

Social Cohesion and Jewish Otherness in Late Medieval Catalonia

The rulers of Catalonia during the high Middle Ages tried to maintain the multi-ethnic character of their country, as explained by Maria Bonet Donato in the previous chapter, always guided primarily by the economic and ideological interests of Christians who were the great landowners and who were at this point adapting their beliefs to the values introduced by the so-called Gregorian Reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We are now going to analyse how this evolved in the following centuries, in the Catalonia of the late Middle Ages. The values on which the cohesion of society was based conditioned the criteria for integration and exclusion. The outlook and treatment that the dominant Christian society in late medieval Catalonia offered the Jewish minority was an excellent paradigm.

Introduction: The Religious Values for Social Cohesion

Coherence was the most characteristic trait of medieval thought, which infused a high certainty of beliefs among the population. In fact, in the Middle Ages the explanation about things including natural phenomena, the social order, the imaginary of visible and invisible things, and spiritual approaches were completely coherent; all were closely connected thanks to common Christian interpretations.¹ On this common basis, the religious experience of late medieval Christianity contrasted two orientations. One, based on Aristotelean-Thomistic realism, accentuated the coherence between reason and faith:² the most transcendent or controversial aspects of this, like the existence of God or the Eucharistic transformation of the bread into the veritable body of Christ, had a rational explanation, either through the five

1 Sabaté, 'Natura i societat en la cosmovisió medieval europea'.

2 De Libera, *Raison et foi*, pp. 248–49.

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 Map 13.1. Principality of Catalonia divided into administrative units (*vegueries*), 1401.

proofs of the existence of God or the hylomorphism of Aristotelean physics that evaluated the transubstantiation of one species into another.³ The other current was spiritualist, contrary to the influence of a pagan like Aristotle in Christian reasoning and attentive to the spiritual signals and the interventions of the divinity.⁴ The first was particularly present in mendicant reasoning, especially by Dominican thinkers. The second one, also held by friars such as many Franciscans, had a great influence on the Crown of Aragon and directly on the royal household,⁵ thanks to the influence of authors that also contributed to the diffusion of a participative

3 Gómez Pérez, *Introducción a la metafísica*, pp. 85–100.

4 Putallaz, *Insolente liberté*, pp. 127–35.

5 Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes*, pp. 309–96.

political doctrine.⁶ However, both coincided in considering a malleable cosmic plot: God constantly communicated with humans and expressed his views on the behaviour of society.

So, all abnormal events had an encrypted meaning coming from the divine. The meaning was none other than punishment when nature revolted against human beings, always in response to their behaviour, as was claimed in 1373 in Barcelona after an earthquake: 'terre motus qui peccatis demerentibus'. The municipal authorities sought the intercession of the clergy to carry out appeasing ceremonies: 'que-ls pahers pujen al capítol de la Seu e parlen amb ells e acorden ab ells que-ls parrà que fer s'i deje' (the councillors go to interview the Cathedral's canons to know what they thought should be done), which was said in Lleida after the same earthquake. In general, processions were arranged everywhere, with as broad a scope as possible so as to encourage popular participation, which appealed to God to avoid future evils, as was stated in Tortosa in the same year: 'les professons que foren fetes per lo terratrèmol que feu e per la pluja, sanitat e bon temps que Déus trametés en la dita ciutat' (the processions that were done for the earthquake and for the rain, health, and good weather that God would send to said city).⁷ At the same time, the municipal councils tried to find out the reason for the punishment. In 1427, after an earthquake, the conviction spread among the population in Girona that God had sent this punishment because a female baker in the city had practised witchcraft. She was even reputed to be able to seize small children from midwives through closed doors.⁸ On other occasions, the sin was more widely shared; the municipal governments of Lleida and Cervera concluded in 1373 that the earthquake they had suffered was a punishment from God for their high levels of blasphemy: 'per jurar inhonestament de Déu sie provocada la hira de Déu' (swearing dishonestly on God provoked the wrath of God).⁹

The collective sense of medieval society meant that the damage done by a few affected the whole. This passed the responsibility onto all members of the same social group, because God punished them all for tolerating evil. So, to placate God's wrath, no breach of the divine norm should be tolerated. That was assumed by the municipal government of Elche after a meeting on 3 September 1379 when they concluded that because sexual relations by adulterous women, clergymen with married women, and specific adulterers ('Banat Maymó tinga una fembra de Oriola casada per amiga' — Banat Maymó has a married woman from Orihuela as a girlfriend) were consented to by the rest of the town, this provoked God's wrath, and he reacted by sending pestilences, drought, and bad weather: 'per tals pecats a consentir vinguin pestelències en la vila e nostre senyor Déu priva pluja e bon temps'

6 Boureau, 'Pierre de Jean Olivi'.

7 Olivera and others, *Els terratrèmols de l'any 1373*, pp. 64, 99, and 107.

8 Girbal, 'Miscelánea histórica', p. 80.

9 Olivera and others, *Els terratrèmols de l'any 1373*, pp. 64, 115.

(for having consented these sins pestilences come to the town and our lord God prevents rain and good weather).¹⁰

In the mid-fifteenth century in Piacenza the preachers explained to the population that the series of natural catastrophes they had suffered were really signs that announced the prompt arrival of the Antichrist,¹¹ before the Final Judgement.¹² The inclusion of the fear and waiting for the Antichrist (the protagonist of numerous prophecies and even spectacular pictorial decorations like the ones by Signorelli in Orvieto cathedral¹³) into late medieval religiosity reflected the contemporary revival of the ideas of Joachim of Fiore,¹⁴ and thus the incorporation into the spirituality of the emerging conviction that the end of the world was nigh.¹⁵ In fact, the interpretation of the diverse signs allowed it to be assumed that the different stages that made up history from the Creation to the Parousia were being fulfilled.¹⁶ Even the influential Francesc Eiximenis in the late fourteenth century echoed the conviction that humanity was entering into the last phase, the final centenary, although the political content that forecast this for the coming century would have to be corrected:¹⁷ ‘en lo darrer centenari del món, qui serà “in apercione sexti signaculi Ecclesie” qui diu que començarà “anno Domini MCCCC” (in the last centenary of the world, ‘when the sixth seal of the Church will be open’, one says it will start in 1400).¹⁸ This proximity added pressure to the imperfection of a world that had still to adapt its behaviour to the Christian norms, because the divine mandate, deduced in the Gospel of Saint John, was that humanity had to reach the end of time united under Christianity: ‘fiet unum ovile et unus pastor’ (there will be one sheepfold and one shepherd).¹⁹

In this growing salvific anguish, the duty of unity in Christianity clashed not only with the imperfection of those who sinned within society but also especially with the unassimilable minorities who would always be obstacles for Christian unity. In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon predicted the return of the Orthodox, the conversion of the Tatars, and the destruction of the Muslims, given that there was no way to convert them.²⁰ Thus, it comes as no surprise that at that time it was believed that the Jews could be converted,²¹ because there were arguments that they had to be convinced that Jesus was the Messiah who was announced in the Old Testament.²²

10 Ibarra, ‘Elig. Noticia de algunas instituciones’, p. 39.

11 Labbé, *Les catastrophes naturelles*, p. 175.

12 Perarnau, ‘El text primitiu’, pp. 168–69.

13 Guadalajara, *Las profecías del Anticristo*, pp. 123–399; Valigi, *Gli affreschi di Luca Signorelli*.

14 Saranyana, ‘Joaquín de Fiore y el joaquinismo’.

15 Manselli, ‘Età dello Spirito e profetismo’, p. 249.

16 Löwith, *El sentido de la historia*, pp. 207–28.

17 About the real meaning of the Eiximenis prophecy: Sabaté, ‘Un avenir de justice populaire sans seigneurs?’.

18 Eiximenis, *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià*, pp. 427–28 (chap. 200).

19 *Evangelium secundum Ioannem* 10. 16: ‘Τεθήσεται μία ποιμνη, εἷς ποιμήν’ (*Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, p. 263).

20 Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, p. 399.

21 Le Goff, *Lo maravilloso y lo cotidiano*, p. 127.

22 Vicaire, “Contra Judaeos” méridionaux’, pp. 278–79.

Not to accept that would be an error in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures,²³ as also happened with heretics. Certainly, the context, with the condemnation of the Talmud in 1239 by Pope Gregory IX and its burning in Paris in 1240, showed that Judaism was combatted in the same way as heresy.²⁴

Indeed the Jews were called upon to discuss faith with the aim of convincing them with arguments, as Ramon Llull demanded in 1299: ‘sien jueus apellat e serrayns, al disputar: e adonchs mostraren tot clar que nostra fe és veritat e que ls infaels són errat’ (That the Jews are called, as well as the Saracens, to discuss: and so show very clearly that our faith is veritable and that the infidels are mistaken).²⁵ Precisely in 1263, the dialectic dispute took place in Barcelona. Regarding this, the historian Jaume Riera asked, some decades ago:

Quina part resultà vencedora en la Disputa? Objectivament no ho sé. Les notícies posteriors demostren sense dubtes que la part cristiana creia que s’hi havia demostrat el que pretenia, i que la part jueva cregué que tots els arguments havien estat replicats convenientment.

(Which side was the winner in the Dispute? Objectively I do not know. The later news shows undoubtedly that the Christian part believed that it has shown what it intended, and that the Jewish part believed that all the arguments had been contested conveniently.)²⁶

In fact, the results of these confrontations only convinced those on both sides who were already convinced.

James I had the same intention in 1247 when he ordered Muslims and Jews to listen to Christian preaching which was specifically aimed at them — ‘pacientes audiant predicacionem’ (they should listen peacefully to the sermon) — while he simultaneously mistrusted the sincerity of the converted. The Parliament or *Corts* of 1311 endorsed Christian preaching to Jews and Muslims, including sanctioning royal officers to force the participation of Jews and Muslims ‘si gratis venire nolierint’ (if they are not willing to come of their own free will).²⁷ Nevertheless, the prolongation of this preaching throughout the fourteenth century, with participation especially of converts,²⁸ was perceived as lacking in efficacy, beyond serving to vex the Jews morally and extort them financially.²⁹

The contradiction between the clarity of the arguments and the refusal to accept them by the Jews meant it was deduced that they were intellectually blind. The *Estoria de l'excegamem dels iuzieus* (History of the Blindness of the Jews) formed part, with

23 Manselli, ‘La polémique contre les juifs dans la polémique antihérétique’, pp. 254–55.

24 Chazan, ‘The Condemnation of the Talmud Reconsidered’; Dahan, ed., *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris*.

25 Llull, *Rims*, p. 273. See also Sugranyes de Franch, ‘Le “Livre du gentil et des trois sages”’.

26 Riera, ‘Les fonts històriques de la Disputa de Barcelona’, p. xiv.

27 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón*, pp. 217–19.

28 Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, fons municipal, Clavari, llibre 17, fol. 28^r.

29 Riera, ‘Les llicències reials per predicar’.

explicitly illustrated copies,³⁰ of the *Breviari d'Amor* by Matfre Ermengau of Béziers,³¹ a very famous and popular work used as a catechism for lay people.³² Throughout the fourteenth century it came to be assumed that this blindness formed part of their perversity. In fact, the Jewish people had crucified Jesus and now became an obstacle for the cohesion of the Christian people.

In 1420, the council town of Cervera met urgently because the preaching of a Dominican friar had led them to realize the seriousness of the situation the town and its people were in: 'aquesta vila e los singulars de aquella per nostres peccats e demèrits vinran en perdicó e final extermini e destrucció e en gran perill de pèrdues de les lurs ànimes' (this town and the singular ones of that one [town] for our sins and demerits will come in perdition and final extermination and destruction and in great danger of losses of their souls).³³ This was due, according to the preacher's diagnosis, to seven crimes or sins ('crims o pecats'): blasphemy, gambling, adultery, violence between bands, and three aspects which showed tolerance of the Jews (they were not properly closed in their own quarter, they sold the Christians meat that they considered impure, and they did not wear badges on their clothes), although they were 'enemichs de nostre senyor Deus Ihesu Crist' (enemies of our lord God Jesus Christ).³⁴

These warnings formed part of the attitudes against the Jews at the start of the fifteenth century. Shortly before, the most famous preacher in Catalonia, Vincent Ferrer, was very clear when he demanded that his listeners should isolate the Jews and Muslims and avoid any dealings with them 'car no havem majors enemichs' (for we have no greater enemies). This warning, expressed when the Muslims had long ceased to be a danger on the frontier and the Jews had lost their capacity to be influential in society, could only refer to the spiritual gravity, in conjunction with the sermon in which it was pronounced, that aimed to show how to come out better from the judgement that God submitted each soul to after death:

quan la ànima hix de aquest món, hix per mort en l'altre món, e tantost és presentada a Déu al juhi, ans que la sentència bona, mala o cominal sie donada.

(When the soul gives up this world, through death it reaches another world, and it is presented to God in the judgement, where the sentence will be given, this being, according to the case, good, bad or medium.)

And this would decide the eternal destiny: 'lo de la bona ànima se fa que vage a paraís; lo de la mala ànima se fa que devallo a infern; lo de la ànima cominal e fa que vage a purgatory' (the good soul will go to Heaven, the bad soul to Hell and the medium soul to Purgatory).³⁵ In this challenge, to follow the word of the Church was essential, because there was no salvation without the Church, as Pope Boniface VIII explicitly

30 Miranda García, 'Consideraciones sobre el judío y el hereje'.

31 Blumenkranz, 'Écriture et image dans la polémique anti-juive'.

32 Durieux, 'La catéchèse occitane ou catalane', pp. 220–21.

33 Duran i Sanpere, *Referències documentals del call de juhéus*, p. 57.

34 Duran i Sanpere, *Referències documentals del call de juhéus*, p. 57.

35 Ferrer, *Sermons*, pp. 9, 14.

pronounced in 1302, returning to the patristic expression: 'outside this Church there is no salvation or remission of sins'.³⁶

So, inside each person fear grew of appearing before God where the same Supreme Being would ask them to respond to transcendent questions like why they had tolerated his enemies. The security inherent in a society in which all aspects matched in a common explanation combined with the anguish of the fear of an anthropomorphized God who became annoyed and punished the society that did not obey his norms or that tolerated coexistence with his enemies.³⁷ 'Is God angry with us?' was a question that even led to different scenarios of bitter tension at the end of the Middle Ages.³⁸

In the eleventh century, with the so-called Gregorian Reform, the Church became more organized, and this meant that it had more certain viewpoints and doctrine and so became more intolerant of its enemies, whether these were heretics or infidels especially like the Jews and Muslims.³⁹ The paradigm of this 'violencia de lo justo y lo verdadero' (violence of the just and the true)⁴⁰ was soon reinforced between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thanks to the support of various philosophical, theological, and juridical ideas. Ecclesiastical legislation, especially in the last third of the twelfth century, began the process that prompted the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. This led to a strengthened Church,⁴¹ one with a very direct influence over popular religious expressiveness.⁴² On this basis, social cohesion in the late medieval period became progressively reinforced thanks to both papal pressure on the monarchs regarding the 'damnabili perfidia judaeorum' (condemnable faithlessness of the Jews)⁴³ and the influence of the preachers over the population through the use of strong, emotive language.⁴⁴ As the end of the Middle Ages approached, the Jews were increasingly separated from mainstream society, and concurrently the Christians reached a popular cohesion which roughly rejected those who were unable to assimilate. This combination resulted in the social exclusion of the Jews.

The Innate Perversity with Which the Unassimilable Jews Were Imagined

According to Aristotelean-realist philosophy, beauty could be considered transcendental and, thus, intrinsically involved with unity, truth, and goodness.⁴⁵ Explicitly,

36 Anderson, *The Great Catholic Reformers*, p. 108; Eno, *Rise of the Papacy*, p. 62.

37 Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir en la Edad Media*, pp. 51–53.

38 Fernández-Armesto, 1492, pp. 115–46.

39 Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, pp. 265–359.

40 Iogna-Prat, *Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Media*, pp. 60–65.

41 Thanks to this council, 'a Sé Apostólica encontrou outra coluna viva para a sustentação de seu poder' (the Apostolic See found another living pillar to sustain its power), Rust, *Colunas de São Pedro*, p. 512.

42 Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp. 92–234.

43 Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 97–102.

44 Tonnerre, *Être chrétien en France au Moyen Âge*, pp. 145–48.

45 Gómez Pérez, *Introducción a la metafísica*, pp. 193–95.

Thomas Aquinas indicated that beauty and goodness were the same thing that were combined in the same reality or form.⁴⁶ In line with this metaphysical approach, it made sense that the Jew, who was attributed with an intrinsic perversity, stood out physically for his ugliness. Logically, it was easy to identify the Jew on altarpieces or depictions; sometimes they were highlighted by a ridiculous hat, on other occasions with a badge on their clothing, and usually through their physical traits,⁴⁷ such as hooked noses and beards. In these depictions, a negative or even sinister attitude is noticeable.⁴⁸ Researchers have considered that this resulted from a common stereotype in Europe, especially with the spread of Flemish influence in the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ However, beyond the stylistic filiations, one must appreciate the definition of the religion offered by the widow queen Violant de Bar in 1417: 'Christianisme force se trobe en Evangelis ne Vida de Sants' (Christianity finds strength in the Gospels and the Lives of the Saints).⁵⁰ This being so, the images that the population contemplated in parishes like Rubió or such monasteries as Vallbona de les Monges or Sixena did not have a merely decorative function.⁵¹ The faithful not only learned the truths of the faith through the images, but also that the religion was especially identified with what happened to Jesus, the apostles, and saints, all victims of torture or the perfidy of Jews like the traitor Judas.⁵² Understandably, the ugliness and the expression of evil of the figures of the Jews grew in parallel with the increasing difficulties of coexistence in the Late Middle Ages.⁵³

The popular acceptance of this approach is shown, for example, in the special books for registering loans offered by Jews (*libri iudeorum*) that were recorded by many notaries.⁵⁴ Frequently, they were identified by a caricature of a Jew drawn on the cover,⁵⁵ which ridiculed their hats, clothes, and facial traits,⁵⁶ although the title given to the book was often enough in itself: *libri iudeorum domini inimicorum* (Books of the Jews, enemies of God).⁵⁷ The desire to draw offensive images in the registers about Jews was not repressed; these drawings could be made by the same notary who, at the same time, had the Jews as clients or they could be added later by another person with access to the book of the Jews. That is why it is also easy to find similar drawings in the records of jurisdictional officers. This can be seen in the *liber ebreorum* of the bailiff of Cardona at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The parchment on the cover shows offensive drawings of the Jews both from in front

46 Aumann, 'La belleza y la respuesta estética', p. 102.

47 Mateo, 'La visión crítica de los judíos'.

48 Alcoy, 'El retaule gòtic de Castellar del Valles'.

49 Alsina, 'La imatge visual i la concepció dels jueus', p. 55.

50 Riera, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 545.

51 Carbonell and Sureda, *Tresors medievals del Museu Nacional*, pp. 219, 251–53.

52 Alcoy, 'Tortosa i l'experiència italiana', pp. 21–23.

53 Mirambell, *Els gironins*, p. 117; Alcoy, 'Canvis i oscil·lacions en la imatge pictòrica', pp. 379–81.

54 Ollich, 'Aspectes econòmics de l'activitat dels jueus de Vic'; Casas, 'El "liber iudeorum" de Cardona'.

55 Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, pp. 182–83.

56 Alsina, 'La imatge visual i la concepció dels jueus', p. 54.

57 Bach Riu, 'Els jueus del comtat de Cardona', p. 287.



Figure 13.1. Back (left) and front cover (right) of the book of the court of the bailiff of Cardona dedicated to the Jews in the early fourteenth century, showing contemptuous images of the Jews. © Biblioteca de Catalunya.

and behind, in which the sexual attributes of the Jews were mocked and they were compared to the devil (Figure 13.1).⁵⁸

Not only were the expressions and external traits of the Jew negative, but also their whole body was pestilent. The Jew always smelled, as expressed with the usual scorn ‘fets-vos enllà que tots pudits!’ (Get away, all of you stink), in Barcelona in 1301, for example.⁵⁹ Consequently, everything inside and all that came out of their bodies was harmful. The semen of a Jew was identifiable because it smelled; this was recorded in Valls in 1339 about a Jew who had relations with a Christian woman and left her pregnant with his ‘fetido e damnato semine’ (bad smell from cursed semen).⁶⁰

The Jew lacked all the noble virtues. That is why he was defined as extremely cowardly: ‘en la presencia de los contrarios, eran como animales en sacrificio porque perdían la fuerça corporal’ (Before the enemies, they were like animals going to the sacrifice, because they lost their physical strength).⁶¹ It was a genetic question, in line with medieval physics, that explained the transmission of the characteristics, both physical and mental, through the vital fluids, like semen or breast milk. This explains an *exempla* repeated by preachers like Vincent Ferrer, regarding a knight who went

58 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, ARX 8483 B-VI-3 (Bat Car 45/3).

59 Riera, *Retalls de la vida dels jueus*, p. 12.

60 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 112, fol. 113^v.

61 Roman, *Repúblicas del mundo*, p. 63.

into battle with his three sons, when one of them turned away, 'gira lo rocí e fuig' (Turn the horse and flee), which led the knight to shout that he was not really his son: 'Oo!, aquest no és mon fill!' (Oh!, that is not my son!'). His suspicion was confirmed when his wife confessed to having been seduced and left pregnant by a Jew.⁶²

In any case, the Jews continued to be seen as dangerous, especially for the hatred they felt towards the Christians. The contemporary literature reminded people of how the Jews hated the images and mistreated the Christians, as for instance can be seen in *Rimado de Palacio* by the influential Castilian chancellor López de Ayala.⁶³ Thus, the Jewish population had to be viewed with prudence. In various towns and cities, the apothecaries were banned from selling them poisons like arsenic (*realgar*),⁶⁴ although it was habitually used to combat rodents. In 1324 in Tortosa Jews were prohibited from being spice merchants or apothecaries, which also harmed them economically because this was a customary occupation derived from the Jewish medical tradition.⁶⁵ However, their sincerity was questioned: in 1368, in Lleida, a Jew sold a prisoner a very expensive potion to avoid feeling pain under torture, but which did not work at all.⁶⁶ Jews were often seen as the origin of practices of witchcraft. In the early fourteenth century, in the Pyrenees, Ramon Roca de Maranges performed a ritual and invoked saints to predict the future of his clients, and when he was accused, he confessed that he had learnt it from a woman in the nearest town, Puigcerdà, and she in turn had learnt it from a Jew.⁶⁷

The perversity and hatred of Christians with which the Jews were attributed converted them into suspects of perverse actions, like the poisoning of wells in times of pestilence, or ritual crimes on Christian children. The death of a child in the Jewish quarter of Barcelona in 1302 and the accusations of pederasty and parricide levelled at a Jew from Girona in 1325 both led to trials which ended in acquittal for lack of proof. However, they illustrate the tendentious and aprioristic attitude of the judicial authorities.⁶⁸

The central point that marked the characterization of the Jews and the attitudes of Christians towards them was their reputation as deicides. The Jews crucified Jesus, who was God (according to the Trinity Mystery⁶⁹), and who was resuscitated on the third day, thus defeating death. The murderous people were punished with the destruction of Jerusalem and their dispersal, as in a late medieval work explicitly titled: *La venjança que féu de la mort de Jhesuchrist Vespesià e Titus son fill* (The vengeance on the death of Jesus Christ by Vespasian and Titus his son).⁷⁰ All the contemporary narratives explained this. An example is Bernat Oliver in the early fourteenth century:

62 Renedo, 'La fe en els pares i la fe en la immortalitat', pp. 88–89.

63 De Ayala, *Libro de poemas*, pp. 126, 185–96; Mota Placencia, 'La obra literaria de Don Pero López de Ayala'.

64 Carreras i Candi, 'Evolució històrica dels juheus', p. 417.

65 Carreras i Candi, 'L'aljama de juhús de Tortosa', p. 36.

66 Camps i Clemente, *El turment a Lleida*, pp. 13–24.

67 Pladevall, 'El deganat de Cerdanya', p. 138.

68 Riera, *Retalls de la vida dels jueus*.

69 Royo Marín, *Teología de la Perfección Cristiana*, pp. 51–54.

70 Hernando, 'La destrucció de Jerusalem'.

Pot ésser dit, segons que diu sant Jerònim, per lo malaventurat Judes, o per l'escàndel dels apòstols, o per la destrucció del poble dels jueus; los quals, jatsia fossen propincs e acostats a tu, emperò ells te devien crucificar, e per consegüent, ells mateix se faïen estranys del regne de Déu, segons que, semblantment, plorist per la destrucció de la ciutat de Jerusalem.

(It can be said, according to what Saint Jerome says, for the wicked Judas, or for the scandal of the apostles, or for the destruction of the people of the Jews; who, although they were your relatives, crucified you, and so they themselves became strangers to the kingdom of God, and, similarly, they wept for the destruction of the city of Jerusalem.)⁷¹

In accordance with the group solidarity typical of late medieval society, all Jews, as descendants of those who tried to kill Jesus, were responsible. The population knew this, and in times of tension rebuked the Jews for this, as happened in Vilanova de Cubelles (Vilanova i la Geltrú) when one was asked if he knew 'quin joch fayeren los teus parents de Jesu Christ' (what game did your ancestors play on Jesus Christ?), immediately clarifying that they were referring to 'crucificaren e auciren lo' (they crucified and killed him).⁷²

The deicidal instinct of the Jews was believed to make them obsessed with grabbing Christian objects to make fun of them.⁷³ And, especially, given that thanks to transubstantiation it was fully accepted that the wafers consecrated through the Eucharist were God himself, the Jews were seen to be obsessed with seizing them to stab or burn them. This conviction was so widespread that it merited a study by Henry of Ghent,⁷⁴ and it led to the death penalty for various Jews in Catalonia and other places around Europe, like Metz in 1385 or Wroclaw in 1453.⁷⁵ The person executed for this reason in Barcelona in 1367 was later shown to be innocent.⁷⁶ That is why King Peter the Ceremonious recommended prudence to his son and governor general when the latter wanted to act in another case in Lleida in 1383 with energy and even haste given the popular passion these crimes provoked.⁷⁷

Given the inherent seriousness, in 1378 two Jews were burnt to death in Saragossa as a result of this accusation.⁷⁸ In other cases, the death penalty usually applied to a Jew was for him to be hung by the feet, to differentiate them adequately from Christians. That led to long and cruel agonies, during which people used to abuse the victim throwing stones at him and stabbing him with canes, as a sort of macabre entertainment for children and youths.⁷⁹

71 Oliver, *Excitatori de la pensa de Déu*, p. 130.

72 Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, p. 407.

73 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de Aragón, Cancelleria, reg. 15, fol. 36^o.

74 Marmursztejn, 'Du récit exemplaire au "casus" universitaire.'

75 Weill, 'Un juif brûlé à Metz vers 1385'; Ocker, 'Contempt for Friars and Contempt for Jews', p. 130.

About the pogrom in Wroclaw, see the chapter by Wiszewski in this book.

76 Sabaté, 'Història Medieval', p. 173.

77 Miret y Sans, 'El procés de les hòsties'.

78 Miret y Sans, 'El procés de les hòsties', p. 65.

79 Riera, 'Penjat pels peus'.

It was accepted that the perverse character of the Jews incited the Christians to assault them. In 1333, precisely to grant protection to the Jews who lived under their jurisdiction, the lords of Queralt stated: 'los juheus, los quals per frevoltat e per miserie de lur condició los primceps e els senyors de lurs terres deuen mils deffendre per tal com molt hom s'avanturarie de fer injúria als juheus ans que als crestians' (the Jews, who for the frivolity and misery of their condition, the princes and the lords of their lands must stronger defend because many people would dare to injure Jews rather than Christians).⁸⁰ A century later, in 1459, King John II echoed the complaint of the Jews from Lleida regarding the 'abusos e vexacions que de cascun jorn són fets per los oficials e altres persones de la dita ciutat als dits jueus' (abuses and vexations that every day are done by the officials and other people of said city to said Jews).⁸¹ In fact, if they were God's enemies, he should be happy if they were attacked. In 1347, Peter the Ceremonious explicitly remarked on the people who 'in lapidando et alias damna dando iudeis credunt aut fingunt summe placere Deo' (believe or imagine that by stoning and other wrongs done to Jews they highly please to God).⁸²

It was easy to humiliate the Jews, either harassing them if they went to get water from shared wells, sometimes even mocking them by breaking their jars;⁸³ deliberately siting disgusting activities like prostitution beside their neighbourhoods; damaging structures like the Jewish bakery; throwing rubbish at the gate to the Jewish quarter, as happened in Barcelona;⁸⁴ or damaging or dirtying such significant places as the Jewish cemetery.⁸⁵

Many Jews who were accused of not wearing the distinctive badge on their clothes claimed that they did so to avoid being identified and assaulted, especially if they had to make long journeys, 'propter quasi comune odium iudeorum' (because of a sort of common hatred of the Jews), as was stated in 1323.⁸⁶ Often, being Jewish seems to have been the reason for assaults, robberies, and even murders; a case in point are the Jews who were killed in Peretallada in 1302, 'de nocte et clandestine' (during the night and clandestinely).⁸⁷ This was also the case in 1319 when a Jewish family from Tàrraga was assaulted on the public road by a young man from the neighbouring town of Verdú, who 'ausu temerario ductus, irruens in itinere publico adversus dictos iudeos, gladio evaginato et cum lapidibus eos invasit et percussit ac plures iniurias eiusdem intulit et intulisset amplius' (was led by a rash daring, and rushing in on a public road against the said Jews, with a drawn sword and with stones he fell upon them, and struck them, and inflicted more and more injuries).⁸⁸ In Girona in 1411, it was clearly stated that walking far from the towns was dangerous for the Jews: 'és perillosa cosa

80 Segura, 'Aplech de documents curiosos e inèdits fahents', p. 262.

81 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 3441, fols 24^r-25^r.

82 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 882, fol. 178^v.

83 Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Establiments I.V, fol. 3^{r-v}.

84 Alsina, 'La imatge visual i la concepció dels jueus', p. 54.

85 Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Establiments I.V, fol. 3^r.

86 Perpignan, Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, 1B-94, fol. 45^v.

87 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 235, fol. 226^r.

88 Llobet, 'Mossé Natan', p. 150.

als juheus anar per camins fora lochs despoblats' (it is a perilous thing for Jews to go along paths outside unpopulated places).⁸⁹ In fact, the Jews were more vulnerable than other passers-by, given that they did not benefit from the various mechanisms used by the majority of people, whether that was municipal protection, band's solidarity, or jurisdictional protection. So, the Jews, taking advantage of the fact that they were part of the royal domain, requested safe-conducts from the sovereign in exchange for a payment. In the thirteenth century, a third of the grants from the king to Jews were for safe passes, which were particularly requested when preparing for journeys.⁹⁰

The most widespread ritual violence involved the stoning of the Jews and their homes during Easter week and especially on Good Friday, the day when Jesus was crucified. Only in certain cases did this culminate in serious assaults on particular houses, such as in Argilers in 1378, with 'I juheu que havien combatuda la casa lo die del divendres sant' (One Jew who suffered the assault of his house the day of Good Friday).⁹¹ From the end of the thirteenth century, municipal governments like the ones in Girona, Barcelona, or Tortosa prohibited the throwing of objects from the Christian sector towards the Jewish quarter,⁹² and if need be, guards were posted. This was what the local government of Tarassona in Aragon decreed in 1406.⁹³ The king usually warned his officials, as he did in Lleida in 1285 or Girona in 1387,⁹⁴ or intervened directly, like in Uncastillo in Aragon in 1328, where the presence of Navarrese scholars in the grammar school had aggravated the abuse of the Jews who had fled there looking for refuge from their persecution in Navarre.⁹⁵

In 1330 the king ordered the bailiff of Piera to protect the Jews of the town, as they had asked for royal protection because they were stoned by some inhabitants every time they entered or left the town.⁹⁶ In reality, the ritual of stoning Jews spread to a range of social activities: the funerals in memory of the kings held in Cervera in 1458 and 1479 ended with attacks on the Jews who had attended the ceremonies and who were respected up until the end.⁹⁷ The same happened in Girona when the papal legate was received in 1456,⁹⁸ and it was an everyday event among students in the Studium Generale in Lleida and the poor who were assisted by the Pia Almoina in Girona, given the proximity of these institutions to the respective Jewish quarters.⁹⁹

The clergy always appeared to be responsible for these acts, either actively participating, as in Girona in the thirteenth century, taking advantage of the ecclesiastical

89 Sobrequés i Vidal, 'Contribución a la historia de los judíos de Gerona', pp. 115–16.

90 Sabaté, 'Les juifs au moyen-âge', pp. 99–100.

91 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, 1523, fol. 75^v.

92 Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, VII.2.1, Ordinacions, lligall 2, sense numerar; De Rofarull, 'Ordinaciones de los concelleres de Barcelona', p. 98; Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Establiments 1.V, fol. 2^v.

93 Castaño, 'Nuevos documentos hebraicos-aljamiados', p. 333.

94 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 57, fol. 147^r (1285); 1912, fol. 142^r (1387).

95 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per a la historia*, p. 90.

96 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 438, fol. 225^v.

97 Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort!*, pp. 241–42.

98 De Chia, *Bandos y bandoleros en Gerona*, pp. 378–81.

99 Girbal, *Los judíos en Gerona*, p. 42; Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, p. 876.

buildings which were next to the Jewish quarter,¹⁰⁰ or especially as instigators through inflammatory sermons. The monarchs ordered the bishops to rein in their clergy, especially during the days before Easter.¹⁰¹

The king also intervened with the bishop in other cases, at the request of the Jewish community, as in 1387, when clergymen in Girona were accused of kidnaping Jewish children to baptize them by force.¹⁰² The monarch, who had serious problems consolidating his power,¹⁰³ insisted that the Jews were part of his single jurisdiction: 'punitio (Jews) ad nos totaliter pertinere' (the punishment (of Jews) belongs to us entirely), as John I claimed in 1391.¹⁰⁴ With this argument, Kings Peter the Ceremonious and John I rejected the Church's attempts to intervene against the Jews, based both on the interpretation of the Jewish doctrinal errors as Christian heresies and the pope's universal authority over all other religions. Famous authors like Nicolau Eimeric supported the Church's arguments,¹⁰⁵ while the royal position was backed by others such as Felip Ribot.¹⁰⁶ The monarchy also rejected the right of the Church to intervene against the Jews for blasphemy.¹⁰⁷ Both were interested in consolidating their power but also, and sometimes with a little dissimulation, in withholding the fines that might be derived from these accusations.¹⁰⁸

The clergy's preaching went beyond specific mentions of the consequences of coexisting with Jews. The hagiographies included as a model of Christian life show saints who had countered and defeated perverse actions by Jews, obsessed with dishonouring and abusing religious images.¹⁰⁹ The serious assaults on Jewish quarters were always preceded by preaching.¹¹⁰ There were occasional attacks on Jewish neighbourhoods during the fourteenth century, like the one in Besalú in 1309,¹¹¹ and another in Piera in 1333, precisely on Good Friday when the crucifixion of Jesus Christ was commemorated.¹¹² The effects were devastating for the lives of the Jews in serious incidents like the ones in Tàrraga in 1348 that significantly arose from the supposed responsibility of the Jews in the first great late medieval pandemic.¹¹³ The great dismantling of the Jewish neighbourhoods came in 1391, with a chain of outbreaks throughout the Iberian Peninsula triggered by a sermon in Seville.¹¹⁴ The contemporary description of the outbreak in Barcelona is very clear about what the

100 Pella, *Historia del Ampurdán*, pp. 501–02.

101 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1827, fols 87^v–89^f; 1839, fol. 92^f.

102 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1828, fol. 14^v.

103 Sabaté, 'Discurs i estratègies del poder reial'.

104 Vincke, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Spanische Inquisition*, p. 138.

105 Brugada, *Nicolau Eimeric*, pp. 45–87.

106 Puig i Oliver, 'El "Tractatus de haeresi"', pp. 134–37.

107 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 13, fol. 265^f.

108 Riera, 'Un procés inquisitorial'.

109 Pérez-Embid Wamba, *Hagiología y sociedad*, pp. 356–57.

110 Langmuir, 'L'absence d'accusation de meurtre rituel', pp. 243–44.

111 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 57, fol. 147^f.

112 Sabaté, 'Història Medieval', p. 173.

113 Saula and Colet, "'Tragedia al call. Tàrraga 1348'".

114 Valdeón, *Judíos y conversos en la Castilla medieval*, pp. 89–90.

attackers demanded: 'se mogué gran avalot en Barchinona contra los jueus en tant que tots se havien a betejar o a morir' (a great riot took place in Barcelona against the Jews so that they all had to be baptized or die).¹¹⁵

The most influential author in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon, Francesc Eiximenis, had to explain that God did not allow murder even in the case when the victim was a Jew. He did so by telling the story of a thief who attacked and killed a rich Jew on the road, and then boasted about it, but when he was found out, he was sentenced to death. The moral was clear: 'ver lo juí de Déu com puní aquest pecat en lo cristià, jatsia que hagués mort infel' (see how the judgement of God punished this sin in the Christian, although he had killed an infidel).¹¹⁶

The same writer argued that the Jews were respected as free beings, with full possession of their assets: 'los juheus ne los altres infeels qui estan ab certs patis e leys entre cristians no són catius ans han vera senyoria sobre ço del lur' (the Jews and other infidels who are living among the Christians through some agreements and laws are not captives but have real ownership over their belongings).¹¹⁷ However, as they were held to be responsible for the crucifixion committed by their ancestors, their presence among the Christians was tolerated because they recorded and suffered their guilt as a deicidal people. In consequence, the limitations imposed on them approached a certain notion of perpetual captivity, as contained in the Castilian legislation of the Partidas:

La razón porque la Iglesia e los emperadores e los reyes e los príncipes sufrieron a los judíos que viviesen entre si e entre los cristianos es ésta: porque ellos viviesen como en cautiverio para siempre, para que fuesen siempre en remembrança a los hombres que ellos venían del linaje de los que crucificaron a nuestro señor Dios.

(The reason why the Church and the emperors and the kings and the princes suffered the Jews who lived among them and among the Christians is this: because they lived as in captivity for ever, so they always served to remind men that they came from the lineage of those who crucified our lord God.)¹¹⁸

In fact, the difference between the way the Christians treated the Muslims and the Jews, as set out by Alexander II in the eleventh century, is well known: 'dispar nimirum est Judaeroum et Sarracenorum cause. In illos enim qui Christianos persequuntur et ex urbibus et propriis sedibus pellunt, juste pugnatur; hi vero ubique parati sunt servire' (The case of the Jews and of the Saracens is quite different. For the latter, it is right to fight against those who persecuted Christians and expel them from their cities and own settlements; and the former are always and everywhere ready to serve).¹¹⁹ This duty to serve which applied to the Jews was justified by late medieval authors such

115 Moliné, 'Noticiari català dels segles XIV y XV', p. 215.

116 Eiximenis, *Contes i faules*, p. 45.

117 Eiximenis, *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià*, p. 357 (chap. 166).

118 VII Partida, tit. XXIV, ley 1; *Las Siete Partidas*, p. 960.

119 Alexander II, 'Epistolae et diplomatas', cols 1386–87.

as the Castilian Alonso de Oropesa who argued that the perpetual servitude of the Jews was, at the same time, a confirmation of Christian superiority.¹²⁰

The complete absorption of the Jews through their conversion was the best way, if one could trust the word of the Jews. There was a complete distrust in the veracity of their behaviour for which, in reality, conversion would lead to crypto-Judaism, which opened the door to action against the converts by the Church through the Inquisition.¹²¹ This was accentuated when pressure increased the number of converts in the fifteenth century.¹²² Distrust was widespread, as shown by a popular refrain: ‘tres aygues són perdudes: aquelles que hom met en lo vi e aquella que serveix a batiar jueu veyll e aquella del bany qui serveix a dona veylla’ (three waters are wasted: those someone puts in the wine and that which serves to baptise an old Jew and that of the bath that serves an old woman).¹²³

In any case, the authorities assumed the duty to avoid impunity for aggressions against Jews. In 1377 the council town of Tàrraga made efforts to discover who had cut the throats of a Jewish woman and her daughter and robbed their home.¹²⁴ In 1401, the council in Cervera was mobilized to find the person who had robbed a Jewess, whom he had contacted with the excuse of pawning a silver cup.¹²⁵ In cases which aroused great tensions, even verbal aggressions against the Jews were penalized. This happened in Cervera in 1354, when ‘en Bernat dez Coll, mercer, fos encolpat que per manera d’avalotament cridat en la plaça avie dites alcunes paraules injurioses contra un juheu de la dita vila’ (Bernat Descoll, haberdasher, was accused that shouting in the square during an argument had said some injurious words against a Jew from said town).¹²⁶ Similarly, physical aggressions and acts of abuse, like the above-mentioned dumping of rubbish in the cemetery or in front of the bakery and other Jewish places, were penalized with fines.¹²⁷ This preserved a framework for everyday coexistence.

Shared Everyday Activities

The evidence presented above sets out the way in which the Jews were regarded and treated; it constructed an imaginary notion which would remain for centuries in the minds of the people.¹²⁸ It is evident that this set of elements conditioned the relations

120 Kriegel, ‘Alonso de Oropesa devant la question des conversos’, p. 15.

121 Sabaté, *The Death Penalty in Late Medieval Catalonia*, pp. 289–91.

122 Riera, ‘Contribucions a l’estudi del conflicte religiós’.

123 Anonymous, ‘El Llibre de Tres’, unnumbered.

124 Tàrraga, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell, fons municipal, llibre del consell, 3, fol. 54^v.

125 Cervera, Arxiu Comarcal de la Segarra, fons municipal, llibre del consell, 1402, fol. 18^f.

126 Bertran, ‘El llibre del batlle reial de Lleida’, p. 171.

127 Muntané i Santpere, *Fonts per a l’estudi de l’aljama jueva*, p. 107.

128 Joan Amades, in 1933, collected beliefs such as that the Jews were identifiable because ‘quan escupen la saliva es torna cucs verinosos al cap de pocs moments’ (when they spit, their saliva turns into poisonous worms a few minutes later); that they invented the Catalan broth called *escudella* as it was about making a dish ‘de poc preu i que es fes sense necessitat de gaire esforç’ (that was cheap and that is made without much effort); that ‘eren grans alquimistes i fabricants de remeis per a guarir i

among one group and the others, but never severed these relations, which were usual and indispensable as both communities shared economic and social activities in the same town.

When the preacher Vincent Ferrer explained the above-mentioned story of the Jew who left the wife of a knight pregnant, he warned that the Jew had entered the house because ‘venc a tallar e cosir robes per a la senyora’ (he came to cut and sew clothes for the lady).¹²⁹ The tailoring activities were frequently mentioned all over the country as work done by Jews which was appreciated by a Christian clientele.¹³⁰ In principle, all the productive activities undertaken by Jews were done within the context of the wider market, without any thought of religious identities. Jewish artisans became famous for working with pearls, and for making parchment and binding books (‘ligadors de llibres’).¹³¹ These domestic activities were very compatible with the ideal of Jewish life, which required them to dedicate a certain number of hours every day for reflection.¹³² Explicitly, there were Jews who worked ‘en obradors que sien fora los calls’ (in workshops outside the Jewish neighbourhood)¹³³ and had shops, as in Girona, Barcelona,¹³⁴ or Tàrraga, as in the latter case, which took advantage of the proximity between the Jewish quarter and the commercial area of the town’s market.

The need to supply food products ensured that relationships were commonplace. Christian traders entered the Jewish quarters mainly to deliver vegetables and firewood and, more occasionally, fowl and fish. This was stated in Tàrraga in 1362, just when this activity was restricted: ‘no gos vendre ne fer vendre ceps ne neguna altra lenya ne rahims, agraç, brots, prunes ne amenles ne neguna altra fruyta ne coloms ne neguna volateria en lo dit cal dels juheus de la damunt dita vila’ (do not sell grapevines nor other firewood nor grapes, unripe, bunches, plums nor almonds nor any other fruit

de verins per a emmetzinar i matar’ (they were great alchemists and makers of remedies to cure and poisons for poisoning and killing), there being, for example, a Jew in the town of Begues who made the poison with which Queen Juana Enríquez would have poisoned her stepson, the Prince of Viana, at the end of the fifteenth century; and that they had received advice from their lord in Palestine (‘el seu magnat de Palestina’) that when they were pressured to convert to Christianity, they should do so, but ‘conservant sempre el més profund sentiment d’odi per a la societat que no els respectava les creences i que procurassin fins on els fos possible prendre’n revenja’ (always conserving the deepest feeling of hatred for the society that did not respect their beliefs and that they tried as far as possible to take their revenge), which justified the distrust and preventions against converts. He also attributed to King Peter the Ceremonious the expression ‘Déu te guard de falsari de Mallorques e de jueu de Barchinona’ (God protect you from the falseness of Majorca and the Jew from Barcelona); he recorded the expression ‘jueu, dona i home de corona, jamai perdona’ (Jew, woman or man of crown [a clergyman], never pardons), popular songs like ‘Plou, plou Montserrat | que la llebre va pel blat, | aigua de pluja | aigua de neu | bastonades pels jueus’ (Rain, rain Montserrat | the hare goes for the wheat, | water from rain | water from snow | beatings for the Jews), and many expressions incorporated into popular speech, such as ‘renegar com un jueu’ (swear like a Jew), ‘mirada de jueu’ (look of a Jew), and ‘fer el jueu’ (do the Jew) in case of fraud or cheating, Amades, ‘Tradició dels jueus a Catalunya’.

129 Betí, ‘Del sermonario morellano de San Vicente’, p. 135.

130 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-2, fol. 23^r.

131 Bertran, ‘El llibre del batlle reial de Lleida’, p. 174.

132 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, pp. 84–85.

133 De Bofarull, ‘Ordenaciones de los concellers de Barcelona’, p. 99.

134 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-4, fol. 38^{r-v}.

nor pigeons nor any other fowl in said quarter of the Jews of the above-mentioned town).¹³⁵ At the same time, the Jews participated daily in the market and shops in the town. Specific circumstances led to contact with respect to questions about food products: if an animal slaughtered in the Jewish quarter was found to be impure according to the Levitical prescriptions, it could not be eaten, and it could only be profitable if it were sold to Christians, who bought it cheaper than other meats.¹³⁶

In Lleida the two activities that led to greater interaction between Jews and Christians were tailoring and medicine.¹³⁷ The Jewish medical tradition was highly valued everywhere. The municipal councils sought doctors, granting them the relevant ‘condecet pensió e sotsveció’ (respectable pension and reward), as stated in Cervera,¹³⁸ or even facilitating their movement, as approved in Tàrraga in 1366,¹³⁹ or gave compensation for the work done, as in Tarragona in 1383.¹⁴⁰ It is no surprise then that John II was operated on for cataracts by Crescas Abnabarrí, a renowned Jewish doctor from Lleida.¹⁴¹ Indeed, Jewish doctors formed part of everyday urban relations, as was recorded in Barcelona regarding a ‘juheu metge (que) parle de medecines ab cristià o crestiana’ (Jewish doctor (who) talks about medicines with Christian man or woman).¹⁴²

The daily proximity between Jews and Christians can be seen in examples where they committed, for instance, minor offences or robberies together. In 1434, Christians and Jews stole almonds together in Tàrraga: ‘fou denunciat per jurat digne de fe que lla mulher d’en Pesola e huna infanta e dos juheus, fils d’en Jucef Mordofay, ab cistelles culhihen amenles en lo tros de madona d’en Casquals’ (It was denounced by a sworn witness who merited credit that the wife of Pesola and a girl and two Jews, sons of Jucef Mordofay, with baskets harvested almonds in the field of the wife of Casquals).¹⁴³ Even more frequently, leisure was shared, especially in the lower social classes. Christians participated in the illegal gaming and gambling in the Jewish quarter, which, from a Christian perspective, was criticized as morally dangerous because gambling incited fighting and blasphemy, even more so if it was in the Jewish quarter. In 1393, for example, in Barcelona both the four men who were ‘jugant a la carnisseria del call’ (playing in the butchery of the Jewish quarter) and the men ‘qui ls havia prestat los daus’ (who had lent them the dice) were fined.¹⁴⁴ Gambling could continue in the Jewish quarter on the days of great religious importance like Easter Thursday and Good Friday, which were days for retreat without leisure activities in the Christian sector.¹⁴⁵ Christian gamblers

135 Tàrraga, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell, fons municipal, llibre del consell, 2, fol. 7^v.

136 Mut, *La vida econòmica de Lérida*, p. 56.

137 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 3441, fols 24^r–35^r.

138 Duran i Sanpere, *Referències documentals del call de juhéus*, p. 63.

139 Tàrraga, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell, fons municipal, llibre del consell 2, fol. 199^v.

140 Cortiella Òdena and Sanmartí Roset, *Actes municipals*, p. 115.

141 Simon Tor and others, ‘Les cataractes de Joan II d’Aragó’.

142 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i el Veguer de Barcelona, X-1, fol. 2^r.

143 Muntané i Santpere, *Fonts per a l’estudi de l’aljama jueva*, p. 114.

144 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, 1549, fol. 4^r.

145 Cunill, ‘Ordinacions sobre bans y penes a Vich’, p. 23.

who took part mixed with the Jews: ‘christiani luserunt et de Deo more ludentium juraverunt et biverunt et comederunt cum iudeis in call Gerunde’ (The Christians played and swore by God according to the players custom and they drank and ate with the Jews within the Jewish neighbourhood of Girona).¹⁴⁶ The portrait that various witnesses offered in the Jewish neighbourhood of Girona in the 1370s shows full coexistence; even the royal bailiff, who was supposed to stop this, benefited corruptly from it: ‘baiulus civitatis vendiderat licentiam ludendi in callo diebus predictis duobus sagionibus et quod ipso presente et vidente in callo dicti diebus christiani luserant cum iudeis’ (the city bailiff had sold the license to play in the Jewry to two sergents during the aforesaid days and in the presence of him and at his sight, in these days Christians had played in the Jewish neighbourhood with the Jews).¹⁴⁷ In other circumstances, both ethnic groups also mixed when gambling: in 1360 in Puigcerdà five gamblers were penalized for gambling without any licence, one of whom was Jewish.¹⁴⁸ This combination was found in fewer than 10 per cent of the cases where fines were issued for gambling; this number fell spectacularly towards the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁹ From then on, joint gambling between converts and Jews was more serious,¹⁵⁰ as it denoted maintaining illicit relations between Jews and those who had become Christians.

The frequent, usual, and even stereotypical dealings between Christians and Jews was moneylending. The development of banking and the spread of forms of credit that could avoid accusations of usury because they disguised the interest under the formulae of buying and selling, like the so-called *censals morts* and *violaris*, sidelined the Jews from the large-scale circulation of capital. Thus separated from high finances, Jewish loans became the most usual form of the small-scale credit the lower social classes needed. With short terms and high interest rates, the social incidence varied widely depending on the place. In this social segment, before the last decade of the fourteenth century, 15 per cent of the creditors in Cerdanya were Jews, but in Roussillon this rose to 90 per cent.¹⁵¹ Although the legislation tried to limit interest rates, as was explicitly agreed in the Parliament or *Corts* of 1292, 1300, and 1311,¹⁵² the popular impact was high, especially in times of economic difficulties. This became one of the factors that increased the aversion to the Jews among a large section of the population.

The deterioration of these relationships marked the path towards intolerance and, finally, conflict. Historians have drawn up various chronologies about the deterioration in the coexistence with the Jews in Catalonia, and these usually place the breaking point in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁵³ In May 1391, just three months prior to the outbreak of

146 Vincke, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Spanische Inquisition*, pp. 175–76.

147 Vincke, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Spanische Inquisition*, pp. 175–76.

148 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, 1499, fol. 34^r.

149 Sabaté, ‘L’ordenament municipal de la relació’, p. 793.

150 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Reial Patrimoni, Mestre Racional, 1549, fol. 5^r.

151 Sabaté, ‘Les juifs au moyen-âge’, pp. 102–03.

152 *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón*, pp. 148, 170–71, 229.

153 Guilleré, ‘Juifs et chrétiens à Gérone au XIV^{ème} siècle’, pp. 64–65.

a pogrom in Barcelona, Queen Violant observed that the people felt great hatred (*gran oy*) against the Jews and demanded prudence from the rulers because any accusation or action against the Jews would contribute towards increasing popular aversion.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the progressive loss of social importance made the Jewish population more vulnerable to the increasingly negative perceptions. Influential and incisive preachers like Vincent Ferrer entered the fifteenth century spreading the firm conviction about the dangerousness of the Jews and thus the need for the population to help with their segregation and enclosure in specific neighbourhoods.¹⁵⁵ In any case, given how Christians and Jews were often in contact in urban settings, the responsibility for guiding the relationships lay with the political authorities, especially the municipal ones.

Those Responsible for Regulating Coexistence with the Jewish Minority

In line with the ecclesiastical dispositions, the thirteenth-century monarchs established rules to impede cohabitation between Christians and Jews or to examine Jewish books for blasphemies against Christians. At the same time, the kings safeguarded the Jews who had requested their protection, their support for the recovery of unpaid debts, as well as their intercession before the episcopal authorities who sought to act against the Jews.¹⁵⁶

However, the urban setting of Jewish life led to an understanding with the respective municipal authorities. Long negotiations often took place, sometimes reaching specific '*capítols d'avinença*' (chapters of agreement).¹⁵⁷ This was usually a way of arranging the contributions of the Jewish community for urban expenses¹⁵⁸ or the fiscal position regarding the entry of products, especially wine, for the supply and redistribution of kosher wine, but also meat. This latter case affected the whole production chain, beginning with the fact that the animals that had to be slaughtered had previously been able to graze (*herbejar*) together with livestock for Christians.¹⁵⁹ In some cities, there were additional discussions about tolls, like on the bridge in Lleida.¹⁶⁰ A recurring discussion focused on the care and maintenance of the walls, especially as many houses in the Jewish quarters backed onto them.¹⁶¹ In Girona a specific arbitral sentence was required in 1362.¹⁶²

Beyond these negotiations, the municipal rulers were responsible for adopting the norms that managed the common goods and places of coexistence. The preacher

154 Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, p. 650.

155 Catedra, 'Conversos y literatura homilítica'.

156 Sabaté, 'Les juifs au moyen-âge', pp. 95–98.

157 Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre del consell 401, fol. 1^{r-v}.

158 Balaguer, Arxiu Comarcal de la Noguera, fons municipal, pergamí 38.

159 Sanahuja, *Lérida en sus luchas por la fe*, pp. 199–201.

160 Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre del consell 399, fol. 91bis^v.

161 Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, I.1.2.1, lligall 1, llibre 2, fol. 26^r.

162 Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, I.1.2.1, lligall 6, llibre 1, fols 18^r–22^f.

Vincent Ferrer defined these councillors with a brief but forceful phrase: ‘són alguns que han a retre compte de si matex e de altres, axí com regidors de viles’ (they are some who have to give account of themselves and others, as well as councillors of the towns).¹⁶³ Thus, when the feared and, in line with the beliefs of the epoch, inevitable moment of the judgement before God arrived, anyone who had run a town would be asked a specific question regarding whether they had applied the Christian norms. In this sense, and very explicitly, on 2 October 1420, the municipal council in Cervera met specifically to add the preaching friar’s indications to the municipal bylaws: ‘al qual consell fonch proposat per los honorables pahers, dihent, que ya saben com per lo reverent ffrare preycador en los lurs sermons tots jorns continuants los és donat gran càrrech’ (to which council was proposed by the honourable councillors, saying that they know that the reverend friar preacher continuously through his sermons everyday is giving them a big assignment).¹⁶⁴ Indeed, the municipal bylaws included ecclesiastical dictates and converted them into norms for urban life. Their aim regarding the Jews was what was evidenced by the local government of Girona, as complained by the General Bailiff of Catalonia in 1353: ‘com qui bé guarda los dits capítols, parlant ab reverència vostra, no són fets sinó per vaxar la dita aljama’ (anyone who looks carefully at the bylaws understands that, speaking with due respect to you, they are done just for vexing the said Jewish community).¹⁶⁵ Under the same Christian ideal, the set of laws passed locally in each town became very similar.¹⁶⁶

Firstly, the municipal bylaws guaranteed the pre-eminence of Christian rites and the submission of the Jews. When the Body of Christ was in the streets, as was habitual when clergy took it to the sick, Jews had to hide, as stated in Barcelona in 1302, or even to kneel, as was ordered in Vic for Jews over the age of seven. During festivities like Corpus Christi, they had to spend all day closed inside their neighbourhood, as was stipulated in Barcelona in 1321.

In many municipalities, the movement of the Jews was restricted on Sundays and notable days in the Christian liturgy, especially between Maundy Thursday and Easter Sunday. In cities like Tortosa, guards were placed on the gates of the Jewish quarter to ensure this was complied with.¹⁶⁷ On those days, they were not allowed to work, at least not ‘a vista de crestians’ (being seen by Christians),¹⁶⁸ and had to close the workshops they had outside their own neighbourhood. As was emphasized in Barcelona in 1355, on Sunday and Christian holidays (‘en dicmenge ne en festes’ — (not) on Sunday nor on holidays) the Jews were not even allowed to speak with Christians, nor were the latter allowed to enter the Jewish neighbourhood, only excepting when there was profit because there was a Jew who bought food or that, being a doctor,

163 Ferrer, *Sermons*, p. 13.

164 Duran i Sanpere, *Referències documentals del call de juhéus*, p. 57.

165 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, p. 86.

166 I summarize below the municipal bylaws on Jews, more extensively analysed in Sabaté, ‘L’ordenament municipal de la relació’.

167 Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Establiment 1.III, fol. 3^r.

168 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, fons municipal B-1, llibre 10, fol. 33^r.

he recommended medicines.¹⁶⁹ Entering the Jewry to gamble during Easter Week was especially punished, although the mixing of Christians and Jews to gamble was generally always prohibited, while accepting that Jews and Muslims usually shared the same place for legal gaming.¹⁷⁰ In Tortosa, the public baths were for Christians only, except Mondays and Fridays, the former reserved for Jewish women and the latter for Muslim women; in both cases they shared the baths with the prostitutes.¹⁷¹ These were separated by ethnic groupings in the respective neighbourhoods, making interethnic relations impossible.¹⁷² In reality, laws were passed to stop Christian women entering the Jewish quarter or homes, and the opposite was always prohibited, which meant financial losses as was made clear in Barcelona, ‘com les juyes entrant per les cases o alberchs dels cristians de la ciutat a escusa de vendra vels, joyes o altres coses passen et tracten moltes malvestats’ (because many bad things happen and are plotted when Jewish women go into the houses of Christians under the pretext of selling veils, jewels, or other things).¹⁷³

Usually, as stated in Tortosa in 1326 and Barcelona in 1327, it was also emphasized that Jews were not allowed to trade in Christian books, religious objects, or images, both for the impurity inherent to the Jews and the fear that they would commit offensive acts. This inherent impurity also led to them being kept away from common services. After 1357, the Jewish quarter of Barcelona had its own fountain,¹⁷⁴ and Jews were prevented from taking water from the fountain used by the Christian population in the area.¹⁷⁵ However, what the moral hygiene especially imposed on the Jews was not to be able to touch any of the products in the markets unless they bought them. In Lleida in 1350, after a tense internal discussion, the municipal council ruled that Jews had to indicate the products with a stick.¹⁷⁶ In 1330 the king had corrected the municipal council of Piera which ordered that in this town the Jews not only could not touch bread, fruit, or any other food in the market with their hands but even required that they could only buy meat in a countertop marked with a stake on which was painted a Jew dressed in his characteristic clothes.¹⁷⁷ Moral impurity put the Jews together with other impure groups, like prostitutes, pimps, or executioners: ‘jueus, juhies e fembres públiques’ (Jewish men, Jewish women, and prostitutes),¹⁷⁸ or more clearly ‘algun alcavot ni fembra de segle ni encara juheu ni juhia ni altres persones no convinents’ (no pimp or public women nor Jew nor Jewess nor other undesirable people).¹⁷⁹

169 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-1, fols 1^v–2^f.

170 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 950, fol. 250^f.

171 Carreras i Candi, ‘L’aljama de juhéus de Tortosa’, p. 36.

172 Fiter i Inglés, ‘Bandos dados por el consejo municipal de Barcelona’, pp. 340–41.

173 De Bofarull, ‘Ordinaciones de los concellers de Barcelona’, p. 101.

174 Riera, ‘La Sinagoga Major dels jueus de Barcelona’, pp. 65–67.

175 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, fons municipal, B-I, llibre 19, fol. 114^f.

176 Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre del consell 399, fols 21^v–23^v, 24^v–25^f.

177 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 438, fol. 225^{r-v}.

178 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, p. 84.

179 Tàrraga, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell, fons municipal, llibre del consell 2, fols 57^v–58^f.

Christians were forcefully warned against buying meat considered impure by the Jews or that they had simply treated, in other words 'sia stada rabinada o dagollada per juheu' (has been slaughtered by Jews, with or without their ceremonies).¹⁸⁰ However, generally negotiations ended up allowing its sale as long as it was clearly identified and with a lesser consideration.¹⁸¹ Regarding other products, limitations were imposed everywhere, to supply Christians first, either by prohibiting the entry of products into the Jewish quarter until the Christian area had been served, as was decreed in Tàrraga in 1362, or not allowing Jews into the town market until late on, thus leaving the best products for the Christians, as was stipulated in Perpignan where the Jews could only enter after the 'tertia hora (nisi pulsacionem terciè)' (third hour (only [after] third ringing)), as was definitively ordered by the king in 1359.¹⁸²

Like these, other measures aimed to display Christian superiority over the Jews: the latter could not have Christian servants or employees, nor be helped with a loan by a Christian, or take one to prison for debt. They were also banned from acting as go-betweens in matrimonial arrangements among Christians.¹⁸³

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, to distinguish Jews clearly, municipal bylaws incorporated obligations for Jews to wear 'cert àbit e anar en certa manera en tal forma que fossen coneguts' (specific clothes and go in a specific way so as to be recognized).¹⁸⁴ That meant wearing a specific cape or badge on their clothes, known as a *rodella*, obligatorily from the age of twelve.¹⁸⁵

From the attacks on the Jewish quarters in 1391, the insistence on the distinctive clothing increased, together with the separation between Jews and Christians, especially because there were many converts among these, and the aim was to prevent them having relations with their old coreligionists. To the traditional mistrust of their sincerity were added measures to prevent converts from being crypto-Jews. They were prohibited from trading in kosher wine, meat, or any other trait of Jewish identity, and any contact between *conversos* and Jews was forbidden, as stated in Cervera in 1401: 'que los conversos no stiguen ab los juheus ne los juheus ab los conversos' (that the converts are not with the Jews nor the Jews with the converts).¹⁸⁶

The key was in enclosing the Jews in their own neighbourhood. In 1384, the municipal council of Lleida prohibited Jewish tailors from working or selling their clothes outside of their neighbourhood: 'sartres juheus que no tinguen obradors o taules fora la juheria, ni tallar robes noves' (Jewish tailors that do not have workshops or tables outside the Jewish quarter, nor working new clothes).¹⁸⁷ Similarly, in 1372 in

180 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-4, fol. 37^v.

181 Carreras i Candi, 'Ordinacions urbanes de bon govern a Catalunya', p. 201.

182 Perpignan, Archives Communales de Perpignan, AA5, fol. 49^v; AA3, fols 219^{r-v}, 225^v-226^r.

183 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-1, fols 2^r-3^r; C-V, caixa 1, plec de iudeis et sarracenis, unnumbered; *Els Costums de Tortosa*, pp. 70, 73 and 301; Cunill, 'Ordinacions sobre bans y penes a Vich', p. 27.

184 Tortosa, Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Ebre, Greuges, 22, unnumbered.

185 Cunill, 'Ordinacions sobre bans y penes a Vich', p. 27.

186 Cervera, Arxiu Comarcal de la Segarra, fons municipal, llibre de consell 1401, fols 49^r, 74^r.

187 Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre del consell 460, fols 25^v-26^v.

Barcelona it was prohibited that someone rented a house, workshop, or counter or any place to a Jewish man or woman in the economically active square: 'puxa ne gos per si ne per altra logar ne en altra manera atorgar alberch o cases o obrador o taula o altra pati a juheu ni a juhia' (cannot dare by himself or through a hired person rent nor give in any way a house, workshop, or counter or any place to a Jewish man or woman).¹⁸⁸ In Tàrrrega they had had to abandon the area near the market and the main square.¹⁸⁹ This progressive implementation of segregationist measures aggravated the impoverishment and the isolation of the Jews; at the same time it became an incentive for the hostile attitude of the Christians, who obtained the quota of the artisanal production and trade that the Jews had to abandon.¹⁹⁰ This was expressly intended, as stated in Saragossa, to stop the Jews from benefiting from the textile trade: 'porque seria grant danno del común et mala fama del oficio por la infiedat de los judíos' (because it would be of great harm to the common and bad name of the trade for the disloyalty of the Jews).¹⁹¹ Very explicitly, in Tarragona in 1415, permission was denied to a Jew who wanted to make a public announcement to sell his wine because profit for a Jew was considered a sin: 'dar honor ni profit a juheus sia pecat' (to give honour and benefit to Jews is a sin).¹⁹² In 1408, in the same city, the sale of flour was liberalized; this meant that outsiders could participate in this trade, but Jews were excluded, because it would be a 'cosa vergonyosa e perillosa' (shameful and dangerous thing).¹⁹³

At the start of the fifteenth century, the influential preacher Vincent Ferrer called on people to break off any contact with the Jews and that the latter be closed off in their own neighbourhood: 'que ls juheus o moros estiguin en apartat, no entre los cristians; ne sostengats metges infidels, ne comprar d'ells virtualles e que estiguin tanquats e murats' (that the Jews or Moors are in a separate place, not among the Christians; nor take on infidel medical doctors nor buy groceries from them and that they are closed and walled in).¹⁹⁴ In 1415, Benedict XIII pronounced the bull *Etsi doctoris gentium*, which imposed a harsher treatment of the Jews. Although, in the following year, during the conflict of the Western Schism, the Crown of Aragon withdrew its allegiance to this pontiff, the papal bull continued to be explicitly implemented by the municipalities. In 1417, the local authorities of Tarragona invoked obedience to the bull in order to make the rules imposed on the Jews stricter.¹⁹⁵ This had already happened in towns such as Reus or Besalú; in the latter, the councillors had even had the bull read publicly in 1415 before publishing the municipal bylaws that established a very closed Jewish quarter.¹⁹⁶ All over the country, the harsher treatment of the Jews

188 Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Batlle i Veguer de Barcelona, X-2, fol. 40^v.

189 Sabaté, 'En torno a la identificación de sinagogas medievales', p. 134.

190 Hinojosa, 'Artesanía y artesanos judíos en el reino de Valencia', pp. 632–34.

191 Blasco, 'Presencia y discriminación', p. 81.

192 Tarragona, Arxiu Històric de Tarragona, fons municipal, llibre del consell 1415–1416, fol. 7^v.

193 Cortiella, *Una ciutat catalana*, p. 285.

194 Ferrer, *Sermons*, p. 14.

195 Cortiella, *Una ciutat catalana*, p. 285.

196 Reus: Gort, 'Pere de Luna i la senyoria de Reus', p. 53. Besalú: Grau, 'Aplicació de les Constitucions de Benet XIII', pp. 442, 445.

focused on three aspects: the sign on their clothing, the impediment to selling impure meat, and, notably, the strict closure of the Jews inside their own neighbourhood. In 1436, the municipal council of Lleida justified these measures ‘per honor e reverència de nostre senyor Déu e de tota la cort celestial e per exaltament de la fe Cristiana’ (for honour and reverence of our lord God and all the heavenly court and for the praise of the Christian faith),¹⁹⁷ while in 1445, the Girona council did so to avoid ‘alguna lesió e infecció a les ànimes dels faels cristians’ (some lesion or infection of the souls of the Christian faithful).¹⁹⁸

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the municipal legislation to exclude the Jews socially was tightened, and they were banned from renting property and were excluded from economic activities outside the ghetto.¹⁹⁹ Economic interests were mixed with the invocation of moral impurity. In 1445 in Girona, Jews were banned from having shops in the best streets and squares (‘de les pus insignes plaçes e lochs de la dita ciutat e hon habiten e stant dels pus assenyalats menestrals de la dita ciutat’ — (out) from the most important squares and places of said city and where the more renowned artisans of said city dwell and are), but significantly the exclusion of the Jews was emphasized as being for their irreverent behaviour towards the religion, especially given that Christian crosses and even the consecrated Eucharistic wafer circulated through these streets and places: ‘per la dita plaça molt sovint passa lo preciós cors de Jesucrist per combregar los malalts e encare les creus de les sglesies per rahó dels combregars pernuctars e sepultures dels feels cristians’ (the precious body of Jesus Christ very often crosses said square going to the sick because they receive communion and even the crosses from the churches because of the night-time communions and the funerals of the Christian faithful).²⁰⁰ These exclusions, speculation, and the dynamic of urban expansion befell the Jewish neighbourhood. The disappearance of many communities or *aljames* after the assaults of 1391 facilitated speculation that led to the reduction of the Jewish quarters of many towns, like Cervera. There were specific added circumstances, like the fire that broke out in Puigcerdà. This facilitated the construction of a Franciscan convent where the Jewish quarter had been.²⁰¹ Forced expropriations were easily imposed, as in Girona to extend the Pia Almoina in 1416,²⁰² or in Barcelona for the establishment of a stable headquarter for the permanent delegation of the parliament (*Diputació del General*) in 1400,²⁰³ and the establishment of its chapel in 1434.²⁰⁴

Everywhere, what was initially the quarter where Jews preferred to live together to better preserve their identity became unhealthy ghettos. Municipal bylaws explicitly insisted on closing openings and windows to the outside, walls were built,

197 Sanahuja, *Lérida en sus luchas por la fe*, pp. 202–03.

198 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, p. 90.

199 Canal and others, *Els jueus i la ciutat de Girona*, pp. 117–19.

200 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, pp. 90–91.

201 Mercadal and others, *Els jueus i els franciscans*, p. 28.

202 Alberch, *Guia del call jueu de Girona*, pp. 46–48.

203 Estrada, *Una casa per al General de Catalunya*, pp. 46–49.

204 Riera, ‘La Sinagoga Major dels jueus de Barcelona’, p. 67.

and, finally, the Jews were closed into dark ghettos,²⁰⁵ with the unique aim that they should be isolated and separated from Christians: ‘apartats e separats de tota comunió e participació de creštians’ (moved away and separated from any communion and participation of Christians).²⁰⁶ When their neighbourhoods became saturated, they were allowed to extend them in a controlled fashion. This happened in Cervera in 1447 and Girona in 1445, 1448, and 1455, while in Lleida in 1459 some Jews were allowed to move into the Muslim neighbourhood.²⁰⁷ The reiteration of the prohibition on activities outside the Jewish quarter, as emphasized in Barcelona in 1479, Girona in 1486, and Tortosa in 1489 and 1491, reflects, despite everything, the continuity of some relations between Jews and Christians, although the social importance of the former had fallen to a minimum.

Conclusions

From the second half of the fifteenth century, the Church, through synods, pastoral visits, and writings sometimes divulged with sermons, mixed the petitions for the reform of the Church and the expulsion of those Jews who did not convert. The pressure on the converts took over the environment and was embodied in the harsh action of the new Inquisition that came under the king and that, after being created in Castile in 1478, reached the Crown of Aragon in 1483 and began to act in Catalonia in 1486.²⁰⁸ After 1479, there was the same sovereign in the crowns of Castile and Aragon. In his strategy of consolidating power, social cohesion under Christianity was linked to other aspects of royal power and, at the same time, became a way to apply pressure through religious identity.²⁰⁹ Thus, the expulsion of unconverted Jews decreed in 1492 had an impact that even surprised the monarchs themselves, given the large number who preferred to leave rather than convert.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, it was the culmination of a path that, through the progressive deterioration in coexistence, inevitably led in that direction.²¹¹

This same path exhibits the factors which conditioned relations with the Jews; these ranged from economic competition with those who shared similar areas of production and sales, to the anger or resentment of those who were forced through their circumstances to seek credit from the Jews, to the royal policy of cohesion. However, there is no doubt that Christianity was the ideology that helped to ensure the cohesion of society. In 1989, Leonard Guelke stated that ‘the motor of historical change is not the environment, the economy or any other force, but human reason.

205 Sabaté, ‘L’espacce des minorités ethniques et religieuses’, pp. 261–86.

206 Batlle, ‘Ordenaciones relativas a los judíos gerundenses’, p. 92.

207 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 3441, fol. 24^v.

208 D’Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza*.

209 Belenguier, *Fernando el Católico*, pp. 130–90.

210 Riera, ‘L’expulsió dels jueus de Tortosa’, pp. 25–41.

211 Sabaté, ‘Jewish Neighbourhoods in Christian Towns’, pp. 178–81.

Ideas have the unique capacity of logical development.²¹² More recently, in 2010, D'Avray, following Weber, argued that values, especially religious ones, were important for how society was interpreted: 'values can shape it: and this is not simply because values are ends or objectives that instrumental rationality serves. Values can also take the form of premises and of side-constraints.'²¹³

Late medieval society gives a good example of how to achieve cohesion through religious values. This means the assumption by members of society of the differentiation between identity and 'Otherness' and the pairing of the concepts of social 'cohesion' and 'exclusion', a binomial that led to new states: intolerance and the expulsion of other members of the social body.

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