

UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA

The Social Relationships Between Mudejars and Jews

A Study of the Peaceful Cohabitation of the
Confessional Minorities of the Kingdoms of
Spain in the Late Middle Ages

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It is befitting, before stating the purpose of this project, to refer to the inspiration that came from the article written by Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, brought to my attention by Luis F. Bernabé Pons, of the University of Alicante, who kindly suggested that this subject would be of interest to investigate. The purpose lies within the ever-closing gaps that exist between the worlds of the two religious minorities present in medieval Spain during the conquest of the Catholic Church. Much could be said the pioneering work of Robert I. Burns, the exhaustive work of Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, of innovating work of Brian Catlos or of Mercedes García-Arenal, whose expertise in everything pertaining to the Mudejar population of Spain has been illuminating for me. Other authors have been extremely helpful to gain a well-rounded point of view on the Mudejar world, from Thomas Glick's work and study of the scholarly interaction between the confessional minorities, to David Nirenberg for his excellent studies on the purely religious side of the relationship, and the tension it caused. Teofilo F. Ruíz's work on the economic situation of the Mudejars, M^a Carmen Rebollo Gutierrez's exposition of art depicting elements of both minorities, Vicent García Edo and Vicent Pons Alós, and their study of the legal structure of the Mudejar culture, and M^a de los Llanos Martínez Carrillo's investigation of the professional work of Muslims have all been consulted in this paper, and of course the list could go on.

As far as the works referred to, to construct a comprehensive understanding of the Jews, Joseph Pérez has been my point of reference. Raúl González Salinero has also contributed to my knowledge of the general context of the Jews' history and overall position in Muslim and Christian societies. Flocel Sabaté, Luís García Rubio, Paloma Díaz Más, Thomas F. Glick, Mark Meyerson, and Eleazar Gutwirth, further deepened my understanding of Jews, giving me greater liberty to connect both Mudejar and Jewish societies.

1.1 Purpose and thesis

It has been the reading of the aforementioned authors that has confirmed the whole purpose of this paper. The fact is that the relationship between the Jews and the Mudejars has not been explored too extensively and much is still unknown about how much they interacted on a purely social level. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to thoroughly explore the social interaction that Mudejars and Jews may have had, by

theorizing that peaceful cohabitation and daily conviviality between the two confessional minorities was extensive as it was normal. It is, however, important to point out that as much as this paper is focused on social interaction, since a large part of such intermingling comes in the context of work and economy, politics and religion, these subjects form an integral part of my arguments.

For the content of this work, I will start with chapter one with a thorough context of first the Sephardi Jews and then the Mudejars, including the historical, economic, and finally social and religious contexts, the last two of which I have combined because of the overlapping aspects. The purpose of establishing so much contextual material is to give a broad backdrop to the whole of the project, so that in every comment and supposition there may be a solid foundation.

Chapter two will be characterized by a comparison and contrast of the legal parameters of segregation that were imposed on both Mudejars and Jews, and the reality of the redistribution, or lack thereof, of the confessional minorities. This chapter will be concerned with supporting the theory that the relatively unclear legislation on Mudejar and Jewish settlements provides some limited grounds to suspect that there was more social interaction between these two minorities than is warranted in the known and investigated documents in the archives. The next seven chapters will be formatted into arguments in ascending order, starting with what I consider to be the theories with the least amount of foundation, and ending with, again, what is in my opinion, irrefutable evidence.

Starting then with chapter 3, I will make some initial observations of some details that would seem to imply Judeo-Mudejar social relationships; namely that of the surprising likenesses in typical Mudejar and Jewish names. This would be the theory then, that the onomastic similarities in Muslim and Jewish names could indicate an affinity in the two religions, beyond the historical, pointing to close-knit communities where it would have been natural for families to learn and share names from each other or be a direct result of mixed marriages.

Chapter four is written with the idea that illicit sexual relationships between Jews and Mudejars demonstrate the clear willingness of the two minorities to coexist together in the same living space. This theory is based on two basic facts. The first is that numerous cases documented of Muslims and Christian lovers leave little doubt as to

the existence of such practices even between Moors and Jews. The second only reinforces the first, for it is a known fact that the Christian authorities tended to leave the judicial matters of illegal sex between the minorities in the hands of the Muslim authorities, because of the punishment already provided by them. In matters that involved Christians, it would stand to reason that they would document and execute punishment, however in cases the involved only the two minorities, they would have no reason or desire to carry out judgments or records of such relations.

Violence will be the subject of the fifth chapter, for although it would seem to contradict the very thesis of this paper, in my mind, and in the arguments displayed, it only confirms the fact that the coexistence of the two minority groups was indeed, for the most part peaceful. Therefore, the outbursts of violence that involved Jewish and Mudejar parties only illustrate the natural conflicts of cohabiting together in the medieval Spanish towns.

In chapter six, I broach the subject of slavery because, contrary to what would have been my initial thoughts on the matter, the relationship between a slave and his owner were much more than just work related, especially with the introduction of the 14th century. The theory is then that relationships between slave holders and slaves, both Jews and Mudejars were, though many times strictly work related, toward the mid-14th century, a noticeable change in behavior towards slaves led to more familial relationships.

As far as the religious side of social interaction, only God could know the true intentions of a convert when he decides to change from one religion to another, but the judiciary evidence of conversions between members of the two confessional minorities showcase more of cultural, social and political reasons for converting than for purely spiritual reasons. This then is the theory behind a discussion of certain scenarios that lead to believe that social acceptance was more important for the convert than was religious faithfulness.

For chapter eight, I have compiled a considerable amount of documented cases that, though they might not textually say that Jews and Mudejars cohabited in the same living space, they leave evidence that cannot be understood any other way. These cases, that, though solitary, are not necessarily unique, can lead one to think that peaceful cohabitation between Mudejars and Jews was not unheard of, and much less

uncommon. The need to back up this theory with evidence will be met largely by the case of competition between Mudejars and Jews in the civic processions, as illustrated in the city of Huesca. This will provide a good example of social interaction between these two minorities.

Chapter nine will then be the culmination of all the evidence at hand in this paper, for it will include actual clear cases of cohabitation that point to a wide open field for exploration. Based on these cases, the theory is that in the Spanish municipal archives there are large amounts of filed documents to explore to demonstrate the extent of these mutual social interactions.

Finally, in chapter ten, I will summarize the theories that I have meted out throughout the paper, and I will propose different aspects of the Mudejar community for further investigation, and doing so, will conclude.

Before establishing a context, there is one great deficiency that I feel obligated to point out. It is that in a study such as this is, it is very nearly impossible to focus equally on both parties, Jews and Mudejars. Because of my personal interest in the matter, my study has been largely spent on investigating from the vantage point of the Mudejar. My hope is to be able, in the future, to give this subject a deeper penetration by researching documented Jews. Finally, I thought it wise to include a brief clarification of terminology, not because of a lack of knowledge on the reader's part, but merely to clarify how I, in my capacity, limited by my own extent of knowledge, have chosen to use them.

1.2 To Clarify the Terminology:

In order to preserve clarity throughout this proposition, I would like to take a moment to establish the definition, which I have taken from authors more experienced than myself in this field, of certain terms. First of all, adapting the definition used by Francisco Toledo Lobo from a definite legal angle, in his book *Libro de la Suna e Xara*, I understand the Mudejar to be a Muslim who has sworn fidelity to a feudal lord and who is permitted to live among Christians with their own laws, customs and religion. Toledo points out very correctly that the actual term "Mudejar" does not appear in medieval Valencian documents.¹ With this in mind, it will be most common to find the

¹ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII-XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 27.

Catalonian word *sarrains*, which in Castilian Spanish is *sarracenos*. In this paper the terms “Muslim”, “Mudejar” or in the case of a quote, “*sarracenos*”, in its Spanish or Catalonian versions, will be used as synonymous throughout the content. Concerning the term “Christian”, given the wide berth of interpretations that it can and has received throughout the history of this religion, I deem it a pressing need to stress that every time that I have used it in this paper, it is exclusively in reference to the adherents of the medieval catholic church, understanding that I use this term more as a way to differentiate between the followers of the Hebrew and Islamic religions than to establish a spiritual meaning to the word. The last word that needs a definition for the sake of clear, non-repetitive writing is the word “aljama”. This word, of Arabic origin, simply refers to a neighborhood inhabited by a certain group of people, in this case, either Muslims or Jews. In order to avoid constantly repeating “jewish aljama” or “muslim aljama”, I will simply refer to it as “aljama”, always taking into consideration that there is a clear context in which the term cannot be mistaken.

1.3 Context:

The identity of a minority, both that perceived by the majority, as well as the self-imposed definition of the people group themselves, speaks volumes of how they will be treated, respected or abused, in history. Sadly, because the majority will seldom possess an accurate point of view of whom their social cohabitants are, and will not take the necessary steps of approximation to obtain it, the more common treatment is that which goes from toleration with mistrust, to disdain and marginalization, to segregation and discrimination, and from there to outright hate and violence. Such is the story of the Jews and the Mudejars, whose stories coincide as early as 1085 in Toledo and end abruptly in 1492 with the mandatory conversions and expulsions of the Jewish people from Spain. Of course the story must continue with the Jewish *conversos* and the Moriscos until their expulsion in 1609-1613; however that goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Who are the Jews and who are the Mudejars? What is their nationality, and in what manner did they view Spain? To these questions Dolores Bramón has done an excellent job of summarizing the identity of the medieval Spanish Jew or Muslim. In an interview with an Algerian, when asked by Bramón what he considered his identity to be, whether Arab or Algerian, the North African responded, “My nation is Arab, but my land is Algeria.” From this intriguing answer we understand that though ethnicity and

religion marks the individual, the land is his place of life. Translated to the medieval world of Spanish minorities in a “Christian land”, the Mudejar felt Muslim, but not for this felt less Spanish. For the Jew, Heinrich Heine states, “The Bible, the Jews,” for the citizenship of the Hebrew people is always esteemed to be tied up in the words of their holy book.² Of course it could be argued that the Jew, with their ancient history in Spain, might have more right to be considered Spanish, but 800 years of Muslim presence on the Peninsula could be enough to consider any Mudejar a true blooded Spaniard.

Where else could we start to talk about the social interaction between Mudejars and Jews than the beginning of the new era in Spain, where, after 300 years of Muslim dominance of the main part of Spain, the Catholic kings started to retake the country in what has been historically referred to as the “Reconquista”? This phenomenon became the disappearing of a Muslim dominated society and the appearing of an equally dominate Christian society. However, the main part of this paper will concentrate mainly from the 12th century to the 15th, a time period too broad to be go into minute details, but wide enough to give this short paper a chance at suggesting topics for the future.

Américo Castro’s idealic theory of peaceful coexistence among the three religious communities draws a degree of criticism from historians such as Teofilo Ruíz, who sees the term “convivencia” as a term that is excessively peaceful for the documentation that exists to prove the contrary. The numerous records of complaints, investigations, accusations and outright violence that exist so would seem to paint the negative picture that numerous historians have tended to imagine of the tri-religious culture of medieval Spain. Then to others, Castro’s theory would simply lack the scientific backing beyond the physical similarities, for which reason we must add the word “convenientia,” a term refurbished by Brian Catlos in his original play on words to define the reason behind multi religious cohabitation, using the plethora of legal documents known as “convenientiae.” These documents were standardized legal forms which tied two parties to an agreement, including a penalization if broken. Thus, using this knowledge along with the documented cases of formal agreements between Jews

² Bramon, Dolores, *Contra Moros y Judíos*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1986: 27-28.

and their religious counterparts, Catlos comes to the conclusion that it was “convenient” in more than one way to cohabit in faithful agreement to these contracts. The point of this paper, I repeat, is to reaffirm Castro’s theory that Jews and Mudejars lived, for the most part, in peaceful cohabitation and conviviality.

Before embarking on the development of the theory at hand, I found it necessary to display the background for the social interaction between the Jews and the Mudejars. Considering the fact that the Jews have a much more extensive history in Spain than the Muslims, I will start with a brief overview of their presence, keeping in mind that it lays the ground rules for their treatment in relation to their rival minority.

1.4 Two kinds of Jews

The beginning of the historical context of the presence of the Jews in Spain and the end of the same are as wide apart as they are similar, since both transactions were bathed in hate and persecution of the Jewish people. The motives for said hate would vary widely throughout history, always bearing the political and religious disadvantage of being the minority, however it cannot be said that the Jews of Roman and Visigoth Spain were the same as the ones who at last bade farewell to the Iberian Peninsula. This is a crucial point to understand, for which reason this chapter will be divided by the contexts of Early Middle Ages Jews and those of the Late Middle Ages.

Building on Americo Castro’s theory that subtracts ethnicity from the equation of the problems that the Jews had since the reign of the Visigoths, Joseph Perez offers a more specific reason for why the Jews were discriminated against. Perez agrees with Castro, of course, that far from being physically distinguishable from the Catholic Spaniards, the Jews were in every way outwardly like their Christian counterparts, excepting only their religion. In fact, according to Perez, there was no distinction even in the way they dressed, for only in Catalonia were the Jews distinguishable by the “*capa redonda*” that they wore.³ This therefore made them, in Perez’s mind, a “religious minority and not an ethnic one.”⁴ This leads him to the conclusion that if race was not the issue, the persecution must have come from a religious fervor that emanated from the ever increasing power of the pope in Rome. As we will see later on in chapter seven, one of the church’s main concerns was the “danger” of proselytism. Ever since the

³ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia: La Expulsión de los Judíos de España*, CRÍTICA Barcelona, Grupo Grijalbo-Mondadori, 1993: 12.

⁴ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia ...*: 27-28.

conversion of Recaredo in 589, the religious policies made in Rome, which were decidedly anti-Jew, dictated the attitudes of the Visigoth kings, though by no means were circumstances socially and politically favorable before this date as Raul Gonzalez-Salinero points out.⁵ From 616 when Sisebut instituted forced baptisms on Jews, as the first movement of outright persecution, all the subsequent Visigoth kings seemed to be determined to foment “social aggression and hate toward Jews.”⁶ Perez also argues against the theory that there were economic reasons for the royalty to discriminate against the Jews, for the very fact that they desired conversions and not extermination, points back again to a religious motive. It was precisely the union of church and state that was occurring in Spain that was the real reason for the anti-Jewish feelings, for in this sense they were religious competition. It was Recceswinth who abrogated the *Breviarium* in 654, outlawing Judaism, and as a side effect truncating their civil status.⁷ Isidore, a Visigoth father, made the Jewish traditions vile practices in the eyes of the Christian masses, such as the Sabbath, which he claimed they used for “carnal and physical desires.”⁸ At this time, authors such as Braulio of Zaragoza, Isidorus, Ildelfonsus and Julian used their literature to combat the repulsive Jewish calendar, with its Passover and Tabernacle feasts. During his reign, Sisebut had initiated a process in his kingdom to prohibit Jews from having Christian slaves, per the insult it supposed, although he did allow for them to have Muslim slaves. Then, in the 10th Council of Toledo in 656, the sale of Christian slaves to Jews or pagans was officially forbidden.⁹ After this, Chintila obligated his successors to swear under *anathema maranatha* in order to keep non-Catholics out of his kingdom.¹⁰ Finally, it was Erwig who proffered the Jews to either convert or leave the country, but it was becoming clear that the end result of all these legislations would inevitably be the extermination of the Jews. Because true genuine conversions were difficult to come by, the 9th Council of Toledo decreed that Jewish converts must meet with clergymen on the dates of both Christian and Jewish holidays in order to verify sincerity. The logistical nightmare this caused only created more distrust of the Jewish converts, among their Christian neighbors.¹¹ It

⁵ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism in Visigothic Spain”, *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, Alberto Ferreiro, (ed.), 1999: 123.

⁶ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 124-125.

⁷ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 128.

⁸ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 133.

⁹ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 141.

¹⁰ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 145.

¹¹ González Salinero, Raúl, “Catholic Anti-Judaism”...: 146.

was impossible to register every Jews' activities, and when it came to the specific holy days, there was not enough personnel to control all the Jews, for which reason it was easy to mistrust the intentions of even the most sincere *converso*. Yet it was not only under the Visigoth Christians that the Jews suffered, for they also suffered at the hands of the Muslims and late middle ages Christians, though the dynamic was entirely different.

1.4.1 12th and 13th Century Jews

The centuries leading up to the 12th and 13th laid the ground work for the context in which this paper is developed. Many changes were occurring on a religious level, which inevitably truncates the political and social aspects of life in the Middle Ages. Flocel Sabaté points to the “seigneurisation and encastellation”, which would lead to the buildup of family lineages: the “notions of law and justice” leading to limitations of violence with the addition of the ideals of Roman law; and the importance of the frontier, which will be developed later on in this chapter.¹² For this reason we yet again have to make a distinction between the different groups of Spanish Jews, those who resided in Al-Andalus, and those who lived in the Christian kingdoms. It has long been believed that the Jews thrived and prospered under the hand of the Muslims, while in the north the Jews were less fortunate and while it is true that during the reign of the Cordoba caliphate the Jews experienced more liberties and prosperity, they were never considered equal to their Muslim counterparts. And again, if equality was the issue, then no matter where a Jew resided in Spain, he was always inferior. Now especially with the Gregorian Reformations taking place, the Jew faced a more radical religious, anti-Jew fervor.

In the north of Spain, specifically in the kingdom of Catalonia the Christian elite experienced a change that would lead them to greater power. It was Ramón Berenguer and his son Alfonso I who would begin to systematically deal with the Jews, leading therefore to changes in their elite as well.¹³ Alfonso, in the charter he granted to Teruel in 1176, defined for the first time the official civil status of the Jews. He established that the Jews were to be his fiscal resource, subject to his protection. This meant that they for all purposes, belonged to the king, to the point that if a Jew were injured or in any

¹² Sabaté, Flocel, “The Catalonia of the 10th to 12th Centuries and the Historiographic Definition of Feudalism”, in *Catalan Historical Review*, 3 (2010) : 42-44.

¹³ Klein, Elka, *Jews, Christian Society and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2006: 72.

way victims, entitled to justice, all payments or fines that would under normal circumstances be paid in retribution to the Jewish victim were instead paid to the king as protectorate and owner.¹⁴ As one might imagine, this wreaked havoc among the Jewish elite, again creating changes in century-old families. Later added to the *Fuero de Teruel* was *Usatges*, which also helped define their civil status. In this role as property of the Catalonian king, it is true that a select few were chosen to contribute their knowledge to the royal courts. The administration of Catalonia under Ramón Berenguer IV grew with the help of Jewish scholars and wise men. Many Jewish men also served as the bailiffs of Barcelona, especially from 1170 until 1226.¹⁵ In fact, in these cases, one would be hard pressed to find a difference between Jews in Al-Andalus and those in Catalonia, for both knew Arabic, though, as Klein points out, the geographic isolation of the southern Jews gave them a sense of superiority.¹⁶ As far as the common Jew went, the social equality vastly diminished, though this did not mean that they didn't blend in in their communities. Garcia-Oliver also mentions the similarities between Christian and Jewish women:

“Más allá del hecho religioso, que no es poco - pues determina ritos, ceremonias y festividades, un calendario y festividades, un calendario gastronómico, días de reposo (el sabat) y días de trabajo – cuesta discernir las diferencias.”¹⁷

In fact, if every Sabbath, as Garcia-Oliver points out here, you could tell who was Jew and who not, it would stand more to reason that with time it would be more than evident who the Jews in the neighborhood were.

Another factor to take into consideration was the violence that constantly surrounded the Jews. The first were the differences in Catalonia between the Jewish elite, the *Nesi'im*, who had “landed wealth” and the rest of the Jews, characterized by making a living by usury, also created conflict between the Jews themselves. Klein records the uprising caused by a Jew named Samuel b. Benvenist, who, along with 6 other Jews of his class attended the funeral of a *nasi*.¹⁸ This conflict serves as an example of the conflicts that existed among the Jews themselves. And then of course there was the matter of the ever-growing hate of the Christian masses for the Jews. Sabaté explains this phenomenon in part because of the fervor stirred up by the Catholic

¹⁴ Klein, Elka, *Jews, Christian Society*...: 75.

¹⁵ Klein, Elka, *Jews, Christian Society*...: 83-85.

¹⁶ Klein, Elka, *Jews, Christian Society* ...: 4.

¹⁷ García-Oliver, Ferran, “Mujeres del Sefarad”, in *Historia de las Mujeres en España y América Latina: De la Historia a la Edad Media*, Isabel Morant, (ed.) 2005: 502.

¹⁸ García-Oliver, Ferran, “Mujeres del Sefarad”...: 96.

priests. He records that in Aragon, 107 sous and 7 deniers “*costaron las guardas de Viernes Santo porque no pedreasen la judería, justicia, jurados e bayle e fraires.*”¹⁹ Again it was first the church that led the anti-Jew feelings and the kings who followed suit. We will touch on this matter later on in the paper.

If in the north of Spain the Jews were despised because of a conspicuous role in allowing, if not aiding, the Muslim invasion, in Sharq Al-Andalus it was not much better, for soon the Jews, who were supposedly prohibited by the dhimma from occupying high ranks, were promoted to serve in the most privileged positions in order to bring the expertise into the caliphate’s courts.²⁰ This special treatment received was put to an end definitively by the Almohads, converting the heretofore important assets into refugees, according to Bernard Septimus’s assessment.²¹ The flight of the Jews from a now hostile Al-Andalus led many Jews to take up residence under the growing strength of the Christian kings, submitting themselves at the same time to any discrimination they might suffer at their hands. However, it did not take long for the Spanish royalty to realize the potential that the refugees offered the crown, and once again they became assets. It is said that Alfonse VIII “delights in the Jewish statesman from Burgos”, showing lenience towards those Jews who at least were profitable, and yet again, by appointing Joseph ibn Shoshan to be his treasurer. Nor did all of the Jews make an effort to retain their identity, for it was said of Samuel ibn Manasseh that “*poco tenia que ver con sus correligionarios*” for “*usaba caballo y armas como cualquier noble aragonés.*”²² This particular Jew, who wore no distinctive clothing nor did he pay taxes, would lead us to think that he was not the only Jew who sought to blend in with the majority society.

1.5 Economic Situation:

Much has been speculated about the reasons behind the sudden expulsion of the Jews, including the theory widely circulated in the eighteenth century that the Catholic

¹⁹ Sabaté, Flocel, “Les juifs au moyen-âge: Les sources catalanes concernant l’ordre et le désordre”, *Chrétiens et Juifs au Moyen Âge: Sources pour la recherche d’une relation permanente*, 2006: 92.

²⁰ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia: La Expulsión de los Judíos de España*, CRÍTICA Barcelona, Grupo Grijalbo-Mondadori, 1993: 14.

²¹ Septimus, Bernard, *Hispano – Jewish Culture in Transition: The Career and Controversies of Ramah*, London, Harvard University Press, 1982: 5-6.

²² Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia: La Expulsión de los Judíos de España*, CRÍTICA Barcelona, Grupo Grijalbo-Mondadori, 1993: 21.

kings had become greedy for the vast amounts of Jewish money that a rapid expulsion would provide for the royal treasury. Another popular theory to explain the expulsion of the Jews is based on the supposition that the Catholic Kings of Spain had deep anti-Semitic feelings, and blame the exiling of the Hebrew people specifically on this hate. However, Joseph Perez, in his book, *Historia de una Tragedia: La Expulsion de los Judíos de España*, reminds the readers with some simple logic of the dates of the expulsion Europe-wide. Of course, to deny that the anti- Semitic fever had only infested Spain is inviable, for it had spread well over the entire continent, which led to the absence of Jews in England as early as 1290, per the monarch's decision. France followed suit in 1394, as did Vienna in 1421, Augsburg in 1439, and other important European cities in the early to mid- 15th century.²³ It is precisely these dates in comparison to the Spanish edict of expulsion in 1492, which waters this theory down to more than debatable. Perez refers to the fact that the Spanish Jews, toward the end of the 15th century were the most numerous and most wealthy Jewish community of all of Europe, due to the fact that other major European countries had already rid themselves of what they considered a poisonous people.²⁴ This is not to say that such wealth was enough to merit an expulsion for the express purpose of claiming their wealth. With the order to carry out the expulsion, an exodus of 100,000 Sephardi Jews commenced, taking with them their culture; Spanish culture that would count as a great loss for Spain.

Contrary to the popular theories developed in the 20th century, the crown did not benefit from the supposed vast riches of the Jews as they left Spain. The opposite was true, in fact. Spain lost a sector in her economy that played an important role, even if it had been depleted due to the constant limitations that were imposed on it. It is taken for granted that the positions that involved money and medicine were occupations that the Jews were most involved in, even though they occupied many other lines of work; positions that were left empty with the expulsion. Before looking at these, however, it is crucial to understand that in every line of work, discrimination was not an exception, for Christian artisans strived for exclusivity. Asuncion Blasco records the memory of a weaver named Vicente Martin, who congratulated those of his profession saying, “será

²³ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia...*: 8.

²⁴ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia...*: 10.

[de] grant dannyo del comun et mala fama del oficio, por la infielat de los judíos.”²⁵

We can assume that these discriminations were common in all areas of work.

According to the investigative work of the historian Luís Rubio García with the University of Murcia, we have a fairly complete record of the different kinds of jobs that the Jews held, two of the most common ones being those of *corredores* (merchants) and translators. Of these first, we know that they were denominated as *corredores de oreja*, *corredores de levante*, *corredores de bestias* y *corredores de copa de cuello*. As translators, the similitudes that Hebrew had with Arabic and the education of the Spanish Jews, many times superior to that of the Christians, gave them an advantage to be able to translate Arabic to Castilian Spanish. Because of the location of Murcia on the frontier with Al-Andalus, many messages would arrive from the courts of the Kingdom of Granada, whose contents it was the responsibility of the Jews to translate and many times to answer.²⁶ That knowledge and education also served them to occupy themselves in jobs with important specifications such as that of *encuadernadores* and *pergamineros*, whose job it was to bind books, though, of course, they were never superior to doing very mundane jobs. These jobs were those of locksmiths, painters, smithies tanners, silversmiths, dyers, tailors, shearers and breakmen. There is evidence of two Jewish artisans who lived the respective cities of Valencia and Alicante, and who had to flee when the violence of 1391 irrupted.²⁷ However it was not only violence that stunted the possible growth of the Jewish industries, Asunción Blasco mentions the discrimination that the artisans suffered because of the competition that they offered, using their Hebrew religion as an excuse.²⁸ This view of the Jew as a competitor can be picked up in Spanish history, starting as early as Roman and Visigoth Spain.

José L. Menéndez Fueyo has conducted an interesting investigation on the Jews of the city of Elche during the Medieval Age, and has contributed some excellent examples of the economic situation of the Jews. Elche was situated in a zone of territory conquered by the Catholic kings, just as Murcia had been. Therefore, when it came time to recolonize, Christian immigrants were hesitant to settle and live so close to the border, among the Muslims who had remained. In this sense, the Jews were able to

²⁵ Blasco Martínez, Asunción, “Presencia y Discriminación de los Judíos en la Elaboración de Tejidos (Zaragoza, Siglos XIV-XV)” in *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 19 (2006): 68.

²⁶ Rubio García, Luís, *Los Judíos de Murcia en la Baja Edad Media (1350-1500)*, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 1992: 13.

²⁷ Rubio García, Luís, *Los Judíos de Murcia...*: 21.

²⁸ Blasco Martínez, Asunción, “Presencia y Discriminación de los Judíos en la Elaboración de Tejidos (Zaragoza, Siglos XIV-XV)” in *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 19 (2006): 63-64.

become a sort of bridge between Christians and Muslims, doing tasks such as collecting money and translating for the feudal lords. Mosse Abenxuxen is the first Jew who appears in any document in Elche, and his job was precisely that of collecting money for Don Juan Manuel, besides being the mediator in the don's sales operations.²⁹ N'Astruc acted as interpreter for James I during the conquest, facilitating the negotiations between the king and the vizier of Murcia. Jews also had an important role in the conflicts between the two religions, especially from mid-13th century to the end of the same. Doctors and alchemists were also found in Elche, specifically an alchemist named Yento Aseo, whose specialty was that of fabricating figures and images.³⁰ Jewish herders, salesmen and land owners have also been identified. In the years of the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia, such was the situation and economic wisdom of the Jews that James II extended certain fiscal privileges with the objective of rebuilding the kingdom, whose cities and fields had suffered destruction throughout the war. The desire of the king was to rebuild following the pattern of the Aragonese kingdom.

As far as the possessions of the Jews, the fact that they did not have the vast amounts of riches or land that are said to have merited an expulsion out of avarice, was due to the gradual loss that they suffered with each discriminating law that was issued. Proof of this is found in the legislation passed by Ervigio (680-687), prohibiting anyone from working their land on Sundays. A Jew would have had no problem working on Sundays, for his holy day was Saturday. This conclusion is defended by Raúl González, who points out this missive could not be directed at Jews working in the capacity of vassals on lands of Christian lords, since the lords would not force their servants to work on a Sunday. Therefore, the land must have belonged to the Jews themselves. González continues with the argument that, besides this, in 693, King Egica ordered the expropriation of the land of any Jew who would refuse to convert, which then leaves no doubt that affluent Jews did indeed own land.³¹ Along with land ownership, the normal situation was to have slaves who would work the land, and the Jews, of course, were not an exception. Nevertheless, they were also prohibited from having slaves, creating a problem for the Jews. The Jews, who were rooted in their religious rituals forced

²⁹ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos en el Elche Medieval*, Ayuntamiento de Elche, Elche, 1994: 16, 21.

³⁰ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos en el Elche...*: 22.

³¹ González Salinero, Raúl, "Una Élite Indeseable: Los *Potentiores* Judíos", en la España Visigoda", en *El Mundo Judío en la Península Ibérica: Sociedad y Economía*, Jorge Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez y José Luís Avello Álvarez, eds, Cuenca, Editorial Alfonsópolis, 2012: 8-9.

circumcision on their slaves, which caused legislation to be passed, first prohibiting forced circumcision, and then liberating those who had already been circumcised. Then, in the 4th Council of Toledo, it was deemed that “it would be criminal” to allow Jews to have in their possession Christian slaves, which led finally to the decision of the 10th Council to prohibit the sale of slaves to Jews.³² This prohibition, as I will argue in chapter six, was strictly limited to Christian slaves, which would in turn, leave the door of purchasing Mudejar slaves wide open. These examples of occupations and possessions are indication that the Jews did indeed become an important part of the economy of the Peninsula in both the Muslim and Christian kingdoms.

1.6 Religious and Social Situation of the Jews:

The reason I combine the social and religious reality of the Jews is that the social life of the Jew was affected in every aspect by their religion, from the way they dressed to the way they ate. Juan Gallardo Carillo, José Ángel González Ballesteros and Carlos María López Martínez, in their archeological study of the medieval *judería* of Lorca, remind us that, as in every *judería* of the Spanish cities, the synagogue was the “axis of the Jewish community”. In the areas surrounding the synagogue, there were open spaces adequate for ceremonies and religious festivities. In this particular case, the synagogue was adjacent to what they have labeled as “*casa VII*.”³³ In the city of Elche, Menéndez identifies an area called the *Olivar de Marchena* as the place where those celebrations were carried out.³⁴ Another very important aspect of both daily and religious life was the presence of the butcher shop, in which, in contrast to Christian butcher shops, the meat was strictly *kosher*. In the case that we have been following in Elche, the permission to have such a butcher’s shop was conceded by the first Christian king, James I, perhaps as one of those privileges that he permitted in order to encourage the reconstruction of the kingdom. This undoubtedly was more of a religious boon for the Jews, but it still benefitted both sides. The privilege had obvious importance for the Jewish community, for in several different instances it was revoked, the first time being during an anti-Jew campaign conducted by Peter III. It was later reestablished by James II in 1314, only to be abrogated two years later in the dawn of the uneasiness that began

³² González Salinero, Raúl, “Una Élite Indeseable...: 11-13.

³³ Gallardo Carillo, Juan, José Ángel González Ballesteros, Carlos María López Martínez, “Interpretando el Pasado: Análisis de los Restos Arqueológicos de la *Judería Medieval de Lorca para su Reconstrucción Virtual*”, en *El Mundo Judío en la Península Ibérica: Sociedad y Economía*, Jorge Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez y José Luís Avello Álvarez, eds, Cuenca, Editorial Alfonsópolis, 2012: 235.

³⁴ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos en el Elche Medieval*, Elche, Ayuntamiento de Elche, 1994: 26.

to close the door to the Jews. As we already know, the political, economic, and therefore social situation maintained stability until the second half of the 14th century, which leads us to ask why the attitude toward the Jews among the general public changed. The gradual discomfort felt by the Christian public regarding the religious costumes of the Jews is identified by Menéndez as the spark that started the fire of intolerance.³⁵ The celebration of the Pentecost, the butcher shops and the rituals in the synagogues all formed part of a culture that the Christians were not fully able to understand, even though they cohabited and intermingled with it for many years. I tend to differ with this opinion, given the evidence of a society well adapted to each other, though I do not put in doubt that there was a certain degree of discomfort from the 15th century and on. This evidence is illustrated in the art of the Middle Ages, where we can see details that indicate a multi-confessional culture. In her article, “Entre el Rechazo y la Veneración. La Imagen de los Judíos en la Pintura de Nicolás Francés en la España Visigoda”, *Presentación de la Virgen en el Templo*, M^a Carmen Rebollo Gutiérrez shares some observations about the elements in the painting. (See Figure 2)

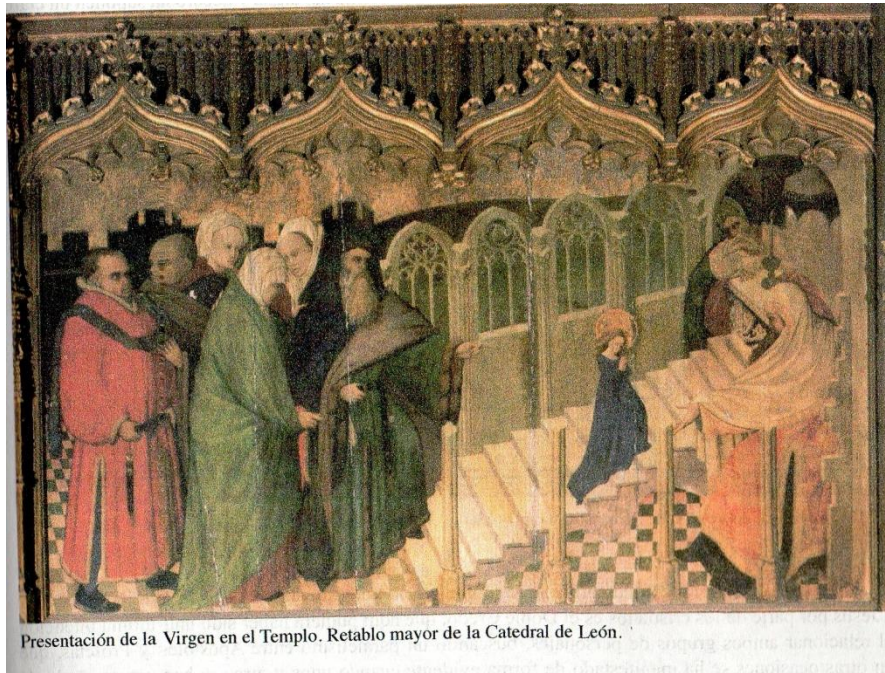
In a rite that is clearly Catholic (the presentation of a Virgin), there are several details that catch the attention, for example, the lack of icons, an omnipresent characteristic in the Christian cathedrals. Not only that, but the robes worn by some of the observers are typical of Hebrew rituals, and on the altar are objects that pertain to the trousseau of a synagogue. Add also the fact that the general ambience of the building seems to be rabbinical, and we get the idea that both cultures, and therefore religions, were quite accommodated to each other.³⁶ Christian painters tended to leave unfavorable details when representing the Hebrews, such as the large nose, usually reserved for Judas, reminding them that they were often accused of being traitors. Another typical object that can be seen in paintings are the money bags hanging at their sides, representing the practice of usury with which they were so often related.³⁷ However, these characteristics did not take away the fact that members of all three confessions were depicted together regularly.

³⁵ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos en el Elche Medieval*, Elche, Ayuntamiento de Elche, 1994: 10.

³⁶ *Presentación de la Virgen en el Templo*, Retablo Mayor de la Catedral de León, Recuperado en Rebollo, Gutiérrez, M^a Carmen, “Entre el Rechazo y la Veneración. La Imagen de los Judíos en la Pintura de Nicolás Francés en la España Visigoda”, en *El Mundo Judío en la Península Ibérica: Sociedad y Economía*, eds. Jorge Sánchez-Lafuente Pérez y José Luís Avello Álvarez, Cuenca, Editorial Alfonsópolis, 2012: 210. (Figura 2, fotografía)

³⁷ Rebollo, Gutiérrez, M^a Carmen, “Entre el Rechazo”...: 204-213.

Figure 2



Having reviewed this evidence, it is difficult to think that the uneasiness of the Christian population could arise autonomously without any outside pressure whatsoever. A look at the Catholic Church's politics, issued by the Pope in Rome, that sometimes seemed too political to be ecclesiastical, fit such a profile. In 1375, Pope Gregory XI issued a bull proclaiming the need to segregate the Jews and isolate them from the main community. In Spain, the Holy Inquisition would take the baton passed on by the pope, and would begin applying strong pressure on the king to implement anti-Jew policies.

Finally, thanks to the disquietude of the Christian population, and the anti-Jew sermons preached in the church's pulpits, disputes between Christians and Jews started to irrupt, especially beginning with the 14th century. It was not that these disputes were so out of the ordinary, perhaps, but that there was a noticeable rise in the degree of violence. Menéndez highlights the Good Fridays as one of the most turbulent days of the year, for the Christians were reminded that day of who it was that had crucified Jesus Christ. This, in part, led to the decreeing of the *dret de protecció*, in 1382, which extended protection to the Jews' possessions as well as their own person. Isach Cap, a Jew of Elche, pestered by Christians, sought auxiliary from the *Consell*, where the jury deemed his request for protection as unfounded, whereupon he solicited the help of the king, through one of his emissaries. The king granted him the protection he desired,

declaring that it was of economic interest to the area that he be well.³⁸ In between the tensions that were experienced, there were indeed times of peace, which acted as the calm before the storm. The record of Jews donating 1,000 *sueldos* for the reparation of the wall of a *villa* is only a small example of the peaceful cohabitation.³⁹ Then 1391 happened, and despite the letter written by John I, declaring the opposition of the crown to the violence that was arising, he failed to provide countermeasures to prevent them. The movement started in Seville, passed from there to Castille, and from there to Valencia, where 250 Jews lost their lives, many were wounded and looting prevailed. In the kingdom of Valencia, aside from the casualties mentioned above, the effects of the movement were heavily felt. Even though the city of Orihuela somehow escaped unscathed from the violence, the *judería* in Elche disappeared. Yento Aseo, an alchemist, rapidly collected the money owed him, and left for Murcia. The same happened with all who survived the uprisings, for one testimony that Menéndez records claimed, “*Los judíos no aparecen por ninguna parte.*” These did not return until the middle of the 15th century.⁴⁰ Once they returned, the expulsion was right around the corner, and the measures taken against the Jews intensified. In 1467, anyone who abandoned their home was fined ten *sueldos*, This law was provoked by a young Jewish man, who, recently converted to Christianity, immigrated to Granada. There, under the protection of the Muslims, he converted back to Judaism. He then moved to Murcia where he was arrested. Because of this action, all who abandoned the kingdom of Valencia during those years were investigated, and the doors of immigration were closed.⁴¹ In this manner, 1492 arrived and the Jews were forced to leave Spain, leaving their culture, their character and their wisdom as an inheritance.

1.6 Mudejar Historial Context: From the Invasion to the Expulsion

The incursion of General Tarik in Spain, with his small but motivated army, at Jerez de la Frontera, in 711, marked the beginning of the Arab occupation of the peninsula until their definite expulsion from the years 1609 to 1613. With the arrival of the Arabs, descended mainly from Syria, the religion, started by the great prophet of Allah, Mohammad, also arrived. The rapid capitulation of the Visigoth kingdoms, already debilitated by the civil war disputed among them, and the broken system of the

³⁸ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos en el Elche Medieval*, Elche, Ayuntamiento de Elche, 1994:31.

³⁹ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos...*: 31.

⁴⁰ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos...*: 31.

⁴¹ Menéndez Fueyo, José, L. *Los Judíos...*: 31-32.

elite governments, meant that the conquest of Spain was a matter of time and substitution of one elite group for another. Soon Cordoba would become an Islamic center that would rival Constantinople, Cairo or Baghdad, even though the islamization of Spain would not arrive until later on. The Arabs got as far as Catalonia and southern France, where they were turned back, in part, thanks to the defeat suffered at Poitiers at the hand of the armies of Charles Martel. Even though the invading armies did threaten the northeastern part of the peninsula constantly, they never managed to efficiently occupy any of it, allowing the kingdom of Asturias to be created and strengthened against the Muslims. With these circumstances in the north, the Islamic society, called the *Thaghr*, was formed in the south, in which the Muslim invaders lived, alongside the Christians and Jews. From this moment on, two very important processes started simultaneously, on the social level. The first was the creation of a group called the *Mozarabes*, who were people who adopted the oriental culture fully, with the grand exception of the religion. The other process was that of the gradual adaptation of the invaders into the existing Iberian culture. In fact, when the *Almoravides* took control of Al-Andalus, the sensation that the Arab caliphs experienced along with the Christian kings was that of an “African invasion, in reality exterior”, as the historian José Javier Esparza, in an interview puts it.⁴² Such was the conformation of the two societies, *thaghr* and Christian, that they even would help each other in their quarrels and fights, whether the enemies were Christian or Arab. The matter at hand, then, is not so much a political problem, in which it was a “reconquest” from the beginning to the end by the Christians, but that there never seemed to be full tolerance among the three religious cultures present: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Before continuing with the topic, we must add one more detail of historical and social importance; that of the last great attempt by the Muslims to invade northern peninsula. It is important to recognize that this invasion was not carried out by those Arabs who had inhabited the peninsula continuously and increasingly ever since the invasion, but by Arabs from North Africa. With the arrival of the *Almoravides* it could be said that these Berbers substituted the original invading Muslims and applied a fundamentalist form of Islam, and even more so when the *Almohades* took control of the Iberian Peninsula. These latter Muslims were the ones who formed the definitive offensive against the Christian kings, and

⁴² Esparza, José Javier, entrevistado en El Manifiesto .com, 28 de Julio, 2008, <http://www.elmanifiesto.com/articulos.asp?idarticulo=2586>.

where the ones who fell in the battle of the *Navas de Tolosa* in 1212, before the coalition of knights and armies of the Christian kings. The importance of this note is found in the fact that the *Almohades* introduced a much more radical form of Islam which the Christians were not used to living with. With this historical background, we will take a look at the economic situation of the Mudejars.

1.7 Economic State:

It is almost unnecessary to say that the economic situation of the Muslims up until the conquest of Al-Andalus was enviable, for they functioned beneath the authority of the kingdom of Granada and had all the rights that pertained to them. The conquest of the Muslim territory meant an important economic change, for they substituted the independence that they had enjoyed up until then for submission to a feudal lord. This submission to the crown of Castille, in the case of Murcia, signed over by the Muslim king in the treaty of Alcaraz, in the spring of 1243, left the land south of Biar and Villajoyosa in the Castilian king's hands. Even then, the scenario of Arab population did not completely change, for though the invaders took over the fortresses and castles, the Arabs were able to conserve their institutions, their properties, their religion, their language and even their authority.⁴³ Nevertheless, this was not the case in all of the cities. One of the harshest measures and most devastating defeats that the Valencian Mudejars would be forced to accept was the complete expulsion of their community from the city of Borriana. Vicent García Edo and Vicent Pons Alós in their book, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII- XV)*, point out that though the integral expulsion of Borriana was a unique event, it was also the first victory in James the First's military campaign in Valencia, and the launching point for the rest of the invasion.⁴⁴ After this date, the political scene changed and the conquered Muslims were granted the right to retain their lands.

In Elche, on the other hand, the Mudejars continued to be in the majority population, therefore occupying the majority of the jobs, as Hinojosa points out. And although the Christian king wished for the Valencian cities to be repopulated by Christian immigrants, he found that they were uncomfortable with the idea of settling in the midst of a Muslim majority, besides the fact that the city of Valencia itself or even

⁴³ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *La morería de Elche en la Edad Media*, Alicante INO Reproducciones, SA, , 1994: 7.

⁴⁴ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII- XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 24.

Andalusia attracted their attention more. In 1257, the temporary residence of Alfonso X the Wise in Murcia and the redistribution of land that he affected there produced a boom in colonization in the kingdom of Murcia.⁴⁵ This phenomenon was what produced the problems for the Mudejars, as they learned to deal with the new colonists.

Hinojosa cites the patterns observed by the historians, J. Torres Fontes and A.L. Molina in the repopulation (or substitution) of the Mudejars in the kingdom of Murcia. The first of these was the emigration of families of economic and social importance in the southern society, causing the gradual decadence of the same. These did not wish have an existence that did not go beyond survival. Another factor that led to the decadence was the discriminating legislation toward the Muslims, which condemned them to the worst occupations, removing them from all administrative work and robbing them of economic independence. Besides these factors, the Mudejar artisanal work started to deteriorate in quality due to other economic factors. With the Christian invasion, the most important commercial exportation routes were cut off. The Mudejar population movement also included that of the Muslims from the cities to the seigneurial lands, where the conditions were less severe. The flights south and to the rural areas resulted in the Christian colonists buying up the abandoned lands. This process is illustrated by Josep Torr , in his article, “*La conquista del reino de Valencia. Un proceso de colonizaci n medieval desde la arqueolog a del territorio,*” on a map that clearly demonstrates the tendency of the Christians to occupy the more important municipalities, while the Mudejars were relegated to the rural zones. (See Figure 3).⁴⁶

Lastly, they mention the worsening of the religious situation, when the religious structures were confiscated by the Catholic Church for its uses.⁴⁷ Garc a and Pons confirm this last point, remembering that, although the Mudejars did conserve their culture in general, the new dominators, the Christians, “*a veces, cuando las circunstancias pol ticas lo propiciaban, no dudaban en descargar sus iras en este*

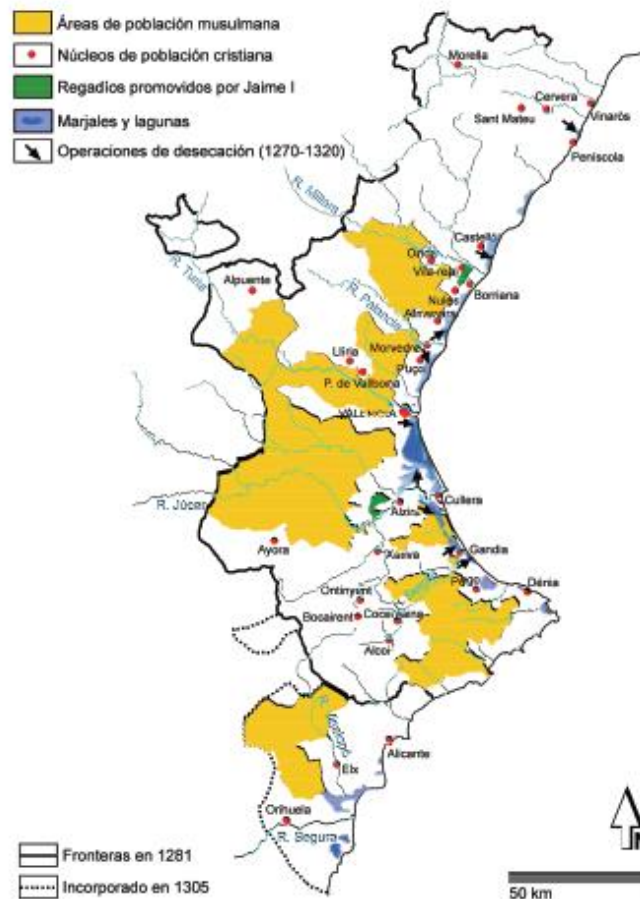
⁴⁵ Hinojosa Montalvo, Jos , *La morer a de Elche en la Edad Media*, Alicante, INO Reproducciones, SA, 1994: 8.

⁴⁶ Torr , Josep, “La conquista del reino de Valencia. Un proceso de colonizaci n medieval desde la arqueolog a del territorio”, en J. Eiroa, (ed.), *La conquista de al- ndalus en el siglo XIII*, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 2012: 11.

⁴⁷ Hinojosa Montalvo, Jos , *La morer a de Elche en la Edad Media*, Alicante, INO Reproducciones, SA, 1994: 9.

colectivo más desfavorecido.»⁴⁸ In the following chapters we will observe the processes and the consequences of the transition from Muslim administration to the Christian rule.

Figure 3



Mapa del reino de Valencia entre los siglos XIII y XIV. Extraído de Torró, Josep.: "La conquista del reino de Valencia. Un proceso de colonización medieval desde la arqueología del territorio", en J. Eiroa (ed.), *La conquista de al-Andalus en el siglo XIII*, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, p. 11.

1.8 The Process of Creating Frontiers:

This transition leaned heavily on the administration of the frontiers that were created between Sharq Al-Andalus and the victorious Christian kingdoms. During the years between the first and second crusades, there were several factors that facilitated such as those used in the eventual conquests of both Tortosa and Lleida, among many other cities of what would become *Catalunya Nova*. If, in theory, the presence of the Almoravides in Al-Andalus served as a detriment to the first incursions, then the debilitation of the same towards mid-13th century would also theoretically be a good reason as for why the second time Berenguer IV invaded he met with success. We could

⁴⁸ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII-XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 15.

also include the factor of the specific benediction of Pope Eugene II, who, as already mentioned, inspired the launching of the second crusade with his message. In this instance, on the 21st of June, 1147, he proffered a special blessing and “remission of sins” for all who would ally themselves to Ramon Berenguer and the campaign against the unfaithful of Al-Andalus. Another vital aspect in this decisive offensive against the Valley of the Ebro was the contributions that have been documented as donations for the military campaigns of the count of Barcelona. These monetary contributions both proceeded from Barcelona, one of them reaching the amount of 500 pounds, and the other originating with the burgesses to the tune of 7,700 salaries for the soldiers. This last donation proved to be decisive in the calming of insurrections amongst said soldiers in the siege of Tortosa.⁴⁹ Perhaps the greatest difference between the capitulations of Tarragona and Balaguer were the failed attempts at colonization. After the capture of a city or a territory, the conquered area was divided among the great counts who participated. In the aforementioned undertakings, and, specifically, Tarragona, under the rule of the bishop of Barcelona, Oleguer, numerous difficulties presented themselves when it came to colonizing, which led to the decision to feudalize the city. When Tortosa and Lleida were taken, however, the repartition was organized in the following way: in both cases, Berenguer IV retained a third of the territory, gave a third part to his ally Guillem Ramon de Montcada, while in Tortosa the other third went to Genova, and in Lleida the remaining third to the count of Urgell, in recompense for military service. On the next level of this new colonizing society were the powerful religious orders combining forces with the king of Barcelona, such as were the knights of the Temple or the Cistercian monks of Poblet and Santes Creus, who also received important concessions. After this, the land that was leftover of these two conquered cities was distributed among barons, urban militias and knights as recompense for their part in taking Lleida and Tortosa.⁵⁰ Even with all of the land that the upper classes gained in the redistribution, there was still much land left to settle, which started a process of colonization which was meant to insure the permanence of the Christian reign in Valencia.

The need to colonize Sharq Al-Andalus as it was conquered was evident to Berenguer IV as observable in the results of the previous conquests of Barbastro in

⁴⁹ Virgili, Antoni, “La conquista feudal de la región septentrional del Sharq Al-Andalus: Tarragona, Balaguer, Tortosa y Lleida (ss. XI-XII)”: 36.

⁵⁰ Virgili, Antoni, “La conquista feudal”...: 41.

1064, Valencia in 1094 by el Cid, or Almeria in 1146.⁵¹ These cities had lasted very little time in the hands of the Christians precisely because the Muslim population had not been replaced, or at least matched, by a Christian one in order to back the advance of the conquerors in the south. This strategy of “destruction and construction of societies” became vital for sealing a complete conquest. Clearly the damned in this case was the Andalusi society.⁵² The reality is that the documents that record the resettling of the Ebro Valley belie the “good faith” with which the treaties of surrender were signed. Even though they were given the opportunity to stay, only small groups stayed to cohabit with the new colonists as a minority. In the cases of Lleida and Tortosa, the *morerias* were created for the indigenous people who only composed 4-5% of the entire population once the resettlement was completed, phenomenon which seemed to repeat itself all over the north of Valencia.⁵³ This low density of population points to the fact that either massive expulsions of the indigenous population were conducted or many fled, fearing the worst. Virgili also figures that the long sieges of both Lleida and Tortosa would have led to said expulsions and flights, or simply high rates of death among the besieged, as evidenced by the archeology.⁵⁴ The colonization was carried out through letters of settlement in the next-to-last stratus of repopulation. Of these there were two types, one of general characteristics which included certain privileges and exemption from taxation, and the other were personalized letters offering land on the condition that it never be abandoned.⁵⁵ In this manner the city space was occupied by a new society and the Muslims found themselves reduced to small, isolated communities.

1.9 Changes in the Religious State:

The harassments that the Mudejars had to suffer were not only limited to the economic sector, for the definitive disdain of the Christian for the Islamic religion led them to prohibit the cultural practices of the Muslim religion. These restrictions were imposed gradually throughout the years, starting shortly after the Mudejars were promised that they would be able to continue their present existence under their own authorities. One of these Mudejars, seeing the desperate situation of his coreligionists,

⁵¹ Virgili, Antoni, “La conquesta feudal”...: 42.

⁵² Virgili, Antoni, “La conquesta feudal”...: 43.

⁵³ Virgili, Antoni, “La conquesta feudal”...: 44.

⁵⁴ Virgili, Antoni, “La conquesta feudal”...: 43-44.

⁵⁵ Virgili, Antoni, “Les Conquestes Catalanes del Segle XII i els Repartiments”, in *Repartiments a la Corona d’Aragó (Segles XII-XIII)*, Josep Torró and Enric Guinot, eds, 2007: 58-59.

wrote a letter, in the format of a poem (*casida*) in which he brings to light the different atrocities suffered by the Mudejars at the hands of the Christian authorities.

The poem, by an unknown author, is a petition for help directed at Bayazid, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire (1481-1512). He mentions incidents of historical importance which allow us to fix the date of its composition. The writer tells the reader of the burning of religious books by Cardenal Cisneros in 1499. He describes an expedition from Egypt, sent to defend the Moriscos in Spain, threatening the Catholic kings that if the prohibitions and the persecutions continued, the Christian inhabitants of Egypt would suffer for it. He also mentions the murder of Muslims in Huéjar. The intention of the anonymous author was to evoke a positive response from the Turkish power.⁵⁶ It is interesting to highlight the fact that the dating of this poem corresponded to a rumor circulating of an ominous threat of an attack by the Turks. This rumor caused problems for the Mudejars, for it was said that the Turks would be using the allies that already inhabited the Peninsula to start the conquest from the interior. It was by this method, in part, that the expulsion was justified, for even though many were true converts, they found that their cultural roots betrayed them. Such was the fear of what was happening, that many years before the expulsion, men like Francisco Nuñez Muley, known for his brilliant speech the *Memorial*, explicitly exposed each prohibition for what it was before the Christian authorities: as an attack on the Muslim culture, on their religion. The aspects of their private mundane lives were in reality not in any way opposed to the Catholic faith. We remember that from the date of Nuñez's birth and onward, all Mudejars were forced to convert to Christianity, thus ending the age of the Mudejar, and starting the short period of the *Moriscos*. One thousand years later, approximately, they would be expelled from the Peninsula, thus ending the Muslim presence in Spain, and effectively cutting off an integral part of Spanish culture. It could well be seen as an unfortunate repetition of the travesty of the Jewish expulsion.

1.10 From simultaneous existence to social interaction of two minorities

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the point of laying down the context for this paper has been to refresh the memory of the reader as to what historical baggage each minority took into the commencement of a new chapter of life under the reign of

⁵⁶ "Mitificación de Andalucía como "Nueva Israel": el capítulo "Kaída del-Andaluziyya" del manuscrito aljamiado la Tafçira del Mancebo de Arévalo", *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXX (1981): 143-167.

the Christian kingdoms. It is my purpose to show, not only how two cultures lived side by side, but how they interacted, intermingled, and in many ways, adapted to living as Muslim Spaniards next to Jewish Spaniards, under the rule of Christian Spaniards. My intention is that when the reader finishes this paper, he not only sees two cultures and two societies, but sees one society in which two cultures, yes, even three were learning to adapt to each other, and were only driven apart by the aforementioned events.

Chapter 2: The Legal Situation vs. the Real Situation of the Mudéjar Communities

The relatively unclear legislation on Mudéjar and Jewish settlements provides some limited grounds to suspect that there was more social interaction between these two minorities than is warranted in the known and investigated documents of the archives. To be able broach the subject at hand, it was very necessary to gain a good grasp of the legal situation of both the Mudéjar and the Jewish communities, by taking a look at the ruling legislation, which would be that of the Christians. However we cannot ignore the Mosaic law, observed by the Jewish communities, and much less the Muslim law, the Sunna and Xara, which is seen as inseparable from the Islamic religion, and therefore practiced rigorously under the authorization of the capitulation treaties. The laws of each religion dealt generally with the same aspects of life in relation to each other. The ones that are of interest for this proposition are the following: the laws about eating, drinking, celebrating feasts and other such social aspects of life amongst the different religious groups. Of most interest to us in this study are the living space and the sexual contact between men and women of the different religions. How these pertain to the premises of this paper will be dealt with extensively later on.

2.1 The Legal Parameters to the Mudejar and Jewish settlement

With the capitulation of the almohade cities before the troops of the Asturian, Castilian and Aragonese kings, came the treaties signed in an effort to preserve lives, livelihood, government, and above all, religion. From the very beginning, the conditions of the treaties would seem to make an investigation such as the one presented in this paper obsolete, for they outlined very clearly the limitations of the living space they would occupy, if not geographically, at least politically. No Christian or Jew was to live or be hosted in the Muslim *arrabales*, or neighborhoods, however this did not mean that

non-Muslims could not access the *moreria*. At night, though the gates to the Muslim community were closed, by simply speaking the name of one of the inhabitants, a non-Muslim could enter.⁵⁷ Another term of capitulation was the management of infractions of the law. With the passage of time and the expansion of the conquest of Al-Andalus, the ruling law in the land became the Christian law. However, both the Mudéjar and Jewish communities were allowed to practice their law, as long as it stayed within the parameters of the overruling authority. Other terms of the capitulations were the mobility of the Muslim populace. Clause number sixteen in the capitulations, conceded the right of the conquered Muslims to travel to Muslim territory freely⁵⁸. This clause, nonetheless, would be modified by clauses twenty-one and twenty-two, the first of which demanded of the Mudéjares homage and fidelity to their Christian kings and which prohibited journeys to Muslim lands that were waging war with the Christian armies. The second pledged “no type of help to the enemies of the king”.⁵⁹ Whatever the legal ramifications were for not heeding these capitulations were soon to be forgotten, for it seemed that few treaties were respected by the conquerors, nor indeed were they fully enforced to keep the Muslims accountable to the terms of the treaties.

Other clauses in treaties of capitulations were custom designed for certain municipalities, such as Fondegulla and Castre. In 1365, Christians and Jews of these cities were prohibited from cohabiting with the Mudejar Community. Muslims who had been taken captive per their hostility toward the Christian regime, and had only recently declared alliance with the conquering Catholic kings were also isolated from society.⁶⁰ For the Muslim community of Madrid, the segregating limitations placed on the Mudejars in the *Cortes de Toledo* in 1480, were not enforced with rigidity, and though a *moreria* did exist, it was more a “fruit of natural and spontaneous clustering” than an observation of any legal discrimination. In fact, Rodríguez points out that these natural clusters did not impede Christians from dwelling in the very *moreria* itself or in its immediate surroundings. It would be only a matter of safe speculation to imagine that the Jews were living freely throughout the different neighborhoods of Madrid under

⁵⁷ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII-XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 40.

⁵⁸ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara ...*: 49.

⁵⁹ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara ...*: 51.

⁶⁰ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *La Frontera Amb L'Islam en el Segle XIV: Cristians i sarrains al País Valencià*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 324.

these loose conditions.⁶¹ It was only toward the end of the 15th century that the enforcement of the laws began to be a direct order from the king himself. In the *Libros de Acuerdos del Concejo Madrileño*, volume I, we find that in 1481, Juan Ramírez was ordered to investigate the living situation of the *morerias* and *juderias* of Madrid. His first task was to go before the council and determine what the geographical boundaries of said neighborhoods were, which was he finished doing by the 5th of July. He also established a commission whose task was to assure the construction of walls for the enclosing of the allotted areas, the closing of certain streets, and the sale of Christian territory inside the *moreria* and *juderia*, as well as that of the minorities outside the walls of their neighborhoods. However, in October, it became evident that the measures had not been carried out, and Ramírez was sent again, in November to effect the changes. In other municipalities, Alfonso X decided to completely expulse the Mudejars from the cities, in an effort to encourage Christian colonization of the conquered Al-Andalus. Robert Burns indicates that this was no easy task, since neither the Muslims wished to leave nor did the Christians care to be near the enemy.⁶² These cities would indeed have been on the border with the slowly capitulating Granadian kingdom.

2.2 *The reality of Mudejar and Jewish settlement*

This being the legal situation of the Mudejares, fully documented, a reality check is in order. Of course few generalizing declarations can be made of the actual situations of the *aljamas* following their capitulations. It becomes evident with detailed study that every municipality is different as reflected in the documented cases. Nevertheless, certain prohibited aspects of daily life, such as the mixed communal meals between members of the three religions, were impossible to regulate. As Juan C. de Miguel Rodríguez points out, the very fact that the authorities could allow a Jew or a Mudejar to work in a Christian's house, would imply that the work would share meals in the house of the patron, and thus experience one of the highest degrees of social interrelationships.⁶³ Also there is a definite pattern that can be observed in all of the conquered land, for, as could be expected, rather than live as subordinates under

⁶¹ Rodríguez, Juan C. de Miguel, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, Madrid, Gramar, A.G. Alonso Nuñez, 29, 1989: 113.

⁶² Burns, Robert I, "Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective" in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds, 2002: 56.

⁶³ Burns, Robert I, "Jews and Moors "...: 121.

Christian rule, many Muslims, whose religion dictated the whole of their lives, including their form of government, sought autonomy from the new rulers of Spain. This autonomy, sometimes thrust them into the path of the Jews, who since their appearance on the Iberian Peninsula, knew what it was to seek a low profile before the disapproving majority. In Arévalo, we know that the Mudejar neighborhood was located in “*pleno campo*” out in the countryside, next to the *judería*, until it was annexed to the neighborhood of the villa. A similar case took place in Burgos in which the *morerías* and *juderías* were adjacent. The *morería* is described as being on the commercial route “*a continuación de la judería*,” Atienza, Sigüenza and Hita were other cities in which the *morerías* and *juderías* were next to each other, only this time on the inside of the city walls.⁶⁴ This proximity of the neighborhoods, if not to be considered true cohabitation, would be the closest situation, and by far an impossible case to regulate, considering the laws against inhabiting any place other than the neighborhood assigned to the religious cultures.

2.2.1 *The case of Murcia*

In Murcia, we have another example of the demographic dynamics, namely the aforementioned phenomenon of migration of Mudéjares from the urban setting to the rural. The illustrious Robert I. Burns establishes freedom of religion as the main incentive for the tendency of the Muslim population to relocate in the reclusion of the countryside.⁶⁵ Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, expert and very well versed in the study of the Mudéjares, lists the various reasons for the decrease in the Muslim population in the cities of the conquered kingdoms of the south in her book, *Les Aljames Sarrains de la Governació d’Oriola en el Segle XIV*. After the kingdom of Murcia fell, she principally blames two of the consequences of the war. These were the casualties of the Muslim armies, and the sale of Muslims as slaves, under the accusation of being rebellious. Many took advantage of the confusion of the invasion of the Christians to flee to Granada, as well as using the incursions of the Grenadine armies into Murcia in 1304, to abandon their homes, thus providing us with another reason for the reduced Mudéjar

⁶⁴ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Teruel, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 159.

⁶⁵ Burns, Robert I, “Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective” in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds, 2002: 55.

populations in the 14th century.⁶⁶ Though the Muslim population would fluctuate throughout the middle ages, the tendency of the Mudejars to become scarcer would continue to be prominent.

Despite the gradual decrease in Muslim population in Murcia, in 1243, the fall of the kingdom into Christian hands was not entirely unfavorable for the Mudejars. The Treaty of Alcaraz was signed to leave the city in Christian hands, and insured the peaceful cohabitation of Christians, Muslims and Jews in the *medina*. It was not until 1264 that a revolt caused a wall to be built down the middle of the city, leaving the eastern side to the Christians and the western to the Muslims. This action seems to leave open a wide door of interpretation, yet one would assume that the Jews would have been relegated to the western side, if indeed they were included in the segregation. However, with the continued exit of Muslim toward the south, it was not long before Alfonso X proposed the creation of a *moreria* in 1266, and in 1267, a complete restructuring of the city was carried out.

The strict enforcement of the proposal is doubtful, given the provision of the *Reyes Catolicos* of Spain of a maximum of two years to effectively separate the Mudejars and Christians in Murcia. Two hundred years had passed and the *moreria*'s perimeters had not been respected 100 %. This followed the continually repeated orders of the *concejo* to limit the Mudejars to the roughly-defined precinct of Arrixaca, a neighborhood reserved previously for immigrants and colonists.⁶⁷ As far as the *juderia* in Murcia, Martínez Carrillo believes the restructuring to have been more rigid with the Jews. However, with Granada under attack from the Christian kings, many Muslims started fleeing north, precisely into Murcia, since this was on the border with the Granadian kingdom. This influx of Muslim population rendered the *moreria* small, leading to the decision of the *concejo* to allow the settling of Muslims in the Christian part of town.⁶⁸ It would stand to reason that the Muslims, if allowed, would find it more comfortable in the *juderia* of Murcia, since there they would experience less persecution from the inhabitants. This polarization of the communities would not be the norm in most cities until a few years before the expulsion. A few kilometers away in another city, another Granadino army returning under Ridwan in the years 1331 and 1332, 30

⁶⁶ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines de la Governació D'Oriola en el Segle XIV*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 45.

⁶⁷ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Teruel, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 158.

⁶⁸ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares ...*: 158.

years after the first incursion, , provided a mode of safe transportation for 400 moors from the Valencian town of Elche. This number would seem rather large considering that Elche would become one of the most important populations of Muslims in the kingdom of Valencia.

2.2.2 *The Case of Elche*

For this reason we will pause a moment and reflect on Elche as a classic example for what was really happening to the Mudejar population in the conquered cities. Particularly in Elche, the value of having the Muslims stay and continue implanting their ways in their cities, for its economic benefit, was well understood by the *Infante* Ramón Berenguer, who was designated by the king as the feudal lord of that land. It was he who obtained official pardon for any Muslim who would return after having fled to Granada.⁶⁹ However, the Moors were not offered a status of society equal to that of the Christian colonists, for it was far from the autonomy they had enjoyed under the Muslim rule. As stated before, each town and city differed in the degree to which the Muslim population was segregated, but a good example of what happened throughout the new Catholic Spain was the exclusion of the Muslim *aljama* from the walls of the city, placing them close to their main vocation, that of agriculture. This was the case in both Alicante and Orihuela, where the Christian lords placed their Muslim vassals to serve in the fields. This no doubt proved to be a detriment economically for the Mudejar community, and by the dawn of the fourteenth century, the population had greatly diminished, as mentioned before, especially in the latter part of the century.⁷⁰ In Elche it was specifically *l'horta*, or the garden, where the Muslim neighborhood was placed, which was located on the perimeter of the main part of town. The passage of time saw several fluctuations in the Sarracen population, coinciding with the rebellions and invasions that afflicted Valencia. With the invasion of James II, many Mudéjares fled Elche in fear of losing their lives and livelihood, or perhaps searching for something better in the nearby town of Crevillente, under the protection of the *arraez*.⁷¹ Perhaps it was with good reason that the Mudejars began to fear for their decent, albeit discriminated way of life, for it wouldn't be long before tensions began mounting and escalated finally into the forced conversions and posterior expulsions. However, in

⁶⁹ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines de la Governació D'Oriola en el Segle XIV*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 52.

⁷⁰ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 54-56.

⁷¹ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 50

Elche, in 1296, after the invasion of the Aragonese Jaime II, the preservation of all the rights promised by Don Manuel and his son Don Juan Manuel, lords of Elche, was conceded so that the city's privileges rendered of certain importance among the Muslim communities. Again in 1303, more concessions were made, and it was only until 1317 that the king prohibited the construction of houses that would be adjacent to the *raval* of the Mudejars, as he declared, “*per tal d'evitar los perils*”.⁷² Although the exclusion would have been discriminating, Jaime II had made provisions to convert the *aljama* of Elche into an attractive residence for the poorer Muslims, having lowered the taxes on the inhabitants, and having granted them a monopoly over the agricultural ~~product~~ produce.⁷³ With such legislation, the *aljama* of Elche would be attractive enough to bring the Mudejars back, after several occasions that had warranted exoduses, thus converting it into an important Muslim community.

2.2.3 Other cases

Another case of a Mudejar haven would be that of Crevillente in which Christians are absent from the public archives of the town, Because of the laws that prohibited them from buying land there.⁷⁴ Besides this restriction, noting the economic and otherwise general decline in other cities where Christian systems had been implemented, the king barred any transfers in power in Crevillente, “*ja que aquest sistema els arruina*.”⁷⁵ Thanks to this legislation, Crevillente would become another haven for Mudejars. Toledo was the site of other minority communities who, at the risk of having to pay the exorbitant price of 300 *maravedies*, the fine set in 1483, in comparison to the 60 *maravedies* in 1481, were still willing to sell meat to Christians, who demanded the expertise of those Muslim butchers. The fact that the Mudejar *aljama* of Toledo had a butcher by the second half of the 15th century, even with the decreasing Muslim population, could also lead to the logical conclusion that the sale of meat was to Jewish clients as well in the *moreria*.⁷⁶ In Valencia, in 1346, Peter the Ceremonious passed a law declaring that descendants of Christians could continue living in the *morerías*, and none would be expelled without paying a full restitution. Almost forty years later, in 1384, the same king would finally order the Christians to

⁷² Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 60

⁷³ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 61

⁷⁴ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 234-235.

⁷⁵ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 234-235.

⁷⁶ Rodríguez, Juan C. de Miguel, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, Madrid, Gramar, A.G. Alonso Nuñez, 29, 1989: 119.

abandon their homes in the *aljama*. Those forty years show that cohabitation, whether Christians with Mudejars or Mudejars with Christians, was not a big deal, and even less so in the cases that involved the two religious minorities.⁷⁷ Robert Burns showcases the reality of the tolerance during Alfonso X the Wise's reign. The Jews were allowed to live "at liberty" among the Christians, with only minimal conditions. The first of these was the prohibition against proselytizing or even speaking ill of Christianity. This limitation should not be supposed to have required much effort for the Jews to fulfill as long as the Inquisition, in a desperate measure to get rid of them, did not misinterpret every action as proselytizing. The second of these conditions was more for the security of the Jews themselves, for it involved not venturing out of their homes on Good Friday. On this day, the faithful Christians, stirred up in fervor by the preaching of the Catholic priest of the betrayal, beating and crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews, were liable to attack any Jew that might cross their pathway. Neither could the Jews hold higher offices than that of their Christian contemporaries, although of course we know that the king hired Jews to serve him in his intimate circle.⁷⁸ The harshest ruling, though completely impossible to regulate, was the prohibition of eating, drinking or using the public baths in the company of Christians. Other restrictions were that of intermarrying with Christians or holding Christian slaves. All of this was before the establishment of the *moreria*, to which Burns assures the reader that the Mudejars had "penetrated the Christian society intimately as slaves and agricultural workers."⁷⁹ Again it would only be the expulsion of the Jews, strangely enough, that would effectively ensure true segregation.

As has been said, it would be wrong to assume that the cases that we have portrayed here were repeated in every municipality with a Mudéjar population, however it accurately depicts the lagoon between the legal situation so legislated in the courts and the actual practical development of the Muslim society in the Christian kingdoms.

⁷⁷ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 308-309, 324.

⁷⁸ Burns, Robert I, "Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective" in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds, 2002: 53.

⁷⁹ Burns, Robert I, "Jews and Moors"...: 55.

2.3 Different Barometers to Measure the Official Discrimination of Jews and Mudejars: a Comparison.

One fundamental element to the development of the theory proposed in this project is the level of discrimination that Jews received in comparison to that of the Mudejar community. Many of the presuppositions that I have made are based on the fact that, in general, the discrimination was equal for both minorities, though this is not the consensus among all historians. Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, in his work, *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, reflecting on the cohabitation of the two minority religions, states that this social condition was a reality in spite of “*las enormes distancias que mediaban entre las condiciones sociales de una y otra minoría.*” Undoubtedly there was a degree of social difference, in as much as one culture could differ from another. Regardless, I would not consider such a difference enormous. Carrasco is most likely referring to the treatment, discriminations, segregations, limitations or concessions, as radically different, rather than the natural consequences of being two different religions. In this case, I would have to disagree; simply pointing out that the degree of discrimination that either minority could have received would have been based on their economic, educational or political status. The same author mentions “*fricciones de carácter económico*” between the Mudejar communities and the *concejos* of the crown, as he himself states, “*muy similares a las que observamos en otros lugares con la minoría judía.*”⁸⁰ Luz Gómez García follows the same lines as Carrasco by pointing out that in the legislation on feasts, banquets and other social events in Segovia, Jews were categorically excluded, “*para preservar las prebendas que proporcionaba el corporativismo profesional.*” This step taken toward self-preservation, according to the author, indicates “*el distinto grado de imbricación de judíos y musulmanes en la vida cotidiana.*”⁸¹ This could have been the case in Segovia, and there is no doubt that Jews have been social outcasts to different degrees in every town, but perhaps this exclusion is for more of a religious reason. These feasts and other social events were normally connected to religious events, and as I will point out later, the Jews, on a religious level, were indubitably considered inferior to the Muslims, being traitors to the Truth they had once possessed and not simply ignorant, deceived people, like the Muslims. Nevertheless, there are cases of legislation that indicate heavily that Jews were treated

⁸⁰ Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, Ayuntamiento de Guadarrama, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2009: 77

⁸¹ Gómez García, Luz, “Los Mudéjares Menestrales Segovianos”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 14-15 (1997-1998): 36.

equally with the Mudejars. Hinojosa points out that, given the mutual practice of usury, both Jews and Mudejars were prohibited from exercising this financial practice, though of course it continued on account of the need of the higher institutions of money. This, however was not an exclusively Christian law, for even Jews prohibited the practice of usury among themselves.⁸² Having pointed this out, it would be well to remember that in cases relating exclusively to members of the two minorities, in other words, not including a Christian, the majority authorities preferred to defer to the Mosaic Law or the Sunna and Xara, which offered ample justice. The areas of living, that generally fall under the umbrella of social life, namely sale of meat, clandestine use of Jewish interpreters, two-way loans between Jews and Mudejars, clothing, circumcision, surgeons, doctors, familial and sexual relationships, would be unregulated and virtually ignored by the Christian authorities. These items we will deal with later on in the paper.

The difference between the normally well-educated Jews and the generally more simple Mudejars could have been more of a factor for discrimination than their social status. On a political level, it was the general practice of Alfonso X the Wise to surround himself with learned Jews who could provide him with a well-run court.⁸³ Jaime II of Aragon, on March 28, 1315, writes a letter to deliver personally to the king of Granada in response to the Muslim king's reiterated complaints and request that the captives of the *Camp de Cartagena*, be returned to their homes. Accompanying him on this expedition to the south was his interpreter, the Jew, Çulema, evidencing the favoritism of Jews in the Spanish royal courts.⁸⁴ Another case in Madrid tells the same story. Again, another Jew by the same name, Çulema, occupied the position of surgeon of the council in Madrid until 1492, despite the express petition of the king to the *corregidor* and council authorities to terminate his contract.⁸⁵

Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol also points to the economic status of either minority as being a factor in discriminating legislation and enforcement. An example of this is the letter from the infante Martín in 1389 rebuking the governor of Serra d'Eslida for

⁸² Hinojosa Montalvo, José, "El Crédito Judío en la Valencia Medieval", in *Cristianos y Judíos en Contacto en la Edad Media*, Valencia, 2009: 205-264.

⁸³ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 52.

⁸⁴ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera Amb L'Islam en el Segle XIV: Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 263.

⁸⁵ Rodríguez, Juan C. de Miguel, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, Madrid, Gramar, A.G. Alonso Nuñez, 29, 1989: 118.

punishing the Muslims in his town for not wearing the “garseta”, a piece of clothing worn to identify their religious affiliation, while the rich Moors were never punished for similar delinquencies.⁸⁶ The economic situation of an individual was becoming a factor when it came down to enforcing the law, not only on the governor level, but also in the royal courts. In 1391, in Zaragoza, John I issued an edict by the hand of his officials to all the Jews and Mudejars, who lacked a license and were dwelling on royal territory donated by rich clergymen. This edict was to evict the minorities from the land in the space of one month, under the pain of having their possessions confiscated if they did not comply. Apparently the king was fearful of losing the economic support of these wealthy clergymen if they disapproved. All the immigrants were sent back to where they came from, but not before both minorities had installed themselves, if but for a short time, in the same living space, with no physical boundaries as were evident in the *juderias* and *morerias*.⁸⁷ David Nirenberg also points out this favoritism based on economics citing the circumstances in which the Spanish queen gave her son some advice concerning a complaint the Muslims brought before him.

“No medieval Muslim or Jew would have been surprised by the advice of Queen Elionor to her son Prince Martin in 1374, when she told him to ignore the complaints of the Muslim aljamas of Sogorb, la Serra d’Eslida, Almonesir, Paterna, and Benaguasil about the weight of their debts to the Valencian Jew Jafuda Alatzar. After all, Jafuda alone paid more taxes to the Crown than virtually all the Muslim aljamas of the kingdom of Valencia combined.”⁸⁸

This again reinforces the idea that the ethnic identity of the Jews or Mudejars was so much the issue as was the money, influence or power involved.

⁸⁶ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 331.

⁸⁷ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains ...*: 334.

⁸⁸ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 179.

Chapter 3: Some Initial Observations of the Judeo-Mudéjar Social Relationships

3.1 The Onomastic Similarities between the documented names of Jews and Mudéjars.

The onomastic similarities in Jewish and Muslim names could indicate an affinity in the two religions, beyond the historical, pointing to close-knit communities where it would have been natural for families to learn and share names from each other or be a direct result of intermarrying. Helena de Felipe explores in her book, *Identidad y Onomástica de los Beréberes de Al-Ándalus*, some aspects of the process of naming a child in the Muslim society. This process is called the *nasab*, in which the name of a person is filled with meaning, useful on all counts to historians in helping determine certain elements of the society in which they lived. The *kunya* is the aspect that identifies a specific trait of Arabic onomastics, meaning literally, “gifted with”. The *ism alam*, is the proper name, or the part that is strictly personal, while the *nisba*, is the onomastic term that places the spatial location for the name.⁸⁹ It is this last aspect that draws my attention, taking into consideration as a presupposition at all times that the geographic radius of influence in the medieval ages would be a considerably reduced area. Another consideration that must be made is the statement made by P. Bulliet, that the Berber population of North Africa historically would never take a name of biblical tradition for fear of being identified with the hispano-roman population or with the Jewish communities.⁹⁰ Yet it is the professional opinion of de Felipe that an Andalusian Muslim would take a Jewish name, especially those of the prophets venerated by both religions, for example, Yusuf, a name of Judeo-Christian origin, adopted by Muslims.⁹¹ However, such a phenomenon would only take place if both Jews and Muslims cohabited in the same community.⁹² If this were the case, then it would be natural to find documentation that reveals names of Jews that have traits that pertained to Muslim names and Muslims with names that seemed Jewish, making some of the names of the two religions similar if not identical. Such is the case of Abenjacob, the *alamí* (the minister of justice) appointed by Jaime II, on August 21, 1296, after the

⁸⁹ De Felipe, Helena, *Identidad y Onomástica de los Beréberes de Al-Ándalus*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997: 52-58.

⁹⁰ De Felipe, Helena, *Identidad y Onomástica...* 42.

⁹¹ Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, Ayuntamiento de Guadarrama, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2009: 71.

⁹² Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia...*: 39.

fall of Elche in his campaign to take the kingdom of Valencia.⁹³ At first glance, this surname would seem to belong to a Jew. If the name is divided into three parts: “A”, “ben” and “jacob”, then the second and third parts are decidedly Jewish, “ben” being the prefix used in Jewish names to denote “son of” and “Jacob” of course being one of the Hebrew patriarchs. However, the text does not identify this official’s religion, though we do know that he was recommended by the governor of Crevillente, the neighboring town, which, as has already been pointed out was not occupied by Christians, and very little if any proof exists of Jewish inhabitants, making this governor most assuredly Muslim. If this was the case, then it begs the question of why a member of the Muslim elite would hold such a high regard for a Jew, and how they might be connected socially, and on the other hand, if this Abenjacob were a Muslim, under what circumstance was he given such a Jewish name? In 1377 one of the procurers of the Mudéjar aljama of Elche was documented as Mahomet Abençuter, a name that is apparently a mix of Muslim and Jewish, having a Islamic proper name but his surname containing that characteristic “son of” of the Jewish tradition. This phenomenon is repeated in another citizen of Elche - Mahomat ben Salomo y Çaat, whose names gives rise to the question of what religion his parents might have been.⁹⁴ In 1360, an *alqueria* that up to that date had paid contributions to the city of Elche in exchange for protection was sold as a *realengo* to the bishop of Cartagena by the Castillian queen Eleonor. Having been informed of this sale, the inhabitants of the *alquería* refused to pay the usual contribution. All of the negotiations that took place in this process were handled by an administrator by the name of Jucef Abentaurell, “*el jueu de Elche*”, whose name reinforces the Hebrew origins of the surname’s prefix.⁹⁵ The *cadi*, the Muslim judge in charge of dispensing the Sharia, or Muslim law, of Elche and Crevillente in 1360 was named Jucef Abennager.⁹⁶ The similarity between his name and the “Jew of Elche” are too similar to be a coincidence, thus pointing back to de Felipe’s statement that these to people would most assuredly have lived or at least had a common tie in the same community.

⁹³ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines de la Governació D’Oriola en el Segle XIV*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D’Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 61

⁹⁴ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 62.

⁹⁵ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 65.

⁹⁶ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines...*: 63.

Chapter 4: Illegal Physical Relationships

Illicit Sexual Relationships between Jews and Mudéjares demonstrate the clear willingness of the two minorities to coexist together in the same living space. If this were not the case there would have been no need for the *baile general* of the kingdom to punish crimes of illegal sex between the minority and majority populations from 1309 onward.⁹⁷ The numerous cases documented of Muslims and Christian lovers leave little doubt as to the existence of such practices even between Moors and Jews. Of course the documentation found will focus mainly on cases involving Christians, and will obviously only include the cases in which the two parties were caught in the act.

4.1 The documented cases of Jews and Mudejars who held illegal sexual relationship are evidence of interaction on a social level.

When the topic involves one of the vices among men, the practice of free love, especially in a society that did not frown upon the possession of numerous wives, as in the Muslim communities, there is little room for doubt that the incidents that have escaped documentation are numerous. In Girona, in 1321, the Jew, Chresches de Turri, and his family members, bought a license from Kings James I in order to be able to circumcise a Muslim boy, who had been the fruit of a relationship with a Muslim female slave. One of his ancestors, Abraham de Turri had also had a similar relationship with a Muslim slave. Around the same time as Chresches, in Huesca, another Jew was documented as having an affair with his Muslim slave and creating a problem by wanting to convert her, after she bore him a son.⁹⁸ Another case, in 1356, would have gone completely unnoticed by Christians authorities had it not included a request from a Christian landlord, Martín Ximénez of Tauste, to the king, Peter the Ceremonious, to obtain permission to fine his Muslim female slave for having sex with a male Jew. The king conceded this right to Martín, allowing for the slave to pay the “*composició*” and this way, by the authority of the king, be absolved of her crime.⁹⁹ This agreement was in actuality an effort on the part of the patron to save the life of his slave, whether for her

⁹⁷ Bramon, Dolors, *Contra Moros y Judíos*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1986: 50.

⁹⁸ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 184.

⁹⁹ Ferrer i Mallo, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 82.

purchase price or because she was special to the household. The usual punishment for this crime was death. The death penalty was not so much because of Christian legislation as it was Muslim Sunna. The Jew's Mosaic Law also had much to say about physical relationships with non-believers, so that the Jews themselves punished their own people under their law.

4.2 The Muslim Sunna and the Mosaic Law were respected for cases involving minority parties

It is a known fact that the Christian authorities tended to leave the judicial matters of illegal sex between minorities in the hands of the Muslim or Jewish authorities, because of the punishment already provided by them. In matters that involved Christians, it would stand to reason that they would document and execute punishment. However in cases which involved only the two minorities, they would have no reason or desire to carry out judgments or records of such relations. In 1347, King Peter had established that the Muslims, under their law, the Sunna, would take care of administering justice in cases of adultery that did not include any Christian. This leaves us to understand that the two parties would have to be Jewish and Muslim.¹⁰⁰ In order to obtain the Edict of 1347, the *aljama* of Valencia had to pay King Peter so that he would confirm their right to execute capital punishment of law-breakers.¹⁰¹ It was not only King Peter the Ceremonious who had a hands-off policy when it came to minority issues; James I of Valencia also had this policy. All throughout the *Furs de Valencia*, the complex ethics behind the laws prohibiting cross cultural sex, demonstrates the seriousness of this crime in the eyes of the Catholic Church. The reasoning behind allowing the Sunna to act in the place of the Christian law was because in a way it complemented the *Furs*, since both sets of laws were based on the ancient Roman law.¹⁰² In Zaragoza, the penalty in the Mudejar community for committing adultery with a Christian or a Jew was slavery. However, in the case of Amiri, a Muslim woman caught in adultery both with Christians and Jews, the community intervened so that she was not sold. Later on, she was discovered committing adultery again, this time actually being in the *judería*, a fact that supports

¹⁰⁰ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains...*: 270.

¹⁰¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 82-83.

¹⁰² Backman, Clifford, "Mudejars in the Criminal Laws of the *Furs de València* under Jaume I," in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 1987: 98-99.

the theory of cohabitation. This obviously created a conflict between the two minority *aljamas*, who wished to kill each other over her. To solve the problem, she was sold into slavery to a Christian owner for 120 sous, 30 of these awarded to the informer who discovered her and the rest for the Crown.¹⁰³ Another famous case, in 1342, was that of an adulteress Muslim woman of the town, Maria, who was condemned to 100 lashes, which was in essence the death penalty, or a payment of 70 sous to redeem herself. Poverty stricken, she was not able to pay. However a man from Zaragoza, who was witnessing the event, had mercy on her and paid the price for her redemption. Ojo de Par was a Jewish lady from Zaragoza who was known in the town for having illegal sexual relationships with Christians and Jews alike, for which crimes the Jewish community asked that she be marred and disfigured and then exiled.¹⁰⁴ This was a sign of the “community honor” to punish one who had so disgraced the name of the *aljama*. Abulfacem, a Jew of Mula in Murcia, also had a Mudejar concubine, Axona. The Jewish communities permitted men to have Muslim concubines, as long as they were offered *Ketubah*, a marriage contract, in order to avoid conflict with the Mudejar community. A marriage was strictly a judicial matter in the Muslim culture, having no religious connotations for them, and so that the *Ketubah* that the Jews offered the concubines was enough to satisfy them. For this same reason, when a certain Jew took a Muslim women as his concubine and didn't offer her the contract, Rashba, a renowned *qadī*, had a harsh disagreement with him. The Jew maintained that she had converted to Judaism and that he had married her; however the problem for Rashba was that she most likely was a free woman before marriage, turning the relationship into an inglorious affair for the Muslims.¹⁰⁵ In the end, the conflicts that arose were not so much because of religious fervor that stirred them to seek revenge on the purity of their religion, but of community honor, in which the men maintained a competition of sorts for the women available. On this point, the Mudejars were at a disadvantage, for the brothels were full of Mudejar women who found that the economic situation left them that lifestyle as their only option. Part of the reason for the elevated numbers of Mudejar prostitutes was also because of the Christian slave owners who exploited and dishonored the Mudejar women, in their communities. This situation made it impossible

¹⁰³ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, , Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 82-83.

¹⁰⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 183.

¹⁰⁵ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 185. The conflict between Rashba and the Jew, as well as all of the aforementioned cases, is dealt extensively on this page.

for the Muslims to control with whom their women committed fornication. In 1444, a group of Mudejars did find a Jew in a brothel with a Muslim woman, and in rage attacked the man, leaving him naked and beaten on the street. Of course these incidents of violence, as Nirenberg points out, were more the exception than the norm. Once again it was the sense of honor that led the men to defend their own women. It was not always the case, however, for in Zaragoza, a Mudejar man participated, along with two Jews, in the rape of a Muslim woman.¹⁰⁶ Keeping in mind that the vast majority of sexual relationships between Jews and Muslims would have gone undocumented, it is safe to say that this social situation was more than common.

Though many times in the cases of illegal sex, both parties were not willing participants, as for example in a relationship between a Jew and his Muslim slave, there is no lack of evidence, confirmed by the conversions of numerous Muslim women to Judaism, that many still, did not resist. How many cases could there be of women of both minority religions who sought to live with their loved ones, taking no heed of the religious and cultural boundaries? Conversions will revolve largely around these sorts of amorous relationships, though I will deal with it later on.

Chapter 5: Violence amongst Jews and Mudejars

The outbursts of violence that involved Jewish and Mudéjar parties only illustrate the natural conflicts of cohabiting together in the medieval Spanish towns. The following quote spoken by the polemicist Ahmad ibn Idris al- Qarafi in 1285, though talking about the French cities, accurately represents the charges popularly brought against the Jews by the Holy Inquisition in an effort to “cleanse” the Spanish society:

“In the remainder of the cities of the Franks they have three days in the year that are well known, when the bishops say to the commonfolk: “The Jews have stolen your religion and yet the Jews live with you in your own land.” Whereupon the commonfolk and the people of the town rush out together in search of Jews, and when they find one they kill him. Then they pillage any house that they can.”¹⁰⁷

This was probably not the cry amongst Spanish Mudejars, as much as Spanish Christians, who had much hate toward the Hebrews for what they represented in the story of Jesus Christ, and their infamous dealings of usury. Yet, though in fact there was

¹⁰⁶ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 183.

¹⁰⁷ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 200. Written by the Muslim polemicist Ahmad ibn Idris al- Qarafi in 1285.

a great deal of bitterness among Mudejars because of the abuse they also experienced at the hands of Jewish money changers, much of the violence perpetrated between the two social minorities was more a fruit of the daily and normal conflicts that are a result of cohabitation, than for any other reasons.

5.1 Murder among minorities

Murder was a part of the violence among the minorities, and one aspect that, perhaps because of the seriousness of it, was documented and has been preserved in the archives of the presiding authority. In the city of Alicante, in 1393, a Jew by the name of Mosse Provençal was murdered by a group of 4 people, among them Moors of the same city.¹⁰⁸ In Lleida, two Christians and eight Muslims from Ajabut assassinated three Jews.¹⁰⁹ These deaths are the ones that were caused by premeditated murder, but were not the only deaths caused by hate among adherents of the three religions. Riots, almost always instigated by the intense hate stirred up by preachers, also claimed many lives of minority members.

5.2 Jews and Muslims who broke the laws together in combined efforts against the Christians

Though it is a sad portrayal of living in harmony, and it cannot be defined as “peaceful cohabitation”, the acts of violence that the two minority groups perpetrated together does not cease to be a form of social interaction with as much peace as existed between the delinquents. Juan C. de Miguel Rodríguez retells the incident in Madrid, in 1354, when Jews and Moors, inhabitants of the city, joined forces to break into and rob the Christian church, *Parroquia de San Ginés*, leaving it in such a state of destruction, that the parishioners were forced to beg for alms to be able to rebuild it.¹¹⁰ These kinds of joint attacks could be explained as repercussions of aggressions that both minority groups frequently suffered at the hands of Christian zealots, as on August 21st, 1316, when James II in the Catalanian kingdom, from the city of Lleida, had to send word to the “*prohoms*” and the council of the Valencian city of Elche to defend the *raval* of the

¹⁰⁸ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera Amb L'Islam en el Segle XIV: Cristians i sarrains al País Valencià*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 49.

¹⁰⁹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 177.

¹¹⁰ Rodríguez, Juan C. de Miguel, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, Madrid, Gramar, A.G. Alonso Nuñez, 29, 1989: 111-112.

moors from the attacks of Christian youths.¹¹¹ The Infante Don Martín also ordered the mayor of Sogorb to protect both minority communities from the hostile actions of Christians.¹¹² The fact that both Jews and Mudejars were objects of the hate felt by the dominant majority reminds us that the reality in its finest form was that both minorities were on an equal level: far inferior to the Christians. Antela was the site of another participation of both Jews in a seditious act, headed by the Moor Cilim on the 16th of July 1360.¹¹³ Samuel Golluf was a Zaragozaan Jew, who must have shared a close friendship with the Mudejar Ali Alvalencia, for when the king confiscated Golluf's "palace" and all the possessions pertaining to him, Ali agreed to help steal back the items.¹¹⁴ We must not forget, though, as José Hinojosa Montálvo reminds us, that each city was "*inmerso en su propio ritmo de vida,*" so that no city had the same degrees or frequencies of violence. In Valencia, for example, the danger was the proximity of the Granadian kingdom and the increased possibility of collaboration on the part of the Mudejars of the city in the event of an attack. This truth only augmented the amount of antagonism toward the Muslim population.¹¹⁵ In some cases, and in all probability, most of the cases of hostility between Jews and Muslims were disputes that, if violent, were not of grave consequences, being frictions that any two groups of people with any degree of differences would experience in a situation of cohabitation.

5.3 Hostilities between Jews and Mudejars of normal everyday consequences of living together

Anybody who has lived in a small town knows that small things can cause rifts in the village, splitting the inhabitants into factions, leading to disputes, arguments, and sometimes riots and fights. However, in the end, life continues and people in the village live in interaction, putting aside differences in favor of comfortable, safe living. In the town of Huesca, in the year 1392, the reality could not have been very different for the Jews, Muslims and Christians who shared life together there. Since time immemorial in Spanish towns, the *festivales* (public holidays), commemorations, funerals, weddings,

¹¹¹ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera Amb L'Islam en el Segle XIV: Cristians i sarrains al País Valencià*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 265.

¹¹² Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera...*: 342.

¹¹³ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera...*: 308.

¹¹⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 179.

¹¹⁵ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 143.

victory marches, coronations, royal births – all were celebrated by processions in the cities' streets. Huesca was not the exception, however, with every procession and *exequia real*, or royal funeral rites, Jews and Mudejars disputed whose *aljama* would lead the parades. The question that arises with this knowledge is perhaps why these two confessional groups would be interested in processions that mostly commemorated Catholic kings and events. José Hinojosa Montalvo has an excellent theory that only adds to the familiar picture of competitive neighbors. As has been mentioned before, the Christian population was many times fed information to foment mistrust of the minority groups. For this reason the Mudejars and the Jews alike had plenty of motivation to be at least the dominant minority, holding some ideal of valor for the majority group. This is what was happening in Huesca, and what provoked John I to initially decide, in 1392, that the Mudejars would always have preference in the processions, given their willing incorporations into and services for the Christian armies.¹¹⁶ The Jews, on the other hand, did not render their services to the royal armies and were therefore, in that sense, politically inferior; however, this was not the case in other municipalities. After a few years, the privilege of preceding the processions was returned to the Jews, based on the antiquity of their religion.¹¹⁷ This was not the only case of disagreement during social events. In fact, it seems as if Nirenberg has an excellent point when he measures the degree of tolerance among the three religions by the amount of fighting that surrounded the local processions. He first looks at the situation from the Christian point of view, and states that the fact that they would allow participation of Jews (and Mudejars) in civic processions could be seen as a barometer of Christian toleration. This being true, there were no cases of violence between Christians and neither Jews nor Muslims, at least in these particular social events, which would seem to indicate that relations were fairly stable. However, if the same held true for tolerance between the two minorities exclusively, their relationship should be termed as “stormy.” In 1291, in Daroca, in the funeral procession, meant to commemorate the death of King Alfonso, the Jews in the procession were attacked by armed Muslims as they passed through the Moorish neighborhood. Years later, in 1324, in Huesca, during the celebration of the victory of Prince Alfonso in Sardinia, twenty Jews were gravely injured by a Muslim attack as the procession passed through the Muslim neighborhood. For this attack, the Mudejar

¹¹⁶ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares...*: 152.

¹¹⁷ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 180.

aljama was fined 50,000 sous of Jaca. It is assumed that the Muslims paid the fine; however, they insisted that it had been the Jews who had instigated the attack. Then in the year that the infante Francisco was born, while the Jews were celebrating with “*saltos, baile y haciendo otras muchas expresiones the gozo,*” the Muslims once again attacked them. Two years before this last attack, the Jews and the Muslims had been arguing over who would preside in the funerary march in Fraga, commemorating Peter the Ceremonious’ death. When it came time for the parade to start, the Jews were somehow able to get at the head of the processions, resulting in a heated attack from the Muslims. For this last attack, the Muslims of Fraga were fined 1,000 gold florins.¹¹⁸ Indeed it would seem that the intense rivalry between the minorities could only lead to a major separation to keep things from escalating. This did not happen, though processions continued to be a point of contention between them. Again, according to Hinojosa, there was an ideal valor at stake that neither side would give up. This time, in Daroca and Fraga, it was the possibility of economic dominion, for which both sides would fight to obtain. In chapter ten, I will deal with the nuances that these anecdotes contain. These heavily suggest a normal social relationship between the minorities that simply carried with it the baggage of violence when it came to “performing” before the majority authorities.

In the time before the Christian invasion, the Muslims had been the economic point of reference, for everything was geared to prosper them. Yet when the Muslims became Mudejars, and submitted to another authority who did not respect them, the Jews gained the upper hand. These, in turn, subjected the Moors to paying high interests on loans. To the Christians, the Jews were now of more economic importance than the Muslims. The same story repeated itself in localities in the valley of the Ebro, Tudela and other Navarre *aljamas*. Hinojosa states that many times, the king was forced to intervene in inter-minority disputes, by either cutting the interests or by forcing the Mudejar debtors to pay up.¹¹⁹ Of course, these cases did not help the hatred that the Christians and Moors were developing for the Jewish money lenders. Catlos defines the situation in the following manner:

¹¹⁸ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 180. All of these cases are discussed on page 180, by Nirenberg. It seems that these kinds of contentions were quite common.

¹¹⁹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 152.

“Muslims occasionally found themselves in collusion with their Christian neighbors, a solidarity which in its most extreme manifestations took the shape of violence against individual Jews or their communities.”¹²⁰

Many of the disputes that have been documented were caused by problems between creditors and debtors. Such was the case in 1474, when a certain Jewish inhabitant of Suera, Vidal Comte, was requested to travel to the Mudejar *aljama* in Sagunto, where several Mudejars wished to repay their debts to him, and retrieve the suits of clothing that he held as a sign of indebtedness. The General *Baile*, heard of the situation, and forbade the Jew to travel to the *aljama*, fearing that instead of collecting their debt, the Muslims wished to cause Comte harm. To avoid any problems, the debt was settled in Baile’s court. In 1475, three Muslims of Ahín also were protagonists in a dispute with their creditor, Astruch Rodrich. Again, the end result was that the debt was settled peaceably.¹²¹ Not all Jewish creditors had the fortune of having an authority intervene to protect them. Isaac Franco, a Jew from the town of Borja, returned home one day to find that his vineyard had been destroyed. As far as is known, the perpetrators were Muslims from another town, Malexant. It could only be supposed that these men owed the Jew money and perhaps wished to retaliate for the abuse they had received at his hand.¹²² Even worse than property destruction was the violence done to the person himself, as happened with Abraham Atarela.

One Jew from Algezira, having a Mudejar debtor, Azmet Aeça, in the Muslim *aljama* of the town of Umbria, traveled there to collect the money.

“[T]he said Muslim, moved by an evil spirit, ignoring God all-powerful and royal authority, and ignoring the fact that this Jew and all other Jews are under the guard and protection of the lord king, picked up a lance and tried to kill Abraham.”

Upon escaping the thrust of the lance, the Jew fled to a neighbor’s house, where he sought safety. Azmet, seeing that the truth would be discovered, convinced his neighbor and the rest of the neighborhood that the Jew had attacked him, and proceeded, along with the rest, to beat Abraham Atarela. After this, they turned him over to their feudal lord, an abbot, who then allegedly stole a sack of silk worth more than one hundred

¹²⁰ Catlos, Brian A, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon 1050-1300*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004: 150.

¹²¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996:155-6.

¹²² Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence...: 177.*

Valencian pounds and coerced him into paying another one hundred gold florins as a fine for having attacked one of his vassals. This case caused friction between the crown and the feudal lord, for the king declared that cases involving Jews were under his jurisdiction, since all Jews were “of the king’s chamber, ” whereas the abbot insisted that what happened on his land was under seigneurial jurisdiction.¹²³ The fact that the two disputing powers in the Christian governmental structure chose sides in the minorities’ disputes did not help matters for either side. The king also felt the obligation to intercede for the Jews of Borja when he learned that “numerous inhabitants of the city” and Muslims hated the Jews of the *aljama*. These people had caused physical harm to the Hebrews, and had confiscated their properties and committed other injustices.¹²⁴ It would be an interesting study to find out what the aggressors did with the confiscated property, since presumably, they would not have desired to dwell in the Jewish neighborhood. There are also records of joint trials of Christians and Muslims pitted against the Jews in common complaint.¹²⁵ However it was not always the Jew on the receiving end.

The inverse situation of cross-cultural loathing also existed. In the *aljama* of Murcia, the smithy Abraham Alhajar, along with the mayor, reported an act of aggression before the council. The complaint was that a group of Jews had forced entry into the *moreria* in search of two Muslim slaves who had fled there after contracting the services of a Muslim prostitute who lived adjacent to the Muslim *raval*. During their trespassing, they had caused damage, violently searching Muslim properties without permission.¹²⁶ These kinds of cases would have caused major riots had the communities not respected and gotten along with each other. For this reason it would seem that it was understood that these two intruding Jews were more of a case of angry slave holders than crazed Muslim haters.

Another sign of the tense relationships that Hinojosa brings to light is the phrase that Jews were accustomed to throw at each other in heated disputes. To call another “*perro, fill de moro,*” was considered an insult, for, what Jew would want to be the son

¹²³ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*....: 177-178. This case is found in ACA:C Procesos, 126/2 (1377/1/3).

¹²⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*....: 177.

¹²⁵ Catlos, Brian A, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon 1050-1300*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004: 152.

¹²⁶ Martínez Carrillo, M^a de los Llanos, “Oligarquización Profesional y Decadencia Mudéjar. Los Herreros Murcianos (SS. XIV y XV)”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 1996: 67-68.

of a Muslim?¹²⁷ As far as insults such as this go, there is no way of knowing how serious it was to pronounce these words, nor how frequently they were used. Such insults could simply be an everyday part of living among two other cultures, which undoubtedly had their own insults toward the Jews.

However many the cases of arguments, disputes and violence, such as fights, vandalism, riots and even murders that involved Jews and Mudejars, it would not be surprising to find that among the Christians themselves, such happenings were similarly if not equally common. Catlos also records a feud between two Muslim families in Daroca.¹²⁸ The constant fighting between the Dalanhis family and the Abdellas only confirm the fact that violence in a community was not necessarily a sign of lack of peaceful cohabitation in general. David Nirenberg is convinced that “any model [of medieval society] that does not allow for such cooperation (referring to the robbery committed by Samuel Golluf and Ali Alvalencia), will not do justice to the Judeo-Muslim relationship in Aragon.”¹²⁹ The same could be said of any of the kingdoms of Spain, for it is only natural that the two minorities, in the face of persecution, would unite to fight against a common enemy.

Chapter 6: Slaves and Slave Holders

Relationships between slave holders and slaves, both Jews and Mudejars were, though many times strictly work related, toward the mid-14th century, a noticeable change in behavior towards slaves led to more familial relationships. Early on, in the first years following the fall of Muslim cities throughout the south of Spain, the tendency especially of the Mudejars, was to move to a rural setting, as was mentioned before. Their contribution to society was their expertise in agricultural production, a knowledge that the new Christian feudal lords would take advantage of. Indeed, many started working as servants in the fields of the new dominant elite. Of course this work was remunerated, marking the difference between themselves and the slaves. However, soon, it became strictly prohibited for anybody to buy a Christian slave, which in some

¹²⁷ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 156.

¹²⁸ Catlos, Brian, “Justice Served or Justice Subverted? Two Muslim Women Sue a Local Mudéjar Official in Thirteenth Century Aragon”, in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales (AEM)*, January-June, 39/1, (2009): 181-182.

¹²⁹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 179.

cases would have left gaps in the slave market.¹³⁰ With this new legislation there would have been an increased demand for slaves, this time among the Mudejar people. With the revolts of the Mudejars in the mid-13th century, an elevated number of Muslims became available in the slave market. The restriction of Christian slaves and the abundance of Mudejar slaves would lead to the very common case of Jewish slave owners with Muslim slaves. When the *Furs de Valencia* prohibited the retaining of a slave who had converted to Christianity, the slave owners found that their slaves took advantage of the situation to declare an alleged conversion and thus, gain their liberty. Hinojosa relates that in one such case in which King Peter III received complaints from a Jewish slave owner concerning this problem, the king ordered that twelve *morabatinos* be paid to the Jew for the Mudejar slaves who had converted to Christianity with the sole purpose of gaining their liberty.¹³¹ This did not mean that all Christian slaves were to go free. Despite the petition of the Catholic Church to the civil authorities to liberate them, it was only slaves who converted who were allowed to go free, and only then if they belonged to Jews. Knowing that this could cause a problem economically for the Jews, who had invested in the slaves, both Peter the Great and James II made provision for the slave owners. For each slave that was converted and freed, the owner would receive a payment. Such was the case with Axia and Fatima, two Muslim slaves who converted to Christianity. They were obligated to pay twenty-four gold *morabatines* to their respective owners, Isaac Salom Saporta and Bonanasc Escapat of Villafranca. The fixed price for a slave was twelve *morabatines*, however, since each of the slaves had a son, and the son automatically assumed the religion of their mothers, the slave owner was in effect losing two slaves, thus the double price.¹³² Another slave owner, by the name of Samuel de Paris, from Mallorca, knowing the law held that Christian owners of Christian slaves were not forced to liberate their slaves, and having heard that two of his female Muslim slaves wished to convert to obtain their freedom, he sold his slaves to the Christian, Bernat Castelló. Bernat would not have cared that the slaves converted, and Samuel of Paris would not lose any money this way. The *alcalde* of Manacor heard of this transaction and the reasoning behind it, and froze the sale. Whether it was because he considered it unjust or because the slaves had

¹³⁰ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Les Aljames Sarraines de la Governació D'Oriola en el Segle XIV*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 65-66.

¹³¹ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 155.

¹³² Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 74-75.

converted before the sale was effectuated, and should have been allowed to pay the twelve *morabatines* of freedom, is unknown, but shortly after, the deputy of the governor of Mallorca, Guillem de Llagostera, ordered the buyer to finish paying the full price for the slaves, for since both slaves and owner were Christian, before the law the sale was correct.¹³³ Chresches de Turri, the Jew mentioned in chapter four, perhaps was thinking of this very issue when he requested permission to circumcise his son, born of his relationship with a Moorish slave. If the child grew up more as the Jewish child of his owner than the Muslim son of his enslaved mother, perhaps he could more easily retain his services.

Now the question must be raised as to whether the forced slavery of Mudejars in Jewish homes could be considered a valid argument for cohabitation between the two minorities. Would not such a relationship be considered more of an economic relationship than social? And even more importantly, were Muslim slaves actually considered Mudejars? This last question is raised, simply because of the definition of Mudejar, that of a Muslim who is submitted to Christian rule, but actively practices his culture and religion. The Mudejar's life was fully guided by the *qadi*, the *alamín*, the *zalmedina*, the *alfaquí*, even the muezzin and the imam. All aspects of his life were Muslim, from clothing and food to government and economy. The argument, then, goes like this: if a Muslim slave is living in a Jewish or Christian home, then most assuredly his life is dictated by the Jewish religion, in which the slave would not be able to offer his five daily prayers, or consult the religious leaders of the Mudejar community. This would therefore disqualify them as true Mudejars, and relegate them simply to the position of non-Jew, non-Christian slaves. Robert Burns offers his opinion of this almost undefinable situation. He first refers to the similar situation of the free Muslims of Mallorca who were only "analogously Mudejars", having no formal religious leaders, or capitulation treaties with which to stand by. In fact, it could be argued that the "scattered slaves in the Arago-Catalan realms" had more "moral support", "psychological resources and some services." In the kingdom of Valencia they could even benefit from the controversial yet always present sound of the muezzins calls to prayer from their lofts in the minarets. Add to this the presence of the Arabic language even into the 13th century (in at least Valencia) and the fact that any severe crime that the Muslim slave might commit would be under the jurisdiction of the *qadi*. You now

¹³³ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains...*: 74-75.

would have a slave that is not entirely cut off from his Mudejar community.¹³⁴ Catlos gives an example of just such a support system in the case of Maria, a fugitive slave. Having fled to a town called Alfándega, in which a rather well-integrated Muslim population resided. The fact that, when the owner caught up to his slave, he was forced to treat her humanely and not retrieve as if she were an animal, gives the idea that this particular group maintained a level of social status enough by which to protect the girl's interests.¹³⁵ His agreement with Burns on this point goes as far as the occasional documented cases allow, for it could not be scientifically argued that this was always the case. On the other hand, a certain distance did exist between the Muslim slave and the free Mudejar community, marked heavily by the ownership that the Christian masters exerted over their Muslims slave when it came to judicial matters. Catlos points out that the Muslim slave that faced charges or any accusation of criminal behavior did not even have the right to swear his own innocence.¹³⁶ The life of the slave lay entirely in the master's hand, and only he had the right to defend or persecute.

As far as the relationships between slaves and owners, Burns refers to the phrase used by Stephen P. Bensch, "the changing face of slavery," to describe what was happening in slave-owners' households in the 13th century. The previous "working relationship" in which the slaves were distant and "poorly integrated" now became more of a "familial relationship" as reflected in documented wills of slave owners.¹³⁷ We have already dealt with the sexual relationships that were omnipresent in the world of slave ownership, and although we would normally qualify such relationships as forced, though not less unnatural simply because of the general cultural acceptance, there are some cases that shed light on possible genuine love between people of different religions and different social statuses. One such case I am referring to is a sordid mix of the culturally accepted relationship a Jewish slave owner had with one of his Muslim female slaves, while at the same time the owner's son also was maintaining a sentimental and sexual relationship with the same slave. I say sentimental, because the son, upon discovering that his father was taking advantage of the girl, asked his father to

¹³⁴ Burns, Robert I, "Muslims as Property: Slavery Episodes in the Realms of Aragon 1244-1291", in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 14-15 (1997-1998): 61.

¹³⁵ Catlos, Brian, "Esclavo o Ciudadano: Fronteras de Clase en la Corona de Aragon, s. XIII", in *De l'Esclavitud a la Llibertat: Esclaus i Lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana*, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Josefina Mutgé i Vives, eds, 2000: 155.

¹³⁶ Catlos, Brian, "Esclavo o Ciudadano"...: 154.

¹³⁷ Catlos, Brian, "Esclavo o Ciudadano"...: 63.

stop. When he refused, the son threatened to convert to Christianity, a threat that led the father to poison his son.¹³⁸ Whether this was done to stop his son from bringing disgrace on his family's name through conversion, or to get rid of a rival is unknown, however it amply illustrates that there was room for more than just a working relationship between Jewish families and their Mudejar slaves. Indeed Catlos relates that in many cases there was no distinction to be seen outwardly between slave and free, Christian or Moor.¹³⁹ This closeness was not necessarily the norm, nor did it last very long, but the cohabitation was peaceful as it was real.

The Jew of Huesca, Cecrim, who created problems in the community for wanting to convert his Muslim slave to Judaism, argued that his intentions were to provide the best for the son he had had with the slave. His son was, by virtue of his father's religion, Jewish, and therefore was the property of his father solely. However, if the mother were to convert, she could take custody of her son. The father may have done this because he did not wish to take responsibility of the son, but there is a possibility that cannot be ruled out that the parent actually did care for the small family that he had started with a Muslim woman.¹⁴⁰ The same could be said of the Jewish men who so desired to have Muslim concubines that they were willing enough to offer them *ketubah*, as mentioned in chapter four. Martius Eiximin, a slave owner, after being conceded the right to forgo punishing his Muslim slave who had converted to Judaism, willingly settled with a monetary payment the price of her decision.¹⁴¹ These cases create a fairly solid basis for understanding that the concept of forced slavery did not necessarily exclude the ability of slaves and owners alike to have genuine feelings for each other, fitting their relationships in the category of social cohabitation.

Forced slavery was not the only kind of servitude however, for we know that some Muslim servants were paid, while others, though not paid, were working to pay off money to a creditor. When the debts that Mudejars contracted with Jewish creditors were too much for them to pay, it was a common practice for the debtor to deliver

¹³⁸ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 184.

¹³⁹ Catlos, Brian, "Esclavo o Ciudadano: Fronteras de Clase en la Corona de Aragon, s. XIII", in *De l'Esclavitud a la Llibertat: Esclaus i Lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana*, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Josefina Mutgé i Vives, eds, 2000: 156-7.

¹⁴⁰ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 184.

¹⁴¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence...: 185-186.*

himself to the household service of his creditor in order to pay off the debt. Alí Cortés, a Mudejar of Pedrola, having obtained permission from the *baile general*, offered his services to Çaçón, and Jew of Xátiva to settle money matters between them. Alí Cortés also took his son into servitude with him, whether because the debt was that great or because he had no other place to house his son while he served off his debt. Whatever the case, we have the apparently normal situation of mudejar citizens living in Jewish household, sharing daily life, even if in the condition of indentured servants.¹⁴² The same happened with Homer Amet Abdulcarim, a Mudejar of Beniarjó, who owed Salomo d'Estella, a Jew of Gandía, *19 sueldos*, for which he entered the household of his creditor as a worker.¹⁴³ In these cases the cohabitation was more out of necessity than desire, but it cannot be denied that these were social ties no more unnatural than those of regular employees with their employers, in which we would only expect a professional level of respect as a minimal requirement.

Chapter 7: Conversions

The judiciary evidence of conversions between the two minority confessions showcases more of cultural, social and political reasons for converting than for purely spiritual reasons. It would be a fascinating study to investigate how many conversions took place in the middle ages among the three present religions under purely religious circumstances. However, most of the cases that have been recorded, having been done so in court cases where the subject is charged with conversion, are surrounded by circumstances of social characteristics, having little to do with the spiritual state of the person in question.

7.1 *The legal ramifications of converting*

I refer back to the argument exhibited in chapter 5, which expounded on Hinojosa's theory that the violence many times observed between the two minorities was more the fruit of an ideological joust to become the preferred minority group of the government than of theological differences. And yet again, it was not religious fervor as much as cultural and community honor that led to attacks and retaliations. However, whatever the spiritual state of the convert, the law by which their culture was determined, not only their religion, was recognized as a relevant authority in their lives.

¹⁴² Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Teruel, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 155.

¹⁴³ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares...*: 155.

I maintain that for them the former was more important than the latter. For the Muslims, the law prescribed death in many cases of infraction. As in practically every cultures' laws of the day, death was reserved for murderers, independent of the religion of the victim. The Muslim murderer was to die, as prescribed in article 194 of the Sunna and Xara.¹⁴⁴ It was not only cases of murder that were punishable by death. The Muslim law also commanded that if a Muslim husband were to convert to another religion, the wife could no longer lie carnally with him, for it would be considered a sin. The matrimony in such a case would be null and void. However, if the law were transgressed, the law breakers were punishable by death.¹⁴⁵ The Koran also has much to say about the person who, having been a Muslim, submitted to the will of Allah, renounces his faith and claims another religion. This person would be worthy of death.

This was then the policy of the Christian authorities on the conversions that involved the two minorities exclusively. The conversions that involved Christians converting to Islam or Judaism were quite another matter. It was the pope's belief that old Christians and new alike were exposed to contamination by the presence of Jews in the neighborhoods. But this point of view was not new, for Recaredo had feared for the "*disidencia religiosa que tenia visos de transformarse en disidencia social y politica.*"¹⁴⁶ In Guadalajara, when it became obvious that the presence of the Jews scattered throughout the Christian community ran a certain degree of danger of proselytism of the Christian population itself and, more importantly, for the *judeo-conversos*, the Jews were obligated to resettle in a newly created *raval* next to the Mudejar *aljama*.¹⁴⁷ Besides creating a case of cohabitation of minorities, which I will develop in chapter eight, the government believed to be effectively protecting their population from false religions.

7.1 *The death penalty for converting*

Keeping in mind the decisions of the Council of Tarragona in 1235 that conversion between minorities should be punished by death, the decisions that James I

¹⁴⁴ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII- XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 97.

¹⁴⁵ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara...*: 110.

¹⁴⁶ Pérez, Joseph, *Historia de una tragedia: La Expulsión de los Judíos de España*, CRÍTICA Barcelona, Grupo Grijalbo-Mondadori, 1993: 14.

¹⁴⁷ Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, Ayuntamiento de Guadarrama, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2009: 77.

and Peter the Ceremonious made were a logical step. As mentioned before, these two kings had thought it wise to allow the Jewish and Moorish laws, mostly the latter, to measure out justice among the minorities. Capital punishment was established for any member of either minority if they were to convert to a different religion, coinciding in this way with the legislation of the Jewish and Moorish laws. These, then, were the laws that were on the books. Nevertheless, similar to the relocation laws in the Mudejar capitulation treaties; it is quite a different story what the rulings in specific cases actually were. In 1315, the mayor of Lleida consulted King James II about a case of a Muslim who had converted to Judaism, reminding him of the laws that had been set in motion by James I. To this, the king simply responded that the mayor should follow the legislation if indeed it were still in force. With this answer, it can be supposed that the mayor followed through with the law and allowed the qadi to take jurisdiction and sentence death to the person under trial.¹⁴⁸ Peter the Ceremonious also ensured that his officials did not impede the qadi from executing judgment in a similar court hearing in 1338. In a case documented by David Romano, we find that it was not only Muslims who were sentenced to death, but Jews as well for transgressing the Mosaic law and converting to Islam. Xátiva was the location of one such Jew who lost his life for changing his faith.¹⁴⁹ The severity of the punishment, in the ears of the postmodernist is, of course, a violation of human rights, and a definitely dark side of a religion that would demand such a steep price for a heart change. This being said, perhaps with the passage of time, the death penalty began to appear to be unnecessarily harsh for the Christian authorities. In the end, what did they care to what religion a person converted, if in the end it was not the Catholic faith? The Muslims themselves seemed to begin to lack the internal fortitude to condemn their own neighbors to death for their decision to pursue a different religion. After all, the communities were small, meaning that surely most of the Muslims knew each other, and if it in were the best interest of their co-religionist to change religions then the death penalty was certainly not warranted. This would seem to be the situation in the documented cases which follow.

The Jews, on the other hand, were more likely to be sentenced to death for conversion than were the Muslims. Though it is true that the cases in which capital punishment was issued seem to diminish gradually, the fervor of the Jewish community

¹⁴⁸ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Consell Superior D Investigacions Científiques, Barcelona, 1987: 82-83.

¹⁴⁹ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains...*: 82-83.

led them many times to seek death for unfaithful Jews. David Nirenberg attributes this to the wealth that the former possessed, giving them more resources by which to pressure the Christian crown into conceding to them the right to execute those Jews who would be unfaithful to their religion.¹⁵⁰ Evidence of this is the permission conceded by James II to two Jewish brothers, Perfect Gravel and his brother, to convert their slave Hauha.¹⁵¹ In 1280 a document appears in Zaragoza which relates the verdict of three Jews who were transferred from the outskirts of the city, where they lived, to the city proper to receive their punishment. Their crime, having converted to Islam, was not viewed favorably by Jucef Ravaya, the treasurer of the king, who insisted on their prosecution.¹⁵² It is supposed that, given the severity of the law with Jewish converts, and the political weight of Ravaya, the three convicts were met with the death penalty as punishment. Another reason to assume the worst outcome for these men is the case in 1284, only four years later, in which Maulet, a Jewish female convert was sentenced to death in Xátiva by the king himself.¹⁵³ Undoubtedly the death penalty was not incurred by all Jewish converts to the Muslim faith, but there does seem to be a high rate of religious fervor in this aspect.

7.3 A change in policy

The alternate route to condemning to death a convert was to demand the payment of a fine or to sentence the individual to corporal punishment without necessarily implying the taking of the life. One of the earliest accounts of leniency with the matter of minority converts was in 1315 when James II writes the bayliff of Lleida, ordering him to “punish” a Muslim woman who had converted to Judaism. This decision clearly ignores the clause of “*perdida de person*” or death. It was the edict of 1235, passed by the king’s grandfather that had set said clause in motion, and of which the *baile* had used as pretext before the king to arrest the woman in the first place.¹⁵⁴ His efforts were of no avail, for the king seemed disposed, strangely enough for so early on, to conserve this woman’s life. As mentioned before, perhaps it was the political or economic weight that the Jews had that spurred this decision forward. In 1356, Martín Ximénez of Tauste, a courtier of King John, was awarded full rights over the life of his

¹⁵⁰ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 188.

¹⁵¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 186-187.

¹⁵² Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 188-189.

¹⁵³ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 188-189.

¹⁵⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 186-187.

Muslim slave, María, and instead of losing her to capital punishment; he was able to demand a fine for having had sexual relationships with a Jew and having then having become a Jew herself. She, in turn, having paid the “composició” was absolved of all her crimes and the consequences that these entailed.¹⁵⁵ In Alicante, in the kingdom of Valencia, in 1381, another court decision tells of the reduced punishment for converting. Two Mudejar women decided to officially change their names from Fotoix and Axena to Jamila and Simfa, for the apparent reason that they had become Jews. Although the Ferrer i Mallol points out that it did not imply that there were no other punishments, the two women were only fined 165 sous which were payable to the general mayor of Valencia in Xixona.¹⁵⁶ Whatever the case may have been, death was certainly not one of the possibilities, for if such had been the case, the request to officially change their names would have been denied directly. In fact, the situation seems to imply more, as Nirenberg states that the question at hand was more of a matter of obtaining a license than committing a crime.¹⁵⁷ James II sends an order to the mayor of Lleida in 1315, to “punish” Johannes, a Muslim lady who had converted to Judaism.¹⁵⁸ It is easy to suppose that this punishment did not include taking the subjects life, though such a ruling would have been slightly premature to the previously mentioned cases, dated usually in the 1330s. In such a serious matter, in which a life was at stake, surely the king would have made sure that his choice of words indicated whether the sentence should be capital or not.

7.4 On the religious sincerity of the conversions documented in the middle ages

Throughout the chapters of this paper, I have hinted slightly at the possibility of the conversions that passed through court and were therefore documented were fruit of intentions other than a deep spiritual conviction. I contend that the religion the subject was following was false, and that the possibility of personal gain on an economic, political or otherwise social level was available to the convert. Mercedes García-Arenal in her article, “Rapports entre Groupes dans la Péninsule Ibérique: La Conversion de Juifs á l’islam (XII-XIII siècles)”, in the book, *Minorities Religieuses dans l’Espagne Médiévale*, edited by Manuela Marín and Joseph Perez, writes of the role of religion in

¹⁵⁵ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D’Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 82-83.

¹⁵⁶ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains...*: 82-83.

¹⁵⁷ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 188.

¹⁵⁸ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence...*: 230.

Muslim Spain, when Jews were the favored as a minority above the Christians. The Jews, favorable to the invasion, eager to gain the trust of the Muslims, as a potentially valuable asset to their reign in Spain, were gradually absorbed into the political, economic and social system. The assimilation, however, could only go as far as the religion, for which reason some opted to convert to obtain a status equivalent to that of the Arab.¹⁵⁹ This idea of using religion as a social tool was easily passed on to the generations that would live the transition and the ones that would only know Christian domination. Nirenberg relates that a certain Muslim slave converted to Judaism for the only apparent reason that she knew her condition in the society in which she lived (the Jewish *aljama*) would be improved.¹⁶⁰ In this case there is no record of punishment, for presumably the Mudejar community would not have had jurisdiction in the *judería*, and the contact would be so limited that perhaps her conversion did not get any attention.

7.5 *The necessity of punishing conversions between the minority religions*

At some point in the history of Christian legislation, and in the policy on punishment for conversion among Jews and Mudejars, a change occurred. The aforementioned Council of Tarragona in 1235 lost effectiveness and the sentences took on a lighter stance. *Judíos y Sarracenos en el Consilium de Oldradus*, seems to have been either a stimulant in this change or at least a reflection of the thought process the Christian scholars were putting into the legislation. Oldradus de Ponte, a Christian lawyer in the 14th century, reflected on the question as to whether the authorities should even bother to judge and pass sentence on the minority *conversos*, specifically that of the Jew who would convert to Islam. His first argument was that there was no reason for the Christian court or church to fight for fidelity among two religions that were equally damned. Furthermore, deepening his reasoning, he proffers a definition for the concept of apostasy. Apostasy, according to Oldradus, is the leaving of a better doctrine for one that is inferior. Therefore, as Judaism was, in eyes of the Catholic Church, worse than Islam, converting to Islam from the Hebrew faith could not be considered apostasy. Did not the prayers of the faithful Christians on Good Friday include the pagan soul but exclude the Jew's? Surely, in the eyes of this medieval lawyer, this was a sign of greater damnation of the traitorous Jews. With all this in mind, then, the Jew ought not to be

¹⁵⁹ García-Arenal, Mercedes, "Rapports entre Groupes dans la Péninsule Ibérique: La Conversion de Juifs á l'islam (XII-XIII siècles)", in *Minorities Religieuses dans l'Espagne Médiévale*, eds, Manuela Marín and Joseph Perez, 1993 : 92.

¹⁶⁰ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 184.

punished for converting to Islam. After all, as Oldradus sustained, the fight for conversions among minorities was simply a bid for more prestige before a Christian audience.¹⁶¹ It was thanks to Oldradus that Jewish converts now added a Christian authority to the defendant's bench to defend their change in religion while at the same time, the Muslim converts found an advocate in the Christian lawyer using the same arguments. Nirenberg states the case of Maria, a young Muslim girl who had converted to Judaism, an act which caused a war of words between the Muslim community, backed by Catholic clergymen, and the Jewish community and a Christian lawyer in their service. The story tells that a Jewish man, Yuda, had taken an interest in the young girl, which some alleged was merely a sexual interest. He had then taken her to his house and had taught her the Hebrew religion, whereupon she was converted. In the fight over this girl's decision, the Jews argued from the logic that Oldradus had used. They deferred to the scholarly arguments of this dominant authority to defend the fact that the conversions between minorities should not concern the Catholic Church. The one premise in Oldradus' treatise that was argued against was his declaration that Islam was a less poisonous religion than Judaism. The argument being – if Islam was so much better, why was the great commission of the Christian Bible to go to the Jews first and then to the gentiles (which would include the Muslims)?¹⁶² Nirenberg doesn't record the outcome of the trial, but the debate was served, and converts now had a better chance. The 12th of August of 1356, King Peter, by petition of the Jews of Lleida, ordered the liberation of Maria, with the royal declaration that her conversion to Judaism was not a crime.¹⁶³ A number of years earlier, in 1335, the Jewish *aljama* had complained that a Muslim had been locked up under the pretext that it had been heard of him that he wished to “adopt '*legem ebraycam*'”, the Hebrew law. The king ordered him to be let go and that the converts no longer be persecuted in Lleida.¹⁶⁴ In 1361, in Barcelona, persecution of the *aljama* of Barcelona was prohibited by King Peter. In this case, the Muslim, Lopello de Serrah Mahomet, a convert to Judaism and the Jewish community was enduring hostilities. The Jews, despite the favor conceded by the king, wished for Lopello, who had legally changed his name to Abraham, to undo the legal process, though not necessarily change his name back. The reason for this was that if the name were not legal, the *aljama* could avoid the litigation that could be a repercussion of his

¹⁶¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 190-191.

¹⁶² Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 191-192.

¹⁶³ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 185.

¹⁶⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 188.

decision.¹⁶⁵ With royal decisions such as that of King Peter, it seemed that the minorities' religious freedom gained a little ground.

Taking into consideration the steep price of converting, it is amazing that so many Jews and Muslims thought it worthwhile to convert, keeping in mind that the documented cases are only a representation of all the other real life scenarios that never went through court. I repeat the question, then, as to whether these conversions were motivated by such deeply felt spiritual reasons. Were these conversions motivated by religious convictions or were there more practical reasons? Perhaps if a Jew or a Muslim believed that it would be easy enough to escape the attention that a conversion motivated by social reasons would bring, then they would take the risk. If the numbers of recorded cases are any indication, then it would seem that many such converts defected unnoticed. In the name of bettering their social position, adapting to the culture, including religion, of their sentimental partner, or simply looking to fit in better in their masters' houses, it is likely that there were many undetected conversions.

Chapter 8: Solitary cases of peaceful cohabitation

Other cases, neither solitary nor unique, lead us to think that peaceful cohabitation between Mudéjares and Jews were not unheard of, nor uncommon. The following cases are but examples, taken from texts in which the intention was not that of focusing on the voluntary and peaceful cohabitation between Jews and Mudejars. Nonetheless, another look indicates that such cases did very much exist.

8.1 The relocation of minority populations led to unintentional but necessary situations of peaceful cohabitation

As mentioned in the beginning of the paper, the *aljamas* of both minorities were many times located adjacent to each other, which would indubitably lead to daily and necessarily peaceful social interaction. When the treaties of capitulation signed by the Mudejars ensured that when future tensions mounted, the Christians could force them into certain neighborhoods, confusion ensued as Jews, Christians and Mudejars were moved around. In Guadalajara, the Mudejar *aljama* had already been established when the Jewish neighborhood was officially drawn up in the city's blueprints. The result was that several of the houses belonging to the Jews' territory were houses that had already

¹⁶⁵ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence*...: 188.

been claimed by Muslims. Eventually the Jews were forced to buy the houses from the Mudejars, though they were allowed, in 1487, to lease the houses in question to Mudejars. This created the situation of Mudejars living in the Jewish *aljama*, with the result that Jews were living in houses right next to their Mudejar neighbors.¹⁶⁶ This of course was not necessarily a common situation during the relocation of the minority population, but it cannot be discarded as a definite possibility elsewhere.

8.2 Certain policies of the Christian monarchs could have created a situation of cohabitation if the need arose

In the areas conquered from Al-Andalus, the constant concern was for the safety of preservation of the newly colonized Christian cities of the kingdom of Valencia. In a correspondence, dated in Barcelona, on the 17th of August, in 1362, Queen Elionor detailed a plan of defense in the event of a Granadino invasion. Were the cities of Elche and Crevillente to be attacked, the Mudejar and Jewish populations were to be gathered together and sheltered in the castle of Elche. They were also to be asked to take their own food to be able to supply their own needs.¹⁶⁷ In May of 1236, James I granted Abu Zayal, a Muslim convert, exemptions for the city and region of Alpuente. These exemptions were not elitist, and were extended to “*todos vosotros habitantes y residentes de clases altas y bajas, que estáis ahora allí y que más tarde vendréis a estableceros, cristianos, o judíos, o también sarracenos.*”¹⁶⁸ The king understood that there could be a possible mix of religions, but since this was before the need for minority segregation was seen as a necessity, it was an acceptable situation in his eyes.

8.3 Other isolated situations gave way to social interaction between minority groups

Although certain patterns can be found in society where it seems possible that there were common cases of social interaction, there are many other isolated instances that may or may not have been repeated elsewhere, but are certainly not surprising. Jafuda, son of the Jew Astruc Bonsenyor, was involved in the clandestine operations of Muslims fleeing south the Granada. His job consisted mainly of doing paperwork, for

¹⁶⁶ Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, Ayuntamiento de Guadarrama, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2009: 77.

¹⁶⁷ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *La Frontera Amb L'Islam en el Segle XIV: Cristians i sarrains al País Valencià*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1988: 311-312.

¹⁶⁸ Backman, Clifford, “Mudejars in the Criminal Laws of the *Furs de València* under Jaume I,” in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 1987: 93-99, 111.

which he put his abilities acquired in his legal job, as interpreter, to use.¹⁶⁹ In another case of possible social interaction was Yuçuf Mellado, the “*maestro de adobar quebraduras*.”¹⁷⁰ His renown in the specialty of setting broken bones leads me to think that he would have had clients of all religions. His own religion, unknown to me, could have been either that of a Muslim or a *judeo-converso*, which would have made his patients willing partakers of his ability to heal, and a person well respected in the communities. It was also a known fact that, under normal circumstances, Jews and Mudejars were not going to be forced to serve in the army along with the Order of the Hospitallers, who had conquered Cervera, but that if the area were to be attacked, they would be expected to join the defending forces.¹⁷¹ This law created another situation in which both minorities would have lived and fought together. It did not seem to be such a major issue that this could be the case, for, as I am proposing, the relationship between both minorities was fairly stable on a social level.

8.4 Normal social activities included joint participation of both minorities

If by now we can say with relative confidence that there most definitely were Jews and Mudejars cohabiting in peace in the same cities, and even the same neighborhoods, it is safe to say that the social activities of the city would have included joint participation of both minorities. As mentioned in chapter five, the competition between Mudejars and Jews in the civic processions, as illustrated in the city of Huesca, provides a good example of social interaction between these two minorities. Other circumstances of daily life have left traces of normal interaction in the *aljamas*, such as the sale of meat. The strict dietary laws that both Jews and Mudejars observed made it impossible for them to buy meat from Christian butchers, for neither the selections nor the preparation of the meat met the kosher standards of the Jews and the Halal standards of the Muslims. This meant that each community needed their own butcher in order to supply the meat. However, as has been discussed, the Mudejar population in the cities conquered by the Christians bled out slowly as the years past. In many cases, the *aljamas* did not have enough inhabitants to merit a Muslim butcher, or, as in the case of Elche after the invasion of James II, there were not enough Muslims to

¹⁶⁹ Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Els Sarrains de la Corona Catalano Aragonesa en el Segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació*, Barcelona, Consell Superior D'Investigacions Científiques, 1987: 161.

¹⁷⁰ Rodríguez, Juan C. de Miguel, *La Comunidad Mudéjar de Madrid*, Madrid, Gramar, A.G. Alonso Nuñez, 29, 1989: 118.

¹⁷¹ García Edo, Vicent, Vicent Pons Alós, *Suna e Xara: La Ley de los Mudéjares Valencianos (Siglos XIII- XV)*, Castellón, Universitat Jaume I. Consell Social, 2009: 40.

warrant having a neighborhood specifically for them. Under these circumstances, since the meat prepared by a Muslim butcher was similar to that prepared to be Kosher, the communities would share the provision that came out of one shop. Such was the case in Orihuela from 1381 to 1384, when there were only sixty Jewish households and twenty Moorish ones.¹⁷² In Vila-Real, in 1477, the Jewish butcher who serviced the needs of his community was accused of preparing the meat on sale in pig grease, making it a sin for the Jews to eat. Since presumably he had already caused the Jews to transgress against the Mosaic Law up until the time he was discovered, the Jews refused to buy meat from him again. With no other choice, they took their business to the Mudejar butcher who, no doubt, gladly served their needs.¹⁷³ This is only a small example of ways that the two minority communities would find themselves intermingling on a social level, with no record of complaints.

8.5 Economic relationships whose circumstances give the idea of minority societies intermingling

Though the purpose of this paper is not to touch on an aspect that has already been fairly developed by other historians, there are, however, some aspects of this aspect that can help shed light on the subject at hand. Economic transaction or interests can be seen as a cause or a fruit of interaction on all levels.

A real life situation, that of the practice of money lending could be categorized as an economical relationship more than a social one, but at the same time it speaks not of a deal between two people, but of a type of reliance of two communities on each other. Nirenberg speaking of two cases in which this is especially evident, says: “Contra stereotype, we find the Jewish aljama of Zaragoza pleading for grace in its repayment of a loan to a Muslim official, and the aljama of Sogorb borrowing money from Muslims to redeem its Torah scrolls from impoundment.”¹⁷⁴ These kinds of transactions are particularly interesting precisely for what Nirenberg says about them being incongruous with the typical stereotype. If the lending party was the Jews, then it would be natural to think that the transaction was just another operation that pertained to the Jews’ line of work, and it would necessarily fall under the category of a uniquely economic

¹⁷² Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 153-154.

¹⁷³ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares...*: 153-154.

¹⁷⁴ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 174.

relationship. The fact that the “clients” in both cases were entire communities as opposed to individuals also leads to the conclusion that at any given point in the history of the cohabitation of Jews and Mudejars on the Iberian Peninsula, the communities of any city in any of the Christian kingdoms could have had more or less money, and that the most natural thing to do when they needed more was to resort to their closest neighbors. In the two aforementioned cases, for the Jews, those neighbors were the Mudejars. Outside of the world of money lending, other economic endeavors united Mudejars and Jews in common interest in territory. According to Carmen Díaz de Rábago, in the realm of medieval real estate, two types of ownerships were possible: that of free property and that of property registered in the census. These latter types were not the most common, since the free territory was more conducive for the development of *aljamas*.¹⁷⁵ In the Kingdom of Catalonia, two Jews, Azday Cresques and Astruc Abenafia, are documented as having interest in the registered land of the town, Vall d’Uixó. On the land that these men had invested in was the Mudejar *aljama* of the municipality.¹⁷⁶ Whether or not these men actually lived in the land they had interests in is unknown; however it seems likely that in any case they would have some sort of dealings with the people in the Mudejar *raval*. Not only was land of interest among investors in the minority communities, but the possibility of any kind of business caught the attention of entrepreneurs among the *aljamas*. In 1427, Queen Violante, the owner of Cocentaina prohibited any Muslim travelers passing through or visiting her city from lodging next to Christians. Her reasoning behind this was “*per relevo inconvenient e scándals*” that allowing the Muslims to infiltrate the community might cause. For this reason, the *alhóndigas* on the outskirts of the city had been facilitated, after the invasion of James I, to become hostels that would shelter travelers. Most of these hostels were run by Christian businessmen; however there was one Jewish owner, Xumela Albardela who took over one such establishment in 1381. These continued in use, even after September 20th, 1428, when the legislation changed slightly to allow visitors, who had relatives in the city, to stay in the houses of their family members.¹⁷⁷ This endeavor, starred by the Jew, show a little of the freedom of the Jews to inhabit

¹⁷⁵ Díaz de Rábago, Carmen, “La Propiedad de Tierras en la Morería de Castelló de la Plana: 1462-1527”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 9 (1992): 162.

¹⁷⁶ Grau i Monserrat, Manuel, “Musulmans als Ports de Morella (S. XIV)”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 7 (1990): 154-155.

¹⁷⁷ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, “Actividad Artesanal y Mercantil de los Mudéjares de Cocentaina”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 14-15 (1997-1998): 26.

even where Mudejars were not welcome, giving them freedom to have even resided in the Muslim community if they so wished. Once again, it would seem that the story of peaceful, social interaction was repeated.

Chapter 9: Documented cases of cohabitation

Actual clear cases of cohabitation point to a wide open field for exploration in the Spanish municipal archives to explore the extent of these mutual social interactions. When Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio wrote the article, “*Las Relaciones de Sociabilidad Entre los Conversos de Judío y los Mudéjares, en el Reino de Valencia, a Finales del Siglo XV*”, in which this paper is inspired, he left an ample selection of cases that already amply represent the wide field that is left to investigate. In this chapter, I will simply add to the repertoire left by Barrio Barrio, not in any way giving more credibility to his proposition, but in contrast, borrowing from his expertise to add stability to mine.

9.1 Interest and Sympathy between Jews and Mudejars

With the fall of Constantinople, the shock that rocked the Oriental world reached the Western shores in a ripple effect, becoming the word on the mouths of every Muslim, Jew and Christian. Going even beyond the headlines of international news, according to Barrio, quoting Ruzafa García, it caused the grave secondary effect of the assault of the *moreria* in Valencia, in 1455.¹⁷⁸ Another effect that Barrio detects is the mutual sympathy that Mudejars found in the *juderias*. He points to the famous Mancebo de Arevalo and the easy access that he had to the private and illegal collection of books and texts that were in possession of Jews of Toledo. The Mancebo also reveals in a social call to a Jew’s house, that he (the home owner) was “‘*aficionado en extremo a los musulmanes, porque me dijo muchas veces que entre nosotros aliviaba mucho de su dolor.*’”¹⁷⁹ It is these kinds of relationships that stir up interest. That a Jew would find relief in the house of a Muslim, and even trust a Muslim enough to let him see his collection of illegal books without fear of being turned in is telling of the 15th century, last chapter of the cohabitation between Mudejars and Jews. Burns already had supposed that such a phenomenon would happen when he stated:

¹⁷⁸ Barrio Barrio, Juan Antonio, “Las Relaciones de Sociabilidad Entre los Conversos de Judío y los Mudéjares, en el Reino de Valencia, a Finales del Siglo XV”, in *La Corona Catalanoaragonesa, l’islam i el món Mediterrani. Estudis d’Història Medieval en homenatge a la doctora Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol*, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013: 58-59.

¹⁷⁹ Barrio Barrio, Juan Antonio, “Las Relaciones de Sociabilidad”...: 59.

“Since conversion from Islam meant death in Islamic lands, and conversion from Christianity meant death in Christian lands, those classes of convert usually fled out of the threatening society involved.”¹⁸⁰

Where the converts would seek asylum is a matter of speculation, but in the context of what Barrio has published, it would not seem bizarre to place their destinations in the *ravales* of the religion they sought to follow. Hinojosa Montalvo records the presence of two Jews in the municipality of Cocentaina, in 1485, living in the *moreria*, as a direct consequence of the laws of segregation that prohibited the Jews from cohabiting with the Christians.¹⁸¹ Salamó Malequi, a Jew of reputed wealth is recorded as having lived in Xativa in 1492 and in 1488, is also known to have lived in the *moreria* of Valencia. In short, documents showing friendly relations, social interaction and peaceful cohabitation appear in Xativa in 1489, though of course never were the small hostilities absent, as in the case in which Jewish *conversos* insulted a Mudejar woman.¹⁸² Barrio goes on to speak of numerous cases in which there is an evident growth in cohesion among members of the minority groups directly proportional to the growing distrusting attitude of the Christian population towards the Jews and the Mudejars.

9.2 *The beginning of a shared living space*

There is a certain difficulty in tracing the exact beginning of Jews and Mudejars living together, mostly, no doubt because of the lack of investigation in this area, and the consequent lack of documentation that would prove or disprove so. However, because it is understood, as I have tried to show in chapter two, that from the moment the Muslim rule gave way to the Christian kings, the segregation stipulated in the capitulation treaties was largely ignored, it can only be supposed that in general terms, cohabitation of the two minorities existed from the beginning, not to mention alongside the majority Christian population. In 1480, in the Courts of Toledo, the Catholic kings ordered the redistribution of the minorities under the reasoning that, “*la continua conversación e vivienda mezclada de los judíos e moros con los christianos resultan grandes dannos e inconvenientes.*” Per the order, a *corregidor* was assigned to select

¹⁸⁰ Burns, Robert I, “Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective” in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence*, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, eds, 2002: 57.

¹⁸¹ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Las Comunidades Judías Valencianas a Finales de la Edad Media: Las Vísperas del Exilio*, “Boletín de la CECEL”, 1 (2002): 88.

¹⁸² Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Las Comunidades Judías...*: 100.

“*suelos e casas e sitios donde buenamente puedan vivir e contractar en sus officios con las gentes.*”¹⁸³

Looking at the late date, and keeping in mind the tensions that were abounding so close to the year of the expulsion of the Jews, it is a wonder that all three religious parties were still living freely together in the cities. Even after this late order, the rigor with which it was carried out varied according to the location. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, the case of the Jews of Guadalajara that were forced to buy houses that were included in the newly established *juderia* and that were at the moment inhabited by Muslims is another case of cohabitation. The fact that they later rented them out to Mudejars only consolidates the evidence.

9.3 Working and living together

To have lived together must necessarily mean that Jews and Mudejars toiled together, working for mutual lords, or even, in some cases working together as partners. Juan C de Miguel Rodríguez voices the thought that no doubt ran through the minds of the medieval Mudejars when they were ordered not to even sit down at a table with the Christians. How were they to avoid such circumstances when they were in daily contact? The work done on the bridges Toledo and Viveros in the area of Madrid was carried out by *alarifes* musulmanes, who were present all day, and ate there as well. To this mundane activity add the Christian workers, the frequent presence of the aldermen and an occasional steward of the council. It is natural to think that the presence of Jews would not be missing. Hinojosa adds to the list of activities that Christians held with the presence of the minorities included. These would have been the social celebrations, weddings, and even pilgrimages, as exemplified in San Gines of the Jana, in the kingdom of Murcia.¹⁸⁴ Another case of coworkers of different confessions are the Jew, Salamó Zalmatich of Xativa, and Acén Catim, a Mudejar of Betxí. These two men formed a small association of treasure hunters.¹⁸⁵ Curiously enough, Salamó may have been the same wealthy Jew mentioned earlier in this chapter, who had at one point dwelt in the *moreria* of Valencia. Even if this was not the case, the mere essence of their relationship speaks of many hours spent and lived together and a necessarily close relationship. Yafuda, the Jewish smithy, lived on the “piece of street” that provided an

¹⁸³ Carrasco Vasquez, Jesús, coord. *Moriscos: Historia de una Minoría*, Ayuntamiento de Guadarrama, Patronato Municipal de Cultura, 2009: 75-77.

¹⁸⁴ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares: La Voz del Islam en la España Cristiana*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002: 143.

¹⁸⁵ Hinojosa Montalvo, José, *Los Mudéjares...*: 154.

excellent location for a shop. This location was adjacent to the houses that the *alcaide* Mahomad had bought in his name, in 1407, situated “at the entrance of the *moreria*.” His intention, as master smithy and *alcaide*, was to install six artisans, Mudejars of other locations, plus himself on the street that he had bought. These new services brought to Murcia would have supposed a revolution in the artisanal sector, a fact that stirred up strife on the 19th of September, 1410. The conflict was fraught between Mahomad and his two sons on one side, and another *alcaide*, two jury members and seven Muslims, members of the *aljama*, on the other side. The latter claimed that the former had attacked them in the mosque with insulting words, especially directed at the jury member, Yuçaf Alasfi and the mayor Hamet Caher, threatening them with death. These brought their case before the *alcalde de adelantados*, of public charges, and asked for the destitution of a man who would cause the abandoning of the *moreria* by its inhabitants if he continued in office.¹⁸⁶ Of this case, two factors can be highlighted. Beyond the inner mechanisms that show a little of how the *aljama* worked, the conflict that seemed to threaten to disintegrate the population of divided opinion, speaks of nothing other than common community squalls which usually had peaceful solutions.¹⁸⁷ If the conflicts between members of two different religions could be seen in parallel, perhaps they would not differ so much from that of those amongst members of one confession. Most conflicts must simply have had to do with a matter of settling community matters. The other interesting fact, that most relates to the subject at hand is that in the midst of the turmoil between Mudejars in their own *aljama*, Yahuda continued to live at the entrance, plying his trade with no voice in the fight. It could be argued that Yahuda lived not on the inside of the *moreria*, however there are some considerations that come into play. If his shop was next to the entrance on the outside of the *aljama*, then it would necessarily be a Christian neighborhood in which the disputed shops were to be placed, and it would not fall under Mudejar jurisdiction. And again, if it were not inside the *aljama*, then he would have had Muslim neighbors anyway, for it was said that the Mudejar prostitute lived on the outskirts of the *moreria*. This was the

¹⁸⁶ Martínez Carrillo, M^a de los Llanos, “Oligarquización Profesional y Decadencia Mudéjar. Los Herreros Murcianos (SS. XIV y XV)”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 12 (1996): 67-68.

¹⁸⁷ Martínez Carrillo, M^a de los Llanos, “Oligarquización Profesional” ...: 68. In this case, Martínez Carrillo guesses that the solution was “Salomonic” for the problematic Mahomad adjusted his politics to that of the main Mudejar population and Çale Albixtara and Jusaf Alazfi, two medieval political activists, if I may, who advocated the cause of the poor who were most affected by this situation, saying that “...ay muchos moros que mal pecado non tienen ropa en que se echen...”, a situation that was only worsened by the economic state of the 13th century.

same prostitute who caused the Jewish incursion into the *moreria* as discussed in chapter five, in search of Muslim slaves who had visited said prostitute. At any rate, the case of conviviality was served. Not in vain would the Court of Villafranca of 1218 decree “*todo moro y judío está bajo la paz, los que viven bajo la confianza y la custodia de Cataluña toda propiedad mueble e inmueble.*”¹⁸⁸ Nor would discriminating measures be meted out in Orihuela “*a todos los judíos y musulmanes, vecinos o no.*” All members of the minority groups in this city, whether or not they were neighbors, were to kneel and pray every time that the signal was given that in the church the body of Christ was being raised.¹⁸⁹ The allowance that the order gives for possible coexistence of both minorities in one neighborhood reaffirms peaceful cohabitation.

The close contact between cultures that is apparent did exist, included a close up, daily view of the religious side of the culture. The pilgrimages of San Gines of the Jana were just one aspect, for the services, the prayers and even the clothing and food must have been a common sight that did not faze anybody. In fact, Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, an educated, well-known Jew complains of the ignorance of many poorer Jews as far as Islam concerned.

“Consider attentively the stupidity of those of our coreligionists who praise and exalt the religion of the Muslims, thus transgressing the precept of the law: “you must not accord them any grace” [Deut 7:2]. Not content with this, when the Muslims profess their faith at the hour of their assembly, those poor Jews who have no part of religion associate themselves with them, reciting beside them the “Hear O Israel.” Then they make the most vivid praise of the nation of that contemptible individual [Muhammad]. This attitude has the result that they attach themselves, they and their children, to the Muslims, that they vilify the blessed religion of Israel, renege the law of the Lord of hosts, and follow the nothingness and vanity of a despicable people. I am not astonished that the simple folk of our people allow themselves to go praise [Muhammad], [but by] those who pretend to be of the religion of Israel, I mean certain notables of our

¹⁸⁸ Davis, Christopher, “The Mudejars of the Crown of Aragon in the Early Documents fo Jaume the Conqueror (1218-1227)”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 4 (1987): 125. The decree is cited from HUICI, Colección doc. 9, p. 36, Cortes de Villafranca, 24 Junio, 1218.

¹⁸⁹ Barrio Barrio, Juan Antonio, “La Dificil Convivencia entre Cristianos y Musulmanes en un Territorio Fronterizo. La Gobernación de Orihuela en el Siglo XV”, in *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 13 (1996): 19.

communities, proclaiming the praise of the Muslims and testifying to their unitary faith.”¹⁹⁰

This scenario, as strange as it must have seemed, must not have been so strange for the Jews and the Mudejars at the event described by Ashkenazi, for it seemed natural for them to pray side by side, each one his own prayers to his own god, and then speak highly of the ancestral lands of each other. One can hardly think of a higher degree of social interaction in such an ecumenical event.

9.4 Voluntary cohabitation

In chapters four and six, I dealt with an array of cases in which female slaves, generally Mudejars were either forced to have physical relationships with their owners or were willing participants. Some even demonstrated a willingness to convert, either for greater social comfort in their environment or because they truly wished to be with their sentimental partner, who happened to be of a different religious conviction. Albufacem, a Jew of Mula, in Murcia, had a Muslim concubine, Axona, who for an unknown reason was willing to live in peace with her husband. However, the procurer of Murcia, who happened to be the king’s brother, had them arrested for intermingling their two religions. The outcome was a happy and peaceful one for them, leaving the “relatively unregulated nature of the Judeo-Mudejar sexual relationships” in evidence.¹⁹¹ As far as the prostitutes, it goes without saying that given their position at the bottom level of society, they cared very little who their clients were, whether they confessed the same religion as them or not. Their activities brought about social interaction on a clandestine level, but at the same time very real.

To bring this chapter to a conclusion, is to reestablish the thought that what documented cases have been reflected on here is simply a foretaste of what is yet to be discovered. How many filing cabinets will be filled with evidence of this medieval phenomenon is a matter of time, but it is my conviction that they will soundly put to rest the idea that Mudejar and Jewish coexistence in Spanish cities was mostly conflict, a step from all-out war. The peaceful conviviality of Américo Castro was not so far off after all.

¹⁹⁰ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 189. Controversial statement made by Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi.

¹⁹¹ Nirenberg, David, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996: 185.

Chapter 10: Conclusions: Some Propositions for Future Investigations

As at the beginning of the paper I could not ignore mentioning the vast amount of work put in by other historians in order to understand the Mudejar community, at the end it could not be less important to do so. However, the fact that peaceful cohabitation between the minorities has not been the focus of investigation in general of the Mudejar community does not mean that documents have not shown proof of peaceful coexistence. Quite the contrary, as revealed by Barrio Barrio and a few others, and as is the purpose of proving in this paper. Then again, if the topic is well investigated, independent of the number of documented cases found, whether many or few, the reality represented by the documents must be done so by a miniscule percentile of the same. In other words, if peaceful cohabitation was a reality, then it would necessarily be the most normal thing in the world, and therefore not merit documentation. The only time such relationships would appear on paper would be in cases where the law had to intervene, where official partnerships were documented or where personal correspondence was preserved. In this chapter, my purpose then, to state the conclusions that I have reached as a result of my investigation and doing so, propose questions for future investigation.

10.1 *The conditions of the aljamas*

To start off, the economic conditions of the aljamas, whether Jewish or Mudéjar, were attractive to both minorities, and could have brought about the habitation of Jews in the Moorish quarters where there was no *Judería* or *vice versa*. The case that I had cited as proof of this in chapter two was that of the Mudejar *raval* in Elche. James II, after his invasion of the kingdom of Valencia, wanted to make sure that the Muslim population, the rudder of the Valencian economy, felt comfortable inside the parameters of segregation. With this in mind, he lowered the amount of money that inhabitants of the *moreria* would have to pay in taxes, and he granted them the monopoly of the agricultural market.

Other data to consider are the possibilities of knowledge and refuge that the minority *aljamas* offered each other in the face of Christian persecution. I refer to the article of Barrio Barrio, in which the Mancebo of Arevalo sought access to religious books that were prohibited, but that in the jurisdiction of the *juderia* could go unnoticed. The “comfort” that the host of the young Muslim man found in the *moreria* completes

the circle of mutual trust. These cases need not mean that every city was the same, but they do hold remarkably sound logic.

The theory that I propose is that the conditions of the *aljamas* be studied as a luring possibility for Jews and Mudejars seeking a quiet place to practice their religion and culture undisturbed by the distrust fomented by the Catholic Church. This could be an investigation of either the conditions that attracted both minorities, or conditions that were a result of such conviviality. The next proposition goes hand in hand with this first one.

10.2 Lack of rigidity in local segregations

The lack of rigidity in the legal segregations until the end of the 15th century would allow for a very heterogeneous population in Spanish municipalities, including the possibility of all three confessional cultures living in the same neighborhoods. Chapters eight and nine have already amply proved that such cases were a reality, especially when it came to regulations that only included Jews and Mudejars. The most obvious case of this that I mentioned in this paper was that of the Jewish and Moorish quarters of Madrid. If we keep in mind that the expulsion of the Jews who refused to convert was carried out in 1492, then the fact that by the end of 1481, the strict observation of segregating laws was only just beginning is indication of an overwhelming period of cohabitation in relation to that of segregation. Including the factor of variety according to location in the equation, it is safe to say that we have another field of investigation at hand.

My proposition is that a wider study of the comparison between the legal situation of Mudejar and Jewish relocation and the reality of the same be carried out. If, for example, the kingdom of Valencia is studied, then a collection of legislation from all of the cities in which it is well known that a substantial Mudejar or Jewish community resided would provide material to prove or disprove my theory.

10.3 Possibilities of obtaining better economic and political positions in society

The possibility of obtaining better economic and political positions in society had a strong enough pull on Jews and Mudejars to convince them to convert to other religions. This would have been the fruit of the natural intermingling of both minority societies. Without a doubt, the betterment of their position in society in the eyes of the Christian authorities would have been to convert to Christianity. However, there is a

certain doubt in my mind as to whether it was more important for a commoner to be accepted by his authorities over being accepted into the society in which he lived. In the cases of hundreds of slaves, no doubt it mattered much to them to stay faithful to a religion that they could not even live out, rather than be estranged from the master and family that they served, but surely there were many more that preferred to integrate fully into the society in which they lived. This was the case of the slave who Nirenberg said converted to improve her social position, as mentioned in chapter five.

Another reason that a Jew or a Muslim might convert would have been for sentimental reasons, mainly in the case of female converts. This theory is exemplified in the experience of the Jew who was condemned by Rashba for having a Muslim slave as a wife without contract before she had converted to Judaism, as detailed in chapter four.

I propose that a study be done of the real reasons behind the many conversions among minority group members, both on Jews who converted to Islam and Muslims who converted to Judaism. My theory is that many times it was due to the fact that, seeing no difference or need to be faithful to one religion, they converted with the purpose of obtaining a better position in society or a closer relationship to those of other confessions.

10.4 Common religious practices that united Jews and Mudejars

The differences between the religions that the minorities confessed were not too great to share some common denominators. It is these points of mutual interest that could have acted as social link, especially when to practice them was to transgress against the Christian law. The practice of circumcision could have acted as a connector between the Jewish and Mudéjar cultures, being illegal and therefore an operation that would have been carried out by few surgeons and then, in clandestine locations where Christian authorities were not present (ie. the *judería* or *morería*). I have no record of a case such as this, but it seems a highly likely possibility because of the examples I have mentioned in this paper. Yuçef Mellado, the specialist in bone setting, discussed in chapter eight, no doubt dealt with clients of all religions, especially those of money seeking his expert help.

Butcher's shops were another point of common interest for the Jew and Mudejar commoners seeking to fulfill the laws of meat consumption. In chapter two I argued that the fact that the Christian authorities allowed *kosher* and *halal* butcher shops to be set

up, would necessarily lead to the two societies intermingling. Then, in chapter 8, an example of a Muslim butcher of Vila-Real selling his product to Jews, who were discontented with the Jewish butcher, proved the point.

For further investigation, I suggest that emphasis be placed on the common points of interest or the religious laws of similar thought to find out if truly they united Jews and Muslims for purely social reasons. I also reserve no doubt that there are many other points similar to and other than the ones that I have discussed.

10.6 Fights caused by disagreements in social functions

The constant fights between Jews and Mudejars during civic activities, such as processions and celebrations, were only symptoms of the everlasting struggle to be the favored minority group. Aside from this aspect, the fights are almost a reassuring sign of normal social interaction in which people of opposing views wish to display whose religion is better, when every other day life continues at a normal peaceful pace. David Nirenberg offers his theories of why violence was perpetrated among the Mudejar, Jewish and Christian communities, as cited in chapter five. So whether Jews and Muslims were vying for the status of favored minority through more economic stability or social acceptance, it was not because they could not get along at all. On the contrary, the fights are visible in medieval archives during seasons of festivities or different historical events in which the communities united to celebrate or mourn the news of the day, these being deaths of kings, births of infantes or victories of princes.

In summary, social events are an aspect of Spanish culture that cannot be fully divided into three separate religions, for it seems that many such festivities were attended and participated in by all three. Surely there were specific religious holidays that were exclusive to a solitary confessional group; however, the civic processes are an area of society that I propose should be thoroughly studied in the context of Mudejar and Jewish conviviality.

10.7 Sexual interaction between the two minorities

David Nirenberg has also done extensive research on this aspect of Mudejar culture, for which reason it may be one of the easier aspects to further investigation upon. However, the studies of Nirenberg, among other historians, like Maria Martínez

Martínez and Ángel Luís Molina Molina,¹⁹² have covered the abuse of women in the middle ages, and the proliferation of Muslim women in the brothels of the time.

To further explore these aspects it would be interesting to investigate the relationships between female slaves and their owners (of different religions), specifically targeting the ones that would seem to indicate more than just a work related interaction. My theory is that, perhaps not an exorbitant number of slaves adapted to their new live and learned to embrace it, but that a sufficient number enough to merit looking into, keeping in mind Stephen P. Bensch's theory of the "changing face of slavery" as mentioned in chapter six.

10.8 Conclusion of the matter

To ride on the backs of investigations already conducted has been a pleasure, for without the work of Robert I. Burns, Mercedes García-Arenal, M^a Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, David Nirenberg, José Hinojosa Montalvo, or Dolors Bramón, among many others, this paper would have never reached fruition. Now it is time to dip into the vast oceans of manuscripts still untouched to further develop and defend the theories proposed in this paper.

A conclusion to the theories that I have proposed is undoubtedly welcome, but only with a very necessary clause. To finalize a discussion of the matter at hand is indeed the introduction of a whole new chapter of investigation, to which we can say there cannot be proximate closure.

¹⁹² Martínez Martínez, María, Ángel Luís Molina Molina, "La Cultura del Trabajo Femenino en la Murcia Bajomedieval", in *Monografías de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales 3: Las Mujeres en la Edad Media*, M^a Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, coords, Murcia-Lorca, SEEM, 2013: 173-202.

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