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The Aragonese... who took the standard... of an order of the... the Hospitallers'... infidel. Their... important... of the dissolved... 1409/14 the... which made... to some 29... covered less... further 2700... lived in 29... From these... occasion of... responsibilities... the Hospital's...

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*The Economy of the Fourteenth-Century  
Aragonese Hospital*

«ESTUDIS CASTELLONENCs»  
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The Aragonese members of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem were fully professed religious who took the standard vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and who followed the liturgical routine of an order of the Roman Church according to a rule approved by the pope. In the fourteenth century the Hospitallers' fundamental purpose as brethren of a military order was that of armed resistance to the infidel. Their priory in Aragon, an administrative unit known as the *Castellanía de Amposta*, was an important component of Aragonese society, especially after 1317 when the acquisition of the properties of the dissolved Order of the Temple greatly increased the extent of the Hospital's landed holdings. In 1409/14 the Order held over 100, or approximately a quarter, of the *señoríos* or lordships in Aragon, which made it the greatest single landholder in the kingdom, owing at least 56,000 sueldos, amounting to some 29 percent, of the general tax known as the *monedatge*, according to partial statistics which covered less than half the kingdom; it held over 4300 hearths in Aragon and considerable estates with a further 2700 hearths in southern Catalunya. In about 1350 a total of perhaps some 200 Hospitallers lived in 29 preceptories, one of them in Valencia, with probably well over 30,000 dependents subjects. From these houses they recruited brethren and managed their estates so as to produce, in theory, a nucleus of brethren to send to the Eastern Mediterranean and, above all, the monetary surplus owed as *responiones* to the Convent or headquarters on distant Rhodes which constituted the central point of the Hospital's military confrontation with the Mamluks and Turks<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A. Luttrell, «Hospitaller Life in Aragon: 1319-1370», in *God and Man in Medieval Spain: Essays in Honour of J. R. L. Highfield*, ed. D. Lomax - D. Mackenzie (Warminster, 1989), provides background, terminology and bibliography; the works there cited of J. Delaville le Roulx, J. Miret y Sans, S. García Larragueta, A. Forey and Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio remain fundamental and contain much supplementary bibliography. Further details and statistics are given in A. Luttrell, «The Structure of the Aragonese Hospital: 1349-1352», in *Primeres Jornades sobre els Ordes Religiosos-Militars als Països Catalans (segles XII-XIX)* (forthcoming), using specially F. Arroyo Ilera, «División señorial de Aragón en el siglo XV», *Saitabi*, xxiv (1974). The Castellany's archives are in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de señorial de Aragón en el siglo XV; the Castellany's registers are in Madrid, Sección de Códices, 599B-604B [RA i-vi]. Sueldos Órdenes Militares, Lengua de Aragón [AHN]; the Castellany's registers are in Madrid, Sección de Códices, 599B-604B [RA i-vi]. Sueldos are normally those of Jaca into which other monies are converted at approximately 10 to 11 sueldos to the florin of Aragon. Part of this research was completed with the assistance of a Vicente Cañada Blanch Fellowship from London University and of support from the Leverhulme Foundation which was provided through the Venerable Order of Saint John of Jerusalem; I am extremely grateful for both.

Technically, the priory or *Castellanía* was governed by the Castellan and by its chapter, but the latter met only irregularly. Castellan and chapter established the main lines of policy and they authorized leasings, modified *responsiones*, granted or confirmed preceptories and supervised much other business; they were also responsible for the monies due to the Treasury at Rhodes<sup>2</sup>. Yet for most brethren and their subjects the Hospital's effective administrative and economic unit was not so much the Castellany as the local preceptories, occasionally known in Aragonese as *comendadorias*, into which the Castellany was divided. Those houses in which one or more Hospitaller brethren were resident were normally governed by a Hospitaller preceptor, or in certain circumstances by a lieutenant known as a *tenient* or *regidor*, who was responsible for the community's religious and disciplinary life as well as for its economic management and for a wide variety of local affairs; preceptors sometimes held more than one house and occasionally they were absentees.

With certain exceptions, each preceptory corresponded to a *baylia*, an economic and financial entity which owed the Castellan a portion of its incomes as *responsiones* and which could, with the requisite licence, be farmed out by its preceptor either to another Hospitaller or to a secular; the farmer was to manage its temporal affairs but did not necessarily exercise jurisdiction as preceptor over the house's Hospitaller brethren. Preceptors or others holding a *baylia* could, with superior permission, lease all or part of it, but could not make permanent alienations or mortgages without special permission. The renting of fields, houses and so forth was often recorded in a contract, the Castellan giving the preceptor or his representative a licence, sometimes rehearsed in the written lease or *treudo*, to fix payments and expenses<sup>3</sup>. The distinction between preceptory and *baylia* became increasingly marked as the administration of the Order at the local level changed into a more exclusively financial operation. The development of the *baylia* into a business investment became especially evident among the more mercantile Catalans. When in 1409 the Master's procurator granted to the lieutenant governing the Priory of Catalunya four magistral *baylias* or *cambras* and all the Master's other incomes in the priory for one year for 2200 *lliures*, the lieutenant simply farmed the whole concession to two merchants of Barcelona for exactly the same sum<sup>4</sup>; the merchants must have expected a profit while the lieutenant was spared the risks and troubles of administering the *baylias* and collecting their incomes.

The collection of local dues was a perpetual concern. A *libro delas responsiones* for the whole Castellany existed by 1370<sup>5</sup>. Preceptors had to present in chapter a series of accounts and receipts to show that they had no debts, that they had paid proper maintenance and dress allowances to those in their houses, and so forth<sup>6</sup>. In 1350 the Preceptor of Valencia was instructed to bring to chapter the accounts for the *baylias* of Miravet and Azcón relating to the years when the late Castellan, Fr. Sancho de Aragón, had held them, as well as some of Fr. Sancho's monies and plate. The personal goods, the *spolia* or in Aragonese *despullya*, of deceased brethren normally went to the Castellan or to the central Treasury, while the revenues of a *baylia* from the day of its incumbent's death until the next chapter, which were known as the *mortuarias*, usually went to the Castellan or to the Treasury, as did the *vagantes* or vacancies which were the profits for the subsequent year. However, those matters depended on the deceased's status while the relevant regulations were continually being changed, especially where they concerned incomes from *camere* or *cameras*, that is of *baylias* which were reserved to the Castellan or the Master or which were within their gift; these incomes were beyond capitular control<sup>8</sup>. Preceptors also paid small sums as their *pitança d'ultramar* which were destined to support the brethren of the Hispanic *langue* or nation serving at Rhodes<sup>9</sup>.

2 Eg. texts in A. Luttrell, «Los Hospitalarios en Aragón y la Peste Negra», *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, iii (1966), 509-514.

3 Cf. Luttrell (1989), 106-109.

4 J. Miret y Sans, *Les Cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1910), 451.

5 RA v, f. 160.

6 Luttrell (1989), 108-109.

7 RA ii, f. 21 v.-22.

8 A. Luttrell, «The Hospitaller's Western Accounts: 1373/4 and 1374/5», in *Camden Miscellany*, xxx (London, 1990), 4-5 *et passim*. In 1349 the Castellan's three *camere* were Zaragoza, Monzón and Miravet which had in 1320 circa together provided almost a third of the Castellany's incomes: Luttrell (1989), 107.

9 Eg. RA v, f. 187; vi, f. 7 v.

The Hospital's rule stated that one third of its incomes was due as *responsiones*, but it gave no clarification as to what expenses were to be taken into account in calculating incomes<sup>10</sup>. Nothing approaching a third of total incomes was actually paid during the fourteenth century, and in reality there were considerable fluctuations in the amounts demanded and much non-payment. Before 1307 the Templar's Aragonese preceptories, which often paid partly in kind, apparently provided about ten percent of their incomes<sup>11</sup>. The amount theoretically due from each Hospitaller *baylia* depended on what had traditionally been owed, and it was in practice determined by the overall sums, periodically varied, which the Convent at Rhodes demanded from the Castellany<sup>12</sup>. There were frequent cases of debt and arrears, though an exception occurred in 1353 when the Preceptor of Huesca Nueva paid 3180 sueldos of *responsiones* in advance for the years 1354, 1355 and 1356, securing a considerable advantage since he would otherwise have owed 4500 sueldos at 1500 sueldos a year<sup>13</sup>.

The era of conquest and settlement, with arrangements designed to defend new lands and increase their productive manpower, was largely over by 1300. The Hospitallers' colonization techniques were similar to those of the Templars and their absorption of the Temple's lands after 1317 brought only minimal disruption, but there were variations between one region and another. Though the *domus* itself was often situated in a town, the Castellany's wealth was predominantly agricultural. In Zaragoza and Huesca in particular, there were rents from houses, shops and other properties, but incomes came mainly from rural estates in northern and central Aragon and especially from the irrigated valleys of the Ebro and its tributaries which produced wine, olives, vegetables and, above all, cereals. These lands had been acquired and consolidated through donations, purchases and exchanges, and they were improved and exploited by programmes of irrigation, settlement and planting. Alienations to nobles, to clergy or to others who might claim immunity from the payment of dues were prohibited. The social and legal status of those who lived on the Hospital's domains varied greatly; some were effectively serfs who were tied to the land but were free of the heavier oppressions often inflicted by the nobility and were exempt from much royal interference, while others were reasonably free. The simple peasant with an individual lease was not necessarily an *hombre* or *vasallo* owing military service.

After 1300 the Hospital retained an incalculable, but probably rather small, part of its land under direct management as its demesne or *dominicatura*, together with a number of slaves and oxen available to work it. The brethren preferred to lease properties for rents, which apparently provided the bulk of the Castellany's incomes. Payment was either in cash or kind, as a proportion of produce or in fixed quantities. Individual leases were for short periods, for life or even in perpetuity; there were also improvement contracts *ad plantandum* and share-cropping arrangements *ad medietatem*. Scattered lands were more likely to be rented to individuals, while leasing was especially advantageous where whole communities could be made responsible for a single group payment. The result was a wide range of small peasant exploitations rather than a regime of extensive *latifundias*. *Cartas pueblas* often regulated collective agrarian contracts with farmers, serving to impose contributions and labour services, and to enforce the Hospital's lucrative monopolies on justice and fines, on mills, ovens, smithies, baths and irrigation works in such a way as to extract the maximum proportion of surplus production<sup>14</sup>.

10 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus: c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967), 344-346; the Hospital was still declaring that it was paying a third in 1291: texts in J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100-1310*, iii (Paris, 1900), nos. 4147, 4168, 4283.

11 A. Forey, *The Templars in the "Corona de Aragón"* (London, 1973), 323-324; various attempts to use the detailed Templar texts of 1289 and 1307 and the Hospitaller survey of 1320 circa to establish useful overall statistics are frustrated by numerous variables and difficulties in interpreting technical terms and data.

12 Cf. Luttrell (1989), 107-110.

13 RA iii, f. 227 v.-228.

14 Background in Forey, *Templars* (1973), and Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio, *Templarios y Hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982); see also A. Conte, *La Encomienda del Temple de Huesca* (Huesca, 1986). Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio, *La Encomienda de Zaragoza de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en los siglos XII y XIII* (Zaragoza, 1967), and A. Ubieta Arteta, *El real monasterio de Sigüenza: 1188-1300* (Valencia, 1966), do not cover the period after 1319. For lists of peasants', vines, trees, animals, poultry, agricultural produce implements, clothing, household goods and their prices in 1273, see A. Forey, «A Thirteenth-Century Dispute between Templars and Hospitallers in Aragon», *Durham University Journal*, lxxx (1988). For a Hospitaller «villa de señorío» studied briefly across seven centuries, G. Carranza Alcalde, *Historia de Mallén* (Zaragoza, 1988).

Parts of southern Aragon had largely been depopulated in the course of the reconquest and were still being settled and defended during the thirteenth century. For example, in 1264 and 1267 the Templars attempted to attract first twenty Christian families and then thirty Muslim families to Villastar between Teruel and Vilel. Except at Aliaga which they had not received from the crown, the Hospitallers were not established in the south before acquiring the extensive Templar holdings there after 1317. They inherited the Temple's *carta puebla* at Villastar where a few settlers owed the usual *diezmos* and *primicias*, contributions in produce and wine, taxes on their flocks and some military service. From Vilel, with its irrigated gardens surrounding the castle, the Hospital governed some 200 square kilometres of pastoral and hunting country<sup>15</sup>. A broad band of territory, much of it in the possession of the military orders, stretched across the domains of the Order of Montesa in northern Valencia and those of the Hospital, mostly acquired from the Temple, in southern Catalunya and southern Aragon; these were buttressed by the Aragonese possessions of the Order of Santiago centred on Montalbán and those of Calatrava around Alcañiz<sup>16</sup>. This disposition largely lost its original strategic purpose as a security belt, but these extensive land holdings retained that essentially rural character of those great estates which became typical of the lands of the Hispanic military orders once they no longer retained a significant frontier function<sup>17</sup>.

The monotonous agrarian world in which many Hospitallers were immersed offered only local excitements and activities. Individual brethren spent much time renewing leases and collecting rents for houses, fields and vineyards, matters recorded in notarial acts often witnessed by several of the Hospitallers present<sup>18</sup>. Some accounts kept by the preceptory at Vilel at some point between 1323 and 1339 listed those inhabitants of the town and surrounding areas, including a miller and a shepherd, who paid *censes*, usually a few sueldos, for their *quinchas* or holdings; some had two *quinchas*. There were *huertas* or gardens, vines, a beehive and a shop; the various quarters of Vilel contained, in addition to houses, a square, a mill, an oven, some threshing floors, a tower and a tannery. Receipts from Vilel, Libros and Villastar totalled 645 sueldos plus some wax and chickens. This was apparently the income for a whole year since the payments were collected partly at Lent, partly at Michaelmas and partly at Christmas. The area paid annual *cena* taxes of 400 sueldos to the king and 133 sueldos 4 dineros to the *gouernador*, presumably the Governor of Aragon. The sums totalled 533 sueldos 4 dineros, of which the town of Vilel paid 266 sueldos 8 dineros, the preceptor paid 133 sueldos 4 dineros and the outlying *aldeas* or villages provided the other 133 sueldos 4 dineros *por composicion*; Riodeva gave 66 sueldos 8 dineros, Villastar 44 sueldos 4 dineros and Libros 22 sueldos 2 dineros<sup>19</sup>. An undated account book for the Preceptory of Alfambra north of Teruel showed repeated small cash payments for wine, oil, beef, beans, salt, rice, shoes, nails and an axe, and for work on the mill and its irrigation *açut*. One item concerned 250 eels and another involved four animals which carried goods to Vilel for two brethren. The expenditures recorded across nine months amounted to 480 sueldos 8 dineros<sup>20</sup>.

15 Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio, «La colonización del Maestrazgo turolense por los Templarios», *Aragón en la Edad Media: Estudios de Economía y Sociedad*, v (Zaragoza, 1983); *idem*, «La formación de un señorío templario y su organización económica y social: la Encomienda de Vilel», *Homenaje a José María Lacarra*, ii (Pamplona, 1986); A. Gargallo Moya, «La carta-puebla concedida por el Temple a los moros de Villastar: 1267», *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel, 1986).

16 A. Ubieta Arteta, *Historia de Aragón: La formación territorial* (Zaragoza, 1981), 266-275; C. Laliena Corbera, «Les Ordres militaires et le Repeuplement dans le Sud d'Aragon (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)», in *Les Ordres militaires, la Vie rurale et le Peuplement en Europe Occidentale (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles) = Flaran*, vi (Auch, 1988); see also R. Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón: la Encomienda de Montalbán: 1210-1327* (Zaragoza, 1980); *idem*, *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón: 1327-1357* (Zaragoza, 1988); and, predominantly on Calatrava, C. Laliena Corbera, *Sistema social, estructura agraria y organización del poder en la Edad Media: siglos XII-XV* (Teruel, 1987).

17 On Jaume Vicens Vives' notion of «anti-economic» orders with their «régimen de latifundios», see A. Luttrell, «Las Órdenes Militares en la sociedad hispánica - Los Hospitalarios aragoneses: 1340-1360», *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, xi (1981).

18 Of the numerous *treudos* in AHN, those for Zaragoza in Carps. 796-843 are sampled in Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio, «La Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Zaragoza en el siglo XIV», in *La Ciudad de Zaragoza en la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, s. d.).

19 AHN, Sección de Códices, 648 B, f. 452-473, datable to the time of Fr. Pedro Sánchez de Fanlo, Preceptor of Vilel between 1323 (*ibid.*, f. 124-126) and 1339 (*ibid.* f. 444).

20 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó [ACA], Varia de Cancillería 4 (apparently post-1312); similar Hospitaller text of 1416 for Vallfogona, Catalunya, in Miret 564-568.

The Templar preceptory at Villed was already paying 400 sueldos for the *cena* in 1307<sup>21</sup>; in that year it owed a miserable 350 sueldos as *responsiones*<sup>22</sup> while its annual incomes were estimated at 3000 sueldos in 1320 circa<sup>23</sup>. The *censes* at 645 sueldos provided about a fifth of those incomes, and much of the rest must have come from *diezmos* and *primicias*. The crown and Castellany each took a half of the *monedatge*, a tax on property which was collected supposedly every seven years. When the royal collector of that tax came to Villed in 1342 he drew up a list of contributors in collaboration with the *justicia* and sworn *homens buenos*, while the preceptor was quick to insist on the Castellany's rights. The neighbouring communities were levied in roughly the same proportions as for the *cena*. Villed had 253 contributors, Villastar 23, Riodeva 61 and Libros 5, making a total of 342; all the inhabitants of Cabrioncello had moved to Riodeva; Alfambra had 265 contributors, Orrios 43 and Alcalà 142. From all these places the crown and the Hospital seem each to have received 1988 sueldos<sup>24</sup>. The Hospitallers, who continually sought to maintain their lands in cultivation, declared in 1350, soon after the first onset of the great plague, that they would welcome new settlers at Cabrioncello<sup>25</sup>.

The wealth which the Castellany and certain individual Hospitallers were able to amass from the Castellany did not derive merely from agrarian activities. Urban rents, profits of justice, fines raised after the great revolts of 1347 and sundry other incomes were significant. There was a minor trade along the Ebro river to the sea; in 1351 the Castellany was granted personal rights to have a *carregador* or small port at Ulldecona whence he was licensed to export wheat, barley, wine and other goods<sup>26</sup>, and in 1354 the Hospital contracted to sell wood from Fortaner and Pitarch which was to be delivered in agreed measures at Caspe for 156,000 sueldos of Barcelona, perhaps 143,000 sueldos of Jaca<sup>27</sup>. Quantities of timber from the *baylia* of Aliaga and elsewhere were sold and transported down the Ebro<sup>28</sup>. Waters and mills were also lucrative, if contentious, assets<sup>29</sup>. Basically the Castellany's wealth was agrarian, but the Hospital and its subjects also had their flocks and the disputes which came with them; in 1287, for example, the Hospital's men of Añón were robbed of over 700 sheep<sup>30</sup>. Inventories of the direct possessions of Templar houses made in 1289 showed 28 oxen, probably for agricultural work, at Miravet and 30 at Cantavella; 31 mares and 1380 unspecified others animals, probably sheep and goats, at Miravet; 78 mules, 182 pigs and 1061 other animals at Monzón; 1060 goats at Orta; 539 sheep at Alfambra; and 652 sheep at Cantavella<sup>31</sup>. Declining population did not necessarily result in a switch from agriculture to grazing. In 1412, for example, the chapter of the Castellany granted the grazing land, the *devessa* or *mont*, of Ador to the Moorish *aljama* at Caspe for forty years with obligations to plough and cultivate, to preserve certain trees and to pay rents in cash and kind<sup>32</sup>. Brethren might have their own flocks and herds, and in 1357 Fr. Berenguer de Montpahon, Preceptor of Castellote, was allo-

21 A. Forey, «Cena Assessments in the *Corona de Aragón*: the Templar Evidence», *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, xxvii (1973), 285.

22 Forey, *Templars* (1973), 415-419, assuming one *mazmodina* was worth 5 sueldos.

23 Text in Miret, 399-400; not all expenses had been deducted from this figure, while it did not include incomes from the Templar churches subsequently acquired by the Hospital. Templar Castellote apparently paid *responsions* of 630 sueldos in 1307: text in Forey, *Templars* (1973), 415-419. Its total incomes were apparently 13,000 sueldos in 1320 circa: text in Miret, 399. They were sold for 8,000 sueldos a year in 1313: texts in Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli (1980), 363-364, 370-371.

24 ACA, Real Patrimonio 2394 (damaged: the figures are uncertain); J. Russell, «The Medieval Monedatge of Aragon and Valencia», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cvii (1962), confused the analysis, wrongly supposing that the Hospital's holdings did not pay this tax.

25 ... *Empero si algunos pobladores vienen a poblar et a fazer se vezinos en el dicho lugar nuestro del Cabrioncello, nos los entendamos a fazer mucho mayor gracia*: RA ii, f. 25 v.

26 ACA, Reg. 894, f. 39.

27 Text in Miret, 406-407.

28 Eg. RA. ii, f. 38 v.-39; iv, f. 75 v.; f. 113-114.

29 F. Castellón Cortada, «Política hidráulica de Templarios y Sanjuanistas en el Valle de Cinca (Huesca)», *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, xxxv-xxxvi (1979).

30 ACA, Reg. 74, f. 43.

31 Forey, *Templars* (1973), 238-239; Ledesma Rubio (1982), 203-205; statistical analysis, with some confusions, in M.-C. Gerbet, «Les Ordres militaires et l'Élevage dans l'Espagne médiévale (jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle)», in *Les Ordres militaires, la Vie rurale et le Peuplement in Europe Occidentale (XII-XVIII siècles)* = *Flaran*, vi (Auch, 1986), 98-99. There seem to be no fourteenth-century Hospitaller statistics for animals in Aragon.

32 Text in G. Colás Latorre, *La Bailía de Caspe en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Zaragoza, 1978), 173-175.

wed to keep the animals he had when he left the preceptory, since they were his personal *joyas* and did not belong to the *estamiento* of the *baylia*<sup>33</sup>. In 1377 a preceptor in Catalunya left his house deserted in the care of a slave, taking with him the eight oxen which belonged to the *baylia*<sup>34</sup>.

Slaves were expensive and the Aragonese Hospitallers apparently possessed few of them after 1300<sup>35</sup>, but they did govern Moorish communities which were allowed their religious, legal and fiscal independence. Numerous Moors farmed and irrigated the Order's estates in central Aragon or worked as artisans and builders in their own *mudéjar* style, exploited but protected by the Hospital<sup>36</sup>. At Caspe, for example, the Hospital dealt with two quite separate communities and institutions: a Christian *consejo* and a Moorish *aljama* or *morería*<sup>37</sup>. In 1352 a Moorish «knight» whom the Hospital had purchased and held in captivity at Miravet was granted to a Castilian Hospitaller for him to exchange with a kinsman in Moorish hands<sup>38</sup>, and in 1366 the Preceptor of Añón fled to Castile taking with him from Ambel thirty-three Moors of both sexes for whom he demanded ransom as hostages<sup>39</sup>. The *mudéjares* of Azcón in southern Catalunya were badly treated; when in 1323 they protested against increases in their labour services the Hospitallers refused to show the Moors a copy of the royal privilege which they had lost<sup>40</sup>, but in 1369 their *alcayt* was confirmed in his right to judge the Moors there and they were to keep their slaughter house<sup>41</sup>. When, in 1394, Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia was endowing his foundation at Caspe with the Moorish place of Exatiel, its *saraceni* inhabitants did homage on a Koran in the possession of the Hospitaller representative, using Arabic phrases they may not even have understood to swear *Por Uille Ille Alladi, le Ileha, Illehua, e por el Alquiba*<sup>42</sup>. This was the first part of a standard Aragonese version corrupting the Arabic words meaning «By God, except whom there is no God, and by the *qibla*», the *qibla* being the direction towards which Muslims prayed<sup>43</sup>.

The Castellany had to share parts of its incomes with the crown, with the secular church and with its own lay chaplains, stewards, lawyers and other employees; it faced expenditures on pensions, interest on loans and the maintenance of its own brethren and houses. Any alienation of rights or incomes in return for annual payments or any change from rents in kind to rents paid in cash was theoretically disadvantageous, since it was difficult subsequently to raise the sums owed in order to keep pace with inflation. Hospitallers could not be certain what might be in the Order's best interests, but they had long been acquainted with the practical side of agrarian business management and local government, with precise accounting, crop yields, prices, and marketing<sup>44</sup>; preceptors must usually have had a realistic understanding of the situation in their own *baylia*, but the Castellany's financial records could scarcely have provided an accurate overall balance sheet of its affairs.

The long-established system of preceptories and *responiones* suited an institution which needed to create surplus wealth in its Western possessions and to transfer it to the East. The Hospital was unlikely to change its universal Western arrangements, but alternative models were conceivable. In 1320 the new Valencian Order of Montesa surveyed its resources, which in 1325 circa brought in the annual equivalent of 135,000 sueldos of Jaca. The bulk of this income came from *diezmos* and

33 ... *ganados grossos et menudos et otras joyas et cosas en sp[eci]al vnas vacas qu'el tenje d'vna muller de Moriella*: RA iv, f. 61.

34 ACA, Gran Priorato de Catalunya, Armari 24, vol. 20, f. 12 v.-13.

35 However in 1395 the Catalan house at Barberà had a slaves' room, the *cambrà hon jaen los esclaus*: text in Miret, 562-564.

36 Ma. L. Ledesma Rubio, «Notas sobre los Mudéjares del Valle del Huerva: Siglos XII al XIV», *Aragón en la Edad Media: Estudios de Economía y Sociedad (siglos XII al XV)*, iii (Zaragoza, 1980).

37 Cf. Colás, 91-107.

38 RA iii, f. 142-142 v.

39 ACA, Reg. 1388, f. 22.

40 J. Ma. Font Rius, «La Carta de Seguridad de Ramón Berenguer IV a las Morerías de Ascó y Ribera del Ebro (siglo XII)», *Homenaje a Don José María Lacarra de Miguel en su Jubilación del Profesorado: Estudios Medievales*, i (Zaragoza, 1977).

41 RA v, f. 126-127.

42 AHN, Carp. 606, no. 21.

43 Cf. R. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, 1973), 216-218.

44 Cf. T. Bisson, «Credit, Prices and Agrarian Production in Catalonia: a Templar Account, 1180-1188», in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, ed. W. Jordan et al. (Princeton, 1976).

*primicias* which functioned in effect as an income tax on the order's subjects; rent payments or *censo*s, in cash or kind, were a minor matter. The rearrangement of the former Hospitaller and Templar preceptories in Valencia was carried out by the new order whose first three brethren and first two Masters were former Hospitallers. They were in a position to make sweeping initial changes to a comparatively small and compact institution. The Master of Montesa had to be supported from the Valencian preceptories whereas the Hospitaller Master's incomes came predominantly not from the priories and preceptories but from the Rhodian islands. Other funds, allotted to the *Clavero*, were needed to finance the defence of Montesa castle and of Valencia's, southern Moorish frontier. The preceptory system was drastically revised; the economy was reorganized to maximize incomes from rents since these could more easily be assigned to particular functions, leaving the preceptories largely as financial units rather than as centres of community or liturgical life. The Master received the incomes of one *baylia*, that of Cervera, while Montesa castle was maintained from the revenues of Perpuchent which were paid to the *Clavero*. The preceptories received 38.5 percent of the incomes of the other *baylias* and the remaining 61.5 percent went to a central *fondo comun* which in turn transferred part of those monies to the *Clavero*. Such, crudely, was the situation in 1330, but as the Moorish threat receded the Master acquired control of the *fondo comun* and by 1430 the incomes of the *Clavero* had been much reduced<sup>45</sup>.

Following the great revolt of 1347 the Castellan was able to impose on his rebellious subjects many heavy fines and advantageous new collective contracts<sup>46</sup>, but the great plague and disastrous weather conditions combined with endless warfare to produce a major depression. The population at Monzón eventually fell from perhaps about 2500 in 1293 to less than half that number in 1397<sup>47</sup>. After 1347 the Hospital faced a death roll of perhaps a quarter or a third of its subjects and the flight of many agricultural labourers who were unable to pay their rents, while in some areas the Castilian invasions caused further casualties, desertions and expenditures after 1356. It became extremely difficult to find new tenants, and the Hospitallers' reaction was direct and explicitly motivated; for several decades it remained essential to try to maintain cultivation and prevent abandonments by keeping men on the land through large-scale reductions and postponements of rents<sup>48</sup>. Only a fraction of the Castellany's revenues, the total of which was virtually incalculable, was exported to Rhodes, especially as the *responsiones* and other dues were seldom, if ever, paid in full. Very large sums went to the crown as war subsidies or were corruptly diverted to the Castellan and other Hospitallers, or to their kinsmen and clients, but these monies may well have come from extraordinary impositions, alienations or loans rather than from regular incomes. The annual *responsiones* theoretically due to Rhodes stood at well over 27,000 sueldos in 1329 and at about 40,000 sueldos in 1364/5<sup>49</sup>. For the two years 1393/4 and 1394/5 the *responsiones* and other dues actually paid to the Receiver-General amounted to no more than 40,000 sueldos, that is 20,000 sueldos a year<sup>50</sup>.

The institutions of preceptory and *responsiones* continued to create and transfer wealth for the Hospital. The growing practice of renting and sub-renting *baylias* probably brought some financial advantage at the cost of an erosion of community life in many preceptories. The Aragonese brethren were certainly capable of progress and innovation, but after 1317 they merely absorbed the Templar's preceptories into the Hospital's existing administrative framework, which was broadly similar to that of

45 L. García-Guijarro Ramos, *Datos para el Estudio de la Renta feudal maestral de la Orden de Montesa en el siglo XV* (Valencia, 1978); see also E. Guinot Rodríguez, *Feudalismo en Expansión en el Norte valenciano: Antecedentes y desarrollo del Señorío de la Orden de Montesa - Siglos XIII y XIV* (Castellón, 1986), and E. Díaz Monteca, «Notes documentales per l'Estudi de la Unió al Maestrat de Montesa: s. XIV», *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, lxi (1985). The Montesa statistics are crude and Guinot's terminology ambiguous, but the outlines seem clear; they offer only a rough and hypothetical guide to the Hospital's situation.

46 Luttrell (1989), 102; *idem*, «The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes; 1291-1350», *English Historical Review*, lxxvi (1961), 17-18.

47 A. Sesma Muñoz, «Demografía y Sociedad: la Población de Monzón en los siglos XIII-XV», *Homenaje a José María Laccara*, ii (Pamplona, 1986).

48 Text and details in Luttrell (1966).

49 Luttrell (1989), 113-115.

50 Valletta, National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 329, f. 65-69 v./73-73 v.



the Temple. Soon after 1319 the Castellany's incomes were estimated at 332,000 sueldos a year<sup>51</sup>. If the *responsiones* due from it were well over 27,000 sueldos in 1329, the *responsiones* expected amounted perhaps to about ten percent of incomes, as apparently had also been the case with the Aragonese Templars<sup>52</sup>. After 1347 the number of brethren to support probably dwindled, while wool production and stock raising may well have increased. Incomes seem to have come above all from taxes on produce rather than from fixed rents. Rigorous, sometimes brutal, management and the rewriting of contracts after 1347 served to reinforce monopolies and increase the Order's share of production. The Hospitallers were well aware of the need to expand agrarian output by continuing to encourage settlers and to irrigate new land, and they were wisely prepared to reduce rents in order to avoid leaving fields uncultivated during hard times. The Hospital may have been an essentially agrarian and reactionary organization but it succeeded quite competently in countering and surviving the economic crises of the fourteenth century.

51 Hospitaller text in Miret, 379-402; the interpretation of the figures given is debatable.

52 Profits of presumably more than 8000 sueldos apparently paid *responsions* of 630 sueldos at Templar Castellote (*supra* 729, note 23), suggesting, with many reservations, a rate of less than 8 percent.