

Lluís Sales i Favà

*The courts of the local bailiffs in medieval Mallorca.
Shared jurisdictional mechanisms to prevent nonpayment**

1. Introduction

This article aims to study the local jurisdictional courts, of rural contexts, in the island of Mallorca between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries and the role they played in the prosecution of nonpayment and insolvency. Our main objective is to describe the procedures of these institutions and to understand the roles assigned both to the officers involved and to the litigating parties (plaintiffs and defendants) in such disputes. We also aim to highlight the most common strategies used by actors to defend their economic interests, including their use of procedures to their advantage, and the filing of appeals based on the Law and custom. These tasks are conducted through the examination of the court of Montuïri, a small town in central Mallorca.

We believe that the study of local court records demonstrates the degree of personal agency held by the actors (which were often members of the popular classes, peasants, and even women), and that, in fact, that the users' actions were decisive in modifying the mechanics of these feudal institutions.

Ultimately, we suggest that the local jurisdictional courts in the Late Middle Ages were amidst a field of forces. On the one hand, they were used by creditors (often outsiders) to extract agricultural surplus. On the other hand, they were governed by locals and thus allowed for the mitigation of predatory creditor actions through settlement, delay, or community solidarity. All this offers new perspectives on the study of insolvency and nonpayment.

For the study of credit, the jurisdictional courts are of interest for several reasons. On the one hand, they show a different facet from the issuance of credit: its enforcement. Often neglected by researchers, through these sources we learn when the payment deadlines were really met; how frequent was non-payment within a given community; how non-payment or delay was resolved; and what kind of pledges were delivered to compensate the lender. On the other hand, it should be noted that the

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local jurisdictional courts, both for contentious and consensual duties, were central institutions for the social majority – the non-privileged classes. Members of these sectors in the Mediterranean West during the Late Middle Ages turned to the local court to manage their businesses as regularly as they did to the notarial office.¹

As we have discussed elsewhere, such insights can only be gleaned through the records documenting court procedures – that is, the books where mechanisms activated by the courts were transcribed chronologically and consecutively, often without case files compiling one single process from the beginning until its resolution (Sales i Favà 2014). While in other European contexts, particularly in Britain, this type of documentation has been extensively used by scholarship (Razi and Smith 1996; Briggs 2009), in the Iberian kingdoms, these sources have only been studied over the past few decades (Viciano 2001; Sales i Favà and Reixach Sala 2022a). Furthermore, we have a lagging institutional History that has often overlooked popular justice to focus on the major State institutions. Legal historians have also generally been reluctant to study such local entities. Nonetheless, as it is increasingly demonstrated for the continental Crown of Aragon in the Late Middle Ages, there exists a voluminous, scattered documentary corpus related to first-instance local courts that still awaits thorough study and, in some cases, even proper cataloguing (Sales i Favà and Reixach Sala 2022b).

This article uses several volumes from the local jurisdictional court of the town of Montuïri, which were previously unexplored and date from the period 1388–1433.² We have specifically explored the series described as *Llibres Comuns*, mostly used to record executory writs, debt obligations, and also ordinances issued by the bailiff. The town retains a collection of jurisdictional records, systematically arranged into series that correspond to the different procedures employed in the administration of civil and criminal justice.³

Situated in central Mallorca and inside the royal domain, Montuïri was a market-town acting as a hinge between its surrounding rural landscape and the capital city of the island (Map 1). The parish could have c. 500 inhabitants by the late fourteenth century (Sevillano Colom 1974, 266). The town is representative of a specific type of small urban node, characteristic of both Mallorca and the continental Crown of Aragon, which provided a wide range of services (including first-instance judicial

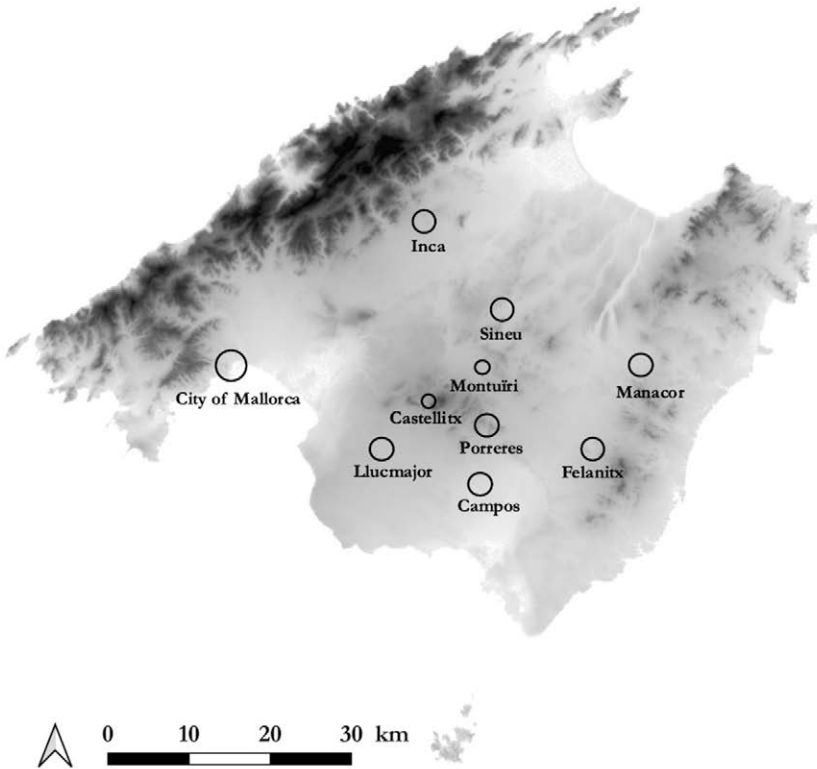
¹ In fact, both offices, often leased to the same individuals or companies in the Crown of Aragon, could even be confused by their clientele. In 1432, a certain Pere Joan de Padrina requested a copy of documents from the local bailiff of Montuïri, Mallorca, in which a lease was recorded. The scribe responded by stating that the document was not found in a court book, but was indeed in his possession as notary (*«ans és en son poder, e aquella ha rebuda com a notari, e no com scrivà de la cort»*). Arxiu Municipal de Montuïri (AMM), Cúria Reial (CR), *Llibres Comuns* (LC), v. 1432-1433, f. 1r-1v (9-2-1432). On the cohabitation of both offices, see Smail (1998, 34-43).

² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1379-1395; 1388; 1389; 1390-1399; 1400-1405; 1406-1410; 1410-1415; 1414-1415; 1418-1421; 1422-1444; 1432-1433.

³ Only one single register of the corpus had been so far subject to linguistic analysis due to the expressive vernacular Catalan used by the actors and recorded by the scribes (Miralles i Montserrat 1984). Other studies derived from this sort of registers, in Mallorca, are Hillgarth and Rosselló Lliteras (1989), Canals i Frontera (1989), Llompart Moragues (1995), Bibiloni Trobat (1997), Canals i Frontera (2003), Llompart Moragues (2007).

functions) to its own inhabitants and the surrounding district, formed by dispersed farmsteads.

Map. 1. Mentioned localities of the island of Mallorca



The timespan covered by this study is relevant, since the turn of the fifteenth century is a period in which local courts in the Crown of Aragon had fully achieved, both in the royal and the baronial estates, a unified way of dealing with legal procedures that fostered territorial integration (Sales i Favà 2025a, 57).

Our decision to work with this specific documentation stems not only from its serial nature, fine preservation, and accessibility (much of it has been digitized), but also from our knowledge that these institutions, in the civil sphere, particularly handled cases related to the so-called *ius obligationum*. *Ius obligationum* governed economic compromises amongst institutions or individuals (Mayer 2006). As a sole example, between February and August 1432, the series of *Llibres Comuns* of the court of Montuiri transcribe a total of 121 civil procedures, the majority of which (108, 89.3%)

directly relate to insolvency, non-payment, or delayed payments.⁴ Such ubiquity of economic issues is also frequent in other contemporary courts across the peninsular territories of the Crown of Aragon (Sales i Favà 2022, 97-112; Sales i Favà 2025a). As will be discussed further on, these suits were linked to various financial products acquired by community members, as well as to other economic exchanges that were not strictly related to credit, such as emphyteutic rents, leaseholds or local taxation.

The structure of this paper is as follows: a) It first presents the institutional framework for the local jurisdictional courts on the island, focusing also on their competences in non-contentious matters; b) it then outlines the basic internal structure of these courts and the procedural iter foreseen for cases of insolvency and non-payment; c) drawing on data extracted from various chronological court records, it provides a typology of the forms of non-payment; d) finally, based on this same material, it examines the actions of the actors within the jurisdictional court, tackling two key dynamics: the phenomenon of pledging, and the strategies of delay and legal argumentation.

2. The institutional setting

Following the Christian conquest of Mallorca in 1231, the Catalan lords divided the island among themselves, effectively fragmenting it into a patchwork of jurisdictions. However, these same lords recognized the jurisdiction of the royal vicar (Veguer), an officer of Catalan origin, in criminal matters (Soto i Company and Jover Avellà 1997). By contrast, in civil affairs, they retained authority for themselves – this included the monarch, who held jurisdiction over various districts beyond the city of Mallorca. Traditionally, it has been emphasized the weakness of royal jurisdiction during the thirteenth century, across the island and even within the king's own domains (Santamaría Arández 1981, 15-28). To address this, the early fourteenth century saw the creation of the so-called Veguer de Fora, an office with renewed powers *fora vila* – that is, beyond the city and in rural areas – intended to reorganize royal jurisdiction and counter the encroachment of seigneurial powers.

At the same time, local royal bailiffs were endowed with new competencies in civil law (Planas Rosselló 1998). Over the course of the fourteenth century, these officers came under the authority of the Governor (*Governador*) of the island, who not only represented the monarch but also came to serve as an appellate instance for civil cases. In certain instances, the Governor also assumed appellate jurisdiction over criminal cases, thus overlapping with the vicars' prerogatives (Piña Homs 1987, 53-56; Planas Rosselló 1995, 48).

The Batlle General (also known as Batlle de Mallorca) represented yet another possible appellate authority in relation to local justice, particularly in cases of local inaction in civil cases.⁵ Furthermore, this figure also held original jurisdiction over all

⁴ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 1r-42r. Rare exceptions ($n = 13$, 10.7%) are public ordinances ($n = 5$) and disputes over theft, trespass and family law ($n = 7$).

⁵ A letter of May 1432 sent by the Batlle General to the bailiff of Montuïri stated: «...en Johan Xameno, procurador del honorable en Guillem Nicholau de Porreres haia baüt a nós recórrer per falta de vostra justícia, la qual fer havets cessade segons per diverses letres del vostre batlliu...» (Joan Xameno, procurer of Guillem Nicolau of

civil cases involving residents of the city, as well as cases concerning external notables litigating within city bounds.

By the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, in royal demesne territories, the hierarchy Gobernador > Batlle General > local bailiffs had become well established both in civil and criminal suits. Conversely, the Veguer de Fora progressively lost significance (Planas Rosselló 1998, 9, 12; Sastre Moll 2014, 77-79).

Not only the Governor appointed the local bailiffs for a one-year mandate,⁶ but along with the Batlle General showed supervisory and coercive rule and were described as superior authorities⁷. They could order, under threat of fines or dismissal of the local bailiffs, the transfer of documents that had been registered on site⁸, the activation of coercive mechanisms⁹, or even the preemptive incarceration of individuals involved in civil disputes.¹⁰ Indeed, a significant portion of the documentation issued by local courts consists of *cartes executòries* – executory writs – dispatched from institutions based in the city of Mallorca, or legal proceedings that stemmed from such orders.

Local bailiffs held the legal authority to act against any inhabitant of their own district (the bailiwick). This power was formally recognized¹¹, which is why it was common practice, in proceedings initiated in other courts (whether local or central), to request his intervention to compel or seize the assets of one of their district's own residents (*districtual*).

If the local bailiff failed to act and was deemed to be in a state of *desídia de justícia* (neglect of justice), the general administration would step in to compensate for this inaction by dispatching an executive commission from the city. The commissioner assigned to the location could be a *capdeguaita*, one of the executive officers of the general administration.¹² In this regard, a body of ordinances issued in 1432 by the Governor of the Kingdom of Mallorca – with the participation of the city's aldermen – reveals that such circumstances were frequent.¹³ While in the past these commissions had demanded a salary deducted from the pledge or goods that had been seized – thereby financially harming the plaintiff – these new ordinances established that it would henceforth be the local bailiff and his own assets who would bear the cost of the commissioner, since the former was ultimately responsible for having called-in the mechanism.

Porreres, has had to resource to us given the lack of justice provided by you, as has been instructed to us by several letters from you bailiwick). AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 13v (2-5-1432).

⁶ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1388, f. 37v (17-5-1388); v. 1410-1415, f. 39v-40r (13-5-1410).

⁷ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 21r (8-7-1432).

⁸ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 1r-1v (9-2-1432).

⁹ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 2v (9-2-1432).

¹⁰ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 53r-53v (22^o-9-1432).

¹¹ See, for instance, AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 35v (21-8-1432).

¹² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 9r-9v (19-3-1432); f. 16v-17r (14-5-1432).

¹³ For the ordinances, see AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 60v (8-10-1432); f. 61v-62r (31-7-1432). See also AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 36v (25-8-1432).

3. The gracious jurisdiction

In addition to coercive measures aimed at pursuing delinquency, late medieval courts also facilitated a series of parallel mechanisms falling under what has been framed as *gracious jurisdiction*. Gracious jurisdiction is defined as a form of non-contentious judicial activity, mediated by the jurisdictional authority, and exercised *inter volentes* – that is, by individuals who voluntarily request the intervention of a public authority and accept its resolution (Claustre 2006). The most recurrent expression of this practice is the registration of pecuniary obligations in the books kept by the court.

One illustrative example is the obligation formalized in the court of Montuïri by Jordi Portell of this same parish on February 2, 1432, in favor of Mateu Riera, from the nearby village of Castellitx. In this act, Portell committed himself to deliver, within a specified due date, 80 sous (s.) for the purchase of a black donkey. The obligor accepted a fixed schedule of payment and agreed to a set of guarantees and personal waivers.¹⁴

These acts were subject to the enforceability of the court, meaning that in the event of litigation, the business would not require supporting evidence to be deemed valid. Given that the individual undertaking the payment pledged all his goods and assets (*personaliter et omnia bona nomine, deponiti et comandè*), it is plausible that most defaults were eventually settled through automatic mechanisms.

These obligations constitute a substantial portion of the acts found in the local court books. For example, between February 1410 and January 1411, obligations comprised 50.7% of all documents (152 out of 300) recorded in Montuïri, whereas by the exact same months between 1432 and 1433, they made up 24% (69 out of 287) (Table 1).¹⁵ They provide insight into the nature of credit-based economic transactions, particularly those involving deferred payment. Credit-based purchasing was an essential aspect of daily life among the popular classes, driven by limited monetary circulation and the irregular income patterns characteristic of an agricultural economy (García Marsilla 2002, 39-100). This can mostly be attested through the type of documentary evidence this article deals with.

Of all 221 obligations from 1410-1411 and 1432-1433, 114 (51.6%) involve the purchase of grain, particularly wheat ($n = 83$) and barley ($n = 27$). Mostly undertaken during autumn, these purchases had as an explicit purpose the use of the grain to sow (*per a sembrar*). They were due for Saint John in June, in principle, in cash. The livestock market seems to have been conducted, also, through these types of pledges in court ($n = 66$, 29.9%). As in Catalonia around the same time, it was primarily the most expensive animals – oxen and equines – that were purchased, while minor livestock, such as ovine and swine, were typically transferred through *comanda* contracts, in which the contracting parties shared the profits (Sales i Favà 2021, 178).¹⁶

Although most of the obligations relate to non-litigated circumstances (besides the grain and livestock market, they can also derive from purchases of wine and wool,

¹⁴ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 2r (9-2-1432).

¹⁵ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415; 1432-1433.

¹⁶ One example of such a *comanda* contract involves the allocation of wool, cheese, and lambs from a herd of 195 sheep: AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 119v-120r (10-11-1410).

and loans), sometimes they are the evidence of a compromise arising from disputes. Almost at any point of a legal procedure for default, the parties could reach amicable settlements and therefore avoid enforcement and legal expenses. The knight Francesc Miró, entitled lord of *Molins*, had litigated during the Summer of 1410 over a certain amount of wheat owed to him by Pere Socies of Montuiri for an unpaid rent.¹⁷ In September, prior to the confiscation of Socies' chattels, the parties settled the outstanding debt, the terms of which were entered into the record before the bailiff's court, fixing payment on the Feast of Saint Michael.¹⁸

Given that similar obligations could also be recorded – and indeed were – in notarial ledgers, we have explained elsewhere that court deeds served as the most simple and cost-effective option for the parties involved (*Sales i Favà* 2014, 63-64).

It must be stressed that still another facet of the gracious jurisdiction exerted by these local courts is the issuing of public licenses. These were related to the spatial organization and managing of the landscape¹⁹, and to private affairs such as guardianships.

This paper does not delve further into the exercise of gracious jurisdiction by local courts. Nonetheless, the sheer volume of obligations recorded strongly suggests that these courts were not conceived merely as contentious arenas but also functioned as institutions for formalizing and certifying mutual agreements and debts between parties.

4. Civil litigation

In the previous section it has been noted which were the competences of the local bailiffs in the non-contentious sphere. Additionally, in their capacity as representatives of the allodial lordship, they also performed fiscal collection and oversight duties.²⁰ This section moves on to consider the courts' ability to direct the course of civil litigation.

Local courts were presided by the bailiff, who was responsible for the overall functioning of the institution. Bailiffs were recruited from among the local elite, although they lacked any formal legal training. Their jurisdictional competencies were diverse. Under their authority, subordinate officers carried out procedural actions and were required to report back to them. In addition, the bailiff summoned and received the oaths of the parties²¹, conducted interrogations and investigations, granted extensions or exemptions, admitted appeals, acted as a financial custodian, and served as the institutional representative in external communications – that is, they were the ones who received and dispatched correspondence with superior authorities.

¹⁷ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 61v (16-8-1410); f. 63v-64v (19-8-1410)

¹⁸ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 86r (16-9-1410).

¹⁹ Licenses for scrub burning stand out in the case of Montuiri: AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 72r-72v (29-8-1410); f. 28v (15-8-1432); f. 73r-73v (20-10-1432).

²⁰ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 19v (29-6-1432)

²¹ In an act confusingly described as *judici* (trial). AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 3r-3v (14-2-1432).

In comparison with other rural bailiffs studied to date in the Principality of Catalonia, those in Mallorca appear to have exercised their judicial roles with greater assertiveness in the early 15th century (Planas Rosselló 2002, 77; Sales i Favà 2022, 97-112). Although there is no evidence that they issued formal rulings precisely labeled as sentences, they frequently heard the parties and issued provisions or interlocutory decisions.²² In this regard, when in 1432 the royal bailiff of the town of Porreres sought to determine whether payment for an ox had been made, he explicitly declined to issue a decision after hearing only one party, on the grounds that “it is not a worthy thing that any judge should make a provision without the parties being summoned and heard” (“*no sia digna cosa que per algun jutge sia feta alguna provisió sens citades e hoïdes les parts*”).²³ By contrast, the strict judicial authority – the power to impose *silenci sempitern* or permanent closure on a case through a sentence – seems to have been reserved for the legal advisors (i.e. trained judges) designated and working in behalf of the higher bodies (the Batlle General or the Governador) (Quadrado 1894, v. 1, 124-25; Planas Rosselló 2002).

In complex cases requiring expert knowledge (e.g., land surveying, property boundaries, the health condition of livestock, etc.), the bailiff would enlist a body of local notables (*proboms*) of the local community.²⁴ These individuals provided counsel, guided the bailiff’s decisions²⁵, and even carried out on-site appraisals when goods were to be seized.²⁶

The bailiffs also oversaw a small team of officers composed of a deputy (*lloctinent*) who acted in his behalf; a steward (*saig*), who was responsible for policing and serving notifications; the *corredor*, in charge of organizing public auctions mandated by the court²⁷; and the public scribe, tasked with recording the actions of his colleagues in a set of documentary series. They all formed the local court, which had first-instance jurisdiction in civil matters. Being in the royal domain, these officers underwent a public audition after their duty: the so-called *judici de taula*. The accounts were inspected whilst all individuals were invited to present allegations against their performance before a special body of two inquisitors.²⁸ Since 1398 in Mallorca, none of these officers were permitted to simultaneously hold the office of local juror, in order to safeguard royal discretion (Ferrer i Mallol 2010).²⁹

This team of officers supervised a procedural iter of which we are mostly aware thanks to the practices recorded in the court registers. Any proceeding for debts began with the filing of a complaint, before the bailiff, which was formally notified to

²² Some examples are AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 7v-8r (11-2-1410); v. 1432-1433, f. 3r-3v (14-2-1432); f. 11v (31-3-1432).

²³ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 26v (29-7-1432).

²⁴ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1389, f. 22v (5-2-1389).

²⁵ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 4v-5r (8-2-1432); f. 25r-25v (23-7-1432).

²⁶ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 15v (13-5-1432).

²⁷ Auctions were typically held on the town’s weekly market day (*jorn de mercat*). AMM, CR, LC, v. 1390-1399, f. 67v-68r (14-1-1393).

²⁸ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1388, f. 46v-47r (17-6-1388); v. 1400-1405, f. 47v-48r (8-6-1404); s.f. (23-5-1415).

²⁹ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1400-1405, s.f., (23-8-1415).

the debtor. The latter was granted a specific period – varying depending on its social status – in which to respond. In our case study –the town of Montuïri– these initial claims were probably registered in an independent series of books.³⁰ They were also frequently mentioned in the filing of the subsequent proceedings.³¹

To compel payment or negotiation thereafter the system had at its reach a range of coercive measures, particularly the issuing of mandates under penalty (*manaments*) and preventive seizures (*empares*). These could be ordered by the higher royal offices and other local-rank courts through the executory writs that have previously been mentioned.

Empares were used either as a prelude to direct confiscation or auction (depending on the need), or as leverage to induce a new payment agreement. These seizures targeted movable goods or crops, which could neither be removed from their location nor alienated.³² Stewards were often sent to the rural properties to take inventory of chattels, including agricultural produce.

The prohibition against harvesting grapes at peak ripeness under one of these seizure decrees posed a serious threat to rural households.³³ Similarly, the restriction on removing threshed grain from the threshing floor (*era*) left it vulnerable to dampness and spoilage.³⁴ This kind of pressure was meant to force the debtor to pay or to renegotiate the terms of the debt. As in other documented cases in the Crown of Aragon (Furió 2021 197-98), civil courts initially seized movable property in debt suits and, only in its absence, proceeded to confiscate immovable property.³⁵ Instigated by the borrower – who was sometimes a local, even a neighbor to the defaulter – the sequestration of agricultural produce could lead to tensions (Miralles i Montserrat 1984, 234, doc. 89 [8-8-1353]).

These seizures were often directed not at the debtor himself, but at third parties who held his property (such as livestock under lease) or who were themselves indebted to the principal defaulter. An example of it is the seizure, instigated by Guillem Rausell, on *all things* that Guillem Bausà of Montuïri owed Julià Ferrer of Sineu. Rausell conflicted with Julià Ferrer but resourced first to Bausà's holdings, a neighbor of his.³⁶ This speaks to the intricate web of economic interdependence that characterized local communities, and also to the detailed knowledge that certain key figures – such as bailiffs, stewards, and notaries – possessed about the affairs of their fellow inhabitants.

³⁰ The extant 'Querimoniarum' series from the archives of the court of Montuïri remains inaccessible to us to this day.

³¹ In 1432, in a suit over an annual rent, it was stated that «*el procès fo comensat per via de clam*» (the suit has started with a complaint). AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 69v-72v (20-10-1432)

³² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 26r (23-7-1432); Miralles i Montserrat (1984, 286, doc. 27 [11-9-1359]). At times, the court assigned the movables to a trustworthy custodian for safekeeping until required. AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 18r-18v (13-6-1432).

³³ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 44v-45r (9-9-1432).

³⁴ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1400-1405, f. 215r (10-7-1405); f. 63r, 16-8-1410; v. 1432-1433, f. 26r (23-7-1432).

³⁵ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1390-1399, f. 85r-85v (21-7-1394).

³⁶ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 50v (26-6-1410).

Embargos could terminate in different ways: the direct confiscation and/or the public auction of the chattels; an agreement³⁷ or a plea that would likewise lift the seizures; or an alternative presentation by the defendant of a new judicial pledge (on this, and on pleas, see section 6). The latter was a very common occurrence. Most of these outcomes were not generally registered in independent documents but appear as a short corollary of the executory writs that were sent by foreign courts or the borrowers. All these proceedings are shown in Table 1.

In most civil lawsuits regarding debts, it was not necessary to issue a sentence as such. Enforcement was issued *automatically* by the local courts without a proper inquisition: afterwards it could be appealed before the Batlle General (Planas Rosselló 1998, 14-15).

It must be stated, to this regard, that proceedings did not necessarily unfold entirely within a single court. Cases could be initiated before the Batlle General or in another local court, and subsequently the bailiff of the relevant locality might be instructed to continue the proceedings. This dynamic is documented both within the royal jurisdiction and even between courts subject to different authorities (de Montaner 1986, 56-58; Hillgarth and Rosselló Lliteras 1989, 42; Jover Avellà and Pons Pons 2013, 130-131).

Such evidence confirms the existence, at the time, of a broadly uniform judicial practice, one that enabled these institutions not only to share information but also to act seamlessly within the same case. This reflects a form of integration on the island of Mallorca during the Late Middle Ages – an integration not necessarily political, but economic and commercial in nature. Contracts of all sorts, debts, and the delinquency they generated – when they arose – frequently transcended jurisdictional boundaries.

Tab. 1. **Types of documents registered in the court books of Montuïri**

	1410-1411	1432-1433	Totals	%
Executory writs (letters)	87	162	249	42.4
Obligations	152	69	221	37.6
Seizures (<i>empares</i>)	30	17	47	8
Assignments of pledges	6	4	10	1.7
Public licenses	2	6	8	1.4
Mandates	1	9	10	1.7
Processes (report of several proceedings)	0	8	8	1.4
Others	22	12	34	5.8
Totals	300	287	587	

³⁷ All in all, the court often permitted the parties to reach amicable settlements. These could involve renegotiating the amount owed, adjusting the repayment schedule, commuting the debt into services rendered, or the temporary transfer of real estate.

5. Non-payment and insolvency

As previously indicated, cases of insolvency, non-payment, or late payment were overwhelmingly present in the daily operations of these local courts. Based on a double set of samples from Montuïri composed by 87 civil suits recorded in 1410-1411, and by 130 in 1432-1433 we can present some snapshot of the types of debts under litigation. It should be noted that in number of suits, multiple procedural mechanisms were activated.

The systematic collection of these cases proves to be a challenging task. Proceedings were scribed chronologically, and, in many cases, they did not cite the cause nor the actions that had preceded them. Careful identification of each document, mostly based on the set of names of the litigants, has yielded the results presented in Table 2.

Tab. 2. Causes of debt suits in Montuïri

	1410-1411	1432-1433	Totals	%
Rents	15	44	59	27.2
Purchases on credit	9	17	26	12
Direct taxation (<i>tithes, talles</i>)	10	3	13	6
Leasehold	5	3	8	3.7
Indirect taxation (<i>imposicions, cinquè, molitja</i>)	1	6	7	3.2
Others	3	25	28	12.9
Not identified	44	32	76	35
Totals	87	130	217	

Land rents (*censos*) were the most disputed item, accounting for 59 of the 217 cases (27.2%). These debts were predominantly claimed by members of privileged groups, merchants, and institutions based in the city of Mallorca – or by individuals who had obtained citizenship despite continuing to reside in rural towns. They were emphyteutic rents – payments in kind (such as wheat) or in cash – that had accumulated over time for the tenancy of plots of land. These payments were likewise due for the tenancy of the traditional landholdings attached to a rural household unit (*alqueria* or *rafal*) (Mas i Forners 2018, 65-66, 77). Such is the notable case of the annual 40 quarteres (\approx 2,800 liters) of wheat owed by the peasant Guillem Pericó and the squire Gispert de Montornès to the knight Antoni Castell for the *alqueria* known as Tagamanent.³⁸

Rents in kind were typically paid shortly after sowing, around the feast of Saints Peter and Felix (August 1st). They ought to be transported by the peasants to the city of Mallorca at their own expense (Jover Avellà 1996, 17). In case of dispute, this circumstance was clearly stated (*«cens portat en ciutat»*), as it enabled the Batlle General

³⁸ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 9r (18-3-1432); f. 14r (1-6-1432); f. 14v (6-5-1432); f. 15r-15v (13-5-1432).

to intervene in the case (Quadrado, 1894, v. 2, 218; Planas Rosselló 1995, 61-62).³⁹ In fact, most of these disputes had originally been initiated in the latter officer's court.

The second most frequent category consists of unpaid purchases (26 cases, 12%). Conducted on credit, these involved often bovines and equines, which were the most expensive animals, used for agricultural labor. The debts were generally claimed by wealthy peasants or livestock brokers from rural parishes of the center of the island: Sineu, Inca, Felanitx, Porreres, Manacor or Campos.

Less frequently, we find arrears derived from local taxation, both direct and indirect and collected by different actors: the officers of the King, lessees, or the local jurors. They account, together, for 9.2% ($n = 20$) of the legal suits filed in the court of Montuïri during the first decades of the fifteenth century.

This sample suggests that land holding and agricultural production assets, particularly livestock, were the primary sources of debt-related litigation. This might imply that such conflicts had a structural dimension during the period in question. It emerges, also, a snapshot of the socio-economic conditions leading up to the *forana* revolt of 1451. This was a context marked by intense fiscal pressure on the Mallorcan peasantry, increasing reliance on long-term credit, and a declining purchasing capacity among the popular classes (Morro Veny 1994, 458-997; Jover Avellà 1996; Mas i Forner 2008, 96-98). Moreover, the resulting picture illustrates one of the key mechanisms by which urban sectors extracted agricultural surplus: the jurisdictional procedures over credit disputes.

One striking aspect of the samples is the absence of proceedings initiated over small debts or over short-term consumer credit. The average amount claimed in the documented cases which were expressed in cash provides very significant figures: 190 s. in 1410-1411 (\approx 340 gr. of silver) and 280 s. (\approx 418 gr. of silver) in 1432-1433.

Short-term loans for consumption, known in other parts of the Crown of Aragon as *mutua* or *comanda*, appear here under the label *prèstec de bossa* (literally, loan from the money-sack).⁴⁰ It is entirely plausible that debts arising from these types of credits – commonly exchanged among individuals, neighbors, and acquaintances – were resolved through alternative mechanisms. In such cases, creditor patience, informal negotiation, or mutual compensation may have kept disputes away from formal court proceedings. In this same regard, it is noteworthy that the few references to this type of credit appear only within formal obligations registered before the bailiff, either as records of a newly issued loan or of the *novation* – the renegotiation – of a previously unpaid debt.

It should also be noted that, in addition to the principal, many proceedings refer to the expenses (*massions*) incurred during the course of the suits. These were also required to be paid. Common charges amongst the expenses were the salary of the messenger who brought the executory writs (always 5 s. per day)⁴¹, and the so-called *mesvalença*, that is the increase of the cost of agricultural produce when the debt had

³⁹ See also AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 84v-85r (20-11-1432).

⁴⁰ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 36v (25-8-1432); f. 47r (11-9-1432).

⁴¹ Certain executory writs stipulated that the messenger would remain in town until the relevant court activated the requisite procedure. See, for instance, AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 131r (9-12-1410); f. 57v (8-10-1432); v. 1432-1433, f. 63v-64r (9-10-1432).

been originally fixed in kind. As each proceeding increased the overall cost of the lawsuit, a defendant was warned in 1432 that if the actions were to last much longer the expenses would end up costing more than the debt itself (“*en tant que si gayra dura més pujaran les massions que lo deute*”).⁴²

This overview on the causes and components of suits related to nonpayment would be incomplete without considering the social and geographical origins of the litigants. Executory writs provide both the sender and the recipient, and thus can shed light on the relations of the different courts of the island. Almost all the letters found so far in the samples of 1410-1411 and 143-1433 of the *Llibres Comuns* of Montuïri had been received by the local bailiff. The ones that were sent, which are sometimes cited in the tenor of the documents, were probably copied in another series of books that has not been preserved to this day.⁴³

Tab. 3. Origin of executory writs in Montuïri

	1410-1411	1432-1433	Totals	%
Batlle General	45	85	130	52.2
Governor of Mallorca	13	13	26	10.4
Bailiff of Porreres	6	11	17	6.8
Bailiff of Sineu	3	14	17	6.8
Bailiff of Manacor	4	10	14	5.6
Jurors of Mallorca	4	8	12	4.8
Royal Procurer	3	2	5	2
Bailiff of Petra	1	4	5	2
Bailiff of Felanitx	0	4	4	1.6
Bailiff of Campos	1	3	4	1.6
Individuals	2	1	3	1.2
Bailiff of Castellitx	2	0	2	0.8
Bailiff of Centelles	0	2	2	0.8
Bailiff of Lluçmajor	2	0	2	0.8
Veguer de Fora	0	1	1	0.4
Jurors of Sineu	0	1	1	0.4
Bailiff of Robines	0	1	1	0.4
Not identified	1	2	3	1.2
Totals	87	162		

Table 3 shows that most of the correspondence preserved by the local court of Montuïri, of first instance, originated from higher offices of the Kingdom – namely, the Batlle General, the Governador, the royal procurer, the *Veguer de Fora*, and the

⁴² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, 21r (8-7-1432).

⁴³ The recipients of these executory writs are, for 1410-1411: the bailiff of Montuïri, 80; all the local bailiffs of the royal domain, 3; the bailiffs of Montuïri and the nearby parish of Castellitx (altogether) 2. Two other letters had been sent to higher royal officers and copied here (veguer de fora, 1; porter del rei, 1). The recipients for 1432-1433 are: the bailiff of Montuïri, 151; all the local bailiffs of the royal domain, 4; the bailiff of Montuïri along other local bailiffs, 4. Three other letters had been sent to higher royal officers and copied here (porter del rei, 2; capdeguaita de Mallorca, 1).

Jurors of the City. These account for 69.9% of all writs. In contrast, communication between local courts, though present, was less frequent ($n = 69$, 24.5%). All examples in our dataset involve courts within the royal domain; however, the possibility that Montuïri maintained contact with baronial civil courts should not be ruled out.

Table 3 also reveals that individuals, as plaintiffs, were generally not active in mediating directly with the relevant courts ($n = 3$, 1.2%). They preferred to resource to the higher bodies to pressure the local bailiffs, who in their turn were expected to prosecute the defaulters. This might give proof of the efficiency, and especially of the verticality, of the Mallorcan system.

But who were these actors, who commissioned the courts to act in their behalf against the inhabitants, mostly peasants, of Montuïri? Turning our attention to the aggregated civil suits conducted in the local court (and not to the separate proceedings), we find that although individuals from the city constituted the largest group of plaintiffs, their dominance was not overwhelming ($n = 52$, 24%).⁴⁴ Table 4 shows that Mallorcans living during the first third of the fifteenth century – regardless of their origin or social status – were active claimants, and that, as previously noted, they tended to turn to higher judicial instances to pressure their debtors. These actors were highly diverse, including local and royal institutions, the nobility, the peasantry from several points of central Mallorca, ecclesiastical institutions, and even an enslaved individual who participated in the credit market.

Tab. 4. **Instigators of debt suits in Montuïri**

	1410-1411	1432-1433	Totals	%
Individuals from the city of Mallorca	26	26	52	24
Individuals of other towns	14	26	40	18.4
Individuals of Montuïri	10	27	37	17.1
Royal officers and leasees of royal taxes	8	25	33	15.2
Nobles	2	9	11	5.1
Ecclesiastical institutions (monasteries, hospitals)	2	4	6	2.8
Local jurors and related institutions	5	0	5	2.3
Slave	1	0	1	0.5
Not identified	19	13	32	14.7
Totals	87	130	217	

Evidence from the local court of Montuïri confirms, as previously suggested by scholarship, the intense economic pressure exerted by urban classes on the peasantry in late medieval Mallorca (Jover Avellà and Pons Pons 2013, 129-34). This picture has now been expanded to include additional sources of pressure – such as affluent peasants – along with the mechanisms through which it was applied, including rents and credit. Moreover, the role of institutions has been stressed, highlighting both higher-ranking bodies of the Kingdom in connection with the confiscatory practices of the local court. The final section nuances this apparently oppressive legal

⁴⁴ They are mostly identified as merchants and craftsmen, along with some Jews, conversos and widows.

framework by examining the mechanisms available to defendants to protect themselves and their property.

6. The actors in court

In February 1432, Mateu Vaquer, a resident of the city of Mallorca, employed all available legal mechanisms to pursue a debt owed to him by Guillem Carnisser, an inhabitant of Montuiri. The debt consisted of six quarteres of wheat, arising from a *cenal* obligation backed on a piece of land.⁴⁵ Vaquer appealed to the Batlle General, who in turn instructed the local bailiff to immobilize the debtor's oat and wheat crops. By the end of May (27-5-1432), an order was issued to seize the harvest, but the local bailiff reported – somewhat curiously – that he could not locate his own steward, which led to the postponement of the seizure.⁴⁶

On a new date (13-6-1432), with the steward still absent, the bailiff sent the court's scribe in his place to formally notify Carnisser: if he could appoint a guarantor (*fermança*), he could still avoid definitive seizure.⁴⁷ Carnisser responded that he would soon obtain the funds ("*havia spera de son principal*"), but eventually designated Pere Portell, who would guard the wheat and vouch for the debt with his own property. Suspecting that Portell lacked sufficient assets, the bailiff consulted a panel of three eldermen, who confirmed the suspicion. The bailiff then informed the debtor that Portell would not be accepted and invited him to nominate another guarantor.

Perhaps out of desperation, Carnisser then turned to Esteve Desportell, a man afflicted with gout and bedridden at the time. Once approved, the notary went to Desportell's residence to receive his sworn declaration: he would either safeguard the grain and deliver it upon request or personally repay the amount due.

This example illustrates several points we wish to emphasize. First, it demonstrates again how the court's mechanisms were harnessed by foreign creditors in support of their strategy to impose uneven exchange between rural and urban parties. Through the looming threat of confiscation, debtors were pressured to renegotiate terms or to repay debts around harvest time – when monetary debts translated into larger quantities of grain due to the lower market prices characteristic of that stage of the agricultural cycle.

Secondly – and paradoxically – the example also illustrates certain measures through which the very same court attenuated the enforceability of actions against the individuals of the district and their property. Debtors were thus allowed to offer guarantors (or, alternatively, pledges) to avoid seizure, relying on networks of local solidarity. These offers appear with some frequency in local jurisdictional contexts, often prolonging the resolution of cases and thereby clashing with the impatience of foreign creditors and their representatives: the institutions based in the city. In the example provided, an initial postponement may even have resulted from the (suspicious) failure to locate the local steward.

⁴⁵ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 17r-17v (27-5-1432).

⁴⁶ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 17r-17v (27-5-1432).

⁴⁷ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 18r-18v (13-6-1432).

Our case study illustrates how common it was to present judicial pledges as guarantees against enforcement measures. These pledges are, at the same time, revealing about the standards of living and the material culture of the debtors and their ability to resist dispossession. For a question of space, we cannot delve into the former issue here; it will be addressed in more detail elsewhere. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that, in the case of early fifteenth-century Montuïri, pledges predominantly appear to be sickles (*fams*). These items appear to have held dual significance – both economic and symbolic (Gual i Vilà 1996, 84).

It was through the executory writs themselves that the pledging mechanism was usually proposed first in a suit. This course of action was suggested to the debtor by the court. Should the debtor ultimately offer one or more chattels for seizure, this would avoid further discussions about the legitimacy of seizures. Once assigned by the debtor, the mechanism could sometimes be registered in a specific act (Table 1).

In consonance with the provisions of the Franchises of Mallorca (1230), the pledge was handed over to the court for the course of ten days, after which it could be lawfully sequestrated or sold during three more days (Piña Homs 1987, 165).⁴⁸ The value of the pledges could exceed the debt itself, hence the court was obliged, in theory, to return the remaining cash to the debtor.

Pledges might not always be effective. For example, the court could be unable to find a suitable buyer or to raise the full amount of the outstanding debt. In the first case, an alternative pledge could be proposed⁴⁹; in the second, the system allowed the court to continue accepting additional pledges until the debt was fully covered (*fins abastar*). If sold, the proceeds were to be transferred to the plaintiff at the debtor's expense.⁵⁰

The executory writs contain numerous comments regarding the undue delays in the execution of chattels.⁵¹ Not in vain the court records reveal that before undergoing enforcement procedures, even against pledges chosen by the debtor himself, one could raise procedural or substantive objections. The Pragmatic Sanction issued by the Governor of Mallorca in 1398 established that pleas were to be presented six days after the demand, but only three during the last stage of a proceeding, just prior to a sentence (Quadrado, 1894, v. 1, 125-126). A plea halted all seizures.⁵² Most references to pleas identified to date concern the three-day period within which the defendant was supposed to present his arguments.

One such argument was the claim of not possessing any sizeable assets. It is important to note that such declarations often aroused suspicion, as asset concealment was legally considered a form of fraud.⁵³ In relatively small communities, where

⁴⁸ Depending on the size of the object, only a symbolic or key element was handed over. In 1410 Ferrer Pallejà of Montuïri pledged a wine barrel and a horse mill (*moli d'animal*) for his debt but only turned over the tap of the barrel and the wallower (*nadia*) from the mill. AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 115r (5-11-1410).

⁴⁹ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 14r-14v (6-5-1432).

⁵⁰ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 85r-85v (24-11-1432).

⁵¹ An eloquent expression of it is found in AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 127v-128r (18-11-1410).

⁵² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 7v-8r (11-2-1410)

⁵³ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 5r-5v (5-3-1432)

kinship and clientelist ties prevailed, knowledge of one another's property holdings – both movable and immovable – was often quite precise. As such, the authorities would urge local inhabitants to report any information they had regarding the debtor's assets.⁵⁴

If the debtor was especially reluctant to collaborate, a steward was to be sent to inspect one's holdings. In 1410 a certain Ferrer Pallejà from Montuiri was in serious financial trouble. Our dataset shows that at least eleven different plaintiffs, all outsiders, had acted against him throughout the year demanding unpaid rents and credits.⁵⁵ By September he had already ran out of movables to seize and a steward had visited his farmhouse to certify this circumstance. Being this so, one of his creditors, Nicolau Bac from Porreres, required his incarceration in the latter town. To free oneself from this measure, Pallejà would ultimately pledge a plot of fallow land.⁵⁶

Another common plea by the defendants consisted in arguing that the chattels that had been sequestered (either derived from a pledge or from a direct seizure), did not meet the standard of fair price (*just pren*) (Sabaté Curull 2015, 126-30). Any cost deemed excessively low or high would constitute *laesio enormis* and could lead to the annulment of the contract (Hernando Delgado 2007, 219). For this reason, and invoking the Franchises of Mallorca, the defendants filed for nullity of the proceeding.⁵⁷

In some cases, the defaulter did not even need to enter a plea; simply leaving his house was enough to halt the requisitions. The presence of the owner was required both to file an inventory and to sequester the chattels. This was an important cause of delay in the proceedings; and it appears it also found the complicity of local courts. Such is the case of the correspondence between the local bailiffs of Montuiri and Lluçmajor in November of 1410. The former had informed his peer that, to carry out the execution against Guillem Robert's belongings, the court had sent a steward to his *alqueria*. The officer reported that Robert was by then in the city of Mallorca, and only his son Pons was present at the property; therefore, the proceedings had to be postponed. Outraged, the bailiff of Lluçmajor responded by accusing the court of Montuiri of acting in vested interests – favoring the locals while disregarding the needs of outsiders.⁵⁸

Still another mechanism used to delay or halt execution proceedings was to invoke the precedence of other creditors. In 1432, the convent of Santa Margarida in the city of Mallorca attempted to seize the assets of the late Arnau Costa, a resident

⁵⁴ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 14r-14v (6-5-1432)

⁵⁵ This example effectively demonstrates a process of dispossession resulting from indebtedness. The first documents arising from each suit against him are the following: AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 7r-7v (10-2-1410); f. 33v (24-4-1410); f. 71r-71v (28-8-1410); f. 76r (1-9-1410); f. 76v-77r (1-9-1410); f. 86v (16-9-1410); f. 87r (17-9-1410); f. 92r-92v (25-9-1410); f. 115r-115v (5-11-1410); f. 115v-116r (5-11-1410).

⁵⁶ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 86v (16-9-1410)

⁵⁷ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 75r-75v (1-9-1410); v. 1432-1433, f. 82r. (8-11-1432).

⁵⁸ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 120v-121r (13-11-1410). Similar cases are AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 104v (22-10-1410); v. 1432-1433, f. 3v (18-2-1432); f. 4r (20-2-1432); f. 90r-90v (12-12-1432).

of Montuïri, in order to recover an unpaid rent.⁵⁹ However, the jurors of the town opposed the action, claiming that all of Costa's property was already under sequestration in relation to a debt he had left behind as a tax collector for a *talla*, a local wealth-based direct tax.⁶⁰

One of the key arguments regarding creditor precedence involved the mortgage on the men's belongings arising from their wives' dowries.⁶¹ In principle, for the issuing of credits and other such contracts, women were required to waive all claims for this concept (Ferrer i Mallol 2000, 76). Even so, they were commonly used as a strategy to halt lawsuits over nonpayment in the courts of first instance throughout the Crown of Aragon (Sales i Favà 2025b, 86-90). We take this as indicative of women's agency in judicial settings, a topic that deserves further study.

Another way to avoid enforcement by the court in cases of non-payment was to petition the monarch for a measure of grace. Such exemptions were also granted to participants in military campaigns of the Crown, including naval expeditions. This was the case, for instance, of the *empara* that Guillem Valls sought to halt by presenting the court of Montuïri with a certificate attesting that he had enlisted as a rower on the galley of Antoni Castell, of the royal fleet.⁶²

All these reasonings and strategies were both presented before the local court and the high rank officers in the city of Mallorca, depending on the stage of the civil lawsuit. Most importantly, they appear to be utilized without the intermediation of lawyers and by the sole initiative of debtors, most of which were small tenants of farmsteads (Planas Rosselló 1998, 13-14). These individuals show evidence of having attained a certain degree of legal acculturation, in a setting in which many often resourced to the jurisdictional courts. This trend had certainly also reached the urban sectors in the period under scrutiny. An eloquent expression by the merchant of the city Antoni Brondó is telling about how widespread basic legal culture amongst Mallorcans was. In November 1433, he requested the Batlle General to order the bailiff of Montuïri to revoke a previous ruling by which he had been dispossessed of annual rents paid by locals. As an argument, Brondó cited the principle: «*com sia disposat en Dret que algú no sia despullat de son pocsessori sens conegude de Drets*» – meaning, «as it is established by Law that no one shall be deprived of their possessions without due legal cause».⁶³

7. Concluding remarks

This article has presented a case study of the local jurisdictional court of Montuïri, in central Mallorca, during the first third of the fifteenth century. Extant documentary evidence from this institution has enabled us to describe the framework for the exercise of gracious jurisdiction that was so characteristic of this type of

⁵⁹ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 7v-8r (11-3-1432).

⁶⁰ Other such cases are AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 23r (16-7-1432); f. 25r-25v (23-7-1432); f. 44v-45r (9-9-1432).

⁶¹ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1410-1415, f. 63v-64v (19-8-1410).

⁶² AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 20v-21r (2-7-1432).

⁶³ AMM, CR, LC, v. 1432-1433, f. 169v-170r (6-11-1433).

courts; as well as the procedures through which default, nonpayment, and insolvency were prosecuted. We have acknowledged that local courts within the royal domain were part of a broader, highly standardized legal system, overseen by the Batlle General and the Governor of the island, and primarily relied on enforcement measures to resolve debt.

In early fifteenth-century Mallorca, court registers unveil that rents and purchases on credit were the main reasons for litigation, in a context of uneven exchange between the city of Mallorca and the backcountry. Although the situation of the local peasantry appears to be challenging, we have recovered the strategies through which these actors engaged with judicial institutions to defend their interests.

We believe that both the agency of defendants and the action of litigants would model these institutions in the long term. As an example, the cited reasoning of Antoni Brondó, from the city of Mallorca, would have certainly forced the courts to respect the law before vigilant actors.

These but also other aspects of debt litigation (for instance, the nature of pledges submitted by debtors, or the degree of default, taken as a proxy of the socioeconomic conditions) can be extensively studied through this type of documentation. Although they have so far received little attention by researchers, jurisdictional court books can be found all over the island, in municipal and also private archives.⁶⁴ It is our hope that, soon, researchers will come to recognize the historiographical significance of these sources.

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⁶⁴ As an example of the former, the court in the neighboring town of Lluçmajor also produced a series of volumes in the Late Middle Ages that have been partially preserved to this day in the municipal archive. As in Montuiri, the inventory of these funds also includes specific books concerning pledges, court decisions, or confiscations (Arxiu Municipal de Lluçmajor, unk. year). I am grateful to Toni Ginot for alerting me to this inventory.

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