Anna Krisztina Romsics

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE TEMPLAR ORDER AND THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM TOULOUSE

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2019

The Dissolution of the Templar Order and the Expulsion of the Jews from Toulouse under Philip the Fair

Searching for Motivations and Drivers through a Comparative Study of Two Fourteenth-Century Events

by

Anna Krisztina Romsics

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

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of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique,

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Anna Krisztina Romsics**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

The following thesis is a contribution to ongoing research regarding the possible reasons and motivations behind the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306 and the dissolution of the Templar Order in the following year. Both events were initiated by the king of France, Philip IV. Applying a complex approach, this study is concentrated on the town of Toulouse and analyzes the surviving charters of the Jewish house auctions and the inventory of the Templar possessions from 1313. The chapters cover the most important features and issues of the reign of Philip the Fair, the phenomenon of medieval money-lending, and the history of the Jews and the Knights Templar in France. The analysis of the research material is contextualized within the framework established by other studies conducted on the topic and arrives at the conclusion that the dissolutions had complex driving forces. Philip IV needed to establish new sources of financial revenues and he also aimed to strengthen French royal power. By underpinning the influence of the Capetian dynasty and eliminating threats to his power, Philip hoped to centralize his power and make France the most influential and glorious kingdom of the period.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to extend my thanks to my two supervisors, Katalin Szende and Carsten Wilke, for their guidance over the past two years, and for the helpful comments and suggestions they regularly provided. Their encouraging words in the writing period also meant a lot to me. Special thanks to Zsuzsa Reed and Stephen Pow for their proofreading and editorial contribution to this work. I also would like to mention Miklós Földváry who gave his expert advice on the peculiarities of the language of the sources. I am also grateful to Gábor Klaniczay who graciously kept my project in mind and provided an important piece of literature to contribute to my knowledge about the Jewish expulsion. I should not fail to mention the faculty and staff members in general in the Medieval Studies Department and at CEU in general, who were always ready to help students including me, and offered great opportunities to ensure my scholarly development. I would also like to give a shout-out to Erika Máthé from the Computer and Statistics Center who provided fast and expert advice, even at the last moment. Last but not least, a huge acknowledgment goes to my friends and family, especially to my parents Andrea and Ádám, because they took off many burdens off my shoulders while I was writing my thesis and even before that. They never failed to encourage me, providing a stable background and allowing me to pursue my dreams from elementary school to university and even beyond.

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Introduction

King Philip IV, or Philip the Fair as he was also known, expelled the Jews from his kingdom in the year 1306, and the following year he ordered the persecution of the Templar Order, accusing them of heresy which would be a justifiable reason for their dissolution. Between the two events, apparent similarities can be observed. The events are not only close in time, but the targets of the king's measures can be both considered as religious groups who were active in money-lending and finance. Moreover, both the Jews and the Templar Order were usually referred to as wealthy communities, and thus they were plausible targets for confiscations, something which is known to have happened to their possessions and properties later. The aim of this thesis is to examine the dissolution of the Templar Order and the expulsion of the Jews, focusing on a town in southern France, Toulouse. I will compare the expulsion of the Jews in 1306 and the dissolution of the Templar Order (1307-1314) on a local scale, working with published source material. By examining the events of the Jewish expulsion from Toulouse and the dissolution of a military order, I will demonstrate similarities and the possible driving forces behind the events. Although the similarity and parallels between these events are striking enough for historians that both episodes have been researched already using a comparative perspective and approach, they have not been examined comparatively in great detail yet.[1] Both the dissolution of the Knights Templar and the expulsion of the Jews were

[1] For instance: William C. Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews. From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989). Stéphane F Mechoulan, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306: a Modern Fiscal Analysis," in *Working Papers tecipa-209,* (University of Toronto: Department of Economics, 2006), 555-584. Karen Barkey and Ira Katznelson, "States, Regimes, and Decisions: Why Jews Were Expelled from Medieval England and France," *Theory and Society,* Vol. 40 (2011): 475-503. Simon Schwarzfuchs, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),"*The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57 (1967): 482-489. Céline Balasse, "Les conflits de juridiction nés autour de l'expulsion de 1306: une tentative de renforcement du pouvoir royal?" *in Philippe le Bel et les Juifs du royaume de France (1306),* ed. D. Iancu-Agou (Paris: CERF, 2012), 125-137. Julien Théry,"A Heresy of State. Philip the Fair, the Trial of the 'Perfidious Templars', and the Pontificalization of the French Monarchy",*Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures,* 39 no. 2, (2013): 117-148. Malcom Barber, *Trial of the Templars,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Alain

ordered under the rule of Philip the Fair, and both targeted groups were either already a religious minority (Jews) or they were essentially transformed into one (Templars). This is the most important similarity that draws the episodes together and points to a connection – Philip IV dismantled two wealthy social groups within a few years. Connecting the two episodes raises some questions. What was the aim of the king in taking severe measures against both groups? What advantages could Philip IV possibly gain by these events? In this thesis, I will examine these questions to understand why the events happened and how they are connected. The city of Toulouse provides an excellent potential site for the comparison because Languedoc – the region where Toulouse is situated – was an important territory both for the Jews and the Templars. It was the home of a wealthy Jewish community and of a Templar monastery, while also not being entirely controlled by the French kings – until Philip IV.

This study is expected to lead to a better understanding of the reasons behind the periodic expulsions of certain groups which existed within a larger medieval society. These events also show some parallels with what the so-called Lombard bankers experienced. A discussion of that third minority group comprised of Italian immigrant financiers living in France whose properties were also confiscated by Philip the Fair cannot be fully explored in this context, but relevant aspects will be briefly touched upon where appropriate.[2] Regarding Philip's persecution of the Jews and Templars I argue that a stronger emphasis must be placed on the economic motivations in the background of these expulsions. The examples selected for

Demurger, *Les Templiers*, (Paris: J.-P. Gisserot, 2007.) Sophia Menache, "The Templar Order: A Failed Ideal?", *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (January, 1993):1-21.

[2] Lombard banking, regardless of where it happened, was called thus as the style of operating a money-lending business under the framework of a pawnshop or charity originated in northern Italian cities. In France, they were originally immigrant merchants from Italy. Their headquarters was in Paris in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. By 1323, the street on which they were based was renamed *rue des Lombards*. For a useful summary of the Lombards by a leading historian, see: Pierre Racine, "Les Lombards et le commerce de l'argent au Moyen Âge," *Clio* (November 2002). Accessed April 13, 2019, https://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/les_lombards_et_le_commerce_de_l_argent_au_moyen_Age.asp

this study are relevant for shedding light on those trends in scholarship that see religion as the more or less singular driving force. While the Lombards and the Templars were money-lenders, they were *Christian* money-lenders, and still they were expelled and arrested under very similar circumstances to the Jews, which shows that religion probably was only important on a propagandistic level, or as a means to justify actions against a group to society at large.

1. France Under the Reign of Philip the Fair

In this following chapter I will briefly introduce the two most important people behind the events of the persecution of the Jews and the Templars Firstly, Philip IV whose reign I examine with a focus on his governing style and the economic issues which he faced. These factors are important here, since the condition of the French economy helps us to understand both the dissolution and the expulsion. Second, William of Nogaret, one of the key figures of Philip's government who also played a crucial role in both events. It is beyond the purview of this study to give a detailed overview of the great variety of difficult political situations during Philip IV's reign, so relevant aspects will be presented through the lens of these two important figures and their activities

1.1. Philip the Fair, the Eleventh of the Capetian Kings

Philip IV was born in 1268 as the second son of Philip III the Bold and Isabella of Aragon. He had a troubled childhood, including such misfortunes as his mother's death, the new marriage of his father to Marie of Brabant, and some dramatic scandals in the royal family. For example, there were rumors that Philip III's new wife poisoned her brother-in-law, Louis. After Philip III died on the Aragonese Crusade, his son was crowned as Philip IV in 1286 in Reims, at the age of 17. Philip's wife was Joan I of Navarre, who died in 1305, after giving

birth to seven children.[3] Their marriage was different from the usual political partnerships of the Middle Ages. They lived in a committed and loving relationship, and Philip refused to look for another spouse after Joan's death.

He seemed to be committed and strong-willed in his politics as well. The main agenda of the reign of Philip the Fair was the expansion of royal power within France, having supremacy over the papacy, using powerful and loyal ministers in his government, wars with Edward I of England and with the Flemings, the imposition of new taxes, the manipulation of the currency, and, above all, the driving need for a steady stream of money to maintain his ambitious schemes.[4] His effort to strengthen royal power and gain financial resources seems to have instigated both the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306 and the dissolution of the Templar Order which started in 1307 and was completed by 1314. To get closer to these events, the following examination of Philip IV's style of government will focus on his policy.

Philip the Fair has been frequently considered by his contemporaries as a puppet king under the influence of his main counsellors, especially Enguerrand of Marigny and William of Nogaret, who were seen as the true rulers of France. [5] A famous accusation came from one of the most steadfast enemies of the king, Bernard Saisset,[6] who commented on Philip's reign as follows: "the handsomest of birds which is worth absolutely nothing…such is our king of France, who is the handsomest man in the world and who can do nothing except to stare at

[3] See Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Hachette, 1887). William C. Jordan, "Philip III the Bold," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler, and Grover A. Zinn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 1371-1372.
[4] Jordan, "Philip III the Bold," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, 1372-1373.
[5] For Enguerran de Marigny, see Jean Favier, *Cartulaire et actes d'Enguerran de Marigny* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1965). Ipse, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel, Enguerran de Marigny* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963). For biographic details and bibliographical references on William of Nogaret, see the next chapter in the present study.
[6] Saisset was an Occitan noble and the bishop of Pamiers. On Saisset and his opposition against Philip IV, see J.-M. Vidal, *Bernard Saisset (1232-1311)* (Toulouse: Paris, 1926).

man."[7] Besides him, similar opinions concerning his rule were voiced by Yves of Saint Denis, Geoffrey of Paris, and Peter of Bois.[8] In addition to early fourteenth-century authors, some modern historians also tend to assume that Philip IV was not an autonomous king. For instance, Charles-Victor Langlois argues that Philip was heavily influenced by his counsellors.[9] On the other hand, other scholars suggest that in fact it was Philip IV who influenced his agents and servants, and he was the one who imposed the new and sometimes unwelcome orders. For example, Joseph Strayer suggests that one of the main reasons behind misunderstanding Philip's rulership is that he rarely spoke publicly or engaged in disputes with envoys. Strayer points out that "Philip had an acute, probably too acute sense of his dignity."[10] Another group of scholars claims that although Philip was more than a puppet king and had his own influence on the kingdom, he was also occasionally influenced or manipulated by his counsellors. In the view of the Jean Favier, Philip surrounded himself with a number of counsellors with a wide range of viewpoints from which he could choose the one he preferred.[11] According to Robert-Henri Bautier, Philip IV became more vulnerable to the manipulation of his counsellors after the death of his wife in 1305. He cared about only a limited number of issues, and the majority of the important decisions were carried out by the counsellors.[12] Similarly to Bautier, Elizabeth Brown also believes that Philip was heavily influenced by his high-ranked officers, but she thinks that the officers took advantage of his strict sense of morality.[13] According to Elizabeth

[7] Cited in translation in Joseph R. Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980),1. 4. He also adds that this insult was referred to in the documents that deal with Saisset's imprisonment. Ibid, 25-26.
[8] Martin Bouquet, and others, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 21, 205; vol. 22, 97, 99, 119. Pierre Du Bois, *De recuperatione terre sancte*, ed. C.-V. Langlois (Paris, 1891), 120.
[9] Charles-V. Langlois, "*Saint Louis, Philippe le Bel, les derniers Capétiens directs (1226-1328)"*, accessed April 5, 2019, http://www.mediterranee-antique.fr/Fichiers_PdF/JKL/Langlois_C/Saint_Louis.pdf.
[10] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair,* x.
[11] Jean Favier, *Philippe Le Bel* (Paris: Fayard 1978), 49-50.
[12] Robert H. Bautier: "Diplomatique et histoire politique: Ce que la critique diplomatique nous apprend sur la personnalité de Philippe le Bel," *Revue Historique* 259 (January-March 1978): 3-27.
[13] Elizabeth Brown, "The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France," *Medieval Studies* 49 (1987): 282-334. On Philip's personality: Elizabeth Brown, "Philip the Fair and his Ministers:

Brown, it is impossible to determine exactly what these people thought and how they felt, or to draw a fully accurate picture of the power relations between Philip IV and his high ranking, close counsellors. But, in the case of the expulsion of the Jews and of the dissolution of the Templar Order, it seems that he acted in agreement with his counsellors, especially with William of Nogaret.

1.2. The Royal Officers

Two important characteristics of the reign of Philip the Fair are relevant for the present discussion. One of the main achievements of this king was the strengthening of royal power. He developed the already existing government structure of the French monarchy and by this, he managed to obtain unrestricted power. This process was implemented by increasing the number of the royal officers. Philip employed inspectors and commissioners who were responsible for the communication and connection between Paris and the farther territories. Moreover, thousands of additional servants were working for him, such as forest guards, purchasing agents, and those local agents or tax collectors who ensured the obedience of the subjects to the king and collected the taxes, the supplies for the armies, and the conditions of the royal estates. Although this latter group of low-ranking office holders was the largest one, relatively few sources reveal details about their activities. This huge group of servants did not earn much money for their service, although they enjoyed additional perks such as free accommodation when necessary. However, most of them were native to the territories they were responsible for.

For the first time in the history of the French monarchy, Philip IV attempted to impose general taxes. In order to carry out this process successfully, besides his own exertion of strong

William Nogaret and Enguerran of Marigny," in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314,* ed. William C. Jordan and Jenna R. Philipps (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 185-218.

royal power, the king relied on two more important features of his reign. One of these features was his reliance on a more honored group of servants, the royal tax and revenue collectors. As opposed to the local agents, these officers were often recruited from the clergy, and they were appointed to handle different regions than they were born in. Besides these two groups, Philip IV had a large number of Paris-based clerks and officials at his service, who were able to fulfill diplomatic missions or command major army units, holding important offices such as the Masters of Accounts or the Treasury, conducting investigations, and supervising different territories of the French kingdom. These people were often called counsellors. The work of the high-ranking officials was supported by another Paris-based group of servants, somewhat lower in rank, but also involved in the administration and the household management. The same hierarchy can be observed among administrative office holders in the countryside. The most important officers were the *baillis* and *sénéschals*, masters of mints and forests, general tax collectors, and so on. [14] At the same time, the government employed some servants—important but lesser in rank—in the country, such as the *viguiers* of Languedoc as well as royal procurators and advocates.

Regarding the regional background of the most important officers, it is clear that they did not come from the old royal domain, but from the newly acquired territories. For example, Enguerrand de Marigny was Norman, while William of Nogaret, a key figure in the Jewish expulsion and the dissolution of the Templars, was a native of Languedoc. Thus, as Strayer points out, whereas the routine work was carried out by people from the royal domain, the subsistence of the key figures of his government depended on the benevolence of Philip IV.[15] By this selection process the king probably aimed to ensure his unrestricted authority to

[14] Royal officers were responsible for the administration of a given territory. In the south of France, they were called *sénéchals*, while in the north they were known as *baillis*. . J.B Henneman "Senechal" in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler, and Grover A. Zinn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 1645.
[15] Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, 36-43.

exercise power, and thus surround himself with figures who perfectly fulfilled royal orders. This seems to be particularly relevant for understanding the dissolution of the Templar Order and the Jewish expulsion, since if Philip IV was in turn influenced by his close officials at least to some extent, it suggests that this particular group may have had a vested interest in making these dissolutions happen.

One of the key issues of every modern government's operation is to have enough officers, or in other words, to ensure the human resources necessary for efficient governance. Pre-modern rulers faced the same issue. Enough resources were needed to be raised in order to provide appealing or, in certain cases, at least satisfactory salaries for the officers. As noted earlier, Philip the Fair employed a considerable number of royal officers throughout his country, and therefore he needed sufficient financial resources. Besides a regular salary, servants were probably provided with extras: additional sums of money, landed property, gifts, and cost reimbursement on their missions and even on regular work days. A low-ranking royal officer could earn 2 *sous tournois* a day.[16] A higher-ranking office holder, whose salary was calculated on a yearly basis had an income between a minimum of 60 to a maximum of 700 *livres tournois*.[17] In general, it is conspicuous that the salary levels in Paris or for those who accompanied the king on his journeys were somewhat lower, because their costs were covered. In addition to this, a different way of compensation normally awarded to the most important office holders was granting generous landed properties. For example, William of Nogaret was able to build up his own lordship in southern France due to Philip's generosity towards him.[18]

To sum up the governing style of Philip IV briefly: the king was building a loyal and broad administrative base for his reign, a process that consumed considerable resources. Of

[16] In comparison, a craftsman could earn 18 or 20 deniers *tournois* in one day. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 56. 1 *livre* = 20 *sous* = 240 *derniers.* 2 sous per day equals approximately 36 and a half *livres* per year.
[17] Strayer. *The Reign of Philip the Fair*. p. 57.
[18] For William's life and career, see especially the following chapter below.

course, the maintenance of the government was not the only expense of the royal court. Besides that, funds were necessary to cover the personal expenses of the royal family, military costs, inherited debts and so on, but as it will be shown in the following section, the financial difficulties the royal court faced seems to have been crucial regarding the expulsions.

1.3. Financial Difficulties

The French Monarchy suffered from financial difficulties during the reign of Philip the Fair. First of all, the enormous number of royal officers created a general need for more resources. Secondly, numerous other factors deepened this financial distress. As Joseph Strayer writes, the French economy under the rule of Philip IV was mainly stagnant or decreasing steadily, while the living standard of various social groups was adversely affected by the taxations of Philip IV, and the manipulation of the currency.[19] Besides the opinion of the public, the present study also needs to take into account those financial situations which could cause distress to Philip IV, since the king had to face some serious economic and financial crises in this era. Since these events proved to be tremendously important factors in the eventual dissolution of the Templar Order and the expulsion of the Jews, in the following I provide a brief overview of these circumstances and Philip's methods of raising money.

The main events that led to financial distress were the conflicts with England and Flanders. First, minor conflicts in Gascony caused a war between England and France from 1294 to 1297. It started with a naval battle between Gascony and Normandy and later escalated into a greater conflict. Though the French army was victorious, the war was an additional burden on the royal treasury. The financial distress is clearly confirmed by Philip's next move. The king wanted to secure the right of the French crown over the Flemish towns. Wishing to

[19] Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, xiii.

benefit from the highly developed and valuable Flemish wool industry, Philip hoped that by imposing a fiftieth tax on Flemish towns, he could help the French treasury. However, the towns rejected the taxation and became the allies of England during the on-going conflict between Philip IV and Edward I. Thus, the French invaded Flanders in 1297 and occupied the main cities in 1300. In order to defend his territory, the count of Flanders, Guy of Dampierre, sought supporters among the great lords of the territory who were not pleased by the French presence either. Finally, the French army lost at the Battle of Courtrai which led to serious financial and political situations. In 1304 the French army was able to take revenge at Mons-en-Pévèle. The following year, the Treaty of Athis-sur-Orge was signed, but because of the weakness of the French Monarchy it was never entirely enforced. Due to this, the war yielded rather weak financial advantages for the French Monarchy.[20] Besides the conflicts, Philip inherited debts from his predecessors. For instance, his father, Philip III, had taken a loan of 1.5 million *livres tournois* to fund his Aragonese Crusade.[21]

The numerous financial liabilities raises an inevitable question: what did Philip the Fair do to raise resources? First of all, he enacted his famous devaluation process of the French currencies. Between 1295 and 1303 he frequently altered the coinage, and as a result one of the most successful medieval currencies of France, the "good money" of his grandfather, Saint Louis, lost much of its value. The *gros tournois* was introduced by Saint Louis in 1266, in response to France's expanding trade. Originally, it equaled 12 *deniers* and contained 4.2 grams of silver but due to the frequent devaluations of Philip IV by 1306 the value of the *gros tournois* decreased by about two-thirds. Deflation was acceptable in certain circumstances. For example, although the devaluation of money was considered a prerogative of the kings in times of war,

[20] As Barber pointed out, according to the estimate of Joseph Strayer, the Anglo-French war 1297-1299 costed 1 million 73 *livres tournois.* Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 44.
[21] Ibid., 43-44.

they were not supposed to use it too often because of the heavy impact on the revenues of lay and ecclesiastical lords. Since the support of these *potentes* was crucial for the medieval kings, they should have respected this limitation not only in theory, but in practice as well. Philip IV, however, simply ignored this principle so that by the beginning of the fourteenth century the elite's demand to restore the value of the *gros tournois* had become increasingly pressing.[22] This demand also met the interest of the king, since the decreased value of money had a negative impact on his tax revenues. Consequently, towards the end of his reign, Philip strengthened the French currencies.[23]

In addition to this, from time to time, Philip IV attempted to impose taxes on his subjects throughout the kingdom. Due to the lack of regular income from taxes, Philip could not maintain a regular army, but in time of emergency he entreated his subjects to contribute financially so he could raise armed forces. From 1295 to 1305 he is known to have attempted to collect these revenues. It is notable that there is no consensus among historians regarding the success of these taxing procedures. According to Jean Favier, the king was successful in obtaining the consent of his subjects to pay the taxes, but the collected sum failed to meet the initial expectations so that it was not enough to cover the financial needs of the kingdom.[24] Joseph Strayer argues that the taxation attempts were surprisingly successful insofar as the majority of the subjects indeed paid, and he also adds that most of the tax collectors were decent and loyal servants of Philip. In contrast, Malcolm Barber writes that the French subjects were reluctant to pay taxes and adds that the tax collectors sometimes served the local elites rather than the king, and that bribery was rampant during the collection procedures.[25] In addition to

[22] Mechoulan, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306," 8-11.
[23] Barber, *The Trial of the Templars,* 51-52.
[24] Favier, *Philippe Le Bel*, 179-183.
[25] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair,* xii, 36-37. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 45.

taxes, Philip sometimes forced merchants and towns to lend money to him, and these loans could hardly be expected to be repaid. Customs on trade also generated additional revenues.

Taxes were Philip's ultimate alternative methods to secure revenues. First, Philip IV exploited the idea of taxing the clergy. After the 1215 Lateran Council, kings had the right to impose taxes on the clergy with papal approval, which was frequently done by Saint Louis and Philip III as well. However, Philip IV imposed these kinds of taxes increasingly arbitrarily and violently, which shows that when in financial need, he was able to advance his interests against a selected group, even if it led to or deepened political conflicts.

It is easy to imagine that Philip was liable to be even more violent and aggressive towards groups which were not protected on any juridical level. For example, the Lombards were unprotected since they were outsiders in France, and they were involved in the banking and money-lending business which made them more vulnerable. Interestingly, Philip employed Musciatto Guidi and Albizzo, two Lombard officers who had the responsibility to arrange loans for him, and they themselves loaned their own money to him.[26] Besides them, Philip also employed the Guidi, Biche and Mouche as his main Italian financial officers, who established the Treasury of the Louvre.[27] Though Philip used Italians in his government, even in high positions, this did not mean that he would spare the Lombards as a community. During the

[26] Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 53. For Lombard bankers in general, see for example: Craig Bertolet,"'The slyeste of alle': The Lombard Problem in John Gower's London." in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. Urban, Malte. (Belgium: Brepols, 2009), 197-218. Kathrin Tremp,. "Frühkapitalismus im Spätmittelalter: Lombardische Bankiers in Freiburg im 14. Jahrhundert." *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter* 93 (2016): 31-64. Winfried Reichert, "Lombarden als "merchant-bankers" im England des 13. und beginnenden 14. Jahrhunderts." in *Landesgeschichte als multidisziplinäre Wissenschaft: Festgabe für Franz Irsigler zum 60. Geburtstag.*, ed.by Ebeling, Dietrich., 77-134. Joseph Tordoir, "Incourt. Les Lombards au XIVe siècle." *Wavriensia* 46 (1997): 183-185. Remi. van Schaïk, "On the social position of Jews and Lombards in the towns of the Low Countries and neighbouring German territories during the late Middle Ages." in *Hart en marge in de laat-middeleeuwse stedelijke maatschappij: Handelingen van het colloquium te Gent (22-23 augustus 1996) / Core and Periphery in Late Medieval Urban Society: Proceedings of the Colloquium at Ghent (22nd-23rd August 1996) / Coeur et marge dans la société urbaine au Bas Moyen Age: Actes du colloque tenu à Gand (22-23 août 1996).*, ed. Carlier, Myriam. Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Modern Low Countries; 7, 165-191. Leuven: Garant, 1997; Joseph R. Strayer, "Italian bankers and Philip the Fair," *in Medieval statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1971), 239-247.

[27] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 50.

1290s, Lombards were arrested, individuals' properties were seized, and some of them were given heavy fines and expelled. Towards the end of his reign, Philip accused the Lombards of usury, and in 1311 they were arrested again and this time their debts were appropriated along with their goods.[28] Jews and Templars were attacked by Philip the Fair similarly to the Lombard bankers. This sequence of events will be examined in the next chapter more closely, through the example of the city of Toulouse, while the case of the Templars will be discussed in a further chapter.

1.4 William of Nogaret

William of Nogaret, one of the closest counsellors of Philip the Fair, was certainly one of the highest-ranking officials of the kingdom. Therefore, his appearance in Toulouse during the auctions of the Jewish houses and properties seems unusual. It probably suggests something about the political situation of the town during the expulsions: Philip must have wanted a powerful and loyal servant in Toulouse to oversee the process and ensure its success. On the other hand, one should note William's personal interest in the Toulouse area is another possible reason for his presence since he was born in proximity of the town.

William was not born into a prominent family of Languedoc, so the exact place or year of his birth are unknown. He is thought to have been born around 1260. Some accusations levelled at him even suggest that his ancestors were heretics, but this is debated. Strayer and Louis Thomas reject the validity of evidence suggesting that there were heretics among William's ancestors.[29] On the other hand, Favier believed that the burning of his grandfather was one the reasons William turned against Boniface VIII and the Templars so viciously.[30]

[28] Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 53.
[29] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 52. Louis Thomas, "La vie privée de Guillaume de Nogaret," *Annales du Midi* 62, no. 16 (1904): 161-163.
[30] Favier, *Philip le Bel*, 30.

Though not of noble descent, his family was not poor, and they provided the possibility for William to pursue a doctorate in law at the University of Montpellier. Later he became a professor at the university, and from time to time he was asked to help resolve disputes. His career advanced rapidly. He was called to Paris after 1295, and by 1299 he was already a knight which made him a member of the nobility. William then worked with one of Philip's most influential counsellors, Peter Flote, and after Flote's death he became one of the most important personages in the French kingdom, involved in the king's everyday politics concerning both external and internal issues. For instance, he was responsible for conducting the attack against Poe Boniface VIII in Anagni when the pope wanted to excommunicate Philip. He played a major role in the episode which later caused Boniface VIII's death. He continued the propagandistic attacks against the memory of Boniface VIII until 1312. He was also a key figure in the confiscation of Jewish properties after the great expulsion of 1306, and in the dissolution process of the Templars.[31]

From the previous passages, it might be clear that William always played an important role in the conflicts of Philip the Fair, and he always defended the royal interests. His services were rewarded generously by the king. When he left for Anagni in 1303 to seize Boniface VIII, he was granted by 300 *livres tournois* annuity in advance. On his return, he was granted an additional annuity of 500 *livres tournois*. Although, these annuities were paid in cash, he must have turned them into landed property. As a result, he acquired landed properties in Bas-Languedoc around the area of Beaucaire where he was appointed as a seneschal. He had lands extending from Nimes to the Sea, and from Sommiéres to the Rhone.[32] Besides the land gifts, Nogaret was rewarded by a very important office as well: he was appointed as the Keeper of

[31] Stayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 54-55.
[32] Thomas, "La vie privée de Guillaume de Nogaret," 180-195.

Seals in 1307.[33] A closer look at these annuities reveals that by serving the king's interest, William, a well-heeled lawyer, became an extremely rich, influential, Languedoc-based nobleman. Before he went to Paris, he was the *juge-mage* of Beaucaire for two years earning around 100-150 *livres tournois* a year.[34] Not counting minor income and gifts, he earned a minimum of *800 livres tournois* a year after the attack on Boniface, at a time when, according to Strayer, a "salary of 700 livres tournoises was literally a princely income."[35] William himself probably did not need neither the Templar or the Jewish goods. What motivated him then, to play a major role in dissolution of these minority groups, and what was his role exactly?

William of Nogaret was primarily responsible for diplomatic and propaganda issues. He managed the communication with the popes, representing Philip IV. While his role in the expulsion of the Jews as a propaganda event was less formal than that in the dissolution of the Templar order, he himself was responsible for the auction of Jewish houses in the city of Toulouse along with John of Saint-Just, the cantor of Albi who also worked for the royal treasury as a clerk. William was appointed to the office of the Keeper of the Seals in 1307 probably to show that both he and agenda were supported by the king. By this appointment the king formalized his influence on diplomacy, since the Keeper of the Seal supervised every document issued in the name of the king. From this point on, he was responsible for writing the letters to the pope to ask for an inquiry against the Templars and the accusations about their heresy. None of these tasks were new to him. He was the leader of the attacks against Boniface VIII and Bernard Saisset who were both accused of heresy and similar sins. In the Templar case, he was helped by his student William of Plaisans. Together they built the main narrative of and justification for the arrests and inquiries; they basically depicted Philip the Fair as the

[33]Louis Bréhier, "Guillaume de Nogaret, " in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 11. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911) accessed at :15 May 2019, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11089a.htm.
[34] The chief judge of a given territory who was also responsible for the administration of the territory.
[35] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 56.

spiritual authority who had the right to correct the heretics in his kingdom. Although this theory was not new, especially considering the earlier affair with Boniface VIII and Bernard Saisset, it was now more pronounced, and the actions of the French were bolder than ever.[36]

What William's motivation was to participate in these events and why he went to Toulouse in the first place are questions that cannot be answered with certainty. It is justifiable to suggest that he wanted to serve the new idea of France created by Philip IV and his counselors, a group including himself: the "Most Christian King" and the most powerful kingdom, which was superior even to the pope. He must have understood the serious financial need of the crown, and he was ready to take the necessary steps to defend the kingdom. It also seems probable, that he was appointed to certain tasks: demolishing the enemies of the king, and during these activities, leading the royal propaganda. Why he went to Toulouse is an easier question. The Toulousan Jewry was considered a wealthy community,[37] and it must have been important to Philip to send one of his trustworthy, royal men to avoid bribery. As one of his most loyal counsellors who was given a princely income by him, William of Nogaret probably seemed like the most suitable person.

2.Medieval Money-Lending

One of the biggest concerns of the thirteenth century concerned controlling money-lenders and suppressing usury. Both the Jews and the Templars were accused of practicing usury as they were deeply involved in money-lending.[38] According to some arguments, the money-lending activity of these groups had a major role in their dissolution and the expulsion.[39] The first step on the way to better understand the driving forces behind the events is to discuss the

[36] Julien Théry, "Heresy of State," 130-132.
[37] John H Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 278.
[38] Jacques Le Goff, *Your money or Your Life* (New York, MIT Press,1988), 9-11.
[39] Barkey, Katznelson, "States, Regimes, and Decisions," 475-503.

medieval system of credit. First, I will look at the emergence of banks, the development of which led to an institutionalized money-lending system. This is followed by a brief discussion of the phenomenon of usury. Third, a review will be made of the emergence and problems of usury and usurers on a local scale, namely in the city of Toulouse.

2.1 Banking and money-lending in the Middle Ages

Although the activity of money-lending is rooted in the Ancient Times,[40] credit and the taking of loans as a regular institutionalized practice in medieval Europe came into existence in the twelfth century. In the 1200s, in a few inland Italian cities like Florence or Siena but mainly in coastal Genoa, customers were able to ask for very similar services to those we have access to today with modern banking. For example, they could be provided with the options of depositing money, borrowing money, and having money transferred by an agent of the bank. The reasons behind the rising numbers of loan-takers was connected to the expansion of the commerce towards the East, and thus, to some extent it was connected to the Crusades conducted in the Holy Land. Before 1272, for instance, English monarchs' dealings with Italian merchants were quite limited, but that changed when Edward I incurred large debts paying for his Crusade (1270-1272) and his expensive, slow return to England through continental Europe.[41] King Louis IX of France, also in the thirteenth century, needed a large sum of money to be able to pay to his troops during his many years of waging wars against Islamic powers. Moreover, those crusaders who were arriving or staying had to have money in the Holy Land, so money-changers transferred to coins and they were compensated by mandates from the

[40] We can already see some examples in the Bible for money-lending and its condemnation. For instance: "*Lends at interest, and takes profit; shall he then live? He shall not live. He has done all these abominations; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon himself."* Eze.18:13.
[41] T.K. Moore, "Credit Finance in the Middle Ages," *Economic History Society Conference* 2009, accessed at: April 12, 2019, http://www.ehs.org.uk/dotAsset/2198856a-47ce-475b-8e49-0917b3b1f0d7.pdf.

Royal Treasury.[42] These money-lenders later started to organize and operate banks, instead of operating on their own as individual lenders. Though the banks came into existence based in the Italian hometowns of the different money-lending groups, they became involved in international business. Due to this phenomenon, taking a loan became flexible towards to the end of the twelfth century: customers were able to gain money from different banks and borrowers of loans. While the clientele of the banks were mainly the rulers, the higher and lesser nobility, among many other social classes, needed credit too.

The first centers of money-lending were the fairs, and among them the most famous market of Medieval Europe – those fairs which took place in the cities of Champagne. The merchants preferred not to take coins with themselves to these gatherings so the money-changers, seeing the excellent possibility of conducting their business, followed the merchants to the fairs. Due to the expansion of commerce in the first half of the thirteenth century,[43] the scale of the circulation of coins changed as well. From that time onwards, with the expansion of trade from a local business activity to a wider one across nations and kingdoms, it was no longer only the local coins which were required to carry on business. The bankers established agencies and it became possible for merchants to transfer their money to a distant place. Moreover, this transfer service was beneficial for the increasing numbers of students studying abroad. Clerics as well found a use for this system as they were able to receive their funds through the money-changing chain. Another factor pushing the development of the credit system was that, from the second half of the thirteenth century, long-distance trade developed much further and European merchants started seeking trade even in markets far beyond Europe. The role of the fairs in

[42] Robert-Henri Bautier, *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 146.

[43] Certainly this expansion of money-lending and services is closely attached to the expansion of trade during the thirteenth century. This is suggested by the type of commercial documents which we find from that time. On this topic, see the important article by Michael Postan which influenced and continues to influence economic historians: Michael Postan, "Credit in Medieval Trade," *The Economic History Review* 1.2 (1928): 237-238.

money-changing steadily diminished in second half of the thirteenth century, and they became the place where deals were completed that had already been arranged elsewhere. For example, merchants would make purchases directly at cloth markets but settle their debts at the Champagne fairs. Increasingly merchants only sent their agents to fairs while establishing their headquarters in Paris, and thus the bankers likewise established a new center of their business in Paris for dealing with their clients.[44]

The clergy, the cities and burghers, and even peasants took loans. The less wealthy groups turned to Jews or the Lombards to borrow money. This idea is also supported by Michael Toch, who points out that Jewish money-lending emerged initially around the ninth century. Jews were mainly involved in pawnbroking, giving lesser sums on mortgaged properties. Besides handing out loans on the security of real estates and goods, written documents, and oral agreements, the pawnbrokers would provide small sums of money for their customers. They provided the type of credit which would come to be called a "distress loan." People usually needed it; when the borrower was in a barely manageable financial situation this type of loan was supposed to help him or her through the crisis in the short term.[45] The need for distress loan rose up rapidly in the thirteenth century Europe in general, thus in France as well, and thus the clientele of Jewish creditors became more numerous.[46]

It seems logical that as a basic pattern we could say that, while clientele of the banks and bankers needed larger amounts of money, people from the lower social strata took smaller sums. Based on this hypothesis, one can assume two different groups of creditors: the creditors of the nobility and rulers, and the creditors of the commoners. In general, the former group of borrowers turned to the banking houses, but the latter one was more likely to take credit from

[44]Bautier *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, 150.
[45] Bautier *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, 146-154.
[46] Gérard Nahon, "Le crédit et les juifs dans la France du XIIIe siècle," *Annales,* no. 24-25 (1969): 1140.

the Jews and the Lombards. However, Evelin Brugger's work has shown that Europe's ruling families likewise employed Jewish financiers; for instance, Ottokar II Přemysl of Bohemia employed two Jewish brothers as tax farmers during his reign in Austria and Béla IV likewise had Jewish financiers occupying the same position in his kingdom.[47] Dynasties of these lenders grew up in Habsburg Austria in the later Middle Ages and occupied important financial roles for the highest nobles in the region.[48] However, despite that situation, being a money-lender did not mean inevitably that by lending, the lender was placing a burden on the larger society. But being a usurer, someone who demands much more money back than he lent, was a widespread and condemned practice of the period. This phenomenon of usury was difficult to stop even if it was supposed to be illegal and medieval creditors were often being persecuted for lending money on interest.

2.2 Usury and Usurers in the Middle Ages

The practice of usury by medieval money-lenders was often pointed out by contemporaries and such lenders were many times falsely accused of practicing it. According to John H. Mundy, "usury […] is the capacity of persons to demand a return in kind or in money above and beyond the value invested to compensate them for taking a risk and for their putative loss from other or forgone investments."[49] In addition to this, Mundy also points out that in social terms, the practice of usury can be understood as the strength of the creditor in withstanding the adversity of his clients. This adversary which is created by the practice of usury can be used by a third party who find it beneficial to "mobilize the society" against the usurers in order

[47] Evelin Brugger,"Loans of the Father: Business Succession in Families of Jewish Moneylenders in Late Medieval Austria," in *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies*, eds. Finn Einar Eliassen and Katalin Szende (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 113.
[48] Ibid., 117-119.
[49] John H. Mundy, *Society and Government,* 179.

facilitate the debtors to shake the creditors off.[50] Court cases between creditors and debtors and the expulsion of the usurers or those groups who were accused of usury can be seen as methods of getting rid of the usurers.

During the Roman and early medieval period, members of the clergy could not practice money-lending for interest legally. In Carolingian times, this prohibition was extended to the lay people as well. However, the prohibition of usury only became a determinative feature of medieval economy when the papal and church council legislation experienced a major development at the Second Lateran Council in 1139 due to the previously introduced Gregorian reform. From 1139, the popes initiated more laws on usury than ever before until the Council of Vienne in 1311-1312 where the condemnation of the Knights Templar also took place. For an example of this attitude, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 emphasized the Jews' role in the practice of usury.[51]

Despite the legal prohibition, the practice of usury continued to flourish, and the number of usurers grew in Europe's economy in the twelfth century alongside the growing practice of taking loans. According to Jacques Le Goff, from this point, and during the next seven centuries, usurers were seen as "vampires" of society who were engaged in a business of exploiting others.[52] However, it was not a practice that was unique to Europe. Simon of Saint-Quentin, an emissary of the pope to the Mongol Empire in 1247, condemned the Georgian and Armenian clergy of being usurers and he also said that the Mongols too were usurers; he provided specific examples of onerous interest rates and excessive loan agreements which the Mongols had established with their subjects in Georgia.[53] Thus, usury could be condemned as something practiced by foreigners, schismatic Christians, and barbarous people. Moreover,

[50] Ibid.
[51] See more on medieval Jewish credit: Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock reconsidered: Jews, moneylending, and medieval society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
[52] Le Goff, *Your Money, Your Life*, 9.
[53] Jean Richard, *Histoire des Tartares* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1965), 35-36, 58-61.

usury, because of its obvious connection to money, was interpreted as a sin by medieval thinkers whose viewpoint came from the Bible and the writings of early Church theologians.[54]

Despite of the common idea that everything pertaining to money is despicable, due to the economic demands of the society, the Catholic Church needed to be flexible in terms of ideas about money-lending. Before the emergence of the monetary economy, money was considered a tool of the devil, and any involvement in the money-lending business would lead to condemnation. Thus, the only circumstance which made lending money acceptable was a situation of necessity. Providing credit for interest was generally prohibited and condemned by the Church, leading thinkers, and rulers.[55]

From the viewpoint of the Church, credit on fair terms was acceptable. Fair terms meant basically that there was no interest, and the client only paid back the exact sum which was taken. Nevertheless, usury remained one of the main social issues of the thirteenth century. The commercial revolution of the fourteenth century was based on credit, and this was accompanied by the sudden spread of coins and the monetary economy. Because of this abrupt change in the economy, the pre-existing value systems and the Church faced a new challenge, namely the possible questioning of traditional Christian values.

And such a thing did happen. Law codes knew exceptions for acceptable cases of usury. If one examines the law books, such as the twelfth-century compilation known as the *Decretum Gratiani*, there is an exception on the usual prohibition: usury might be acceptable if the loan was taken by a foreigner. Moreover, according to *Codex Justinianus*, there was no problem with a limited degree of usury as it allowed 6% interest on loans made by ordinary citizens, 8%

[54] The Apostle Paul famously wrote that the "love of money is the root of all evil." Condemning excessive wealth and greed was a key part of the Christian viewpoint from the very beginning of Christian writings.
[55] Thomas Aquinas attempted to outline this idea of necessity to borrow money in a situation of usury, but it is not exactly clear. See: Michael J. Hagen, "St. Thomas Aquinas: Economy of the Just Society," *Australian Student Scholars Conference* (2012): 25. accessed at: April, 12 2019, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/54b3/a5199caa0142cbc0efb06ef8437d0f2f1b43.pdf .

for banks, and 12% on maritime loans.[56] Sharp change was introduced in 1215, due to the newly established principles of the Fourth Lateran Council. Canon Law - in theory - became recognized as superior over the other types of law. Canon law declared a ban of usury, but it attached this whole practice to the Jewry.[57] Nevertheless, other money-lending groups beside the Jews, such as the Lombards and the Templars, were accused of usury as well during the Middle Ages. The accusations and consequences were serious to the extent that these groups, just like the Jewry, were expelled from kingdoms.[58] Nevertheless, what exactly made a loan usury remained a blurry issue. Under some circumstances, demanding interest was acceptable. One example could be in cases of lending with high risk. This was the case in situations where the creditor was taking a risk so that more had to be paid back than had been loaned initially. The justification was that if the creditor ended up having suffered a loss, he or she would have to be compensated.[59]

2.3 Money-lending and Usury in the Town of Toulouse

Unfortunately, no abundant number of written sources has survived to our time from thirteenth-century Toulouse. Nevertheless, there are some charters and loan agreement which help us develop some basic idea about the activity of Toulousan money-lenders.

Based on contracts and court cases, extensive money-lending activity has been illustrated by John Mundy. In several court cases, the debtors were able to win the case against their

[56] Joshua Vincent, "Historical, Religious and Scholastic Prohibition of Usury: The Common Origins of Western and Islamic Financial Practices" (2014). *Law School Student Scholarship*. 600, accessed at: 13 April, 2019, https://scholarship.shu.edu/student_scholarship/600.

[57] Gerard Caprio (ed.), *Handbook of Key Global Financial Markets, Institutions, and Infrastructure* (Boston: Elsevier, 2013), 238.

[58] The anti-usury campaigns following the Fourth Lateran Council were quite widespread and affected many groups in society who were suspected. In Rheims in 1234 the local clergy accused the local bourgeoisie of usury and threatened serious consequences. In Flemish towns there was a similar widespread campaign against anybody suspected of usury. See: Ibid., 238-239.

[59] Vincent, "Historical, Religious and Scholastic Prohibition of Usury," 2014.

creditors by accusing them of usury. Such claims are testified to, and due to the fervid attack of the Catholic Church on the usury the financiers were unable to get away with lending money for a profit. However, these attempts to suppress usury were not entirely successful, as is seen in the Toulousan sources. Mundy points out that creditors often defended themselves by changing the wordings of the contracts. For instance, instead of the revealing terms of *lucrum* or *usura* (which is basically equivalent to today's profit), the agreements in the thirteenth century start to use the term *pena*, which means punishment for not fulfilling the terms correctly. Moreover, sometimes the creditors obliged their clients to guarantee in writing that they will not sue them in court. The Catholic Church's intensive attack on the practice of usury was also supported by different ecclesiastical institutions which understood it as a chance to regain formerly mortgaged ecclesiastical properties. Since the word *pignus* (mortgage) was also greatly compromising, those agreements which contained this word could be easily be used to win before the court. However, there were other types of cases which showed that the debtors acted on their own free will to take the usurious loan and later tried to avoid the punishment which was waiting for the debtor.

Regarding the religion of the creditors, we can surely conclude that in Toulouse not only the Jews were involved in money-lending activities. According the source material which Mundy processed, noblemen like members of the de Roaxio family,[60] and ecclesiastical institutions such as the Hospitallers could be accused with usury.[61] Besides them, one could find non-noble but wealthy burghers of Toulouse, and members of the Jewish community as well, among those groups who were involved in money-lending. The group of debtors was also

[60] John H. Mundy, *Society and Government*, 187.
[61] John H. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 208-209.

very mixed. The members of the local elite and ordinary burghers, both Christians and Jews, got into financial situations in which they needed to turn to creditors.

To conclude it is certain that in Toulouse, money-lending for interest was flourishing during the High Middle Ages, though the Catholic Church and popes made serious attempts to suppress usury not only in Toulouse of course but in the whole of Christian Europe. Despite the serious efforts, in Toulouse the practice of usury was not going to disappear, but gaining money by giving loans became dangerous, and thus creditors tried to keep their business in secret. As Mundy points out, by forbidding money-lending for interest, the Church restricted the freedom of the economy, which might have caused or deepened certain social issues.[62]

However, it must be noted that even if Templars and the Jews were lending money for interest, by the expulsion of these groups, there would have still remained enough social groups who would willingly provide credit, since as was pointed out by Mundy, Christians were providing loans as well. Moreover, it was not unknown to the French kings either. For example, Louis IX made serious attempts to suppress usury in his kingdom, and these were aimed at Christian usurers as well, or rather usury in general. He also emphasized the impurity of the Jews and even threatened them with an expulsion in 1254 after he returned from the crusade, unless they stop the practice of usury, magic, and blasphemy. In the same year, the issued an ordonnance which banned the Jewish credits in general.[63] However, Louis IX announced the expulsion of the foreign pawnbrokers, among them, Lombards and Cahorsins, from his country in 1269, saying they were contributing in the impoverishment of the French kingdom and

[62] John H. Mundy, *Society and Government,* 179-195.
[63] *Ceterim ordinationem factam in perpetuum de Judeis observari districte precepimus que talis est : Judei cessent ab usuris.* Eusèbe de Laurière (eds): *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisiéme race, recueillies par ordre chronologique.I (Paris:de l'imprimerie Royale 1723), 75.*

committing many sins.[64] The opinion if his grandson was no less forceful: he reserved the right himself to punish usurers.[65]

Sources from the time often emphasize the difference of the Jews – their different faith and customs, their lack of belief, their insults to Christianity, or for examples the blood-libels. The other two groups mentioned in this thesis were actually Christian, but still, the Templars got accused of heresy, which made them a "minority" group, or at least outsiders from French society.

3. The Jewish Expulsion of 1306

After having discussed the topic of medieval money-lending in general, I am turning to the events – namely the expulsion of the Jews and the dissolution of the Templar Order. In the first part of the chapter is a summary of the city of Toulouse and its history, since these cases were not only important on the scale of the whole kingdom, but also important events on a local level. Then, after a short introduction of the medieval expulsion, I look first at the events of 1306. Second, the brief history of the French Jewry is described along with the possible driving forces behind the expulsion. This will be followed by the analysis of the Toulouse source material related to the expulsion and the local scale of the events.

3.1 The History of the City of Toulouse

According to its popular legend of origin, the city of Toulouse or as it was called before the Frankish period, *Tolosa*, was founded by the tribe of the Volques-Tectosages. This originally Eastern-European tribe settled down in the Languedoc area in the year of 391 BC.

[64]William R. Dorin, "Banishing Usury: The Expulsion of Foreign Moneylenders in Medieval Europe, 1200-1450*"* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015), 94.
[65] Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 249.

Centuries later, the Roman armies which were occupying the adjoining town of Narbonne expanded their protectorate to the city of Toulouse. Under Roman protection, the city of Toulouse was flourishing because of its wine trade with Italy among other things. Around the middle of the third century AD, Toulouse was Christianized by Saint Sernin or as he was also known, Saint Saturnin, who suffered martyrdom in Toulouse.[66] In 418, the Visigoths occupied the city and made Toulouse into their capital. In 507 under the leadership of Clovis, the Frankish army defeated the Visigoths who were forced to leave the territory of Gallia and thus their capital as well. Toulouse preserved its leading role in Languedoc through the Frankish period as well, though it was seized by the North African tribes in 721. In the year 778 an extremely important office came to existence, the count of Toulouse.[67] This title of the Toulousan counts was hereditary, and they owed fidelity to the French kings. Moreover, the count of Toulouse was one of the most powerful land-holding lords of Southern France.

After the fall of the Carolingian Empire, the power of the Toulousan counts and the lords of territories attempted to expand their power even further. The years between the ninth to the eleventh centuries in the southern territories of France were spent on territorial struggles and with religious reformation movements.[68] In the thirteenth century, Toulouse was well-known for being one of the most important cities which had suffered damage because of the Albigensian Crusade. This military campaign was aimed against the Cathar heretics, or the Albigensians, whose base was the Midi and Languedoc area.[69] The members of this movement were dualists, which means that they believed in two superior entities or gods, one of which was supposed to be good and the other evil.

[66] Philippe Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse,* (Privat: Toulouse, 1958), 24-28.
[67] Ibid, 40-45.
[68] Ibid, 401.
[69] The most important Cathar city was Albi that where their other name, Albigensian, derives from.

In order to re-establish the approved Catholic form of Christianity in Languedoc, a Crusade was started by the French Kingdom, supported by Innocent III. The military campaigns lasted for twenty years and as result Catharism was finally destroyed; in 1229 the Treaty of Paris was signed which was meant to join Toulouse closer to the crown. The daughter of the count of Toulouse, Raymond VII, was married to the brother of king, Alphonse of Poitiers. Thus, the Toulouse county finally in 1271 was joined to the French crown.[70]

3.2. The Phenomenon of the Expulsions

Turning the discussion to the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, we can first reflect on the general phenomenon and its social effects. During an expulsion of this kind, a minority group was forced to abandon its former home. An event of this kind and the threat of it happening had psychological effects, like the strengthening of the feeling of group cohesion. As Dorin puts it, "An expulsion might be temporary or permanent, individual or collective, legally mandated or arbitrarily imposed. The target might be banished to a particular place or the space of the expulsion might be left open-ended. Expulsion might be a penalty in itself or it might be and institutionalized means of avoiding a still graver penalty."[71]

Frequently, when one speaks about the expulsions of the pre-modern era, we think foremost about the Jewish communities in Europe since many well-known cases involved them. The reason behind these expulsions has usually been considered as relating to the religious difference of the Jewish minority from the Christian majority, since that was the official reason which was expressed by the decision makers behind the expulsion of the Jews. This reason was also emphasized by some historians, while other scholars have tended to discuss economic and financial reasons. To achieve more clarity on this topic, we should

[70] Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 137.
[71] Dorin, "Banishing Usury," 7.

expand the analysis to consider the expulsion of other groups whose members happened to be Christians just like the majority of the society from which they were expelled. For example, some groups of this kind which were expelled from communities include the Lombard bankers, foreign lepers, and foreign prostitutes.[72] In these cases, we cannot talk about religious differences as the cause, so we need to look for other driving forces. The common characteristic in all these group is that they were foreign in ethnicity. While foreigners (regarding both nationality or religion) had to face the threat of expulsion often, "native" groups, including native usurers, could live mostly in safety.

The Jews and the Templars can be seen as similar minorities in a sense, because they were depicted as perfidious strangers in contrast to the majority of the society. The Jews were perfidious by virtue of their religion, but the Templars were made into a heretical group by accusations of improper beliefs and conduct. This viewpoint was approved at the Council of Vienne. As Moore puts it: "*Heretics were to be excommunicated and handed over to the secular power for punishment, and their property, confiscated. Those suspected of heresy were also to be excommunicated and given a year in which to clear themselves. If they failed, the same punishment would follow."*[73] This idea, combined with the idea of the threatening presence of a minority to the majority of the society allowed medieval rulers and the adversaries of the certain groups to persecute them, and by this they gained several financial and political advantages.

[72] Ibid., 10.
[73] T.K Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society: authority and deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 7.

3.3. The History of the Jews in France and Toulouse

It is very uncertain when the Jews appeared in France, but it seems probable that some Jews lived there in the Roman period already. Jews were serving as diplomats for the Carolingian rulers and they were involved in both long-distance and short-distance trade as well in the Early Middle Ages. The first Jewish quarter of Paris was established under the Carolingian rulers.[74] The Jewish communities must have been important to the economy of the Empire, since different privileges such as exemption from customs and duties were granted to them. Regarding their status, they were considered free men, not servants though there were no existing legal guarantees against exploitation of the Jews. French Jews belonged under the jurisdiction of their territorial lords, which meant the lord of the given territory had the right to collect the Jewish taxes.

Later in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the trading activity of the Jewish communities was overshadowed by their money-lending activity. From these years, the Jews of France also had to face several expulsions. The first one was ordered by Philip Augustus, who expelled them in 1182, and sold their properties in auctions. Then, the Jews were recalled in 1189, most probably because of the negative effect on the economy which was caused by the absence of the taxes which they formerly paid. The second expulsion in France was the Great Expulsion of 1306, while the last medieval expulsion of the Jews happened in 1394.[75]

Originally the city of Toulouse consisted of two parts: the Bourg and the City.[76] The latter was the wealthier, densely populated one, while the Bourg was the poorer and not as prestigious part of the town. However, during the thirteenth century the dissimilarities of the

[74] See more on this at: Robert Anchel, "The Early History of Jewish quarters in Paris," *Jewish Social Studies*, 2, no. 1, (1940 January), 46.
[75] Esther Benbassa, *The Jews of France. A history from Antiquity to the Present*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 3-33.
[76] See Map 1. in the Appendices.

two parts were slowly fading away.[77] The Jews settled down in the City part of the town in the *carraria Provincialis judei*, a street indicated as the Jewish quarter. The Toulousan Jewish community was rather a small group, but equally wealthy to the Christian burghers of the city. Although in the Middle Ages, the Christians and Jews kept their separation to some extent, it is clear that Jews and Christians often lived together, and Toulouse is a good example for this. In the Toulousan Jewish quarter, Christians lived as well next to their Jewish neighbors. The flexibility of the relationship between Jews and Christians is further emphasized by the fact that not every Jewish family lived in the Jewish quarter which means they were not forced to live in the Jewish quarter. One family between 1176 and 1213 lived in the Bourg instead of the City where the Jewish quarter were situated. Mundy has stressed that some Jewish women were referred to as *domina* in charters which also points to a rather pleasant co-existence of the two different religious communities. Regarding their profession, the Jews of Toulouse were involved in commerce, money-lending, and also many of them were doctors or farmers.[78]

Indeed, the residents of the town of Toulouse were somewhat relaxed towards the Jewish minority, if not tolerant. For example, Jews were allowed to have properties such as real estate or vineyards. Moreover, the value of the Jewish houses in Toulouse was considered above average, though certainly not opulent.[79] On the other hand, the growing aversion, initiated by the Capetian dynasty emerged in the course of the thirteenth century. For example, Joinville, a companion of Louis IX remembers the French king advocating laymen use of violence to settle doctrinal disputes with Jews and to stop insults to Christianity.[80] The hostility also pervaded the government of the town, the seneschals of the area, the ecclesiastical

[77] Mundy, "*Society and Government"*22-25.
[78] Marcelle Reynaud, "Juifs et Judaïsme de Languedoc XIIIe siècle-début XIVe siècle, sous la direction de Vicaire (Marie-Humbert) et Blumenkranz (Bernhard)," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 58, no. 1, (1980) 283-285.
[79] Mundy, "*Society and Government*," 79-81.
[80]Jacob Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315-1791,* (New York: JPS, 1938), 41-42.

institutions, including for example the Carmelites.[81] This in turn seriously damaged the solidarity of the Christian burghers with their Jewish neighbors.[82] Still, during the Great Expulsion in 1306 the Christian inhabitants remained mostly indifferent towards the Jews.[83]

3.4. The Jewish Policy of Philip IV

As William C. Jordan points out, Philip IV seems to have been a king who aimed to follow the successful policy of his predecessors. In fact, he did not really need to attempt any dramatic shift, since after strengthening the southern borders of his kingdom which were endangered because of the failure of the Aragonese Crusade, Philip could start his rule in a relatively peaceful kingdom. Due to the strengthening process, he ensured the pacified southern regions would not attempt to gain more autonomy. Moreover, the French economy experienced general prosperity in these years, according to Jordan.

Though Philip IV did not invent the practice of general mass expulsions, he had quite a few examples to follow from his predecessors. For example, Philip II expelled the Jews from the royal domains, and in 1240 a general expulsion of Jews from Bretagne took place, and in 1286 there was one from Anjou and Maine which was ordered by Charles II of Anjou, the nephew of Saint Louis and the lord of the mentioned territories. The latter, thirteenth-century expulsions occurring only at a local level meant that the Jewish laws introduced by Saint Louis kept weakening in force. Territorial lords gave up the idea to force the Jewish communities living in their territory to be converted to Christianity. Instead, they chose to offer the possibility of

[81] Mundy, "*Society and Government,"* 282. The Carmelite order desired to relocate from the outside of the town to the inner part of the city on account of being disturbed by floods. and the place they chose in 1247 was the Jewish quarter, because they found it would be a good place to promote the Christian faith and to confute the Jewish people of the area. They requested that the vicar of Toulouse confiscate their property at one point and in general showed hostility towards the Jewish residence.
[82] Jacob Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook 315-1791*, (New York: JPS, 1938), 41-42.
[83] Mundy, "*Society and Government,"* 283.

converting into Christianity or being expelled. In addition to the local ones, a general expulsion of the Jews from England happened in 1290, ordered by the English king, Edward I. [84]

Nevertheless, as the examples of the local expulsions shows, Jews kept being targeted in French territories, but being expelled as whole, homogenous community has never been done before 1306, even while usurers were targeted by Saint Louis. Indeed, for a variety of reasons, Jews could be useful for a Christian ruler. For instance, Augustine, one of the main medieval Church fathers of Christianity claimed that Jews are almost necessary to have living next to a Christian community so that through the Jews, the truth of Christianity could be testified. On the other hand, even if mass expulsions did not happen before 1290, Jewish communities were already suffering from serious accusations such as blood libels and desecration of the host. [85]

A negative attitude of Philip IV towards the French Jewish communities seems to be clear even from the early years of his reign. Although he affirmed those Jewish properties which were necessary to maintain the religion such as synagogues and cemeteries, he mandated Jews to wear badges to indicate their different religion. Philip the Fair was also very determined to enforce the anti-usury laws of Saint Louis, thus continuing the traditional, extremely suspicious attitude towards Jews. This attitude emerged in accusing the Jews that they built usury even into those loans where it was not immediately visible. The jurisdictional right of Philip over the Jews in the southern territories was threatened both by the Inquisition and the barons of Southern France. He ensured the Inquisition about his strong support, and he also acted as the most vigilant adversary of the Jews by warning his officials to be cautious with the *relapsi* (relapsed) Jews.

[84] Barkey, Katznelson, "States, Regimes, and Decisions," 497-500.
[85] See more on this issue for example: Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 40-48. On the fourteenth century see: David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

In addition to this, in exchange for the taxes of the Jews, he granted privileges to southern landlords concerning the Jews living in their territories, but at the same time, the king preserved the crown's right to profit from the taxes which kept being collected from the Jews.[86] This complicated legal situation and frequent taxations resulted in the emergence of a new Judicial court in Toulouse led by the government of the town. The courts were dealing with special Jewish taxation issues until 1304.

One of the key elements of Philip's Jewish policy was that he kept squeezing the Jews in order to gain financial resources. These taxations not only burdened the Jews, but also their debtors. The king forced the debtors of the Jews to pay back their loans because he wanted to increase the taxation of the Jews. Due to the Christian debtors' inability to pay and the Jewish attempts to gain an exemption from paying the taxes, arrears were frequent, causing further distress for Philip IV. In addition to this, the general impoverishment of the French Jewry made it even harder to collect taxes from them. The Jewish expulsions from different territories and from England put an onerous burden on the Jewish communities of certain French towns, for example Paris. According to Jordan, the immigrants were usually poor, and they relied on their coreligionists in their new cities to which they were arriving. Due to this, Philip the Fair tried to prevent the mass migration of these Jews to the French towns.

Although, this pressure of the immigrants was concentrated mostly in the north of France, the wealthier southern Jewish communities also had to face financial difficulties because of taxes they had to pay as well. According to Jordan, the normal yearly revenue from Jewish taxes for the French crown was probably around 15 000 *livres.* However, during the Anglo-French War, Philip IV attempted to collect 215 000 *livres* from the Jews, as an irregular tax

[86] Benbassa, "*The Jews of France,"*13. Traditionally, the Jews who were living in those territories which were controlled by the French king the Jews were considered as property of the royal treasury *(ad cameram nostram),* but in the southern parts of the kingdom, where the seigneurial lords were non-restricted control, the Jews belonged under the lord of the territory in which they lived.

contributing to the expenses of his war.[87] Besides this number, the unusual "joyful" gift of 20 000 *livres* might seem tokens.[88]

Due to these extreme taxation figures, by the year of 1306 the French Jewry was nearly devastated financially, which made the idea of the expulsion more appealing to Philip, since then he could gain more by property confiscations and auctions than he could by further taxation.

3.5. The Possible Driving Forces behind the Expulsion

In 1306 Philip IV secretly decided to expel the Jews from the French Kingdom. Hebrew and French sources from the time are silent about the reason, though the different authors might approve or disapprove of it.[89] Some mentioned that the Jews were imprisoned at first and that they were all expelled from the country ("*tous les Juifs"* in an anonymous French chronicle). Since it was an extreme situation, but the sources do not have much detail, it was not surprising that there are many theories about it.[90] What seems to be known is that around June 8, 1306 the Jews started to be arrested, and by June 21, Philip the Fair seized the goods and property of the Jews. The deadline for them to exit the country was made July 22, 1306.[91] Before this, already at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Jews lost freedom of movement and were under the authority of lords who considered their property their own. After the expulsion there are records of thirteen court cases between these lords of the southern territories and the officers of the king related to seizing Jewish property.[92]

[87] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, 180-199.
[88] Mechoulan, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306*,"* 14.
[89] Schwarzfuchs, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France," 482-484.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Céline Balasse, "Les conflits de juridiction nés autour de l'expulsion de 1306: une tentative de renforcement du pouvoir royal?" in *Philippe le Bel et les Juifs du royaume de France (1306)*, ed. D. Iancu-Agou (Paris: CERF, 2012), 126.
[92] Ibid., 126-127.

Regarding the expulsions of the money-lending groups that I selected as the subjects of this thesis, and this expulsion of Jews specifically, different explanations have been already offered by scholars. Although the question "why" probably cannot be answered with a hundred percent certainty, recent historical writing generally accepted that it definitely had some financial drivers.[93] However, we must mention the possible religious reasons behind the expulsions. Under the reign of Philip the Fair, rumors were spread about the impure Jews, who were desecrating the host. Among suspected perpetrators, the most important alleged preparators of these acts were the perfidious Jew, who ritually abused the host, thus offending Christ. Even if the host desecration charges were not believed by Philip, as the Most Christian King he could not let these communities stay in his country after the accusations, or he simply used these accusations for propagandistic purposes. [94]

Some historians support the idea of the financial reasons behind the expulsions. According to Joseph Strayer, the Great Expulsion of 1306 (and also the Templar's dissolution) had merely fiscal reasons, but the income from it was only enough for a short-term relief of Philip IV.[95] According to the argument of Barkey and Katznelson, while Philip IV was trying to establish the general tax, negotiations started to take place between the French king and his subjects. Philip made agreements with his Christian subjects and gained their support for his reforms. Due to this, his subjects supported Philip's goals during the establishment of the newly centralized state and its related military campaigns, not only with manpower resources, but with money as well. They were willing to pay extraordinary taxes to the king, but this would put a huge burden on the debtors of the Jews. Thus, eliminating the creditors was doing these loyal subjects a favor by essentially getting rid of their debt.[96]

[93] Schwarzfuchs, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France," 488.
[94] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jew*, 190-199.
[95] Joseph *Strayer, The Reign of Philip the Fair,* 154.
[96] Barkey, Katznelson, "States, Regimes, and Decisions," 497-500.

According to Céline Balasse, part of the reason that the motivations are not entirely clear to us is that the royal edict of the expulsion has not survived to our time, though even if it had, it is unlikely that it would have clearly contained each motive.[97] Philip wanted to favor his non-Jewish subject who were suffering because of the Jews, so he could rely on the support of the common French people, against the aristocracy and high clergy. Besides that, another reason for the expulsion could have been the attempt of Philip the Fair to always try to increase his power and force his will upon the French aristocracy, which – to some extent – was successful.[98]

Looking at the Jews of Toulouse specifically in the period leading up to the expulsion, they had a prosperous community in the late thirteenth century, but their situation deteriorated after this part of Languedoc was attached to the French crown in 1271. Alphonse of Poitiers, the brother of Louis IX and the count of Toulouse from 1249 to 1271, had already started severe measures against the Jews that paved the way for their expulsion in 1306. In October 1268, just before the Crusade to Tunis, Saint Louis simply decreed the expulsion of Jews from the whole of his territories, but the lords successfully resisted and stopped him.[99] An ordinance of Phillip III (r. 1270-1285) of France in 1283 signaled new measures for the Jews of Toulouse – the banning of the Talmud and the creation of new synagogues, the banning of Christian nurses and servants in Jewish houses, and by the arrival of members of the Inquisition he strengthened the monitoring of the situation and guard the faith against heretics and Jews.[100] The situation that was paving the way for a dramatic expulsion was evidently developing in the local community of Toulouse as well, but whether anyone expected seems doubtful..

[97] Balasse "Les conflits de juridictionnés autour de l'expulsion,"125.
[98] Ibid., 134. See also: Théry, Julien, "The Expulsion of the Jews in 1306 and the Construction of a French Royal Theocracy," Astract.of Presentation at the Central European University conference, "Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Process of Expulsion and Diaspora," **(**June 6, 2013).
[99] Georges Passerat, "Les Juifs de Toulouse entre deux Expulsions," in *Philippe le Bel et les Juifs du royaume de France (1306)*, ed. D. Iancu-Agou (Paris: CERF, 2012), 161.
[100] Gustave Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au XIVe siècle* (Paris: 1881), 212-213.

3.6. The Expulsion of 1306 in Toulouse

In 1306, the event of the expulsion happened abruptly, the order for the entire country-wide expulsion being made in a single day. It must have been a huge shock, because the forthcoming event was made intentionally obscure. In the case of Toulouse, there exists a document dated to June 21, 1306 which mentions a royal command that the agents of the king told to the seneschal of Toulouse, following a common practice of transmitting important royal messages orally, while also carrying a letter that the messenger's words must be believed.[101]

The details are uncertain regarding arrests and expulsions in Toulouse. The agents of the king William of Nogaret and John of Saint-Juste, did not arrive until the end of the year to begin the sale of immovable property,[102] which is when we receive records that allow us to better analyze what happened. Nine charters[103] survive from Toulouse which are concerning the sales of several properties of real estate which had belonged to the Jewish community of the city (Table 1). However, it must be noted here, that these charters are only a small fragment of the auctions which took place in Toulouse, according to Stéphane Mechoulan.[104] Based on the calculation of Yves Dossat, around this time the numbers of Jews living in the city of Toulouse were somewhere between 425 and 500 persons,[105] while Jordan estimates that in the Toulouse county was home to 1000 Jews,[106]thus the 9 surviving charters safely can be seen as a fragment of the number of original documents. From the ten immovable pieces of property, eight were sold in 1306 and only two were purchased in 1307. The types of the properties are varied; one can find houses, workshops, and even a field.

[101] Ibid., 165.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc,* 244-255.
[104] Mechoulan, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306," 558.
[105] Yves Dossat, "Les Juifs à Toulouse: un demi-siècle d'histoire communautaire." in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, ed by Vicaire, Marie-Humbert. Cahiers de Fanjeaux. (Toulouse: Privat, 1977), 128.
[106] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews,* 209.

	Date of the Purchase	Previous Jewish Owner	New Owner	Purchase price	Property Type
1.	20, November 1306	Marin de la Rochelle	Jean de Nogaret	166 livres Tournois, 30 solidus and 4 denari	House and workroom
2.	22, November, 1306	Isaac de Muret (and his wife)	Guillaume Gozi	135 minor livres Tournois	House
3.	22, November 1306	not specified	Pierre Bergognon et Jacques Mercier	30 minor livres Tournois	Workroom
4.	23, November, 1306	Salomon Alegre	Belin Bergognon	30 minor livres Tournois	House and workoom
5.	23, November 1306	Bonmancip	Guillame Le Don de Castro Gairico	72 minor livres Tournois	House
6.	26, November, 1306	Belid	Aveta de Laus	105 minor solidus Tournois	Land
7.	2, December 1306	Jewish Community of Toulouse	Garneri de Fresnoy	70 minor livres Tournois	House
8.	24, March 1307	Bonmancip	Étienne Bergognon	110 minor livres Tournois	House
9.	24, March 1307	Salomon Alègre	Belin Bergognon and, Margerite (wife of Jean de Valentrés)	150 minor livres Tournois	House

1. Table 1. The inventories of the houses and workshops from the auction of the Jewish property in Toulouse, 1306

Moreover, the differences between the price of the different estates in some cases are more than significant. For instance, Guillaume Le Don de Castro Gairico had to pay only 72 minor *livres tournois*, while Guillaume Gozi paid 135 minor *livres tournois* for the same type of property, a house and a workshop. All the auctions listed here were conducted by William of Nogaret.[107] Besides him, we find John of Saint-Juste, the Cantor of Albi, who was also a clerk of the royal treasury.[108] The money they received after the purchases devolved to the crown. From these charters it can be clearly seen that the expulsion was not only beneficial to Philip IV, but also to the burghers of Toulouse since they had a great chance to own some properties, instead of, for example, renting them. It also would seem possible that some of the buyers were craftsmen since as the workshops and houses with workshops suggest who purchasers might be. However, we have only two buyers whose jobs are noted in the charters. One of them was mentioned already in the first chapter, Jean de Nogaret, who was a doctor, and probably the relative of the legate William of Nogaret.[109] Another mention of the occupations the purchasers are found in the ninth charter related to Belin Bergognon and the wife of Jean de Valentrés. They were listed as *mercier* and *mercière* respectively which means merchants of clothing, sewing equipment, accessories, etc. While these purchasers were not necessarily craftsmen, that does not mean that the other purchasers of the houses and the workshops could not have been craftsmen.

Due to Mundy's extensive and detailed research on the city of Toulouse I am able to take a look at the topography of the Jewish quarter of the town, which might also reveal some

[107] See for example: Yves Dossat, "Guillaume de Nogaret, petit fils d' hérétique" *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale,* Vol. 53, No 212, (1941): 391-402.
[108]It is not specified whether it is the older Jean of Saint Juste, the Master of Chamber, or his nephew who became the clerk of accounts in 1315. However, he is mentioned as the church singer of Albi. see: Joseph R Strayer, *The reign of Philip the Fair,* 62, 185.
[109] Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse,* 117.

curious pieces of information.[110] As I pointed out earlier, from the two parts of the city of Toulouse the Jews settled down in the so-called city, which was not only the wealthier part, but also the more prestigious one compared to the Bourg. As it is also clear from the charter evidence, the Jews certainly had Christian neighbors. The Jewish quarter similarly to other European cities was erected in the proximity of the Synagogue (see Map 1; no. 26). The Jewish quarter was situated in near the market of de la Pierre (Map 1; no 22) and the market of Montaygon (Map 1. no 23.) The distance between the two markets and the Jewish quarter was 300-400 meters (de la Pierre) and 600-700 meters (Montaygon) which should take about 4-5 minutes walking to get from the Jewish quarter to the market. This proximity could have been tempting for the merchants of the town, which supports the probability of the idea that the purchasers were merchants in more than one case.

The abundant number of religious buildings near the Jewish quarter is also striking. Regarding Map 1., the number 25 is the Dalbade parish church, and number 27 is the parish church of Saint-Victor. Number 29 marks the property of the Hospitallers which was also about 300 meters from the Synagogue and the Jewish quarter. Numbers 31 and 32 are indicating the Templars and the Carmelites (See Map 1.).

[110] During the analysis, I will give details about exact distances in those cases where I could find reliable information for calculation.

1. Map 1. The city of Toulouse in the thirteenth century. For a better resolution image, see Appendices. This map is based on the Plan Saguet of 1750, the important locations and buildings of thirteenth-fourteenth centuries are identified by Mundy. See Mundy, "Society and Government at Toulouse,"6-8.

After the brief analysis of some topographical data, I shall turn to the financial implications of the expulsion. In the table below, we can see the total sums of money which the king received from the auctions (table 2). According to William C. Jordan, Philip the Fair gained 87,000 *livres tournois* in debased coins from the county of Toulouse, which if calculated in terms of standard uncorrupted *livres tournois* would have come to 30,000.[111] As one can see, the king obtained 763 *livres minor tournois* and 105 *solidus tournois* in corrupted currency.[112] Following the calculation of Jordan,[113] our charters show that the properties were sold for a total of 290 *livres tournois* and 40 *solidus tournois* if the coins had been uncorrupted currency. In addition to this, Jordan also thinks that most likely, the houses were bought by merchants,

[111] Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews,* 209-210.
[112] I believe that the word "minor" indicates that they use the corrupted rate of the money
[113] Jordan calculates with a 38% of corruption of the original good money.

craftsmen, physicians, and clerks.[114] It is also indicated in the Toulouse evidence that a doctor and a merchant couple bought houses. Moreover, the proximity of the marketplace and the attached workshops supports the idea that among the new owners several merchants and craftsmen could be listed. The synagogue itself and another five shops which had a "very good location," were sold in 1310 for a 700 *livres tournois*, as Mundy pointed out, though he does not indicate if it this refers to a calculation of the standard undebased type of livres.[115] It is not immediately clear if the pieces of real estate were sold under their real value, but it is clear that debased coinage was used in these sales. The price policy is also not immediately clear. Some scholars argue that the king was earning large percentages of these transactions,[116] while other scholars state that he received only a token amount.[117]

2. Table 2. Calculations of total sums of coins which King Philip IV received in the Toulouse property auctions

Jordan's calculation: total gain from Toulouse county (corrupted)	**Jordan's calculation: total gain from Toulouse county (non- corrupted)**	**Total sums of Table 1. (corrupted)**	**Total sums od Table 1. (non-corrupt**ed)
87,000 *livres tournois*	30,000 *livres tournois*	763 *livres minor tournois* and 105 *solidus tournois*	290 *livres tournois* and 40 *solidus tournois*

4. The Dissolution of the Templar Order

In the following chapter, I will move to the dissolution of the Knights Templars which quickly followed the expulsion of the Jews. First, I look at the history of the Order in general, and second, I will turn to the Languedoc area. Following this, I will turn to the events between

[114] Jordan *The French Monarchy and the Jews,* 212.
[115] Mundy, *Society and Government,* 81.
[116] Strayer, *The Reign of Philippe the Fair*, 154.
[117] L. Lazard, "Les revenus tirés des juifs de France," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 15 (1887): 241. Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc,* 104. Schwarfuchs, "The Expulsion of the Jews from France," 488.

the years 1307 and 1314, providing a short introduction of the arrests and inquiries. This will be followed by a section on the city of Toulouse, including an analysis of the confiscated possessions of the Knights.

4.1. The History of the Templar Order

The Order was founded in 1120 in Jerusalem, by seven French knights under the leadership of Hugues the Payens. The main aim of the Order was to continue the committed fight against the Saracens in the Holy Land and to secure the pilgrimage routes as well. The new foundation was confirmed by the synod of Troyes, in 1128. Later the Templars were granted several privileges by different popes. For example, in 1163 Alexander III gave a privilege to the Order that they could not be excommunicated, and they were placed under papal and only papal jurisdiction. Originally, the Templars vowed to stay poor, but they started to receive more and more donations, and thus their wealth was increasing. They also utilized the cash donations shrewdly, engaging in practices like offering money-transfers, guarding deposits, and providing loans for European rulers, which – according to Máté Molnár – deepened the rivalry between the Templars, the Lombard bankers, and the Jews. In addition to this, their increasing wealth meant increasing political influence, which also made the Templars more unpopular and feared.

It seems like that the crisis of the Templars started in 1291 when they lost Acre, their base in the Holy Land. This forced the knights to withdraw to Cyprus (along with the Hospitallers), which served as their new base. Parallel to this, their Western Europe-based communities became more important as well. Thus, the potential threat that their influence posed became a reality to the European rulers since the Templars not only were wealthy, but well-trained and effective militarily. While the use of their military abilities and money in the Holy Land was for a purpose which could have been beneficial to the European rulers, the

strengthening presence of these two Orders might have scared rulers and governments who did not want independent, unsupervised, and well-organized military forces in their own country.

However, even after the loss of Acre, the Templars still not give up on the Holy Land.[118] They made several attempts to start a Crusade which would have potentially involved the pope, the English king, and the French king. The first negotiations about a possible Crusade already began in 1278. The two main powers regarding the Crusades in the thirteenth century were the pope and the French king. The only point where the two rulers disagreed was the aim of the Crusade, because while Philip insisted on a Crusade against Constantinople in order to expand the French Monarchy by establishing a new Eastern kingdom, Pope Clement V insisted on recapturing the Holy Land, seeing that region as preferred aim. Though Philp IV would not join the crusaders, Charles of Valois, his brother, would have been the leader of the army. However, the discussions were not followed by a Crusade. In 1305, Philip IV suggested to unify the Hospitallers and Templars, and this new combined Order should be the leading force of the new Crusade.[119] Also, he wanted one of his sons to lead the new Order.[120] Around this time, Clement V asked the Grand Masters of the Orders to give their opinion on the question of a unified order. While the negative opinion of Jacques de Molay survived, the document written by William of Villaret, the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, seems to have vanished or maybe it never existed.[121]

From this point, events evidently sped up. The simultaneous arrest of the members of Templar Order happened in October 1307, during an exceptionally well-organized and carefully planned event. Whether the arrest was initiated by the objection of Jacques de Molay against the union of the Hospitallers and the Templars will be discussed later.

[118] Máté Molnár, *A templomos lovagrend alkonya*, (Miles Christi: Budapest, 2010), 17-19.
[119] This idea was not a novelty. The question of the unification of the military orders was a topic of debate since the second half of the thirteenth century. It was a recurring issue from the Council of Lyon in 1271. Ibid., 223.
[120] Ibid, 216-236.
[121] Ibid., 69-71.

4.2. The History of the Templars in Languedoc

Having discussed the general events in 1307-1314, the events of the dissolution of the Templars in Toulouse will be examined here. In the first part of this chapter, the specifics of the Toulouse will be analyzed. In the latter part of this chapter, I will analyze the inventory of the goods of the Templars in the city of Toulouse. The result of this inquiry will show us what could be the possible reasons behind the arrest and the dissolution according to the source material from Toulouse.

The county of Toulouse had a very interesting history in the medieval period in the sense that, since it was far from the royal court which was the center of the official power, the military orders tended to establish their base in Occitania. Thus, it was not only the Templar Order that established itself in the southern region of France, but also its most dangerous rival, the Order of the Hospitallers. Both preferred to be as far as possible from the royal control. It is clear that the Hospitallers also greatly liked the region of Occitania as a base even though it had to be divided between rivals. These two orders emerged in this region in the first half of the twelfth century, and the number of their members, just as the number and value of their properties, was increasingly rapidly until 1307, when the growth of the Templars was abruptly and forcefully stopped. Regarding Occitania in general, it should be noted that the Templars were more popular in the northern territories, while the Hospitallers dominated the southern part of the region. The latter were especially welcomed in the county of Toulouse. The center of both military orders was Saint Gilles, which provided them with excellent facilities for communication and trade with the eastern Mediterranean.[122]

The orders were already well established in Southern France during the Albigensian Crusade or the Cathar Crusade (1209-1229), fought in the territory of Languedoc against the

[122] Anotine Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse* (Marseille: Laffitte reprints, 1978), viii-xi.

heretic movements of the Cathars. The crusade ended successfully from the viewpoint of the French Crown – Languedoc and the county of Toulouse were annexed to the kingdom. However, this did not mean that it became an unproblematic territory following the annexation. Lesser conflicts and uprisings happened in the area, mainly due to the vast distance between Languedoc and the French king's court.

The military orders had a rather neutral attitude towards the Crusade against the Cathar heretics, unlike what we would expect of military orders, nor did the Hospitallers or the Templars get involved too deeply in it. However, some minor side-taking could be observed. It was a widespread rumor that the Hospitallers supported the heretics in some subtle way. For example, they happily received the news about the excommunication of Raymond VI, the count of Toulouse. The Templars on the other hand seem to have taken the side of the pope and the French king. For instance, when the commander of La Villedieu heard about a conspiracy against the bishop of Toulouse, he tortured the conspirers and banished them from the commandery. Nevertheless, both religious orders could have had some involvement with the heretic groups. The orders were deeply connected to the local communities where they established monasteries due to their recruitment processes. It could easily have happened that among their new members they received some ex-heretics or their offspring.

When a religious order received new knights from the local community, it was likely to gain properties through last wills of the family of the Order's members. In addition to that, these religious orders provided a special service to elderly people and to their families. For some donations, they were providing food and other kind of goods to those who were not able to take care of themselves anymore. This also increased their income from last wills

obviously.[123] Around the year 1307 the Templar Order were becoming unpopular and hostility was increasing towards them mainly because they were seen as the embodiment of greed.[124]

Indeed, it is true that Templars were involved deeply in banking and monetary politics even in France from the early twelfth century. In 1148 the Order loaned money to Louis VII for the Second Crusade. From the 1200s, some of the Templars held the office of the Royal Treasurer. Under the reign of Louis IX, the royal treasury was in the Temple. Nevertheless, the Templars became less important for the French monarchy under the reign of Philip III. He attempted to limit the property gained by the Order. Following his father, Philip IV confiscated all their belongings which had been acquired after 1258, the year that Louis IX acknowledged their acquired properties. However, at the beginning of Philip IV's rule, the fortified Temple of Paris was functioning as the Royal treasury and the treasurer was considered a royal official who was compiling financial reports about the crown's finances. The Templar Order was providing loans for Philip, too. For example, in 1287 it paid back to the knights a loan of 101,850 *livre Parisians*, and whenever the king was in deficit, the Order used its money to balance expenses with revenues.

Despite the Templars' gains in the thirteenth century, by 1295 the royal treasury was reestablished in the palace, and the Templars were partly substituted by two Italian Franzesi brothers, Biche and Mouche. The reason behind this was that they were more useful for the king when he wanted to take loans from the Italian merchants and bankers. Nevertheless, Philip still used Templars' loans as well, both in 1292 and 1294,[125] though after the move of the treasury they were only trusted with occasional tasks. For example, after the defeat of the

[123] Dominic Selwood, *The Knights of the Cloister* (Woolbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 43-47, 58-60.
[124] Sophia Menache, "The Templar Order: A Failed Ideal?" *The Catholic Historical Review* 79, no. 1 (1993), 10-11.
[125] Ignacio de la Torre, "The Monetary Fluctuations in Philip IV's Kingdom of France and Their Relevance to the Arrest of the Templars," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314),* ed. Jochen Burgtorf; Paul Crawford; Helen J Nicholson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 66-67.
59-61.

French army at Courtrai, a loyal Templar, Hugh of Pairaud, Visitor of the Temple in France, had to collect subsidies for the crown.[126] From 1303, a certain amount of the royal revenues again were ordered to be transferred to the Temple of Paris.[127] Maybe that is the reason why Philip IV confirmed all the possessions that the Templars had in 1304. Some other involvements can be detected in the royal monetary issues: in 1306 the Templars were ordered to pay wages for soldiers who had served in Flanders,[128] and John of Tour was still responsible the royal accounts of Normandy in 1307. According to Malcolm Barber, the reason behind the Templars losing important fiscal positions was the general transformation process of the French monarchy which was aimed at "rationalizing" the operation of the treasury, the administration, and the chancery. During the rationalization process, these important offices started to specialize more.[129]

Regarding the Templars in the city of Toulouse, we do not know the exact time when the Temple of the city was built. We only know that it must have happened in the first half of the twelfth century. We do have further data though about this house; it was seriously damaged around 1215. This damage might have been very serious since the first information about the new "palace" of the Templars is from 1298. Pertaining to the topographical situation of their church, it was somewhat on the outskirts of the town and very close to the Hospitallers' estate[130]. However, they were not able to enjoy occupying it for a long time before the dissolution began.

[126] Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, 53-54.
[127] de la Torre, "The Monetary Fluctuations in Philip IV's Kingdom," 66.
[128] Templar knights and Hospitallers took part in the French-Flemish conflicts both on the side of the French and Flanders as well. For a detailed exploration of the role of the Templar and Hospitaller Orders in the campaigns in Flanders, see: Bernard Schotte, "Fighting the King of France: Templars and Hospitallers in the Flemish Rebellion of 1302," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf; Paul Crawford; Helen J Nicholson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 66-67.
[129] Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, 53-54.
[130] See Map 1. in the Appendices.

4.3. From the Arrest (1307) to the Council of Vienne (1314)

On 12 October 1307, the grandmaster of the Templar Order, Jacques de Molay attended the funeral of Catherine de Courtnay, the wife of Charles of Valois, brother of King Philip IV. Moreover, he was treated with initial respect; he had the task of holding one of the cords of the funeral pal. However, on the next day, the arrest of the members of the Templar Order happened throughout the whole kingdom, and Jacques de Molay was captured as well. The simultaneous arrests and the very small number of escapees (24 people in total) suggests that serious planning must have taken place before the event. Indeed, the arrest had been organized a month earlier at the latest. On 14 September, Philip IV sent a secret letter and order to his officers through the kingdom. In this document he accused the Templars of heresy and urged the officers to plan the arrest of the Order's members. The document said the French had been *"entertaining a wolf under the appearance of a lamb and they do injuries more grave than those he [Jesus] underwent on the cross*."[131] In its details, the document reports impure ceremonies during which Templars denied the faith three times, spat on the images of Christ, exchanged inappropriate kisses, etc. Philip IV also claimed in his letter that he had discussed this issue with Pope Clement V and with the Papal Inquisitor of France, William of Paris. However, it was not hard for Philip to acquire the consent of William, since the Dominican friar was the royal confessor. Moreover, Philip also mandated his officials to confiscate all the houses and goods of the Templars and secure those for him without any harm being done to them.

A day after the arrests, Nogaret gathered the prominent scholars of the University of Paris in the chapel of Notre Dame Cathedral and described the allegations in details to them.

[131] translated by: Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 59. For English and French versions of the letter see: Georges Lizerand, Le dossier de l'affaire des Templiers (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 2007), 16-29.

Less than two weeks of the arrest, on 24 October, the grandmaster confessed the denial of Christ, though he denied the other serious accusations like homosexuality. A day later, the king made him repeat his confession in front of the already mentioned prominent assembly, but this time the venue was the Temple of Paris. Among others, scholars of the university were present. In order to make the confession more effective from a propagandistic viewpoint this time, other high-ranking Templar leaders were joined with Molay. Besides leading members, the majority of the ordinary prisoners made confessions. Nevertheless, in some cases, they later stated that the confessions had been brought about by torture.

From the point when the French Inquisitors acquired the first confessions, the accusations could not be openly considered as rumors or false claims any longer by contemporaries in the social framework of the Capetian monarchy, though it should be noted that these confessions probably had been instigated by torture since in the case of suspected heresy, torture had been made permissible by Pope Innocent III. Also, Pope Alexander IV granted the right to the inquisitors - who also handled the auditions the Templars – to utilize torture in order to acquire the confessions in 1256. It is also worth noting here that according to Malcom Barber, by the year of 1307, the Dominican friars who were responsible for the Inquisition in France became an extension or arm of royal power.[132]

The reaction of the pope might have been the most important response to the arrest from the viewpoint of the French monarchy since the Templars as a religious order were under his jurisdiction. Therefore, when Pope Clement V came to know what had happened in France, he was not pleased at all with the situation. His first letter to Philip IV revealed his anger and wounded pride, though his anger was not stemming from sympathy towards the Templars. Clement V was not against the dissolution of the Order personally, but this was a rather

[132] Barber, The Trial of the Templars, 59-71.

awkward situation in that papal power did not have any influence on the arrests.[133] However, the political situation was far too complex for it to have been secure for Clement to openly criticize Philip regarding this important issue. To fix up this loss of face, on 22 November of the same year, Clement V issued a bull, the *Pastoralis praeeminentiae.* In this bull, the pope ordered every lay lord to follow the example of Philip and arrest the members of the Order and confiscate their property in the name of the papacy. He also claimed that he had known about the charges from around that time when he was elected.[134]

The bull was followed by the dispatch of two papal cardinals to Paris. Standing before them, Jacques de Molay and several other members of the Order revoked their confessions. Complicating matters, Philip IV refused to hand over the prisoners to the pope's custody and therefore Clement suspended the French inquisitors. Of course, this could not be accepted by the king and thus he traveled to the court of the pope in Poitiers where he was currently residing. Due to the threatening presence of the royal army, Philip persuaded the pope to approve the activities of the French monarchy. The French king, in exchange for the approval, granted authority to the pope over the inquiry. Thus, a general assembly in 1310 was summoned to Vienne and finally it opened in 1311. The council did not decide; it rather allowed the territorial councils to judge the crimes of the Order. The highest-ranking captives such as the Grand Master were judged by the French ecclesiastical assembly. Thus, in 1314 the last grandmaster of the Templar Order, Jacques de Molay, was executed, along with the commander of Normandy, Geoffrey of Charnay. Philip the Fair ordered them to be burned at the stake.[135]

[133] Ibid, 89.
[134] Ibid, 89-90. For the full text of *Pastoralis praeeminentiae*, 22 November 1307. Thomas Rymer ed., *Foedera, conventions, litterae et acta publica* vol. 2.1, 16-17 (new edition, London: 1816-1869). Accessed: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951002098037g;view=1up;seq=84
[135] Julien Théry, "A Heresy of State," 122-123.

4.4. The Arrests and Confiscations in the City of Toulouse

On 13 October 1307, the soldiers of Philip IV arrested the Templar Knights in Toulouse as well as in the other parts of the French kingdom. They arrested the Toulousan knights and imprisoned them within the city. Although their names do not appear in the interrogation records, they feature in a document which was kept in the archive of the Hospitallers and written by the treasurer of the Hospitallers, Bernard of Gironde. This document also reveals how much money the Hospitallers spent on the arrested Templars – eighteen derniers for each knight, among them last preceptor of the Toulousan commandery, Hoton Saumate. The serving brothers of the Templars must have been imprisoned in more humble circumstances as their upkeep cost nine derniers. Following the events throughout the country, at the end of 1313, the inventory of the Templars' goods was compiled. According to Du Bourg, the list seems rather humble, but it is worth noting that we can see some appealing items on the lists. On the other hand, he also pointed out that it could have been possible that instead of following the command of the king to refrain, some goods ended up being taken away through looting.[136]

In general, during the procedure of turning over property, several people visited the location in order to have a correct assessment about the values of the goods they were listing. According to an unedited document, which is cited by Burgtorf, in Touluse there were a Cistercian, a lawyer, a clerk, a legal expert, and a notary.[137] These people are not indicated at all in the inventory published by Du Bourg, I think because the inventory's creation had two different steps: first there was an assessing the value of the property, and secondly the turnover happened where the members of the Hospitallers were required to be present.[138] The procedure

[136] Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, 73-76.
[137] Jochen Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses in France: Select Aspects" in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf; Paul Crawford; Helen J Nicholson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 112.
[138] According to Burgtorf, in some cases inventories were made also in 1307-1308 and the documents suggest that the compilers were looking for objects linked to heresy, Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars'

which led to the inventory was conducted by Déodat of Roaxio who was a nobleman from the Toulousan community[139] and acting for this case as an agent of Hugues of Gérard whose title of profession is not identified. The goods were given to Pierre Caylus who was a lieutenant from the Order of the Hospitallers. The goods were divided into two groups: the possessions from the house of the Templars, and goods from the church. An exact figure concerning how many items were found in the is cannot be given, because at certain points the inventory only reveals by using the term *quasdam* (*Item quasdam cintecas de plata albas. Item quasdam cintecas de plata copertas cum veluto rubeo*. *Item quasdam camberias et unam plumbatam et unum boclerium.)* that more than one was found from certain types object (Regarding those items, which exact numbers are given about, we can count 68 different objects. Thus, the whole inventory of the house must have been made about 68-80 items. Regarding the second group, 105 items are listed in total. The first group of items, comprising armor, shields, and crossbows, was found in the greatest number. Moreover, the charters record many chests containing documents. In the second group of the items, more valuable objects listed. For example, there was a silver crucifix adorned with forty-five gems. It also functioned as a reliquary, since allegedly a piece of the True Cross of Jesus was found attached to it. Besides this, another silver-plated valuable crucifix was in the church, and supposedly it also contained some pieces from the True Cross.[140] In addition, many copper-made items such as crosses and candelabras, gilded silver cups, crystal chandeliers, colorful garments, and fabrics are listed. However, what is striking is the absence of those objects, the idols, which could have proven the heresy of the Templars.

Houses," 109.However, I have yet not come across an early inventory like this from Toulouse. He also pointes out on page 110, that some goods were stolen. I the case of Toulouse it is probable too: 14 saddles (XIV selas) were found, but no animals are mentioned.

[139] John Mundy, *Society and Government,* 24-25.

[140] Reliquaries were considered extremely valuable objects in the Middle Ages, and thus it is safe to suppose that they were considered as the more valuable items among the Templars possessions. Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses," 109.

Indeed, the turned over objects, evidently not of great value or appeal, were not a driving reason behind the dissolution of the Order in Toulouse. Rather, the dissolution at the local level was a direct consequence of decision made from the central authority of the monarchy. However, the objects are not completely worthless either. Some pieces of clothing were decorated with the sign of the counts of Toulouse, while others with the king's coat of arms. Also, some of the garments seem not only useful for liturgical purposes, but even richly ornamented such as the altar cloth which had a gilded cross on it. Besides the garments, the other types of objects like bells, chandeliers, and glasses which seem to have been less opulent, though the receiver could have made good use of them, especially as an ecclesiastical Order.

Comparing these findings to inventories from different commanderies, one can observe that the Knights Templars possessed an abundant number of crosses. Books were also found in every commandery, even curiosities like the *quedam hystoria de sancto Ludovico,* which was the text of Joinville about the life of Saint Louis, still unfinished in 1308.[141] In the inventory in the Toulousan commandery, an *Alexander Romance* was listed,[142] which was one of the most well-known romance in the Medieval Times.[143] Moreover, generally the studious efforts of the compilers made the the most accurate inventories over the entire French kingdom. Even items in bad conditions *(debilem)* were added to the inventories. In Toulouse's case, we see two entries for such items, a Roman cape (I*tem I camisiam romanam debilem*)[144] and other garments, sixteen purple processions clothes which were perhaps capes as well (*Item sexdecim capas processionals de purpura debiles, diversorum colorum.*).[145] Similarly to these objects, we encounter in Arles a ladder in the list which was consumed by fire. The lack of value of some things were consequently listed in the inventories. This was indicated by expressions like

[141] Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses," 109.
[142] Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse,* xv.
[143] Larry S.Crist, "Alexander Romances," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, 47-48.
[144] Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse,* xvii.
[145]Ibid., *xvi.*

nullius valoris; *quasi nullius valoris; pauce valoris* or *parvi valoris; modici valoris.*[146] In the Toulousan inventory the notion of "no value" is expressed by *nullius valiors*. In total we have two instances of this expression: *Item XIV selas quae sunt nullius valoris* and *Item unam balistam de cornu et II balistas ligni quasi nullius valoris*.[147]

All of these items were given to the Order of the Hospitallers, along with the buildings which were in 1508 transformed into a hospital.[148] From the time between the turnover and 1508, little is known of what happened to the property but this transformation suggests that the Hospitallers made good use of the two pieces of real estate which were turned over the them. However, concerning the confiscated properties in general, we have better information. The former Templar properties continued to be handled separately from formerly possessed Hospitaller property, and the revenues from the newly acquired Templar properties were not even used to support the chief treasury of the Hospitaller Order. The main reason behind it was the complicated and abundant legal issues around the confiscations, especially in French territories. The prelates and the successors of Philip the Fair kept claiming certain rights over the properties and demanding further compensation. I think such properties were valuable for the Hospitallers.[149] First of all, similar to the Jewish houses, these were located in the City, the more prestigious part of medieval Toulouse. Secondly the Templar properties (See Map 1; no. 31) were in the immediate vicinity of the Hospitallers' property (See Map 1; no 29.) though both orders had properties located in the outer part of the town. Again, as one could observe in the case of the Jewish houses, these properties were a few minutes away from the marketplace (See Map 1; no 22).

[146] Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses," 113-114.
[147] Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, xv
[148] Ibid., xv-xix.
[149] Theresa M. Vann, "The Assimilation of Templar Properties by the Order of the Hospital", in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf; Paul Crawford; Helen J Nicholson (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 341, 344-345.

Along with the Templar properties in the town, the Hospitallers of Toulouse gained all the properties of the Templar Orders which were dependent on the Toulousan commandery.[150] However, what is missing from the source are the donations which the Templar Order received earlier in 1137 and 1167.[151] For instance, there is no mention of the village of Fontanille.[152] Another thing which might stand out is the absence of William of Nogaret in the record. While he was present during the earlier auction of the goods of the Jewish community which was expelled in 1306, it seems that a local nobleman conducted this later procedure against the Templars. Unlike many other issues, this is easily explained. Nogaret died before the inventory was made. But it is still interesting that Philip the Fair did not send any high-ranked member of his court on this occasion.

Returning now to an analysis of the driving forces behind the dissolution of the Templar Order, it was a decision made at the level of the central government. Nonetheless, we can make some additional observations based on the very specific case of Toulouse which hint at the possibility of additional incentives at the local level there. It is likely that the Hospitallers were at least supporting the idea for the local destruction of their rival Templars, since the inventory does not support the idea that the latter formed a poor community. The list made of the Templar prisoners suggests that the Hospitallers were zealous to guard their captives. Despite this, one should not draw any bold conclusions that the Tolousan Hospitallers were especially motivated to seize the rather modest goods of the local Templars. In fact, by default, the Hospitallers across Europe received Templar goods and Toulouse does not represent a special case.[153]

Moreover, the Hospitallers even had to pay a huge compensation to Philip the Fair after they received the good. In addition to that, they had to cover the daily needs of the prisoners.

[150] Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, 76.
[151] For example: Ibid, xi, xiv.
[152] Ibid, xiv.
[153] Vann, "The Assimilation of Templar Properties by the Order of the Hospital", 346. and Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses," 105-106.

From various documents in the twelfth century, it is clear that both orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers, received donations from the inhabitants of this region, and thus it is possible that some kind of rivalry could be observed between them.[154] Although, it is true that it was Philip IV who ordered the dissolution of the Templar Order, rather than it being the decision of their rivals, it should not be ignored that the dissolution brought new properties and thus it was advantageous for the Hospitallers. However, they might only have experienced the serious benefits of the confiscation in the long term. In the short term, Philip IV gained something from the Templars' dissolution almost immediately while for the Hospitallers, the gains were not as reaching.

4.5. The Possible Driving Forces Behind the Dissolution

Although Philip IV and his court stated that the heresy of the Templars was the reason behind their dissolution of the Order, the evidence is highly questionable because of the revoked confessions and the torture which were used to extract them. Thus, the case of the Templars has been a subject of intense debate among historians. We can distinguish several groups of different possibilities.

Some think that the accusations must have been valid at least to some extent or at least, Philip the Fair really believed the charges or at least he believed in the general moral corruption of the Order. Rumors were spread around that time as to the alcoholism of the Templars and they were criticized for their neglect of the Holy Land.[155] Then again, some scholars argued that Philip saw the dissolution as a personal act of vengeance on the Order. Among the few awkward interactions between the Order and Philip, the most offensive might have been when

[154] See Du Bourg, *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, viii-xiv.
[155] Pierre Dupuy, *Histoire de la Condannation des Templiers I-II* (Brussels: Floppens, 1713), 6-8. Ferenc Patek, *A magyarországi templárius rendtartomány felbomlása.* (Budapest: May 1912), 6-10.

the community rejected both Philip and his son's admission into the Order.[156] Besides the problem of heresy, there was also the issue that Philip needed the money of the Templars since he acquired the right to handle the confiscated properties and revenues of the Templars, until this was turned over to the Hospitallers. There was a need for more and more silver to re-establish the good money that had been steadily debased. The Templars had acquired a huge stockpile of silver which, after the expulsion and the confiscation, could have been used for coinage manufacturing.[157] Other studies argue that this event was the peak of Philip IV's struggle to become the most important ruler of Europe, the "most Christian king" who even had the pope under his control. Therefore, destroying a religious order was supposed to demonstrate his authority even over such religious institutions which originally were under papal jurisdiction.[158] Again, other theories exist which state that the dissolution of the Templar Order was an internal politics affair. Ever since the Templars lost the Holy Land, they seemed threatening for a king who was building his absolute power in his country.[159] The explanation of Sophia Menache also supports this argument. She writes that by the dissolution of the Templar Order, Philip wanted to secure his absolute power by giving the key positions to his loyal supporters and was thus able to build a more reliable administrative and financial background.[160]

[156] Joseph Chowanetz, *Die gewaltthätige Aufhebung und Ausrottung des Ordens der Templeherren* (Münster: Regensberg, 1856), 72.
[157] de la Torre, "The Monetary Fluctuations in Philip IV's Kingdom," 66-67.
[158] See for example: Julien Théry, "A Heresy of State,"117-148. Anne Gilmour-Bryson, "The Templar Trials: Did the System Work?" *Medieval History Journal* Vol.3, no. 1 (2000): 41–65. Alain Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'Ordre du Temple, 1118-1314* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1994), 268-269.
[159] Joshua Prawer, "Military Orders and Crusader Politics in the Second Half Century," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, eds. Josef Fleckenstein und Manfred (Sigmaringen, 1980), 227.
[160] Sophia Menache, "The Templar Order: A Failed Ideal?" *The Catholic Historical Review* 79, no. 1 (1993), 20-21.

4.6. Similarities and Differences between the Two Cases

Between the two events one can see curious similarities but at the same time important differences as well. Let us begin here with the differences. The first point where these two cases are dissimilar is the difference between the two expelled groups themselves. They were well-defined groups within the French society. The Templars were not outsiders and thus they were not necessarily more vulnerable than other religious orders until, by being condemned as heretics, they became outsiders who could be tortured and exiled. On the other hand, Jews were already "outsiders" because of their religion, which made them isolated and vulnerable for accusations and expulsion. Indeed, Jews were arrested and expelled, and their possessions were confiscated almost regularly in Europe, though the Great Expulsion in 1306 was one of the earliest of such largescale events. It was not, however, the earliest example. In 1291, England saw similar events when Edward I expelled the Jews from his entire kingdom.[161] Still, the dissolution of a religious order was an audacious and novel move by Philip the Fair even when Jewish expulsions had almost become an established tradition.

A second, but maybe a more important, distinctive feature between the two events is the different fates of the confiscated goods in the respective cases. The houses of the Jews were confiscated and later sold during auctions, while the possessions of the Templars were given to the Order of the Hospitallers. However, this itself does not mean that the dissolution of the Templars was not useful to Philip IV. As indicated earlier, the revenues of the confiscated properties went to the French Royal Treasury, and Philip was compensated with more money than he asked from the Jews as support for his campaign against the Flemish. Besides that, because of the pressure on Philip to re-establish the value of the corrupted currency, he might

[161]Robert C. Stacey,"Parlamentary Negotiation and the Expulsion of Jews from England,*"* in *Thirtheenth century England VI. Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995,* ed. Prestwich, R. H. Britnell, R. Frame *(*Woodbidge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 92- 94.

have found the silver which could have been acquired from the dissolved Order very valuable. However, behind the dissolution and the expulsion were complex driving forces, not only financial reasons, though the king gained fiscal benefits in both cases.

Nevertheless, I found interesting similarities between the two cases. First of all, the method for how Philip conducted both the expulsion and the dissolution was similar in both cases. There is no original document about the mandates of the expulsions, possibly because Philip wanted to keep it in secret until the last moment. In both cases arrests and confiscations happened simultaneously through the kingdom. In the cases of the Jews, it seems to have come as a shock. However, in the case of the Templars, there is evidence that some members of the Order suspected that the king was planning a crackdown, as it was shown in the case of Toulon by Alain Demurger,[162] and by Burgtorf through the example of Chateau Rigaud.[163] Still, it is doubtful that the Templars were not a little shocked too by the suddenness of the carefully planned arrests. Moreover, both events were useful to the king and the state though in different aspects. Again, in both cases, Philip attacked two groups who were well defined within French society. The Jews were different regarding their religion, which made them impure, soft targets for the "most Christian king." The Templars were Catholics, but by the trial and the accusations and even by the rumors they were turned into heretics – an outcast religious minority. Thus, they became soft targets as well. Both groups are similar in regard to their being considered wealthy communities who were involved in finance. The wealth of these two groups was overestimated, though it seems true that they lived beyond the average living standard of the era. Moreover, both groups were somehow suspicious. The Jews had a bad reputation; they often were accused of desecrating the host in France and with blood libels throughout Europe as well. The Templars were a closed, secretive community which made autonomous decisions

[162] Alain Demurger, '*Vie et mort de l'Ordre du Temple*,"302.
[163] Burgtorf, "The Trial Inventories of the Templars," 109.

which they could not be obliged to explain. All of these factors made them evident targets, regarding that it was relatively easy to find a good explanation why it was necessary to dissolve them.

Conclusion

After examining the Great Expulsion of France's Jews in 1306 and the dissolution of the Templar Order in 1307 from the viewpoint of the political system and reign of Philip the Fair, I have found some interesting parallels which suggest similar driving forces behind the events. The financial problems of the French king created a situation in which he appears to have hoped to receive increased taxes from large groups of his subjects by convoluted means. By making it so that these groups received the fiscal benefits from suddenly escaping their creditors and debts, they would emerge better off from the confiscations and expulsions. In the case of the Jews, benefits were mutually distributed: both the king and the local residents gained from the expulsion of the Jews. Philip IV received the money after the auctions, and his local subjects had a chance to buy immovable property. In the case of the Templars, the Hospitallers gained from the dissolution of their rivals. Philip's gain were the temporary revenues from the seized properties and huge monetary compensation. Moreover, he might have hoped that due to the turnovers, the Hospitallers would henceforth be more supportive and controllable than the Templars used to be.

However, it cannot be stated that the expulsion and the dissolution had only one reason and a single driving motivation behind them. Céline Balasse notes that Philip the Fair of France is one of the very enigmatic characters in a period full of enigmatic figures. He was one whose reign had a serious impact on the history of France by his making serious efforts to continue

the state-building process of his predecessors.[164] It is clear that Philip IV targeted well-defined groups during his reign, using their bad reputation against them or making them look perfidious, while he declared himself as the "most Christian king" to be the relentless advisory of these perfidious evildoers in his kingdom. Thus, the expulsion of the Jews in 1306 was something that served symbolically to strengthen his image as a pious royal defender of Christianity in the image of some preceding rulers. Besides, Philip the Fair wanted to raise the power of the Capetians by expanding his influence over the popes. Thus, he first addressed an earlier affront by Boniface VIII, but after that pope's death, Philip continued with his aim of expanded his power at the expense of the papacy. I think the peak of this power struggle was the dissolution of the Templar Order which again demonstrated the French monarch's dominance. Therefore, I lean to the view that, by the dissolution and the expulsion, Philip IV aimed to increase and secure his political authority, besides gaining financial resources.

[164] Balasse, "Les conflits de juridiction nés autour de l'expulsion de 1306," 137.

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Appendices

3. Table 2. The auctions of the Jewish houses in Toulouse 1306

	Date of the Purchase	**Previous Jewish Owner**	**New Owner**	**Purchase price**	**Property Type**
1.	20, November 1306	Marin de la Rochelle	Jean de Nogaret	166 livres Tournois, 30 solidus and 4 denari	House and workroom
2.	22, November, 1306	Isaac de Muret (and his wife)	Guillaume Gozi	135 minor livres Tournois	House
3.	22, November 1306	not specified	Pierre Bergognon et Jacques Mercier	30 minor livres Tournois	Workroom
4.	23, November, 1306	Salomon Alegre	Belin Bergognon	30 minor livres Tournois	House and workoom
5.	23, November 1306	Bonmancip	Guillame Le Don de Castro Gairico	72 minor livres Tournois	House
6.	26, November, 1306	Belid	Aveta de Laus	105 minor solidus Tournois	Land
7.	2, December 1306	Jewish Community of Toulouse	Garneri de Fresnoy	70 minor livres Tournois	House
8.	24, March 1307	Bonmancip	Étienne Bergognon	110 minor livres Tournois	House

9.	24, March 1307	Salomon Alègre	Belin Bergognon and, Margerite (wife of Jean de Valentrés)	150 minor livres Tournois	House

2. Map Toulouse in the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries. Source: Mundy, Society and Governement, 6-8.

1 Lascrosses Gate
2 Arnaud-Bernard Gate
3 Saint-Julien church in the parish of Saint-Sernin
4 The Bazacle, site of the famous mills, a small castle and probably the head of the Bazacle Bridge
5 Saint-Sernin, the basilica of the canons-regular and a parish church
6 Pousonville Gate
7 Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines, a parish church and priory of the Benedictines of Saint-Pierre of Moissac
8 Matabiau Gate
9 The Franciscans
10 The Taur, a parish church under the patronage of Saint-Sernin
11 Saint-Nicholas, a parish church under the patronage of the Daurade
12 The Dominicans
13 The Portaria, having, to its east on the next block, the "Palatium" or Town Hall (the later Capitole), and, on its west, the church of Saint-Quentin under the patronage of Saint-Sernin. The Portaria was named after a Roman gate that stood in this place during the middle ages. The gate was part of a dismantled wall that divided the City from the Bourg called the Saracen Wall, remnants of which are marked on the Saguet map and this sketch map
14 The New or Daurade Bridge constructed in the twelfth century
15 The Bourguet-Nau
16 Saint-Pierre-Saint-Martin in the parish of the Daurade
17 The Villeneuve Gate in the quarter of the same name in the Bourg
18 The Daurade, a parish church, monastery and priory of the Benedictines of Saint-Pierre of Moissac
19 Saint-Roman or Saint-Rome, a church in the parish of Saint-Étienne given to the Dominicans in 1216
20 The Montardy Square
21 The Old Bridge
22 The square and market of La Pierre and the church of Saint-Pierre-Saint-Géraud in the parish of Saint-Étienne
23 The square and market of Montaygon and the church of Saint-Georges in the parish of Saint-Étienne
24 The Neuve Gate
25 The Dalbade parish church under the patronage of the Daurade
26 The street of Joutx-Aigues on which the synagogue was located
27 The church of Saint-Victor in the parish of Saint-Étienne and the square called Rouaix
28 The Baragnon Cross
29 The Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem and church of Saint-Remésy or Saint-Rémésy
30 The cathedral and parish church of Saint-Étienne and, across the cloister to the south, the church of Saint-Jacques
31 The Templars
32 The Carmelites
33 Saint-Barthélemy church of the parish of Saint-Étienne, once called Sainte-Marie of the Palace
34 The Narbonne Castle (Château Narbonnais) or "Palatium"
35 Montgaillard Gate
36 Montoulieu Gate
37 Saint-Michel, a church in the parish of Saint-Étienne that derived its dedication from the chapel of the Château Narbonnais and eventually gave its name to the "barrium" or quarter in which it was located.