign a submission treaty instead of trying to conquer their island by military means. Together with two other advisors, Ramon then formed the embassy that would eventually convince the Menorcans to agree to James' terms. The subsequent Treaty of Capdepera from 17 June 1231 made Menorca a Muslim territory subject to the king of Aragon and is proof that Ramon's importance not only comes from the king's memory as it features Ramon as a witness.<sup>22</sup> The participation of the Templars during the conquests of James I became – much like Miguel de Fabra's memory in the case of the Dominicans – engrained in the order's collective identity, and they tried to gain profit from it when facing their imminent dissolution at the beginning of the fourteenth century by appealing to their past importance.<sup>23</sup>

Another contribution to the campaign came from the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, the Knights Hospitaller. Although they did not participate in the initial movement that ended with the conquest of Madina Mayūrqā, members of the order arrived on the island afterwards and brought substantial support in the fights against the remaining Muslims of the *part forana* especially in the mountainous Tramuntana region.<sup>24</sup> During the latter, James mentions a *master of the Hospitallers* in the *Llibre dels feits* who is consulting with the king and Nunyo Sanç and whose opinion is highly valued by the monarch.<sup>25</sup> We don't know why the Hospitallers did not participate in the initial campaign to take the island. It seems surprising especially given the importance the king accords them in the *Llibre dels feits*. Bonet Donato interprets the latter as an overemphasised projection from the perspective of the king in the 1270s, when the order effectively had much more importance after half a century close to a king who regularly supported them, especially when Hugh of Forcalquier was the Provincial Master.<sup>26</sup> Hugh is also the first Hospitaller we encounter in the *Llibre dels feits*, presented as having a close relationship with the king: *We had made Hugh de Forcalquier master in our land (...), and he was a man whom we loved very*

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*dor de Montsó: – Sényer, parle ab vós un poc a una part. E nós escoltam-lo, e dix: – Volets fer bona guerreria? Si enviats les gales, així con són vengudes armades, a Menorca, e que els façats saber que, si es volen retre a vós, que els pendrets e que us pendrà dolor de llur mort, que vós no la volets, si ells no la volen; e ab aquesta paor que hauran jo creu que vós hi farets vostre prou e vostra honor, Llibre dels feits. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 116, 210 f.*

<sup>22</sup> Treaty of Capdepera. Ed. *Mut Calafell*, Document (2009), 17–79 (including a Catalan translation). A critical online edition can be found here: <http://www.jaumeprimer.uji.es/cgi-bin/arxiu.php?noriginal=000986> (accessed: 29.07.22). On the submission of Menorca see *Friedrich*, *Eroberungen* (2023).

<sup>23</sup> *Bonet Donato*, *Las órdenes militares* (2011), 246 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Bonet Donato*, *Hospitalers* (2013), 347.

<sup>25</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. *Smith/Buffery*, ch. 101, 118; *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. *Soldevila*, ch. 101, 194.

<sup>26</sup> *Bonet Donato*, *Hospitalers* (2013), 343.

*much, and he us.*<sup>27</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> century was the most critical period for the consolidation of the Hospitallers in the Crown of Aragon, a period in which they became a crucial factor in terms of ecclesiastical power and land ownership.<sup>28</sup> This growing importance relied on the close relations of James I with the order and especially with individuals like Hugh, whose career only started advancing in 1230 and is then well documented until 1245.<sup>29</sup> For instance, according to the *Llibre dels feits*, he proposed and thus initiated the conquest of Valencia to the king in 1232, during which he is mentioned on numerous occasions.<sup>30</sup> The king had close ties with the family of the counts of Forcalquier: his uncle Alfonso had married the count's daughter, and Ramon Berenguer, one of their sons, lived in the Templar fortress of Monzón at the same time as the underaged James.<sup>31</sup> This might have led James to nominate Hugh as Master of the Hospitallers in the Crown of Aragon. When Hugh and his knights arrived in Mallorca, they initially acted as petitioners, according to the *Llibre dels feits*. Hugh appeared sorry not to have participated in the city's conquest and did not want to miss out on the distribution of land that had already been undertaken. According to the king's account, the king wished to (or felt the need to) support the Hospitallers and (successfully) tried to convince other landowners to give a share to the Hospitallers.<sup>32</sup> The king also claims that he had given the Hospitallers the same percentage as he had to the Templars, which is not true according to information provided by documentary evidence.<sup>33</sup> From spring 1230, when the Hospitallers are first attested on the island, they become a regular part of the king's surroundings while on Mallorca.

The Templars and the Hospitallers were the only orders of which we find traces in military and diplomatic contexts. Whereas members of the Dominicans, for instance, also appear as witnesses in royal charters, no friar is mentioned to have advised the king in ongoing negotiations or to have conducted them himself as the Templar Ramon de Serra had in the case of Menorca. Concerning military matters, the Templars played an important but by no means decisive part in the conquest. The Hospitallers only joined the army after the island's capital had been captured. The fact that Mallorca is an island yielded the consequence that no land border with other Muslim-ruled lands existed after the successful conquest. This represents a significant difference to other areas in the Mediterranean, for example in the later Aragonese

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27 Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Buffery, ch. 95, 114. *En N'Hug de Fullalquer, haviem-lo nós feit mestre de nostra terra, (...) e era hom que nós amàvem molt, e ell, a nós*, *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 95, 189 f.

28 Bonet Donato, *Hopitalers* (2013), 339.

29 Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 275.

30 Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Buffery, ch. 127, 137; *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 127, 218 f. See also the short biography in Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 275.

31 Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 275; Bonet Donato, *Hopitalers* (2013), 342.

32 Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Buffery, ch. 95–97, 115 f.; *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 95–97, 189–192.

33 Book of Deeds. Ed. Smith/Buffery, ch. 97, 116, see *ibid.*, n. 158 for references to the land given; *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. Soldevila, ch. 97, 191 f.

conquest of Valencia and its surroundings. This difference had great influence on the function of the military orders, which did not need to build border fortresses and serve as “guardians of the frontier”<sup>34</sup> as they did in Valencia or even more prominently in the Latin East.

## After the Campaign

### Symbolic Communication for the King

After a long siege, Madina Mayūrqa was taken on 31 December 1229, and the king entered the Almudaina, the palace. As the initial quote of this chapter illustrated, two Dominicans took an important symbolic role in the moments right after the conquest. Those likely were the same that had accompanied the army during the campaign: Miguel de Fabra and Berenguer de Castellbisbal. Together with the knights, they were chosen to protect the king, supposedly on a rather spiritual level. Furthermore, they were supposed to watch that none of the army’s members started the town looting. That is how important the king considered the friars’ influence over the troops’ morale. Miguel de Fabra also celebrated the first Christian mass on Mallorcan soil, using an improvised altar inside the Almudaina. This altar later became the center of the chapel of Nuestra Senora de la Victoria y San Miguel, around which the first Dominican convent was built. This convent stood at the beginning of Christian Aragonese Mallorca and was closely linked to the royal occupation of the palace. Christian conquest and symbolic Christianisation thus went hand in hand.

The benefits of this royal-Dominican relationship were mutual. The events at the Almudaina showed a high degree of trust and became an essential point of reference for the still young Dominican order to show their importance in the king’s inner circle – even in later years. Two 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts – one of the Catalan *Llibre dels feits* and one of Pere Marsili’s Latin version – bear witness. Initially, both didn’t have any illustrations, and the scribe prepared none. Still, two Dominican readers thought it a good idea to underline their order’s importance during the Mallorcan events by depicting the Almudaina scene right next to the respective part of the text: James handing over the keys of the Almudaina to Miguel de Fabra<sup>35</sup> and the two friars watching over the palace.<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 1) This is a telling example of the Dominican memoria relating to the Mallorcan events and illustrates the mutual importance of the relationship between the Dominican order and the King of Aragon. The king needed them

<sup>34</sup> Jaspert, *Military Orders* (2017), 6.

<sup>35</sup> Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1734, fol. 41r (copy from 1380 by Joan de Barbastre).

<sup>36</sup> Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, Codex 40, fol. 109v (a 14th century copy of Pere Marsili’s latin version), see Vinas/Vinas, *Conquête* (2004), 222 f.

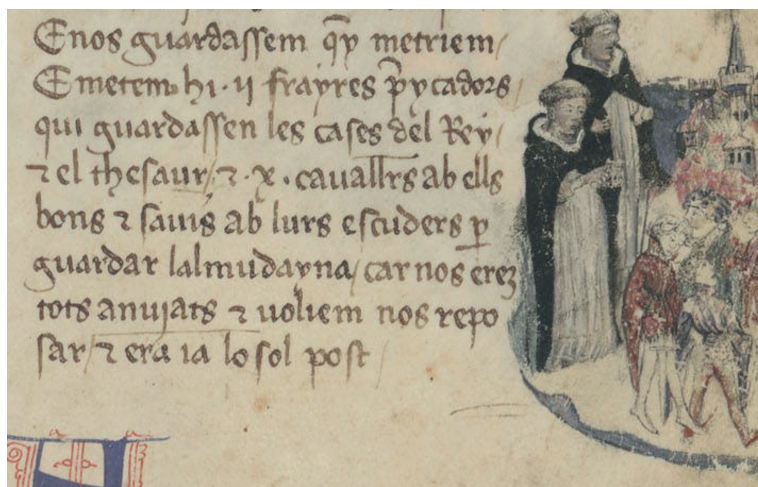


Fig. 1: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1734 (Llibre dels feits), fol. 41r: Dominican friars watching over conquered Mallorca.

for all the functions described in this chapter, whereas for the friars, a good relationship was vital for their further growth. When it was visible to everyone that the king held them in high esteem, nobles and the city's bourgeoisie alike were more likely to put their spiritual needs into the friars' hands.

## Spiritual Infrastructure

After a change of rulership that went along with a change of the main religious belief, one of the most critical elements for establishing the new rule was the successful creation of a spiritual infrastructure. To attract nobles and settlers alike, it was vital to provide them with the infrastructure necessary to fulfil their spiritual needs: baptism, confession, sermons, etc. Parish churches and houses of religious orders were the two main elements of this. Religious orders – especially the Mendicants – usually provided a quicker way of achieving this goal and were often used in similar situations.<sup>37</sup> Another reason for the rapid establishment of numerous orders was the need of nobles and kings alike to support religious causes for the direct benefit of their souls. Mallorca was no exception. Nine religious orders received land for the foundation of houses within the first years after the conquest; more arrived later. This is not the

<sup>37</sup> Examples include Castile (*Graña Cid*, Mendicant Orders [2018], 69), Valencia (*Burns*, Crusader Kingdom [1967], 197–213, the Baltics (*Selart*, Bettelmönche [2007]) and Ruthenia (*Jaros*, Iterationen [2021] 83 f. and *ibid.*, Repertorium Nr. A55, A92). *Vose*, Friars (2012) also underlines this for the Dominicans of Mallorca. His work will be discussed below.



place to retell their foundations' stories in detail. It is nevertheless necessary to give an overview of the convents established during the first years after the conquest to assess their importance for different actors in the Christian society. It is possible to differentiate them in two ways: First, were they founded directly by the king or did the initiative come from other religious or secular actors? And second, were they founded within the city, or in the so-called *part forana*, the other parts of the island? I will then address the relations between those categories and the possible results.

I start where I left off in the last part: with the Dominicans in the royal palace. The direct consequence of those events was the subsequent foundation of the Dominican convent. On 21 May 1231, roughly one and a half years after the city's conquest, James issued a document giving the Dominicans an area within the Almudaina to build their convent.<sup>38</sup> Unlike in other cities, the Dominican convent was not constructed on the outskirts but right at the centre of power, in close proximity to the king. In 1236, as constructions were still ongoing, James accorded another donation to support the convent,<sup>39</sup> the function of which was twofold. Primarily, James secured his own spiritual needs, and secondly, he created a spiritual focal point for the now-to-be-settled Christian Mallorca.

For the Franciscans, there is no evidence that friars directly participated in the conquest. For that matter, the first mention of Franciscan friars can be found in 1232, but it was probably only in 1238 that a convent was built, as is attested by a donation of land by the king.<sup>40</sup> A Franciscan church existed before that and was likely the church initially given to the Premonstratensians (discussed below).<sup>41</sup> From the 1240s onwards, they enjoyed the same support as the Dominicans. Mallorca's place as a bustling merchant hub in the Western Mediterranean became central to the order's success as it were mainly merchants who supported them as in other merchant cities like Barcelona or Valencia.<sup>42</sup>

Another distinct group are the military orders, whose support during the campaign as well as the role of individual friars in consulting the king have been explored above. Their support by the king had of course also a spiritual component. Still, the

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38 (...) *damus et concedimus (...) in perpetuum, libere et franche, locum illum in Almudayna eiusdem civitatis Maioricensis, situm in grandi platea que ex una parte respicit ad vicum amplum quod dicitur Benanet, et ex alia ad ipsam Almudaynam et angulus confrontant cum turribus domus regie ad construendum et edificandum monasterium et ecclesiam dicti ordinis predicatorum*, Corpus Documental Balear, no. 62, 72; on the history of the convent, see also *Barceló Crespi / Roselló Bordoy*, Ciudad (2006), 211–228; *Roselló Lliteras*, Convento (1985).

39 *Roselló Lliteras*, Convento (1985), 119.

40 *Webster*, Els Menorets (1993), 128.

41 *Lliteras*, Los Premonstratenses (1963), 247. Proof for an earlier existence of a Franciscan house can also be found in testaments that include endowments *a l'esglesia de Sant Francesc* (Testament of Beatriu, widow of Bertran Roig from 1236), *Els Pergamins de l'Arxiu Parroquial de Santa Eulàlia*. Ed. *Roselló Lliteras*, no. 18, 56 f.

42 *Webster*, Els Menorets (1993), 127.



distribution of land was related to the general *repartiment* due to their military participation, or for the prospective involvement in the case of the Hospitallers. The portions of land the Templars and Hospitallers received were spread over a large area, in cities and rural areas alike.<sup>43</sup> Contrarily to the Mendicant orders, the Templars and Hospitallers were landowners and, just as noble landholders, had to take care that the land was worked. This task was also assigned to Muslim families, as is attested by a royal document.<sup>44</sup>

Another order, often closely (and falsely) associated with the military orders, is the Mercedarian Order, devoted to collecting money for freeing Christians from Muslim captivity. For the Mercedarians, who also founded a house in Ciutat de Mallorca directly after the city's conquest, the Mallorcan campaign consolidated their young existence. The first donations to the Mercedarians in Mallorca were made by Berenguer de Palou, bishop of Barcelona and early supporter of the confraternity. The bishop was also an important magnate who had received land within the city from which he gave parts to the Mercedarians as early as 1230. Other nobles and church magnates followed.<sup>45</sup> Major involvement of the king is not apparent, which underlines an important point made by recent scholarship that puts into question the strong participation of King James I in the order's foundation.<sup>46</sup> Following Jaspert, the Mercedarians served a similar function as the Mendicants in that they permitted the upcoming urban societies to increase their chance of salvation by helping free Christian captives.<sup>47</sup> In that regard, it is not surprising that a Mercedarian house was established in the merchant city of Mallorca right after the conquest and without visible support of the king.

Two more orders received royal donations already in 1230: the Antonines and the Premonstratensians. To the Antonines – an order that had just shortly before been elevated into monastic status<sup>48</sup> – James donated a few houses within the city and in the region of Inca in the heart of the island.<sup>49</sup> The Antonines were an order similar to

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43 See for example *Corpus Documental Balear*, no. 69, 79; no. 71, 80.

44 *Corpus Documental Balear*, no. 69, 79.

45 *Barceló Crespi / Roselló Bordoy*, Ciudad (2006), 367.

46 This underlines an important point of recent historiography on the Mercedarians that loosens the long prominent notion of a strong involvement by King James I in the order's foundation (an opinion still perpetuated in *Barceló Crespi / Roselló Bordoy*, Ciudad [2006], 367). If James had founded the Mercedarians, as older historiography claims, we would probably find traces of his support during and after the conquest of Mallorca. *Brodman*, *Fable and Royal Power* (1999) has traced this myth back to medieval and early modern hagiography. *Jaspert*, *Gefangenensloskauf* (2015) expands on Brodman by inserting the establishment of the order in "social, economic, and religious context and processes of change in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.", *Jaspert*, *Gefangenensloskauf* (2015), 114, my translation.

47 "Das Treiben der großen mediterranen Hafenstädte der Iberischen Halbinsel war die Welt der frühen Mercedarier, nicht der Hof", *Jaspert*, *Gefangenensloskauf* (2015), 109.

48 *Ferrer Florez*, *Los canónigos* (2002), 125.

49 *Corpus Documental Balear*, no. 26, 36.

the military orders in structure but with a stronger focus on helping the sick. This means that each convent featured a hospital, which might have influenced James' decision.<sup>50</sup> On the contrary, the Premonstratensians were a monastic order active in more rural areas. In July 1230, James accorded land to the monastery of Bellpuig in Artà in the eastern part of the island,<sup>51</sup> as well as a church in Ciutat de Mallorca (Santa Maria de Bellpuig) that was then – probably in 1232 – given to the Franciscans and 30 years later to the nuns of Santa Margalida.<sup>52</sup> This frequent change of houses in the early years after the conquest was not uncommon and illustrates that the spiritual landscape of Mallorca took a few years or even decades to be established. The Premonstratensians in Artà and the Antonines in Inca were thus two of the first orders to be installed outside Ciutat de Mallorca. Lliteras evokes an interesting point from the founding documents that sheds light on another function the king had in mind. The donation included a large area in the Artà region with all its houses, properties, vineyards, forests, mills, and everything in the respective *alquerias*. It would be the convent's property, and the sole obligation would be fealty to the king, both from the monastery and the people who lived on its territories. Furthermore, the monastery must always ensure that the *alquerias* are populated.<sup>53</sup> This example shows that James also had rural agriculture in mind when he distributed the land.

The only female convent founded right after the conquest was Santa Margalida<sup>54</sup> in Ciutat de Mallorca, whose prioress was also the only woman present in the *Llibre del repartiment*. The foundation was clearly a noble initiative, especially related to the families of Torrella and Cabanelles. It was founded in an area of the city given to Guillem de Cabanelles i de Creixell, bishop of Girona who also was the uncle of Sister Catalina de Torrella i de Cabanelles, who in turn became its first prioress (1232–1269).<sup>55</sup> The latter was also cousin to Bernat de Santaeugenia, one of the most important nobles present in the conquest, who also appears as the king's advisor in the *Llibre dels feits* as well as a witness in royal documents.<sup>56</sup> Another cousin was Ramon de Torrella, who became the first bishop of Mallorca. The family involvement could be continued with her brothers, serving as *jurats* of Ciutat de Mallorca. Still, for the purpose of this

<sup>50</sup> Ferrer Florez, *Los canónigos* (2002), 125.

<sup>51</sup> Corpus Documental Balear, no. 23, 34, confirmed in 1231: *ibid.*, no. 70, 80.

<sup>52</sup> Lliteras, *Los Premonstratenses* (1963), 247.

<sup>53</sup> Lliteras, *Los Premonstratenses* (1963), 249.

<sup>54</sup> For the general history of the monastery see *De Quiroga Conrado*, Santa Margalida de Palma (2013). The association to an existing monastery has been heavily disputed, but *De Quiroga Conrado* concludes after careful consideration that it was an independent foundation (see *ibid.*, 19).

<sup>55</sup> *De Quiroga Conrado*, Santa Margalida de Palma (2013), 20.

<sup>56</sup> See for example *Book of Deeds*. Ed. *Smith/Bufbery*, ch. 89; 128; ch. 105, 120; ch. 114, 110; *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. *Soldevila*, ch. 89, 183 f.; *Corpus Documental Balear*, no. 70, 80. On Bernat see also the short biography in *Vinas/Vinas*, *Conquête* (2004), 271.

paper, it is enough to underline that the foundation of Santa Margalida was principally a noble affair.<sup>57</sup>

The Cistercians of Santa Maria de la Real are another interesting case, as they seem to have displayed a close association to the king already in their name. However, while they were an essential part of the island's spiritual infrastructure, Mut Calafell and Rossello Bordoy conclude that the name originated in the Arab word for gardens and had at first nothing to do with a possible relation to the king.<sup>58</sup> Rather it was Nunyo Sanç, Count of Roussillon and one of the major nobles participating in the conquest of the island, who in 1232 decided to give a piece of his share of Mallorcan lands to the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Poblet to establish a filiation. He obtained permission from the king in the same year – under the condition that it was on his portion of the land of Mallorca: *in quocumque loco volueritis portionis hereditatis vestre*.<sup>59</sup> It was only in 1254 that the king explicitly took the monastery under his protection.<sup>60</sup> La Real is then, first and foremost, a place name and not an eponym as was the case, for example, with the Dominican nunnery of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo that had explicitly been founded under royal patronage.<sup>61</sup> For my question, this means that the founding of a Cistercian house did not have the same importance in building a Christian infrastructure on the island of Mallorca as had the Dominican convent, for instance. It is, however, likely that the king supported the foundation to have most of the orders present on Mallorca but was happy to leave the task of establishing Cistercians to one of the counts.

These considerations can also lead to some conclusionary remarks concerning the spiritual infrastructure of the island. There is a clear distinction between orders whose foundations were directly supported by the king (Mendicants and military orders, Antonines) and those which he only supported through nobles or other influential persons (Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Canonesses). It can be assumed that James considered the latter part of a complete spiritual infrastructure but was content to leave the task to the spiritual ideals of those who participated in the conquest. If we compare the different orders, it becomes apparent that James focussed his own

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57 For a detailed analysis of the circumstances of the foundation and its houses, see *De Quiroga Conrado*, Santa Margalida de Palma (2013), 15–34.

58 La remembrança de Nuno Sanç. Ed. *Mut Calafell / Rosselló Bordoy*, 101. A long prevalent theory of its genesis was that the monastery was built on a site where King James had erected his camp during the siege of Madina Mayurqa in 1229. This theory has since been dispelled and Mut Calafell and Rossello Bordoy have shown a clear evolution from the Arab place name al-riyāḍ – meaning 'the gardens'. In 1234, we find it as *ortum* (...) *qui vocatur Rial qui est iuxta civitatem*, in 1239, it already appears as *loco qui dicitur Reial* (Diplomatari de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca, no. 15, 205–218) until it becomes the *monasterium Sancte Marie de Sa Rey al* (Diplomatari de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca, no. 52, 270–272) in 1254.

59 Diplomatari de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca, no. 3, 173–182.

60 Diplomatari de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca, no. 52, 270–272.

61 Cf. *Cañas Gálvez*, Ferdinand of Antequera (2018).

support on urban orders whose convents he founded in Ciutat de Mallorca. This makes sense because the city was the first place to remain securely in Christian hands and thus the first place where a larger Christian community would be living and needing spiritual infrastructure. Additionally, the merchants quickly became the most important group for the island's commercial success and regarded the Mendicants as their go-to option to fulfil their spiritual needs. The military orders were not specifically urban, but their support can be explained by their military participation, which made them part of the *repartiment* and the first to settle in rural areas.

## Mission and employment: Dealing with the remaining Muslim population

The presence of Muslims in post-conquest Mallorca is an issue still debated. It has long been thought that all Mallorcan Muslims were either converted, expelled, or sold into slavery. However, the consensus of more recent historiography is that there remained a small and not very visible Mudejar population, especially in the rural areas, but no organised *aljamas* or communities as was the case in other conquered territories like the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>62</sup> An example can be found in a document in which James granted a portion of land to the Order of the Templars on 8 July 1231.<sup>63</sup> He allowed them to settle 30 Muslim families on the land. Those Muslims were to be under his protection. This means that already in 1231, James had decided that he would allow Muslims to stay on the island and remain loyal to their faith. This decision should be seen in relation to the Treaty of Capdepera concluded shortly before on 17 June, that forced Muslim Menorca into vassalage to James I.<sup>64</sup> In this period, it seems, James realised that it would be too difficult to find enough Christian settlers to work the land and create profit for the Crown. Therefore, agriculture became an important part of the king's reasoning, and the Muslim population was mainly needed to secure food production.<sup>65</sup> For that, the king considered – among others – landowning religious orders that settled in more rural areas as appropriate to act as lords to this

<sup>62</sup> Hinojosa Montalvo, *Mudejaren* (2011), 267; Simon, *Muslim-Jewish Relations* (2000), 125–127. The first author to establish that a Muslim population existed was Lourie, *Free Moslems* (1970).

<sup>63</sup> *Corpus Documental Balear*, no. 69, 79: (...) *Preterea concedimus vobis quod possitis populare et casare in quocumque loco volueritis partite vestre triginta casatos sarracenorum quos habeatis proprios et francos ad omnes vestras voluntates ... Qui sarraceni et eorum posteri cum omnibus eorum rebus sint in nostra nostrorumque protectione, custodia, cmanda et guidatico speciali ubique eundo, stando et redeundo*(...)

<sup>64</sup> On the Treaty of Capdepera, see Friedrich, *Eroberungen* (2023).

<sup>65</sup> The same strategy would later be realised on a larger scale in the Kingdom of Valencia, although the Muslims retained a much stronger position there. Burns, *Islam* (1973), 155–183, see also Böhme, *Šarq al-Andalus* (2023).

population and maybe also to have a religious influence that could lead to conversion further down the line.<sup>66</sup>

The sources for the active mission of the Muslim population are scarce, though, and in general, recent research has accorded the Dominicans – often associated with missionizing *infidels* – lesser importance in this regard.<sup>67</sup> Still, there are some elements: Concerning Ramon de Penyafort, master of the Dominican order and later an important counsellor to James I, it is said that he came to Mallorca to help deal with the Muslim population. There is also evidence that Mallorcan Dominicans taught Arabic to facilitate mission.<sup>68</sup> The son of the last Muslim ruler Abū Yaḥyā, given as a hostage to James, was sent to a Dominican to receive a Christian education. The plan worked, as he was later baptised and had married a Christian wife.<sup>69</sup> The Franciscans likely played a similar part. A much later indication of this is the college of Miramar, founded by Ramon Llull in 1276 and intended to serve as a centre of Arabic studies for Franciscan missionaries. Webster sees the reason for the choice of Mallorca in the existence of a large rural Muslim population, which provided ample opportunities for mission. Still, the same could be said for other regions within the Crown of Aragon. It is much more likely that the school was founded there because of its geographic position in the heart of the Western Mediterranean.<sup>70</sup> In any case, it did not have a lot of success, documentary evidence is scarce, and the Franciscans abandoned Miramar in the early 1290s.<sup>71</sup>

A topic related to mission is slavery. The Church usually justified holding Muslim slaves with the prospective saving of souls when they converted to Christianity later on.<sup>72</sup> Conversion was not usually forced but encouraged. Simon retells an interesting case where a certain Guillem declared in testament that his Muslim slave could be freed if she chose baptism but should remain a slave if she decided to stay Muslim.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> There are a few instances when the king explicitly gave land with Muslim population to Templars, see for example Corpus Documental Balear, no. 69, 79 (see above n. 63). He also gave large parts of land to the Premonstratensians that included everything on it under the sole condition that the land should be kept populated. Muslims are not specifically mentioned but it is likely that they were included, Corpus Documental Balear, no. 23, 34.

<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of Dominican ideas of mission and the research controversies around them see Vose, *Dominicans* (2009), 21–59; Tischler, *Dominikanermission* (2019), 35.

<sup>68</sup> *Garcías Palou*, *Miramar* (1977), 51. One of the teaching friars was called Miguel de Bennassar, his name indicating a Muslim descent.

<sup>69</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. *Smith/Bufbery*, ch. 87, 109 where James retells the hostage taking. See also *ibid.*, n. 137. The conversion and Christian marriage are recorded in *Zurita*, *Anales*, Book 3, Ch. 8 who claims that the king himself had acted as godfather at the baptism, later married the convert to a noble lady and made him a lord.

<sup>70</sup> Webster, *Els Menorets* (1993), 126.

<sup>71</sup> *Garcías Palou*, *Miramar* (1977), 13.

<sup>72</sup> Barker, *Merchandise* (2019), 13, 39. See on a discussion of slavery in church law Simon, *Church* (2000).

<sup>73</sup> Simon, *Church* (2000), 256.

Mallorca quickly became an emporium of the Mediterranean slave trade, and ecclesiastical institutions like the monasteries took part in it: Simon found abundant evidence for almost all of the religious orders mentioned above to have bought and sold slaves.<sup>74</sup> The only exception is the Franciscan house, but this is probably due to a lack of documentary evidence, as their archive has not survived, and they did not have rural properties and therefore do not appear in the patrimonial registers.<sup>75</sup>

It can be concluded that missionizing was not the foremost aim in the Christianisation of Mallorca. Instead, the king prioritised continuity in agriculture over religious homogenisation, for which he included non-urban religious communities. Nevertheless, when missionizing activities took place, the Mendicants were likely the ones to conduct them.

## Network hub and archive

An essential and often overlooked part of the Mendicants' doings is providing logistic infrastructure. This is especially true for post-conquest societies that did not have the same infrastructure as merchant cities that had been christianised long before. This part thus moves away from the king and his role and towards the needs of the growing merchant class, which were not only of a spiritual nature. The archive of the Dominicans in Palma provides a striking case study. Today in the National Archives in Madrid, it has rarely been used due to its apparent lack of usefulness for the actual history of the convent: "Very few of the parchments relate directly (if at all) to Dominican friars, their work, or their patronage; the vast majority seem to be nothing more than scattered personal papers generated by and for lay folk."<sup>76</sup> Although most of the documents are "Wills, real estate purchases, marriage and mercantile contracts",<sup>77</sup> Robin Vose has made clear that – by examining why the records are there in the first place – they can be analysed as an important collection for the history of the convent and its social function after the conquest.<sup>78</sup> Based on a few selected examples, families and individual actors that he traces in the documents over several years, Vose establishes that the Dominicans served as the centre of economic activity for the new Christian merchant community. The situation of Mallorca as an unstable borderland in which a Christian society was being built resulted in a social fluidity that made new forms of economy

<sup>74</sup> Vose, *Friars* (2012), 222; *Simon, Church* (2000), 352–357.

<sup>75</sup> *Simon, Church* (2000), 357 f.

<sup>76</sup> Vose, *Friars* (2012), 209.

<sup>77</sup> Vose, *Friars* (2012), 209.

<sup>78</sup> Vose, *Friars* (2012). Vose was the first to use this archive for answering the questions mentioned above but left a large portion still unexplored. I would have liked to expand on his work but the Covid-19 pandemic has made it impossible for me to visit the archive during the writing of this chapter. This part will therefore mainly be based on Vose's work.

necessary but also made them possible in the first place. The convent of the Dominicans offered the possibility to meet with business partners, carry out transactions, document them and store these documents in a secure environment. The holdings of the archive itself bear witness to the specific Mallorcan frontier context and underline the importance of the Dominican friars compared to similar convents on the mainland as well as similar institutions on the island of Mallorca: It holds about 600 documents relating to the first century of its existence. In comparison, a likewise preserved archive such as that of the Dominicans of Huesca only holds 130 documents for the same period. The neighbouring parish church of Santa Eulalia, the first in Mallorca, also has a much smaller stock of lay documents with a much lower financial volume as well.<sup>79</sup>

For the Dominicans, these contacts offered a significant source of income in the medium term. The archive also bears witness to this, with many endowments by people who had already interacted with the convent before. Moreover, in a society where everyone was a novice, the Dominicans could not only play their primary role in preaching and pastoral care. They were equally appreciated for their secure infrastructure as well as their networks. In this way, they brought people together who would probably not have done business with each other in different contexts and enabled a certain social mobility in the settlers' trade.<sup>80</sup> Documentary evidence of this quality is lacking for other monasteries and convents. We can safely assume that the Franciscans fulfilled similar functions – probably in lesser quantity – as is attested by the various testamentary endowments and friars serving as witnesses in important documents from merchant families.<sup>81</sup> It is still likely that the Dominicans had a slight edge compared to the Franciscans due to their strong support by the king and their important position in Mallorca early after the conquest.

In the context of this chapter, one can conclude that the king's support and the strong organisation of the Dominican order led to another function that the convent served in post-conquest Mallorca. The island, especially its capital, would become an important trade centre in the Western Mediterranean, and the merchants subsequently represented a vital part of its society. It turns out that their logistical needs were met by the same institutions that also catered to their spiritual needs. The king also benefitted from archival services and stored essential documents in conventual houses, as is attested by multiple examples. Unfortunately, for the Mallorcan case, we lack evidence that this happened in the Dominican convent, although it would have been highly likely given the location of the convent inside the royal palace. However,

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<sup>79</sup> Vose, Friars (2012), 227 f.

<sup>80</sup> Vose, Friars (2012), 227–229.

<sup>81</sup> See Webster, Els Menorets (1993), 126 f.



we have proof that the original exemplar of the *Llibre de Capbreu* from 1232 was being stored in the house of the Templars.<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, nine religious orders have been considered from a perspective that included the preparations of the campaign, the actual conquest, and the aftermath. Clear distinctions can be made between the different groups: Mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans), military orders (Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller), monastic orders (Cistercians, Premonstratensians), Regular Canons (Antonines, Canonesses of St Augustine), and the Mercedarians who don't really fit in any of the groups. Due to their actual importance as well as the existing documentation, the mendicants and military orders received more extensive treatment in this chapter than the others. Franciscans and Dominicans were both central to creating an adequate spiritual landscape for the new Christian society in Ciutat de Mallorca. Both convents were founded on the direct initiative of the king and enjoyed substantial support from his side. They were also located directly in the city where the new society initially concentrated. From the king's perspective, they played a crucial role in the aftermath of the conquest. The Dominicans appear as the more important actors due to their role during the campaign as spiritual advisors of both the king and the army, whom they motivated and supported spiritually. With Miguel de Fabra, the Dominicans also had one of the more prominent brothers within their ranks who furthermore served as the king's confessor. Possible explanations for the later arrival of the Franciscans – at least compared to the Dominicans – could be found in the king's life as well as the aims and structure of the Dominicans themselves. At the end of the 1220s, both orders were still very young and stood only at the beginning of the success they would experience in the course of the 13th century. Very early in his life, James already had contact with the Dominicans and maybe even met Saint Dominic as a child during his time at Simon de Montfort's court. In 1219, a Dominican convent was founded in Barcelona, and Saint Dominic sent Miguel de Fabra to lead it. Miguel quickly gained the young king's confidence and became his confessor. The Crown was not yet secure, and Miguel likely became a vital confidant for the king, who wanted him to join his first military campaign. But it is also noteworthy that the Dominicans – due to their apostolate – had a much stronger focus on organisation and public

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<sup>82</sup> La remembrança de Nuno Sanç. Ed. *Mut Calafell / Rosselló Bordoy*, no. 37, 43. It was not uncommon that kings used religious houses to store important documents. Other examples include Alfonso IV of Aragon who had a chest in the Franciscan house of Barcelona (*Udina i Abelló*, Testaments [2001], no. 34, 202 f.) and James II of Mallorca who had one in the Templars' house of Perpignan (see *Friedrich*, Carcassonne [2020], 41).

preaching, two areas much needed during and after an endeavour like the conquest of Mallorca.<sup>83</sup>

In the case of the military orders, the situation presented itself differently. We observed the Templars being involved in military matters right from the beginning, when friar Bernat de Campanes appeared as a witness in the proclamation of Tarragona. They also participated with a large number of knights and were given land in the *repartiment* accordingly. Templars regularly appeared in the king's entourage in future campaigns and negotiations, the most prominent example being friar Ramon de Serra who counselled the king during the submission of Menorca and negotiated the subsequent Treaty of Capdepera. On the contrary, the Hospitallers arrived a little later, when the city had already been taken, but received land nonetheless and formed part of the king's entourage in Mallorcan matters during the following years, as is attested by knights witnessing charters and other documents. Thus, the military orders appear, not surprisingly, in military issues and negotiations but did not appear as very important in creating a new spiritual landscape. They received land during the *repartiment*, just as the noble families that participated in the campaign. Furthermore, their presence secured the conquered areas – a role that was less important in Mallorca than in regions still bordering with Muslim territories, like the Kingdom of Valencia, for instance. The initial dominance of Dominicans and Templars can be explained with the early contacts King James had with them.

Thus, it is not surprising that the Dominicans and the Templars have engrained their active role into their collective memory. Three examples have been shown: the illustrations in two exemplars of the *Llibre dels feits*, the additions made by the Dominican friar Pere Marsili to his Latin adaptation of the *Llibre* in order to highlight friar Miguel de Fabra's importance, and the Templars, who referred to their important role in the face of their imminent dissolution at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The other orders that weren't mendicant or military ones played a much less important role in the king's vision but nevertheless founded houses within the first years after the conquest. While the king supported some of them and especially gave territories to the more rural houses to help cultivate the land, they were not central to his strategy in christianising the island of Mallorca. He likely considered them part of a complete spiritual landscape but left the task of establishing their houses to the nobles who – like Nunyo Sanç in the case of the Cistercians – did their share of supporting religious orders.

In the context of this volume on changes in rulership, a few remarks come to mind. My article was part of the section on forced changes from the outside, i.e. conquests. I would like to propose another subdivision here that considers the differences

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<sup>83</sup> See Burns, *Crusader Kingdom* (1967), 203 with a similar statement concerning the Dominicans and the conquest of Valencia.

between conquests that include a modification of the major religion and those that don't. Due to the innately linked nature of religion and government in both the medieval Christian and the medieval Islamic sphere, continuities of elite agents did not – or only very seldomly – occur during conquests that involved a change of the dominant religion. The conqueror – James I, in my case – usually integrated the newly conquered territories into his existing governmental structure. Normally, members of the former Muslim population could not remain in the highest positions of power, thus creating a blank slate for the king to act on and give rewards, for instance. The only option that could result in a certain continuity of elites lay in conversion, a way that presented an opportunity for the conquered if they were willing to submit to it.<sup>84</sup> In this chapter, I have shed light on a group of actors integral to the conquest: the religious orders. The functions I have established during and after the campaign are closely connected to the fact that this conquest was directed against a territory with a different dominant religion. Preaching a crusade could only be done in such a situation, as did the founding of many new convents. The creation of an entirely new spiritual landscape presented necessities and opportunities for the king as well as for the orders. The Christian population, all newly migrated, needed an infrastructure to cater to their spiritual needs. The Dominican order itself was only a few years old, but the friars seized the opportunity to link themselves closer to the king as they could have done in a setting with the old orders already in place. They took care of the needs of the king and the new society (even the logistical needs of the merchant class) better than a Cistercian monastery could have done and thus profited from the situation in this post-conquest society. This is a significant difference compared to a conquest that did not involve a major change of religion. When Infant Alfonso conquered Sardinia in 1323, he found an already Christian society that needed to be integrated into his realms. He also heavily relied on religious orders, but the goals were different. Instead of creating from the ground up, the functions of the orders focussed on the catalanisation of the island's population and on exerting influence over them through religious actors.<sup>85</sup> Although the differences are important, one can conclude that religious orders were equipped to effectively take part in both types of conquest and benefitted from their close relationship with the king, who in turn heavily relied on monks, friars, nuns, convents, and monasteries to conquer and integrate new territories.

The conquest of Mallorca was the first of the military endeavours of young King James and an integral part of the consolidation of his monarchy. The religious orders, especially the mendicants and the military orders, supported him and received rewards that led to a symbiosis that became characteristic for the equally young mendi-

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<sup>84</sup> But again, not all post-conquest situations are similar in nature. In areas with a stronger continuity in Muslim population as the Kingdom of Valencia, some Muslim territorial lords stayed in place as vassals of the Crown of Aragon; cf. Eric Böhme's chapter in this volume.

<sup>85</sup> Meloni, Ordini (1994); Webster, *Catalan Mendicants* (1988).

cant orders and reinforced the already strong ties between the king and the military orders. Both relationships became typical for the following century, constituting a win-win situation. Only a few years later, James attacked and eventually conquered the region that later became the Kingdom of Valencia, where some of the elements considered in this chapter can be observed in a similar fashion. Miguel de Fabra, for instance, was again part of the conquering army and also founded the Dominican convent as the first convent in the city of Valencia.<sup>86</sup> A detailed comparison cannot be made here, but I would like to end this chapter as I have begun it: with a quote from the *Llibre dels feits*. In this passage, James remembers a conversation with a Dominican friar named Pere de Lleida. Trying to convince him to stay with the army, he splendidly describes his vision of the importance friars like Pere had in a successful campaign: *For you are greatly needed here. On the one hand, to preach to them, and on the other, because if anyone arrives at the hour of his death, you would know better how to give him absolution than would a chaplain who understands nothing.*<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> *Burns*, *Crusader Kingdom* (1967), 204.

<sup>87</sup> Book of Deeds. Ed. *Smith/Buffery*, ch. 236, 205 f. *Que molt hinc sots necessary: una per preïcarlos, l'altra, que, si negú hi venia a hora de mort, mills los sabríets vós dar penitència que una capellà, que no hi sabia re*, *Llibre dels feits*. Ed. *Soldevila*, ch. 236, 307 f.

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