

The Will of Our Lord King James I

Be it known to all in Christ's name that what follows is the Will of us, James, by the Grace of God, King of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia, Count of Barcelona and Urgel and lord of Montpellier, which is faithfully transcribed and takes precedence over all previous public Wills of different content. Be it understood and well marked that all things pass save the love of God, and such should be the mind of all Kings and other princes and all other sorts of men in this world, who should take diligent care that for a good and praiseworthy end they make a good beginning, and that they continue in like fashion to the end of their days, so that the enemy of human kind can least stand against them, nor harm them nor set obstacles in the way of their attaining everlasting glory, for if the end does not follow in kind a good beginning is worth nothing. Be it understood also that we all are made and formed by our and human kind's Creator and Saviour. Since from the beginning He has blessed us with prosperity and never forsaken our work nor suffered it to pass away, but on the contrary has sustained and wonderfully fulfilled the same, blessing us far beyond our merits, so are we obliged to acknowledge faithfully his bounty to us, that when our Lord and Redeemer himself is pleased to call us to him from this life we can safely give up our soul to him and we will have made such disposition of our goods that we guard our sons and those men who are our subjects from dissension and strife and that no harm nor conflict can arise between them at any time, and furthermore that if any man or men should desire to set up divisions or to introduce dissensions in our kingdom and our dominions those same sons of ours will be united with all their followers and will be able to defend themselves against that man or men who are unwilling to submit to their law. Also and furthermore that the whole kingdom will be dissolved into two parts, as the Lord of the Gospels Himself will bear witness. To that purpose we wish with these words of ours, so far as we may, to dispose of our soul and of the kingdom and lands bestowed upon us by God in such a way that by divine Grace they will not in future come to ruin.

Here therefore is the Will which we the aforesaid James by the grace of God have made, being by God's grace in good bodily health and in our full senses and of sound mind. In this Will we elect our executors, namely the venerable Archbishop of Terraco, the venerable Bishops of Zaragoza and of Barcelona, the venerable Abbot of the monastery of Populetus, the noble Count of Empurias and the noble Bernard, son of William of Entensa, whom we request and entreat and to whom we give full power, if it so happens that we die before making any other Will, to distribute our goods as we have commanded them to be distributed and paid out, and to fulfil these our last wishes as they find prescribed in the present Will. And if by chance all these our executors are unable to be present at the execution of this our Will the aforesaid Archbishop, with the aforesaid Bishops or indeed whichever of the aforementioned executors he has with him, may carry out and fulfil these our last wishes. First we choose that our body shall be buried in the monastery of Saint Mary at Populetus, and we command that there our body shall lie next to the memorial of our ancestor the Illustrious Alfonso of blessed memory, and later be placed to the rear of his monument such that his monument be prominent. Next we desire and command that all debts which we are found to owe to any persons whatsoever shall be repaid straightway and without legal wrangle from our means by our aforesaid executors according to the laws of God and the marketplace. But if our executors are able from their knowledge to show that any of these our debts are not to be held payable or that any of these debts have already been honoured by us and payment made in full or in part to those our creditors who are seeking payment, those creditors shall receive only that portion of these our debts which our aforementioned executors have shown to be due. Next we desire and command that all legal wrongs and injuries for which we are held liable and which appear just shall be straightway made good in full by our aforesaid executors in accordance with the judgement of our aforesaid executors and the laws of God and the marketplace, namely to those to whom we have done these wrongs or to the heirs of those to whom reparation is demonstrably due for these wrongs we have done. And if by chance any claimants come forward to complain that certain inheritances in the kingdom of Valencia which we gave to them were taken away without cause, we say that to our belief these same were not taken without cause. For when the state of Valencia was taken we said then to the Lord Ferrandus, our uncle and a bishop, and to the wealthy men and soldiers whom we had set in place there that three hundred and eighty soldiers would be stationed there who, once I had bestowed inheritances upon them, would help us to defend that same kingdom of Valencia where their inheritances were against the Saracens in that year. And these men each in their turn took counsel and elected our uncle to respond to us for all of them. Who on his behalf and that of all the others aforesaid, said to us that amongst other favours which we were doing for them we should perform this, namely that we should be content with three hundred soldiers whom we would hold there each year such that in each

four-month period we would hold one hundred and we granted them this. And when after these events we went to Montpellier and remained there for some time and later returned to the regions of Valencia we found that none of the aforesaid soldiers were stationed there as they had promised, nor had any remained there save a few soldiers who did not hold inheritances in Aragon or Catalonia. And following the aforesaid we set a day for them when they should come to Salent where we had established a fortification against Xativa to serve us in the war we then had with the Saracens in defence of the said kingdom, by reason of the inheritances we had bestowed upon them in the said kingdom, and that we might be forbearing towards those who were absent on the appointed day we remained there for three months, and they neither came to us nor sent others in their place. And if on account of the aforesaid we deprived them of the inheritances we had granted them in the said kingdom of Valencia and gave the same to others, it seemed proper and according to our conscience, for they had neither carried out that which they had promised us nor, more importantly, assisted us in defending the said land, wherefore we do not incline to restore their inheritances nor to do anything else for them. Especially since to those who did remain, of poor means because there was not the wherewithal to support them, we have the opportunity to give them of our own so that they can live a decent and proper life and that land shall in no way remain devoid of soldiers. Nevertheless some of the aforesaid soldiers and certain civilians promised us that they would make their personal residence in the kingdom of Valencia by reason of the inheritances we bestowed upon them and that they would not sell or transfer their lands but would give or bequeath them to their sons or other relatives who would then make their personal residence there, of whom but a few fulfilled their duty and the greater part sold or transferred their property. There were also some inhabitants of the said kingdom who held onto the inheritances we had granted them but left them vacant and did not make their personal residence there as they should. And by law we called upon them two or three times and allotted them a day when they could if they wished come before us to excuse themselves for not making their residence there and because of this we recovered the inheritances we had granted them and gave them to others. For it did not seem to us that we were obliged to them in any way for the aforesaid.

To the settling of our debts and the legacies specified below and the reparation of our legal wrongs we assign all our rents in the state of Valencia and the saltworks of Albufera and all our rents in the state of Zaragoza and the saltworks of Castellarium and Pola and Remolin and all the tolls of the same state of Zaragoza and its bailiwick and all our rents in the state of Ilerde and its bailiwick and all our rents in the state of Barcelona and its bailiwick and all our rents in the city of Montpellier. Be it desired, ordained and commanded that our aforesaid executors have, hold and receive for as many years and as long as they are ours all rents and revenues from the aforementioned states and city of Montpellier and all other aforementioned places and their bailiwicks, once all debts and legacies here set down as our wish are fully settled and our legal liabilities made good. Such that after all specified debts, legacies and legal liabilities three parts of the rents and revenues from the jurisdictions specified above will be paid to our son Prince Peter. And the fourth part of the rents and revenues from the jurisdictions specified above will be paid to our son Prince James. And as we know the toll at Cauquiber was set in place to create the Port there we desire and command that the aforementioned Beloved Prince James our son and his heirs bestow or cause to be bestowed, and are obliged to bestow from whatever year it shall be in perpetuity, five thousand *solidi* [1] from the rents of Cauquiber for the building, maintenance, cleaning and repair of the Port of Venus. And when all maintenance and repairs are complete on that same Port of Venus those five thousand *solidi* shall be expended and bestowed on the building and maintenance of the port which we are beginning to build in Cauquiber in front of the town. And thus the aforesaid five thousand *solidi* from the above mentioned rents of Cauquiber will be expended and bestowed in perpetuity between the two said ports, for the admiration of the men of the said place of Cauquiber, and furthermore that they see its great utility to the place as a seat of business. Next for the care of our soul, we bequeath to the monastery of Populetus five thousand *morabatini* [2] to pay the debts of that same monastery. Which *morabatini* indeed we command to be given and paid out to the aforesaid monastery before all other legacies. Next we give, bequeath, yield and cede entirely to the aforesaid monastery of Populetus and the abbey and convent of the same our position in law and all actions, petitions and requests and any other matters of law and governance which we have or should have in the town of Vinaxi and its bounds and all that appertains to it against any who would seek the ruin of our party or our law for whatever reason, and the abbey and convent of the said monastery are obliged for the good of our soul to keep the anniversary each year in perpetuity of the day on which we leave this world. Next for the good of our soul we bequeath to the monastery of Santa Cruz two thousand *morabatini* and to the monastery of Sexena one thousand *morabatini* and to the monastery of Caso one thousand *morabatini* for the fulfilment of their works and to the monastery of Vallabona two thousand *morabatini* for the fulfilment of their works. Next for the good of our soul we grant to the monastery of Scarpus one thousand *morabatini* and to the monastery of Culobre one thousand *morabatini* and to the monastery

of Tresceara two hundred *morabatini*. Next we bequeath to the monastery of Regalus near Alcala three hundred *morabatini* for the fulfilment of their works and to the Peraman Regalus near Alcala one hundred *morabatini* for the fulfilment of their works. And to the brothers of the house of Saint Damian at Calatjibus, one hundred *morabatini*. And to the brothers of the house of the same order at Ilerde, one hundred *morabatini*. And to the brothers of the house of the same order at Valencia, two hundred *morabatini*. And to the brothers of the house of the same order at Barcelona, one hundred *morabatini*. Next we bequeath to the monastery of Benifacane [Benfica?] to carry out their Christian work one thousand *morabatini* and to the monastery of the Clear Fountain three hundred *morabatini*. Next we bequeath to the monastery of Petregal to complete their works two hundred *morabatini* and to the monastery of the Holy Vale to complete their works two hundred *morabatini*. Next for the good of our soul we bequeath for the Christian work of the aforesaid brothers of Osce two hundred *morabatini* and for the work of the brothers of the penitentiary of Jesus Christ at Xativa two hundred *morabatini* and to the monastery of Vayldonzella three hundred *morabatini*. Next we desire and command that our rents from Poolanus shall be given and paid over for the work of the Blessed Mary of the Green Valley each year for as long as the said work shall continue, while at the same time the performers of the said work shall be obliged to render annual accounts of all the aforesaid rents and of all the expenses of the said work to our aforementioned executors. All of the aforesaid legacies to pious causes we make for the sake of our forgotten debts and injuries and for the good of our soul. And we would ask all the abbots and superiors of the above mentioned monasteries and churches and other religious establishments on which we have bestowed the above legacies that in all the religious procedures of the said monasteries and other establishments one mass be said for the repose of our soul and of the souls of our relatives every year in perpetuity on the same day on which we have departed the mortal sphere.

After which we install our beloved firstborn son Prince Peter as our heir after our days in the kingdom of Aragon and the kingdom of Valencia and in Rippacursia and Palars and Valle and in the County of Barcelona and in the title which we have to the County of Urgel and in the other places and lands of Catalonia, and all fiefs which are held or should be held for us anywhere and by anyone in the aforesaid kingdoms, lands and territories and in our whole dominion and all its jurisdictions and appurtenances, and all rights, together or singly, deemed to appertain to the said kingdoms, lands and territories and the County of Barcelona, or to ourselves anywhere and from any persons, saving only in those Counties and other places given by us to our beloved son Prince James his brother. Next we install the said Prince James our son as our heir after our days in the kingdom of Majorca and the islands of Minorca and Ibiza and in the Counties of Roussillon, Ceritania and the Confluence [3], and in all the fiefs which the Count of Fujio and the Count of Empurias and others there hold or are obliged to hold for us, and in Cauquiber and Montpellier and all its dominion and fortifications and all its jurisdictions and appurtenances and in the law and title which we have and should have in the viscounty of Carlades, whereby our lately named sons will have all the aforementioned legacies by law such that they will be fully and deeply contented with the provisions of partition and inheritance which we have made.

Then we install our beloved daughter Lady Yolande by the grace of God Queen of Castile as our heir in those courts and appurtenances which we gave to her at the time of her marriage and we desire and judge her to be content with our bequest. We install our grandchildren, namely the sons of Philip by the grace of God the illustrious King of France and our daughter the Lady Elizabeth of blessed memory, as our heirs in the courts and other matters which we gave to the said Lady Elizabeth at the time of her marriage and we desire and judge these our heirs to be content with our bequest. Next we install our sons Peter and James by the Lady Teresa, daughter of Gil de Bidaure, whom we acknowledge as legitimate, as our heirs in those forts and towns which we gave to them with the necessary documentation, the lately named James in the forts and towns of Xericha and Torro and the fort and town of Eslida and the forts and towns of Beho and Alin and the forts and towns of Cuhera and Fanzara and the forts and towns of Planis and Travacello and the *almudayna* [4] which the Saracen lord once held, in return for which we received [in cambium] the tower of Archos and the same at Salinas. And these forts and towns lately named we give and bequeath to the same James for his inheritance and in accordance with the laws of the land. Next we install the said Peter our son and the son of the said Teresa as our heir in the fort and town of Aierba and in the fort and town of Lusia and in the fort and town of Ahuero and in the towns of Liso, Artasso, Castilione and Eust and in the fort and town of Boroca and in the forts and towns of Azaner, Cabannis and Becinnana, all of which forts and towns with all their jurisdictions and appurtenances we give and bequeath to the same Peter for his inheritance and in accordance with the laws of the land. And if any of our laws is or requires to be the subject of a judgement before us in any land other than those which we have divided and ordered above, for whatever reason and against any person whatsoever, we bequeath and yield up our

place in this to our son Prince James the heir of Majorca, so long as there is no violation of the division and ordering of lands constituted above.

After this we desire and command that if the said James our son and son of the said Lady Teresa and his sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line die without legitimate male issue, all of the said bequests we made above to the said James will revert to his brother Peter, our son and the son of the said Lady Teresa, if he is still living, or to his legitimate male offspring if Peter himself is no longer living. Similarly we would make the same substitution of the said James and his legitimate male offspring for the said Peter over all that we bequeath to that same Peter by the laws of custom and inheritance, as detailed above, if that same Peter or his sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line are touched by death without legitimate male issue. Be it commanded and made law that in all the bequests we have made in accordance with the laws of the land to the aforesaid James and Peter our sons and the sons of the Lady Teresa may not be inherited by legitimate female issue or any other save male and legitimate offspring. And if a legitimate daughter or daughters survive the same James or Peter the male heir or heirs of the one or of the other who would inherit by our aforementioned substitution should decide the issue by marrying them. Next, if it happens that the said James and Peter and their sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line die without legitimate male issue, we desire, ordain and command that all the above which we give and bequeath to them in accordance with the law of the land shall devolve upon the said Prince Peter our first born son or upon his son or grandson or upon whoever else among his legitimate male descendants in direct line shall then be King of Aragon and Valencia. And if a legitimate daughter or daughters of marriageable age, or descendants of direct line from the same, survive, the same Prince Peter or his son or grandson or whichever of his descendants on whom the aforesaid shall devolve, shall be obliged to give her or them in marriage and to give a marriage portion of four thousand gold *morabatini* to the eldest and three thousand to any others. Next we desire, ordain and command that our sons and heirs observe the donations which we now make to Saint Ferrandus and to Peter of Ferrandus for our natural sons in accordance with the means of donation we have provided. No less do we desire, ordain and command that if, which God forbid, it should happen that the said Prince Peter our firstborn son or his legitimate sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line should die without legitimate male issue, the kingdoms, Counties and all else which we bequeath to him should devolve upon our son Prince James the heir of Majorca if he is living then or upon his son or sons or upon whichever of his legitimate male descendants in direct line shall at that time be King of Majorca and Lord of Montpellier. And if it should happen that the said Prince James our son or his legitimate sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line should die without legitimate male issue, we desire, ordain and command that the said Kingdom of Majorca and the Isles of Minorca and Ibiza and the aforesaid Counties and Montpellier with all its dominion and territory and all other things which we above bequeathed to him together or separately shall devolve entirely upon our aforesaid son Prince Peter or upon his son or sons or upon whichever of his legitimate male descendants in direct line shall at that time be King of Aragon and Valencia and Count of Barcelona. And if, Heaven forbid, the aforesaid Princes Peter and James our sons and their legitimate sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line should die without legitimate male issue, we desire, ordain and command that all the aforesaid kingdoms and all the aforesaid Counties and the city of Montpellier and all else which we bequeath to him as specified above should devolve upon James our son and the son of the aforesaid Lady Teresa if he is living then, or if he is dead, upon his legitimate sons or upon his legitimate male descendants in direct line. And if in the said case that same James and his sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line should die without legitimate male issue, we desire, ordain and command that all the aforesaid kingdoms and Counties and Montpellier and all the aforesaid lands should devolve upon Peter our son and the son of the aforesaid Lady Teresa if he is living then, or upon his legitimate sons or upon his legitimate male descendants in direct line. And if in the said case that same Peter and his sons or legitimate male descendants in direct line should die lacking legitimate male issue, the aforesaid kingdoms and Counties and the city Montpellier with all its jurisdiction and all the aforesaid lands should devolve upon the legitimate male issue of the Illustrious Queen of Castile Yoland our daughter, and if, Heaven forbid, she is lacking legitimate male issue all the aforesaid will devolve upon the legitimate male issue of the famed Lady Constance our younger daughter, and if she is lacking legitimate male issue all the aforesaid will devolve upon the legitimate male issue of our daughter the above mentioned Lady Elizabeth, formerly Queen of France. And if, Heaven forbid, all those mentioned above are so lacking, we desire and ordain that all the above shall devolve upon whoever shall at that time be the most nearly related to us and who shall be male and of legitimate birth and descended in direct line from our kindred. Furthermore be it desired that the kingdoms and lands which we have bequeathed to our said sons Prince Peter and Prince James shall remain whole as ordered above and that they may not be diminished nor transformed nor transferred to an alien realm. We desire, ordain and command that none of our aforesaid sons, grandsons or descendants in direct

line installed or substituted by us as specified above shall ever institute a daughter or any other woman as his heir in whole or in part in any of the aforesaid kingdoms and Counties and the city and dominion of Montpellier and the aforesaid lands and forts which we have bequeathed to them as above, nor yet give the same as a marriage portion or as a dowry or in any other way. Furthermore we command and firmly ordain in perpetuity that the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia and the County of Barcelona and all lands which we bequeath to the aforesaid Prince Peter our son as specified above, and anything which anywhere pertains or should pertain in whatever way to those same kingdoms and lands, shall be forever one and his dominion and the dominion of the King of Aragon. And that same Prince Peter and his successors may not divide the same kingdoms, Counties and lands amongst their sons or daughters or cede them to other persons, but the same kingdoms, Counties and lands shall endure for ever and shall belong wholly to the King and lord of Aragon, and the said Prince Peter and his successors who follow him shall make a single legitimate male in turn their heir to all their lands intact, save in the case of our aforesaid substitution. Similarly it is commanded and firmly ordained inperpeuity that the kingdom of Majorca and the Isles of Minorca and Ibiza and the city of Montpellier with its territory and dominions and the aforesaid Counties of Roussillon, Ceritania and the Confluence and Cauquiber and all else which we above bequeath to the said Prince James our son, and anything which anywhere pertains or should pertain in whatever way to those same lands, shall be forever one and his dominion and the dominion of the King of Majorca, and the same Prince James and his successors may not divide the same amongst their sons or daughters or cede them to other persons, but the same kingdom, the Counties and Montpellier and all else which we bequeath to the said Prince James shall endure for ever and shall belong wholly to the King and lord of Aragon, and the said Prince James and his successors who follow him shall make a single legitimate male in turn their heir to all their lands intact, save in the case of our aforesaid substitution. Next we install our grandsons the sons of the lady Princess Constance our late daughter and of the lord Prince Emmanuel, brother of the illustrious King of Castile, as our heirs in all the courts and other things which we gave to the said Constance at the time of her marriage and we desire them to be content with our bounty. Next, with the present Will we confirm an approve all donations made by us in any way on behalf of our heirs or for the benefit of any persons whatsoever, or likewise made by us in any way to church orders or to religious establishments for the good of our soul. And this is our final Will which we desire and ordain to be valid in law [*there appears to be text missing here which might read 'in place of.. 'or possibly 'and not to be affected by... '*] any Will or proclamation or codicil or any other version at all of our final will. Hereby are revoked all other Wills and any other expression of our final will which may have been made or become law before this one was made and became law. This is concluded at Montpellier on the seventh day before the Calends of September in the 270th year of Our Lord of the second Millennium. [5] This Will was ratified and concluded by the said Lord King in the presence of the noble Bertrand of Beylo Podio and the Lord Berengarius son of Jaclappus of Tornamira and the soldier James of the Holy Rock of Ilerde and the dean of Valencia and notary of the King's realm Arnold Caynnot, chaplain of the same King's realm, and John of the Broken Tower, Canon of Ilerde, our witnesses chosen and called for this purpose, and of many others, and the witnesses to this are willing to be called in the public forum.

Signed James by the Grace of God, King of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia Count of Barcelona and Urgel and Lord of Montpellier.

Witnessed by:

Godfrey Count of Rocabertus

Ermengardus of Urgel

Garcias of Castroaciolus

William Zacort

Albert of Fujio

Signed Simon of Saint Felix scribe to our aforesaid Lord the King who at the particular and express command of our same Lord the King wrote and concluded this at the appointed place, day and year.

And be it known that the above legacy of one thousand *morabatini* to the monastery of Benifacani is now paid from the donation which our Lord the King made to the said monastery from his tenth pail of the taxes of Vallebone and Arbors Sobirans Aldeis Morelle, and the legacy of 300 *morabatini* to the monastery of Regalus near Alcalá has now been allotted.

I Nicholas son of Peter son of Raymond, notary public of Zaragoza, have seen and read word for word what is contained above and I witness that which is here set down and append my mark.

I Michael son of Peter of Berbegal, notary public of Zaragoza, have seen and read word for word what is contained above and I witness that which is here set down and append my mark.

I Peter son of Luppus, notary public of Zaragoza, by the command of our illustrious Lords Peter by the grace of God King of Aragon and James by the same King of Majorca, have checked word for word what is set down here with the original Will of our Lord James of blessed memory late King of Aragon and I append my mark.

I John of Arcayna, notary public of Zaragoza, have perused word for word the present rendition of the Will of our Lord James of blessed memory late King of Aragon, sealed with a lead boss hanging from silken threads, and with my own hand I write this with the matter written above where it has been read to the brothers of this order and I append my mark.

And I the Lord J. Egidius [=Gil(es)] Tarini, *salmedinus* [6] of Zaragoza, have viewed the materials of the Will of our Lord James of blessed memory late King of Aragon, sealed with a lead pendant, and the seal is of a true boss and true threads or cords of silk, and having examined word for word the aforesaid materials of the original here set down I have read, checked and ratified it, and that the present matter pass for authentic I have sealed it with the seal of the Zaragoza senate-house. And I William of Ates, scribe public of the state of Zaragoza, have sealed the present matter with the civic seal here in the senate-house on behalf of Lord M. Violeta, notary to the senate-house, and at the command of the Lord J. Egidius Tarini *salmedinus*, and here I append my mark to the words written above, in the place where the Will was read and at the command of the aforesaid *salmedinus* on whose behalf I write this.

Notes

General note on personal/geographical names: Of the dozens of Latin place-names in the Will I have only been able to find modern equivalents for a handful, despite lengthy searching. I have used these wherever possible. Where a name refers to a distinct geographical feature I have translated it in the hope of aiding identification. Common personal names have been given their English equivalents as is customary with royalty; family names are generally left in their Latin form.

[1] The *solidus* a term in use since Roman times and common to many mediaeval currencies, customarily referred to a coin consisting of one-twentieth of a pound (22.7g) of silver.

[2] The *morabatinus* was a gold coin whose value in relation to the *solidus* or to any modern currency I have been unable to discover.

[3] Possibly of the Rhone and one of its tributaries?

[4] This word, and the word *almudinus* later in the same sentence, do not appear in any dictionary. I deduce the latter to be a transliteration of the Arabic name *Alim-ud-Din* which has then been generalised to mean 'Saracen lord', and have translated it accordingly. An *almudayna* I would take to be a territory or fortification held by an *almudinus*.

[5] i.e. 25 August 1270.

[6] Another unidentifiable word, presumably a transliteration from mediaeval Spanish, evidently meaning some kind of public official.