

The Military Orders

Reprinted from ‘The Templars’ Estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century’, in *The Military Orders*, vol. 6.2: *Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 132–42. Copyright © 2016

Forty papers link the study of the military orders’ cultural life and output with their involvement in political and social conflicts during the medieval and early modern period. Divided into two volumes, focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe respectively, the collection brings together the most up-to-date research by experts from fifteen countries on a kaleidoscope of relevant themes and issues, thus offering a broad-ranging and at the same time very detailed study of the subject.

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The Military Orders

Volume 6.2: culture and conflict
in Western and Northern Europe

Edited by
Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

LCCN: 94-17896

ISBN: 978-1-4724-7638-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-46625-5 (ebk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-21284-8 (pack)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Editors' preface

The present volume contains papers from the sixth conference on the military orders, which was held on 5–8 September 2013 at the Museum of the Order of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, under the auspices of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders and the Latin East. We welcomed scholars from at least twenty-five countries who between them presented over eighty papers. It has been possible to publish only a selection of the papers here; however, we should like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who took part in the conference for helping make the event such a success.

For the first time the proceedings are being published in two volumes. Although each volume stands on its own and can be obtained and consulted independently, the volumes are best appreciated as an ensemble, for they are intended to provide the reader with the broadest overview of the most current research in the field of military order studies relating to their military lives and culture. It should be noted here that the term 'culture' is understood by the conference organizers and the editors as denoting the visible and tangible products of human endeavour as well as the forms and means of ritualistic and symbolic communication and representation which are at the heart of what has been labelled the 'new cultural history'. Whereas each volume focuses on a very broad geographical region (Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean respectively), their internal structure is chronological rather than thematic or geographic. That this should be the most satisfying order presenting itself is, of course, testimony to the vast variety of topics, approaches and geographical regions presented within each volume. This should come as no surprise: the study of the military orders has always been an international and truly interdisciplinary endeavour!

As editors we should like to express our gratitude to the editorial committee, Tony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson for their support and sage advice throughout, as well as to Jonathan Riley-Smith for writing the introductions to these volumes. Thanks are also due to John Smedley and his colleagues at Ashgate Publishing, Michael Bourne at Routledge, and Autumn Spalding at Apex CoVantage for their help and patience. The conference turned out to be an immense success because of the many months of careful planning by its dedicated organizing committee led by Michael Heslop, namely Alan Borg, Christina Grembowicz, Tony Luttrell, Helen J. Nicholson, Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Keith

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Schnaar and Pamela Willis. It is to them that we extend our gratitude for helping lay the foundation for these two volumes.

Very special words of thanks are due to our sponsors and those who have contributed to the conference: Cardiff Centre for the Study of the Crusades, Cardiff University, the Grand Priory of England, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the St John Historical Society, Royal Holloway, the University of London, Cambridge University Press, Ashgate Publishing, the Institute of Historical Research, Brepols Publishers NV and to the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust for its subvention towards the publication of the proceedings. We are also grateful to three anonymous donors for enabling the conference committee to give seven bursaries to students, and to the Priory of England of the Order of St John and the Museum of the Order of St John for the use of St John's Gate and the Priory Church. Finally, we would like to thank the volunteers and staff at St John's Gate, in particular the members of the St John Historical Society and the St John Fellowship, the Reverend Gay Ellis (Little Maplestead), Paula Dellamura (Temple Crossing) and Stephane Bitty (Rosebery Hall).

Jochen Schenk (Glasgow) & Mike Carr (Edinburgh)

Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i>
AHN OO.MM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares
AIM	Archive of the Roman Inquisition in Malta
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i>
AOM	Archive of the Order of Malta
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , 316 vols (Turnhout, 1945–)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906)
<i>Cont WT</i>	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)</i> , ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14 (Paris, 1982)
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913)
<i>Eracles</i>	<i>L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer</i> , in RHC Occ, 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
<i>HC</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, 1968–89)
Malta, Cod.	Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i>
<i>MO 1</i>	<i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)
<i>MO 2</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998)

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MO 3	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008)
MO 4	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 4: On Land and By Sea</i> , ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008)
MO 5	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 5: Politics and Power</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012)
MOA	<i>Militarium Ordinum Analecta</i>
Montjoie	<i>Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Eberhard Mayer</i> , ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (London, 1997)
NLM	National Library of Malta, Valletta
P&C	<i>Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge</i> , ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
PUTJ	<i>Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter</i> , ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Gottingen, 1972–84)
QuStDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Arm</i>	<i>Documents arméniens</i>
<i>Occ</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
RHGF	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
RIS	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i>
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>
RRH	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum (Ad)</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
RS	Rolls Series
RSJ	<i>The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493</i> , ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
RT	<i>La Règle du Temple</i> , ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
SDO	<i>Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften</i> , ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1980)
SRP	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , ed. T. Hirsch et al. (Leipzig, 1861)
WT	<i>Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

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10 The Templars' estates in the west of Britain in the early fourteenth century

Helen J. Nicholson

This chapter represents a progress report on my research into the Templars' properties in England and Wales, as recorded after the arrests of the Templars in Britain and Ireland and preserved in the UK National Archives at Kew.¹ The detailed descriptions of the Templars' properties drawn up when the Templars in England and Wales were arrested, combined with the accounts for their properties made by royal officials, permit a unique insight into agricultural practice, production and employment during the period 1308–1313, and into the operation of this religious order, its religious life and role in wider society.² The goal of this research is to publish the records for England and Wales (the records from Ireland were published in 1967),³ to make them available to all scholars with an interest in medieval estate records, but with the particular intention of establishing exactly how wealthy or poverty-stricken the Templars in England and Wales were in 1308, and what property the Hospitallers actually inherited in 1313. This chapter will consider the evidence from the Templars' property in the western extremes of Britain: in Herefordshire, Wales, Cornwall and Cumbria, to establish how they operated their estates, whom they employed and on what terms and their commercial and financial transactions.

The Templars held extensive possessions in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex, on the eastern side of England, but their possessions in the west of England, on the frontier with Wales and in Wales itself were much less extensive. In contrast to the Hospitallers, they had little land in south Wales and in Cumbria and no property in north Wales (for example).⁴ Little is known of the physical remains of Templar property in the west of Britain. At each of the locations to be discussed here, the site is still in use, with later buildings replacing or incorporating the medieval buildings. Only at Garway in Herefordshire have there been excavations in recent years, initiated by the landowner. The foundations of a hall have been found, and at least one of the mills may have been identified.⁵

The Templars' 'Inquest' of 1185 includes only one of these properties.⁶ Moreover, none of the inventories made at these properties when the Templars were arrested has survived. Yet it is possible to reconstruct some of the Templars' activities from the records made by the royal custodians of these properties, covering six years between the arrest of the Templars in January 1308 and the formal handover of the properties to the Hospitallers in December 1313. A complete run of



Figure 10.1 Location of Templar properties under discussion

accounts survives for Garway on the Welsh-English border in Herefordshire, from January 1308 to December 1313.⁷ At Upleadon, also in Herefordshire, only the accounts from January 1308 to 20 September 1310 survive.⁸ Only one account survives for Llanmadoc on the Gower Peninsula, in Glamorgan (Morgannwg), South Wales: this covers the period 10 January 1308 to Michaelmas 1308.⁹ For Temple on Bodmin Moor, Cornwall, there are summary accounts covering five years.¹⁰ For Temple Sowerby there is a single record, probably from 1309.¹¹ The king also had records made of the Templars' debts and of their ongoing obligations to holders of corrodies. These record a total of eight corrodies payable at Garway and at Upleadon, but none at Llanmadoc, Temple or Temple Sowerby (see Figure 10.1).¹²

It appears reasonable to assume that after these properties were confiscated by King Edward II's officials the royal custodians – at least in the first year – operated the estates in the same way that they had been operated by the Templars. The royal

custodian's accounts from Garway state that in the final year the custodian handed over much of the stock and cash to the king and his faithful servants, but – at least initially, while the outcome of the proceedings against the Templars was uncertain – the custodians would probably not have wanted to change any of the Templars' procedures.

Income, expenses and personnel

Garway

The Templars had received a manor at Garway before December 1188.¹³ In 1308 it had dependent hamlets of Harewood, Saint Wulstan, Llanrothel and Cauros (probably Great Corras farm) and property in Hereford.¹⁴ The sheriff's and keeper's accounts for Garway indicate that in 1312 the manor reaped 20 acres of hay and 644 acres of grain and had income from water mills at Garway, Harewood and Radekyr (the latter two in poor condition), from gardens at Garway, Harewood and St Wulstan and from a dovecote at St Wulstan.¹⁵ The Templars also held the parish church at Garway and chapels at Harewood and at Newton (probably Welsh Newton near St Wulstan), where they received the tithes. They also received pleas and perquisites of court.¹⁶ The Templars' church at Garway was subject to visitation by the archdeacon of Hereford.¹⁷

Two Templars had been living at Garway manor in January 1308: Philip of Meux, knight (and commander), and William of Pocklington, neither of whom had been in the Order long: Brother Philip had joined in June 1304 and Brother William in September 1306.¹⁸ There were also four corrodians: a chaplain, two clerks and a servant. In 1308 the house employed a woodward (suggesting a large area of woodland within the estate), a harvest overseer, twelve ploughmen and twelve drovers who led the plough animals, two carters, a master shepherd and stockman, twelve other shepherds, a cowherd, a porter, a *garcio* (a 'lad' or 'boy') who made potage for the *famuli* or farm workers, a keeper of the garden and four women who milked the ewes.¹⁹ In addition to potage, the *famuli* were paid for some work, such as harvesting, threshing and winnowing. Wages were expressed and paid in cash.

The main income of the manor came from rent from the free and unfree tenants (from year three onwards the accounts specify that the labour services had been commuted to an annual cash payment), production and sale of grain, including peas (although much was consumed by the farmworkers in potage, or by the farm stock) and the raising and sale of cattle and especially sheep; there was some wool production, and hay was produced but was consumed by the manor's own stock in winter feed. The produce of the gardens and dovecote produced some income, and there was also income from the sale of milk, butter and cheese and (in the first year) bacon. The most numerous livestock were sheep, with 452 wethers, 480 ewes and 347 lambs in stock in the first year.²⁰

Table 10.1 summarizes the income and profit in each year of the royal administration of this estate.²¹ The first year covered only the nine months from January to Michaelmas 1308, and the final period covered only three months, from

Table 10.1 Income and profit for Templar houses in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, South Wales and Cornwall, 1308–1313

	1308 (nine months)	1308–1309	1309–1310	1310–1311	1311–1312	1312–1313	1313 (three months)
Garway							
Income	£87 5s 2½d	£166 1s 9½d	£170 10s 3½d	£169 5s 6d	£137 8s 10½d	£118 18s 7½d	£61 0s 3½d
Profit	£31 13s 7½d	£81 7s 9½d	£104 19s 11¾d	£118 4s 6¾d	£80 13s 11¾d	£62 5s 8d	£49 1s 10¾d
% income	36%	50%*	61%*	70%*	59%	52%	80%
Corrodies paid	£19 11s 7d				£20 1s	£20 1s	58s 8d
Upleadon							
Income	£80 18s 4d	£102 1s 7¾d	£96 3s 6¾d				
Profit	£38 16s ½d	£40 17s 6¼d	£55 5s 8¼d				
% income	48%	40%	57%*				
Corrodies paid	£7 10s 0d	£11 5s 0d	£12 13s 1d				
Hollecrombe							
Income		21s 2d	£7 11s 6d	£10 18s 9d	43s 4d		
Profit/(loss)		(76s 1½d)	(13s 3½d)	£5 8s 8d	32s 10d		
% income		(362%)	(9%)	50%	77%		
Broughton							
Income		£10 19s	£17 12s 5¾d	£16 5s 6¼d	26s 2d		
Profit		69s 8½d	£12 16s 3¾d	£12 16s 6¾d	19s 3¾d		
% income		32%	77%	81%	73%		
Lawerne							
Income		78s 11d	£17 12s 6d	£14 0s 23½d	30s 10d		
Profit/(loss)		(15s 8d)	£6 7s 1½d	£4 17s ½d	(5s 6d)		
% of income		(20%)	33%	35%	(18%)		
Temple, Bodmin Moor							
Income	0	48s	58s 9d	51s 1d	5s 9d		

*No costs of corrodies were charged against profit in this year.

Michaelmas to December 1313. Garway manor appears to have made a good profit of at least 50% of income in every year.

Upleadon

The Templars received their manor here, next to the village of Bosbury, from William Marshal in 1217–1219.²² In 1308 the manor had just one dependent hamlet, at ‘Hasele’. In the summer of 1308 the workers there reaped 80.5 acres of hay and 460 acres of grain. There was a watermill, a dovecote and garden. As at Garway, the Templars received pleas and perquisites of court, but they did not control the parish church as they did at Garway. There were two Templars arrested at Upleadon in January 1308: Thomas de Tholosa, commander, and Brother Thomas le Chamberleyn, his *socius* or aide. The first Thomas was a knight who had joined the Order at Pentecost in around 1267. He was commander of Ireland in 1292 and commander of York in 1301–1302 and was mentioned by one of the non-Templar witnesses from the county of York in terms indicating he was a man of influence. The second Thomas had joined the Order in 1301.²³ There were also four corrodies, including a chaplain and a servant, and in 1308 the house paid cash stipends to a servant in charge of the plough teams and threshing, a harvest overseer, twelve ploughmen and twelve drovers who led the plough animals, a carter, a porter, a cowherd and a *garcio* (variously a cook or a dairyman in year two) who made potage for the servants during the time of account. In year one there were stipends for two harrowers and wages for their assistant, and in the last eleven weeks of year two (1309) there was a granger. In year three (1309–1310) there was no servant in charge of the plough teams or harvest overseer and only five men holding the ploughs and five leading the plough teams, but there was a gardener, and wages were paid to manor servants.²⁴ Again, the *famuli* received potage and were also paid in cash for some work, such as harvesting, threshing and winnowing.

The manor’s main income came from the sale of grain, from the customary services commuted into cash payments and from the rents of assize paid by the free and unfree tenants. There was also income from the mill, from the dovecote and garden and court fees. In the first year 33s were received from the sale of four barrels of cider (this is still a cider-producing area), the milk from six cows and the sale of bacon and animal carcasses. Hay was produced but was consumed by the farm stock rather than sold. The most numerous farm animals were the oxen, although fewer than at Garway (thirty-seven at Upleadon as against sixty at Garway, and there were no sheep. This manor relied on grain production rather than livestock.

Table 10.1 summarizes the income and profit in each year of the royal administration of this estate.²⁵ The first year comprised the nine months to Michaelmas 1308. On 20 September 1310 the manor was entrusted to Margery de Braose, and no further accounts for the manor appear in the roll.²⁶

In the first and second year, while the estates were being administered by Walter Hakluyt, sheriff of Herefordshire, Garway and Upleadon were accounted for together. In July of the second year, responsibility for the administration of these two commanderies was passed to John de la Haye, who was also responsible for

administering the lands confiscated from Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. John de la Haye's accounts include income from the Templars' manors in Worcestershire: Lawerne (now Temple Laugherne to the west of Worcester), Hollecrombe (now Hill Croome),²⁷ and Broghton (Temple Broghton farm on Harman's Hill, Hanbury, near Broghton Green).²⁸

The Worcestershire manors, also called hamlets,²⁹ were small properties, with similar stock and produce to those in Herefordshire but on a smaller scale. Their accounts give an insight into the management of the Templars' smaller estates away from the frontier, where no Templars had been resident. So, for example, Hollecrombe in year two had income from production of grain, a dovecote and pasture; in year three there was also income from sale of underwood. There were expenses for maintenance of two ploughs and employing two ploughmen and drovers to lead the plough animals and a maid (*ancilla*) to make potage for the *famuli*.³⁰ There were wheat, peas, oats and 'mixture' in the barn and two draught horses, sixteen oxen and a cow, and a few pots and pans. At Broghton the Templars held the farm of a mill and there was income from a garden, pasture and underwood. The main income was from rents of assize from free tenants and the commutation of the customary services, but there was also income from pleas and perquisites of court and from tenants in 'Arleye'. Employees included a carter, four ploughmen and a maid; there was also mention of a reeve and a woodward.³¹ Grain and animal stocks were similar to Hollecrombe. Accounts for Lawerne cover only the last eleven weeks of year two, and years three to six. They show similar sources of income and expenses and similar employees, with a woodward employed with two ploughmen and drovers, potage being made for the farm labourers and general maintenance costs. Income included 8s from servile 'works' which had been commuted, the sale of underwood, herbage, hay and garden produce, sale of grain from the mill and pleas and perquisites of court.³² As Table 10.1 shows, only Broghton, with most of its income from tenants, made a consistent profit; the income and expenses from the other two manors fluctuated wildly between profit and loss from one year to the next.

In Worcestershire a bailiff was employed in the last eleven weeks of year two and in years three, four and five to administer the manors of Lawerne and Hollecrombe, at a cost of 1½*d* per day, plus a stipend of 10s per year.³³ This may have been an attempt to impose effective management in response to the fluctuating income and expenses in these manors.

In sum, Garway was a sheep-producing area, whereas Upleadon and the Worcestershire manors produced grain. Upleadon produced some cider and milk; Garway sold some dairy produce, including cheese, but no cider. On all these manors labour services were commuted. Farm workers were employed and supplied with potage but were also paid in cash for some tasks, and some specialized workers were paid cash wages. Corrodies were used to pay chaplains, clerks and servants.

Llanmadoc

The church, vill and land at Llanmadoc in the Gower, *cum omnibus pertinentiis in bosco et in plano, et in aquis, et in via et extra via*, had been given to the Templars

by Margaret, countess of Warwick, in 1156, and approved by her underage sons Henry, Robert and Geoffrey de Newburgh.³⁴ The sheriff's accounts for Llanmadoc state that in 1308 the Templars had sixty-three acres of arable land at Llanmadoc, worked by unfree tenants, fifty-two acres in demesne, and seven acres of meadow, in addition to pasture and a water mill. They had rights of advowry over the parish church and received pleas and perquisites of court.³⁵

In 1308 no Templars were arrested at Llanmadoc in the Gower, and there were no corrodians. There were free tenants, tenants at will and cottars, who paid 35s 2½d rent during the period from January to Michaelmas 1308. 12s were paid by tenants in Kidwelly, a town to the north-west of Llanmadoc, beyond the River Loughor.³⁶ Most of the labour was performed by eleven unfree tenants performing labour services, but one man was paid a regular wage to provide transportation.

The crops grown at Llanmadoc were wheat, barley, peas, beans and oats. The accounts indicate that the largest crops by volume were barley and oats, but wheat and barley were greatest in value. There were also twenty-four cattle of various ages and four horses (three pack horses and one colt). There were no sheep and so no wool production at Llanmadoc, and there were no sales of bacon, butter or cheese, although the custodian did sell the hides of cattle which had died. The mill, pasture and meadow also produced income.

In the first nine months after the Templars' arrest, the manor's profit after allowable expenses was £11 18s 3½d (see Table 10.1).³⁷ In this period, profit was 86 per cent of income.

Temple, Bodmin Moor

This was the Templars' most westerly house in Britain, which they had already held in 1185.³⁸ There were no Templars resident in January 1308, and no income was received before Michaelmas each year. The annual rent from the tenants was 31s 4d, there was 13s 4d profit from the farm of the chapel after the chaplain had been paid, and some court fees and fines. The total income after five years was just £8 3s 7d. Here there was no mention of tenants working on the demesne or of any wages being paid, and there was no stock and no income from wool or the sale of produce.³⁹ It appears that at this remote English house the Templars had leased out the whole property and – unlike at Llanmadoc – did not retain any of the land as demesne.

Table 10.1 summarizes the income in each year of the royal administration of this estate.⁴⁰

Temple Sowerby

The Templars obtained their property at Temple Sowerby in Westmorland in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴¹ An inventory of this property survives, dated Thursday next after the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the year has been lost, but is probably 1309.⁴² This was part of an inquiry into the lands and

goods of Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield and the Templars, throughout the realm.⁴³ The jurors reported that the bishop held nothing here, but the Templars at Temple 'Soureby' had property – regrettably the document has been badly damaged and the left half of the document has been destroyed, but it is clear that the property included a water mill for grinding grain, worth at least ten marks a year, to a total value of £7 3s. There was also another property which included a messuage and two acres of land, worth in all 18*d*; apparently this was rented out. There were at least twenty-seven tenants holding land and paying annual rents variously of 7*s* 6*d*, two shillings, or a sum ending in 12*d*. Given that the bulk of the document is taken up with the list of tenants, this appears to be a house where, as at Temple in Cornwall, the land was mainly leased out to tenants. Although there were no Templars at Sowerby in January 1308, it appears that two of the Templars at Temple Thornton, Brother Michael of Sowerby and his *socius* Walter of Gadesby, had previously been at Sowerby. Michael of Sowerby was *custos* of Thornton and commander of Sowerby; he had joined the Order in 1290, whereas Brother Walter had joined only in May 1307.⁴⁴

Profitability

The figures set out earlier indicate that Garway commandery produced a profit of at least 50 per cent of income in all but the first nine months that the manor was in the king's hands. Upleadon was less profitable; for the years where accounts are available, profit was around 40–48 per cent. The data from south Wales and Cornwall indicate that these estates were also profitable; of the Worcestershire estates, only Broughton was consistently profitable year on year. However, these figures are not necessarily representative of the period when the Templars operated these estates. The accounts do not mention if any household servants were laid off when the Templars were arrested. Any regular charitable giving was omitted: in 1338, the Hospitallers recorded that they were spending substantial sums on accommodating travellers at Garway, but no costs were recorded for this in 1308–1313.⁴⁵ The Templars' own living expenses may have been higher than the 4*d* a day that was charged to their accounts after their arrests, and even this expense ceased during year two, when the Templars were transferred to London for trial.⁴⁶ In addition, expenses which would have been met out of the expenses of each commandery were now paid from income from a number of commanderies: in year two all the corrodies for both the Herefordshire commanderies were included with the expenses of Upleadon.⁴⁷

It is clear that some long-term investment was not being made during these years: at Garway, at least one dovecote went out of use in 1312,⁴⁸ leaving just the dovecote at St Wulstan, and in year six the mill at Harewood was in such bad repair that it made no profit.⁴⁹ At Upleadon, the number of ploughs in operation dropped from twelve in 1308 to five in 1309–1310. Nevertheless, on these figures the Templars should have been relatively wealthy during the first decade of the fourteenth century, and it is easy to understand why contemporaries were unable to comprehend their constant appeals for additional funds.

Commerce and financial transactions

On 31 December 1308, King Edward II sent out instructions to all his sheriffs to find out what debts had been due to the Templars at Christmas 1307, that is, just before the arrests. The sheriffs of Cornwall, Westmorland and Worcester each replied that he had investigated and that no one had owed the Templars anything.⁵⁰ No record has survived from the sheriff of Glamorgan. The sheriff of Herefordshire, Walter of Hakluyt, reported a variety of debts.⁵¹ Walter Caperon owed Brother Thomas *de Tolouse*, commander of Upleadon, 9 marks of silver for oxen sold to him. Roger Bacon owed Brother Thomas 10s from the most recent accounting period (*pro arr[enda]’ ulterim’ compoti sui*) from the time when he was Brother Thomas’s collector (possibly of rents), and Thomas de la Hull owed 5s in silver. Roger de la Stoue of Stoke Laci owed Brother Thomas *de Tolus* 10s from a loan. Henry of Lancaster owed Brother Philip 20s 8d for a loan, and Ewan ap Meur’ owed 4s in silver *pro linis ab eodem emptiis* – for linen cloths bought from him. These debts indicate that there was a small number of commercial transactions and money lending by the Templars in Herefordshire, where there were brothers present: but that this was not a major part of the Templars’ activities here. In areas where no Templars lived, the Templars apparently did not make loans or sales.

Conclusion

The evidence discussed earlier reveals the Templar estates in Herefordshire and the western extremes of England and Wales as profitable concerns, which employed men and women for specific tasks such as carter and cook and also as farm labourers. The Templars also employed a small number of skilled men, chaplains, clerks and some household servants through the corrody system. Overall there were very few Templars in proportion to a large number of support staff. Crops grown and animals raised varied from area to area depending on what was most suited to local soil and climate, but everywhere the Templars also received rents from their tenants. The Templars were flexible in how they operated their estates: in Herefordshire they kept some land in demesne and administered it directly themselves, and in South Wales there was some land in demesne worked by unfree tenants, but the Templars also leased out land; this may also have been the case at Temple Sowerby in Cumbria. At Temple in Cornwall, which was distant from any Templar administrative centre, their land was entirely leased out to tenants. In Worcestershire, a bailiff was employed by the royal custodian to oversee the running of two manors; it is unclear whether the Templars had also employed a bailiff, but it would have been a reasonable way of administering these manors where no Templars were resident.

Notes

- 1 My earlier papers on these data are ‘The Templars in Britain: Garway and south Wales’, presented at ‘The Templar economy in the Western World: estates, trade, finance’: international conference at Troyes and Ville-sous-la-Ferté, France, 24–26 October 2012, and published as: H. J. Nicholson, ‘The Templars in Britain: Garway and South Wales’, in

- L'économie templière en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 323–36 and 'The Templars in the West of Britain: Garway, South Wales, and the South West' in a session 'Making Money?: The Templars' Economy in Britain', at the IMC Leeds July 2013.
- 2 Studies based on these documents include P. Slavin, 'Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and Their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 42 (2013), 36–49; E. Lord, *The Knights Templars in Britain* (Harlow, 2002); C. Perkins, 'The Wealth of the Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution', *American Historical Review*, 15 (1910), 252–63.
 - 3 'Documents Relating to the Suppression of the Templars in Ireland', ed. G. MacNiocail, *Analecta Hibernica*, 24 (1967), 183–226.
 - 4 For the Hospitallers' property in Wales, see: W. Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border; Including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff, 1947); for their property and interests in Cumberland and Westmorland, see the *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. and III. in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservatae*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (London, 1818), pp. 117, 787. I am very grateful to Peter Griffiths for sending me information he has collected on Temple Sowerby.
 - 5 In 2010, 2011 and 2012 archaeological excavations were carried out around Garway church under the supervision of David Jemmett. I am very grateful to David Jemmett and the landowners, John Hughes and Matthew Sanderson, for allowing me access to the site and showing me around, and especially to Matthew Sanderson for allowing me access to the dovecote. On the site at Garway see: J. Webb, 'Notes on the Preceptory of the Templars at Garway in the County of Hereford', *Archaeologia*, 21 (1844), 182–97; J. Fleming-Yates, 'The Knights Templar and Hospitallers in the Manor of Garway, Herefordshire', *Transactions of the Woolhope Natural History Field Club* (no volume number) (1927); *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Herefordshire* (1931), I, pp. 69–73.
 - 6 Temple on Bodmin Moor: *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185*, ed. B. Lees (London, 1935), p. 60, note 7.
 - 7 Kew: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): E 358/18, rots 2 (years 1 and 2), 44 (year 5); E 358/19, rots 25 (years 1, 2, 5), 47 (year 6 and nine weeks of year 7), 50 (11 weeks of year 2, years 3 and 4).
 - 8 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, E 358/19 rot. 25–25v (years 1 and 2), rots 50v, 51 (end of year 2, year 3).
 - 9 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 10r and TNA: SC 6/1202/3.
 - 10 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 11v.
 - 11 TNA: E 142/11 m. 4.
 - 12 'Corrodia petita de domibus Templariorum, annis I^o & II^o Edwardi II', in *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Cole (London, 1844), pp. 139–230 (edition of TNA: E 142/9); TNA: E 142/119 mm. 21 and 23.
 - 13 Lees, *Records of the Templars in England*, pp. 142–3.
 - 14 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2; E 358/19 rot. 25.
 - 15 TNA: E 358/18 rot. 44(2); E 358/19 rot. 25(1)v.
 - 16 TNA: E 358/19 rots 25(1)v, 47v, 50.
 - 17 TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2(2); E 358/19 rot. 50.
 - 18 *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. H. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 103, 530, 576.
 - 19 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2; E 358/19 rot. 25.
 - 20 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2.
 - 21 Totals taken from TNA: E 358/18, rots 2, 44; E 358/19, rots 25, 47, 50.

- 22 D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 1971), pp. 292–3.
- 23 Nicholson, *The Proceedings against the Templars*, II, pp. 554, 558.
- 24 TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, TNA: E 358/19 rot. 50v, rot. 51.
- 25 Totals taken from TNA: E 358/18, rot. 2–2v, E 358/19 rots 25–25v, 50v, 51.
- 26 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 51(1).
- 27 T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, vol. 5 (Manchester, 1920), p. 317, note.
- 28 TNA: E358/18, rot. 44(2)v; E 358/19 rots 47v, 50–1.
- 29 ‘Hamel’ at TNA: E 358/18, rot. 44(2)v; ‘maner’ at E 358/19 rot. 47v.
- 30 TNA: E 358/19 rots. 47v, 50.
- 31 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 47v; E 358/19 rot. 50(1).
- 32 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 50(1).
- 33 TNA: E358/18, rot. 44(2)v; E 358/19 rots 50(1), 50v.
- 34 Rees, *History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales*, p. 32; G. T. Clark, *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, vol. 3, 2nd edn (Cardiff, 1910), pp. 963–5: edition of Public Record Office: QR Misc. Books fol. 486b; *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with Their Dependencies, in England and Wales . . .*, ed. W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth; revised by R. C. Taylor, J. Stevens, J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1846), VI:2, p. 841, nos. 32, 33: edition of Cotton MS Vitellii F 1. I am grateful to Sally Lyne of the Old Rectory, Llanmadoc, for showing me around the site and discussing her theories with me.
- 35 TNA: SC 6/1202/3; E 358/20 rot. 10r.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 TNA: PRO E 358/20 rot. 10r. See also William Rees’s transcription of TNA: PRO SC 6/1202/3 in *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, 13 (1950), 144–5.
- 38 Lees, *Records of the Templars*, p. 60, n. 7: Fawimore (Foweymoor on Bodmin Moor).
- 39 TNA: E 358/20 rot. 11v.
- 40 Totals taken from *ibid.*
- 41 H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308–1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 241.
- 42 Following Edward II’s order of 4 March 1309: *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward II: A.D. 1307–1313* (London, 1892), p. 94; cited by Perkins, ‘The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England’, p. 252.
- 43 TNA: E 142/11 m 4.
- 44 Nicholson, *The Proceedings against the Templars*, II, pp. 528, 562, 598.
- 45 *The Knights Hospitallers in England, Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, ed. L. B. Larking, intro. J. M. Kemble, Camden Society 1st Series, 65 (1857), pp. 197–8.
- 46 (Garway) TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2v, E 358/19 rot. 25(2); (Upleadon) TNA: E 358/18 rot. 2.2v, E 358/19 rot. 25(1)v.
- 47 TNA: E 358/19 rot 51.
- 48 Evidence set out in Nicholson, ‘The Templars in Garway and South Wales’, p. 327, n. 7.
- 49 TNA: E 358/19 rot. 47v.
- 50 TNA: E 142/119 mm 22, 24 (marked 30); E 142/119 mm. 7, 15–16.
- 51 TNA: E 142/119 mm 21, 23 (marked 29).