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2024

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Tese orientada pelo Professor Doutor Enrique Cantera Montenegro (UNED de Madrid), coorientadoras: Professora Doutora Ana Paiva Morais (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) e Professora Doutora Filomena Andrade (Universidade Aberta de Lisboa)

Junho 2024

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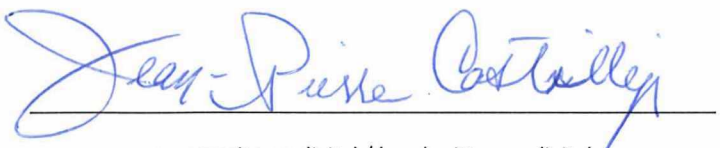

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The entire process of investigation, analysis, evaluation, composition and editing has been a long and intense one and would not have been possible without the help, support and advice of many people and institutions.

First of all, I would like to give special thanks to my main mentor, Dr. Enrique Cantera Montenegro of Medieval Castilian History from the UNED in Madrid for his continuous advice, recommendations of studies and sources, and availability when there were doubts. What was admirable about Dr. Cantera Montenegro's support was the rapport with his doctoral candidates. One that resembled that of equals without any hierarchy. This permitted a closer and more collaborative approach to the entire process. Extremely important was the role of Dr. Ana Paiva Morais of Medieval Literature from the NOVA University of Lisbon, who helped in the investigation and understanding in analogous thinking in the Medieval imaginary. Her help and support in the crafting on the sections of the imaginary through literature kept the focus on an interdisciplinary approach and not solely focused on history. Thanks to Dr. Filomena Andrade, who although entered the process in the final year, was essential for her commentaries and feedback on Portuguese medieval history, as well as in recommending the editing of all redundant information from the final draft.

Special thanks to Dr. Isabel Barros Dias, not only for her many studies on Iberian chronicle writing of the late Medieval period, but for her role as Program Coordinator, who provided essential support and guidance during the actual writing process. Also special thanks to Dr. Ana Echevarría, who allowed me to attend the UNED and its library as part of my European PhD. Another special thanks to Dr. Isabel Romero Montes Camacho who provided me with advice and her many studies on the Jews of Seville.

Finally, a special thanks to all librarians at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Bibilioteca Nacional de Portugal, NOVA University Library, UNED Library and the Vitorinho Magalhães Godinho library (Centro de Documentação). Special thanks to the Centro de Estudos Históricos of the NOVA University in Lisbon and Marcial Pons Historia in Madrid that provided printed sources and studies that were indispensable for the investigation during the two COVID shutdowns of 2020 and 2021.

ABSTRACT

The role of language has been essential in the creation, transmission and reception of images and messages. In terms of late Portuguese and Castilian medieval literature, it was essential in the shaping, projection and reception of negative images of the Jews that were created by the secular and ecclesiastical elites of the aforementioned kingdoms. However, these images were not simply created and transmitted by written word alone. Both political and religious leadership played fundamental roles in shaping and projecting such images to audiences in the public sphere. Such oral communication consisted of speeches, proclamation of laws to the public, preaching by priests and monks, and public polemic disputes between Catholic theologians and rabbinical leaders. The purpose of the thesis is to initiate the process of filling in the existing gap of a study that would act as a foundation for further investigation in the comparison and contrast of the available literature from the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile.

The main research question was to ascertain how the elites of the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile differed in the projection of negative images of the Jews and how they were received by their respective Christian subjects. Other questions that developed were when did the images in both kingdoms resemble one another and when did they differ? Why did they differ? Was it through different historical circumstances as the role of leadership, the role of public polemic disputes, radicalized public due to years of fanatical preaching? The investigation would use the conceptual framework of the role of language, communication and power in the shaping, transmission and reception of images to target audiences.

The methodology applied was qualitative as numerical figures based on thorough census, surveys and questionnaires did not exist in the late Middle Ages. These sources, although imperfect, provide insight into the way of thinking of the countries, where they were written and allow investigators to make conclusions based on their findings. Such literature consisted of chronicles, lyrics, poetry, memoirs, laws passed in the Cortes, diplomas, charter rights granted by monarchs and even polemic literature. In terms of measuring the number of discriminatory and restrictive laws in both Iberian kingdoms, the methodological approach used by Spanish historian Monsalvo Antón in classifying the acts of the Castilian Cortes into five different categories was applied. These categories were: 1) Administrative and

Professional Discrimination and the Reduction of social and political influence of Jews: Reviewing the traditional Jewish presence in tax and rent collection; 2) Judicial Discrimination: Suppression of Jurisdictional Privileges and Prerogatives of the Jews; 3) Pragmatic and Interested regulation of the Economic Activities of the Jews within the scope of finance and credit; 4) Basis or Foundation of Confessional (Religious) Inferiority and the Discrimination towards the practice of non-Christian religion; and, 5) Limitations on the daily dealings between Jews and Christians and Segregation of the Jewish minority. Not only were they implemented to the acts of the Portuguese Cortes, but to other secular legislation, as well as to ecclesiastical legislation of Portuguese and Castilian synods. Charts demonstrating the findings of this methodological approach were created to provide a systematic way to visualize the findings.

Besides the use of this methodological approach, the role of language use was also applied to the literature, especially in terms of the legislation, as it would be proclaimed throughout each kingdom and reach a broader audience than stylistic poems, memoirs and chronicles that, even though reflected the mindset of the period, were reserved to a more educated and select elite of the ecclesiastical and secular courts. The works were also compared and contrasted within the same genre, such as chronicles or acts of the Cortes, in order to see where they were similar and where they differed. However, different types of sources and studies were cross-referenced in order to establish if they corroborated each other or not. Such cases would be comparing and contrasting acts of the Cortes with chronicles, or secular with ecclesiastical legislation or municipal legislation with royal legislation.

The data for this study was collected from national archives, national libraries and university libraries. In the case of Portugal, there are the Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo (ANTT), the municipal archives of Lisbon and the municipal archives of Évora. In terms of Spain, there were the municipal archives of Madrid, Toledo and Seville, as well as the ecclesiastical archives of Seville and Toledo. The Centro de Estudos Históricos of the NOVA University provided the printed version of late medieval sources that proved essential during the many months of COVID shutdown.

The findings demonstrated that in the initial phase of the study from 1325 to 1348, the literature between the two kingdoms shared similar approaches towards their respective Jews, especially in terms of the legislature. Not only did both kingdoms try to treat their two religious minorities on a more equitable playing field when it came to notarizing legal documents and the ability to earn income, besides moneylending, such as owning land and producing profitable crops, such as vineyards, olive groves and limited cattle raising, but the role of semantics and word choice was also important. Although both kingdoms condemned all three religious groups of committing usury, in Portugal, the laws were specific in discerning how men, in general, found many paths in committing the malicious act of usury. As such, the Jews were not designated as the only perpetrators of acts of usury. This was a major step in the differing paths between the Castilian approach towards the Jews and that of the Portuguese. It would also designate a difference in how negative images were projected into the collective mindset of the Christian majority and its imaginary.

In the second half of the 14th century, there would be civil unrest and dynastic wars in both Castile and Portugal. In the former, it would be in 1355, 1360 and 1366-1369, whereas in Portugal from 1383-1385. In the Castilian conflict, the pretender to the throne, Enrique de Trastámara, allowed Christian mobs in sacking and murdering Jews, because, as per the royal chronicler, it was what the people wanted. The future king of Castile made no effort in halting the mob from such murderous acts and set a precedent of the sanctioning of violence towards a defenseless minority group. In Portugal, on the other hand, the defender of the realm, Dom João de Avis, and future king João I, along with his knights and noblemen personally stopped the Christian mob from assaulting the Jewish quarters of Lisbon. The effect of these different actions by the respective leadership of the two kingdoms indicate that there was an effect on the common people of what would be tolerated and not. Further investigation demonstrated that, whereas in Castile public polemic disputes and public trials took place in the 1370s, there was no record of any such trials or disputes in Portugal in that same period. From the late 1370s onward until 1391, there were the fanatical preaching of local ecclesiastical leaders in Castile, whereas there was no such evidence in Portugal.

The findings, not only demonstrated the development of restrictive and discriminatory laws, but that the number was greater in Castile than in Portugal. Not only did the language and

semantics employed in both kingdoms differ, but the role of political and secular leadership as well. Such factors played an important role in the disparate development of the treatment of the Jews in the two kingdoms.

Key terms: Jews, Castile, Portugal, tolerance, violence, language, leadership, legislation, imaginary.

RESUMO

O papel da linguagem tem sido essencial na criação, transmissão e recebimento de imagens e mensagens. Ao nível da literatura tardo-medieval portuguesa e castelhana, foi essencial na formação, projeção e acolhimento das imagens negativas dos judeus que foram criadas pelas elites seculares e eclesiásticas dos reinos supracitados. No entanto, essas imagens não foram simplesmente criadas e transmitidas apenas pela palavra escrita. Tanto a liderança política quanto a religiosa desempenharam papéis fundamentais na formação e projeção de tais imagens para o público na esfera pública. Tal comunicação oral consistia em discursos, proclamação de leis ao público, pregações de padres e monges e disputas polêmicas públicas entre teólogos católicos e líderes rabínicos. O objetivo da tese é iniciar o processo de preenchimento da lacuna existente de um estudo que serviria de base para uma investigação mais aprofundada na comparação e contraste da literatura disponível dos reinos de Portugal e Castela.

A principal questão de pesquisa foi averiguar como as elites dos reinos de Portugal e Castela se diferenciavam na projeção de imagens negativas dos judeus e como eram recebidas por seus respetivos súditos cristãos. Outras questões que surgiram foram quando as imagens em ambos os reinos se assemelham e quando elas diferem? Por que eles diferiram? Foi através de diferentes circunstâncias históricas como o papel da liderança, o papel da polêmica pública, das disputas públicas, do público radicalizado devido a anos de pregação fanática? A investigação utilizaria o arcabouço conceitual do papel da linguagem, da comunicação e do poder na formação, transmissão e recebimento de imagens para públicos-alvo.

A metodologia aplicada foi qualitativa, pois não existiam números numéricos baseados em censos minuciosos, pesquisas e questionários no final da Idade Média. Essas fontes, embora imperfeitas, fornecem uma visão sobre o modo de pensar dos países onde foram escritas e permitem que os pesquisadores tirem conclusões com base em suas descobertas. Tal literatura consistia em crônicas, letras, poesias, memórias, leis aprovadas nas Cortes, diplomas, direitos de carta concedidos por monarcas e até literatura polêmica. Para medir o número de leis discriminatórias e restritivas em ambos os reinos ibéricos, aplicou-se a abordagem metodológica utilizada pelo historiador espanhol Monsalvo Antón para classificar os atos das

Cortes castelhanas em cinco categorias diferentes. Essas categorias foram: 1) Discriminação Administrativa e Profissional e Redução da Influência Social e Política dos Judeus: Revendo a tradicional presença judaica na arrecadação de impostos e aluguéis; 2) Discriminação Judicial: Supressão dos Privilégios e Prerrogativas Jurisdicionais dos Judeus; 3) Regulação Pragmática e Interessada das Atividades Económicas dos Judeus no âmbito das finanças e do crédito; 4) Fundamento ou Fundamento da Inferioridade Confessional (Religiosa) e da Discriminação em relação à prática da religião não-cristã; e, 5) Limitações nas relações diárias entre judeus e cristãos e Segregação da minoria judaica. Não só foram aplicadas aos actos das Cortes portuguesas, mas a outras legislações laicas, bem como às legislações eclesiásticas dos sínodos portugueses e castelhanos. Gráficos demonstrando os achados desta abordagem metodológica foram criados para fornecer uma forma sistemática de visualizar os achados.

Além do uso dessa abordagem metodológica, o papel do uso da linguagem também foi aplicado à literatura, especialmente no que diz respeito à legislação, pois seria proclamada em cada reino e atingiria um público mais amplo do que poemas estilísticos, memórias e crônicas que, mesmo embora refletissem a mentalidade do período, eram reservados a uma elite mais educada e seleta das cortes eclesiásticas e seculares. As obras também foram comparadas e contrastadas dentro do mesmo gênero, como crônicas ou atos das Cortes, para ver onde eram semelhantes e onde diferiam. No entanto, diferentes tipos de fontes e estudos foram cruzados a fim de estabelecer se eles se corroboravam ou não. Tais casos seriam comparar e contrastar atos das Cortes com crônicas, ou leigos com legislação eclesiástica ou legislação municipal com legislação régia.

Os dados para este estudo foram coletados em arquivos nacionais, bibliotecas nacionais e bibliotecas universitárias. No caso de Portugal, há o Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo (ANTT), os arquivos municipais de Lisboa e os arquivos municipais de Évora. Em relação à Espanha, havia os arquivos municipais de Madrid, Toledo e Sevilha, bem como os arquivos eclesiásticos de Sevilha e Toledo. O Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade NOVA e Marcial Pons Madrid que disponibilizaram a versão impressa de fontes tardo-medievais que se revelaram essenciais durante os muitos meses de confinamento da COVID.

Os achados demonstraram que, na fase inicial do estudo, de 1325 a 1348, a literatura entre os dois reinos compartilhava abordagens semelhantes em relação aos seus respetivos judeus, especialmente em termos de legislatura. Não só ambos os reinos tentaram tratar suas três minorias religiosas em um campo de jogo mais equitativo quando se tratava de autenticar documentos legais e a capacidade de obter renda, além de empréstimos de dinheiro, como possuir terras e produzir culturas lucrativas, como vinhas, olivais e pecuária limitada, mas o papel da semântica e escolha de palavras também foi importante. Embora ambos os reinos condenassem os três grupos religiosos de usura, em Portugal, as leis eram específicas para discernir como os homens, em geral, encontravam muitos caminhos para cometer o ato malicioso de usura. Como tal, os judeus não foram designados como os únicos perpetradores de atos de usura. Este foi um passo importante nos diferentes caminhos entre a abordagem castelhana em relação aos judeus e a dos portugueses. Também designaria uma diferença na forma como as imagens negativas foram projetadas na mentalidade coletiva da maioria cristã e seu imaginário.

Na segunda metade do século XIV, haveria distúrbios civis e guerras dinásticas em Castela e Portugal. No conflito castelhano, o pretendente ao trono, Enrique de Trastámara, permitiu que as turbas cristãs saqueassem e assassinassem judeus, porque, segundo o cronista real, era o que o povo queria. O futuro rei de Castela não fez nenhum esforço para deter a multidão de tais atos assassinos e estabeleceu um precedente de sanção de violência contra um grupo minoritário indefeso. Em Portugal, por outro lado, o defensor do reino, Dom João de Avis, e futuro rei João I, junto com seus cavaleiros e fidalgos, impediram pessoalmente que a turba cristã assaltasse a judiaria de Lisboa. Os efeitos dessas diferentes ações das respetivas lideranças dos dois reinos indicam que houve um efeito sobre as pessoas comuns do que seria tolerado e não. Investigações posteriores demonstraram que, enquanto em Castela as polêmicas e julgamentos públicos ocorreram na década de 1370, não havia registro de tais julgamentos ou disputas em Portugal no mesmo período. Do final da década de 1370 em diante até 1391, houve a pregação fanática de líderes eclesiásticos locais em Castela, enquanto não havia tal evidência em Portugal.

Os resultados, não só demonstraram o desenvolvimento de leis restritivas e discriminatórias, mas que o número foi maior em Castela do que em Portugal. Não apenas a linguagem e a

semântica empregadas em ambos os reinos diferiam, mas também o papel da liderança política e secular. Tais fatores desempenharam um papel importante no desenvolvimento díspar do tratamento dos judeus nos dois reinos.

Palavras-chave: judeus, Castela, Portugal, tolerância, violência, linguagem, liderança, legislação, imaginário.

RESUMEN

El papel del lenguaje ha sido fundamental en la creación, transmisión y recepción de imágenes y mensajes. En cuanto a la literatura tardomedieval portuguesa y castellana, fue fundamental en la conformación, proyección y recepción de las imágenes negativas de los judíos que creaban las élites seculares y eclesiásticas de los citados reinos. Sin embargo, estas imágenes no fueron creadas y transmitidas simplemente por medio de la palabra escrita. Tanto el liderazgo político como el religioso jugaron un papel fundamental en la formación y proyección de tales imágenes a las audiencias en la esfera pública. Tal comunicación oral consistía en discursos, proclamación de leyes al público, predicación de sacerdotes y monjes, y disputas polémicas públicas entre teólogos católicos y líderes rabínicos. El propósito de la tesis es iniciar el proceso de llenar el vacío existente de un estudio que sirva de base para posteriores investigaciones en la comparación y contraste de la literatura disponible de los reinos de Portugal y Castilla.

La principal pregunta de investigación fue averiguar en qué se diferenciaban las élites de los reinos de Portugal y Castilla en la proyección de imágenes negativas de los judíos y en cómo eran recibidas por sus respectivos súbditos cristianos. Otras preguntas que surgieron fueron ¿cuándo se parecían las imágenes de ambos reinos y cuándo diferían? ¿Por qué diferían? ¿Fue a través de diferentes circunstancias históricas como el papel del liderazgo, el papel de las disputas polémicas públicas, el público radicalizado debido a años de predicación fanática? La investigación utilizaría el marco conceptual del papel del lenguaje, la comunicación y el poder en la formación, transmisión y recepción de imágenes para las audiencias objetivo.

La metodología aplicada fue cualitativa ya que las cifras numéricas basadas en censos, encuestas y cuestionarios exhaustivos no existían en la Baja Edad Media. Estas fuentes, aunque imperfectas, dan una idea de la forma de pensar de los países donde fueron escritas y permiten a los investigadores sacar conclusiones basadas en sus hallazgos. Dicha literatura constaba de crónicas, líricas, poesías, memorias, leyes de las Cortes, diplomas, fueros concedidos por los monarcas e incluso literatura polémica. En cuanto a la medición del número de leyes discriminatorias y restrictivas en ambos reinos ibéricos, se aplicó el enfoque metodológico utilizado por el historiador español Monsalvo Antón al clasificar los actos de las Cortes castellanas en cinco categorías diferentes. Estas categorías fueron: 1) Discriminación Administrativa y Profesional y Reducción de la influencia social y política de

los judíos: Revisión de la tradicional presencia judía en la recaudación de impuestos y rentas; 2) Discriminación Judicial: Supresión de Privilegios y Prerrogativas Jurisdiccionales de los Judíos; 3) Regulación Pragmática e Interesada de las Actividades Económicas de los Judíos en el ámbito de las finanzas y el crédito; 4) Base o fundamento de la inferioridad confesional (religiosa) y la discriminación hacia la práctica de la religión no cristiana; y, 5) Limitaciones en el trato diario entre judíos y cristianos y Segregación de la minoría judía. No sólo se aplicaron a las leyes de las Cortes portuguesas, sino a otras leyes seculares, así como a la legislación eclesiástica de los sínodos portugueses y castellanos. Se crearon cuadros que demuestran los hallazgos de este enfoque metodológico para proporcionar una forma sistemática de visualizar los hallazgos.

Además del uso de este enfoque metodológico, el papel del uso de la lengua también se aplicó a la literatura, especialmente en términos de la legislación, ya que se proclamaría en cada reino y llegaría a un público más amplio que los poemas estilísticos, las memorias y las crónicas que, aunque reflejaban la mentalidad de la época, estaban reservados a una élite más educada y selecta de las cortes eclesiásticas y seculares. También se compararon y contrastaron las obras dentro del mismo género, como crónicas o actas de Cortes, para ver en qué se parecían y en qué diferían. Sin embargo, se cruzaron diferentes tipos de fuentes y estudios para establecer si se corroboraban entre sí o no. Tales casos serían los de comparar y contrastar actas de las Cortes con crónicas, o laicas con legislación eclesiástica o municipales con legislación real.

Los datos para este estudio se recopilaron de archivos nacionales, bibliotecas nacionales y bibliotecas universitarias. En el caso de Portugal, se encuentran el Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo (ANTT), el archivo municipal de Lisboa y el archivo municipal de Évora. En cuanto a España, estaban los archivos municipales de Madrid. Toledo y Sevilla, así como los archivos eclesiásticos de Sevilla y Toledo. El Centro de Estudos Históricos de la Universidad NOVA y Marcial Pons Historia en Madrid proporcionaron la versión impresa de las fuentes bajomedievales que resultaron esenciales durante los meses de confinamiento de COVID.

Los hallazgos demostraron que en la fase inicial del estudio de 1325 a 1348, la literatura entre los dos reinos compartía enfoques similares hacia sus respectivos judíos, especialmente en términos de la legislatura. Ambos reinos no solo trataron de tratar a sus tres minorías

religiosas en un campo de juego más equitativo (equiparar) cuando se trataba de certificar documentos legales y la capacidad de obtener ingresos, además de préstamos de dinero, como poseer tierras y producir cultivos rentables, como viñedos, olivares y ganadería limitada, pero el papel de la semántica y la elección de palabras también fue importante. Aunque ambos reinos condenaron a los tres grupos religiosos de cometer usura, en Portugal, las leyes fueron específicas al discernir cómo los hombres, en general, encontraron muchos caminos para cometer el acto malicioso de la usura. Como tal, los judíos no fueron señalados como los únicos perpetradores de actos de usura. Este fue un paso importante en los diferentes caminos entre el enfoque castellano hacia los judíos y el de los portugueses. También señalaría una diferencia en cómo se proyectan las imágenes negativas en la mentalidad colectiva de la mayoría cristiana y su imaginario.

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIV se producirían disturbios civiles y guerras dinásticas tanto en Castilla como en Portugal. En el conflicto castellano, el pretendiente al trono, Enrique de Trastámara, permitió que turbas cristianas saquearan y asesinaran judíos, porque, según el cronista real, era lo que quería el pueblo. El futuro rey de Castilla no hizo ningún esfuerzo por detener a la turba de tales actos homicidas y sentó un precedente de sanción de la violencia hacia un grupo minoritario indefenso. En Portugal, en cambio, el defensor del reino, Don João de Avis, y futuro rey João I, junto con sus caballeros y nobles impidieron personalmente que la turba cristiana asaltase las juderías de Lisboa. El efecto de estas diferentes acciones por parte de los respectivos líderes de los dos reinos indica que hubo un efecto sobre la gente común de lo que sería tolerado y no. Investigaciones posteriores demostraron que, mientras que en Castilla las disputas polémicas públicas y los juicios públicos tuvieron lugar en la década de 1370, no había constancia de tales juicios o disputas en Portugal en ese mismo período. Desde finales de la década de 1370 en adelante hasta 1391, hubo predicación fanática de los líderes eclesiásticos locales en Castilla, mientras que no hubo tal evidencia en Portugal.

Los hallazgos, no solo demostraron el desarrollo de leyes restrictivas y discriminatorias, sino que el número era mayor en Castilla que en Portugal. No solo diferían el lenguaje y la semántica empleados en ambos reinos, sino también el papel del liderazgo político y secular. Tales factores desempeñaron un papel importante en el desarrollo dispar del tratamiento de los judíos en los dos reinos.

Palabras clave: judíos, Castilla, Portugal, tolerancia, violencia, lenguaje, legislación, liderazgo, imaginario.

LIST OF ITEMS INTRODUCED INTO THE THESIS RECOMMENDED BY THE JURY

The jury was kind enough to recommend some additions to my thesis in order to improve upon it. Some of these recommendations consisted of formatting and upkeeping. Others were addition of missing content material and filling in of gaps of information. The recommendations were made under time constraints and duress, as I am employed on a fulltime basis as a secondary school teacher and mentor at an international school.

In terms of formatting, I was able to delete repetitive information, sometimes entire paragraphs that had been duplicated. The simple fact of going back to re-read the thesis, allowed me to actually proofread it calmy and make improvements in punctuation and grammar. In terms of adding important content material was the addition of the State of the Art on studies of Castilian and Portuguese Jews. In the the months prior to submission of the thesis, it most likely was overlooked to include it into the body of the work. The members of the jury were graceful enough to allow me to write a fourteen-page state of the art of studies on Portuguese and Castilian Jewry, which under no circumstances should be interpreted as an exhaustive assessment of the existing literature, but merely as a comprehensive and concise overview of the most pertinent studies.

The jury recommended that the tables of comparison and contrast of secular and ecclesiastical legislature be placed once again into the main body of the thesis, which was where they originally were before being placed into a separate appendix (Appendix II). Upon reflection, the charts were kept in a separate appendix, as placing them back into the main body would have increased the number of pages that would have surpassed the amount permitted by the Bologna Process of 2007 and rejected by the university administration.

The jury also recommended that the thesis present late medieval pictural imagery or iconography, in spite of the interdisciplinary focus consisting of literature and history. A solution was choosing the *Cantigas de Santa María*, as they were created in the Iberian Peninsula and found in royal, ecclesiastical and nobiliary courts in both Portugal and Castile. The cantigas also incorporated music and lyrics, creating a three-dimensional instrument to convey images, including those of Jews, into the collective mindset of the Christian majority

population. Even though, it remains unknown to what extent the population in general was exposed to the *Cantigas de Santa María*, this artwork remains unique in its three-dimensional structure. As the *Cantigas de Santa María* were created and compiled before the focused time period of the thesis (1325-1412), they were placed in the appendices (Appendix IV) of the thesis, where they were further analyzed in detail.

Just as important was the note to add the information pertaining to the role of the Count of Barcelos in not only adding 6 cantigas (songs) involving two prominent Jews, Dom Josep and Dom Foam, but also two love cantigas composed by the Jewish minstrel, Vidal of Elvas, who the Count of Barcelos praised in a eulogy in his *Livro de Cantigas* or *Cancioneiro* (Songbook) that was compiled under his auspices in the 1340s. This information was used to cover the apparent lack of information on Portuguese Jews mentioned in the Portuguese chronicles *during the reign of Afonso IV*, especially in the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* compiled under the auspices of the Count of Barcelos. This is not to say that the aforementioned chronicle did not present narratives on the religious minority. It did, but much of it based on Castilian narratives from previous eras. Hence, the analysis of the Castilian hero, El Cid, and Rachel, the Jewish mistress of Alfonso VIII, are presented in Appendix V.

In Appendix VI, maps of the political boundaries of the Iberian Peninsula from the 14th century, the location of Jewish quarters in the cities, towns and localities of the Iberian Peninsula, the localities of the outburst of anti-Jewish revolts and the direction of their spread in 1391, the localities with Jewish and Converso settlements by the mid-15th century, Jewish localities in Portugal in the 14th and 15th centuries, and the detailed city maps of where the respective Jewish quarters were located in Lisbon, Évora, Toledo and Seville. Appendix VII was dedicated to the picturesque description of the aforementioned cities that included their geographic location, their topography, urban layout, their population and their economy.

Last, but not least, the jury recommended that the thesis also encompass the projection of the image of Jews created by Jews themselves. Although it is a fascinating topic, it is worthy of a thesis in itself and a brief discussion to accompany the current thesis would not do the justice that it would deserve. The topic of late medieval Iberian Jews creating and projecting their own images is worth considering for a post-doctoral thesis.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Definitions of acronyms are given in Portuguese, Spanish and English.

ABCT	Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de Toledo
ACM	Actas Capitulares Murcia
ACS	Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla
ADE	Arquivo Distrital de Évora
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AJS	Association for Jewish Studies
AMHB	Archivo del Monasterio de las Huelgas de Burgos
AML	Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa
AMT	Archivo Municipal de Toledo
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo
ARCV	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
BRAH	Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia
LLP	*Livro das Leis e Posturas*
LP	*Livro dos Pregos*
OA	*Ordenações Afonsinas*
PMH	*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*

cit.	citado/cited
doc., docs.	documento, documentos/document, documents

ed.	edição/edición/edition; editorial/publisher
exp.	expediente/procedimento/proceeding, record
fl., fls.	folha, folhas/folio, folios
Fund.	Fundação/Fundación/Foundation
Gav.	Gaveta/drawer
Intro.	Introdução/Introducción/Introduction
leg.	legajo
mrs.	maravedis/maravedíes
Ms., Mss.	manuscrito, manuscritos
nº	número/number
p	página/page
policop.	policopiado
Sep.	Separata
vol., vols.	volume, volumes/volúmen, volúmenes

REFERENCING PORTUGUESE & SPANISH AUTHORS

The referencing of Spanish and Portuguese authors differs and will be referenced according to each country's practice. In Spain, the two family names are written in caps with the first family name used before the second, which is then followed by the given name.

SPANISH HISTORIAN

Ex. Enrique Cantera Montenegro is referenced as: CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique

In Portugal, in spite of two or more last names, only the last family name is written in caps with the other family names following the given name.

PORTUGUESE HISTORIAN

Ex. Isabel Barros Dias is referenced as: DIAS, Isabel Barros.

PROPOSAL

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how the secular and ecclesiastical Christian elites in the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile differed in their projection in the image of the Jews that they shaped and transmitted in the years 1325-1412. It will analyze and compare the available secular and ecclesiastical literature produced by these same elites.

After many years of personal research and reading, the question that is intriguing is why there were no massacres in the kingdom of Portugal in 1391, whereas many towns and cities in the Crowns of Castile and Aragon suffered many assaults of their Jewish quarters, deaths, forced conversions and a mass exodus of Jews and Conversos to Portugal, Navarre and the Emirate of Granada? From this question, other questions emerged in terms of the role of language used, not only in written texts, such as word choice or the use of exaggerations, analogies or hyperbole, but in oral discourse, such as preaching or polemic debates. Other questions involve the role of both secular and ecclesiastical leadership in either perpetuating biases and prejudices towards the Jews or in actual efforts to stymie, stave off or outright halt anti-Jewish activities or actions, such as assaults on Jewish quarters or the murder of Jews.

To this day, there has not been a comprehensive study in comparing and contrasting the literature of the different kingdoms in the shaping, transmission and reception of the image of their respective Jews. There have been many in-depth studies of each kingdom separately, but no comprehensive comparative analysis of the secular and ecclesiastical literature of Portugal and one of the Iberian kingdoms that suffered the assaults of their Jewish quarters. The thesis will begin this process by comparing the secular and ecclesiastical literature of the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile from 1325 and 1412. It will not however, analyze the available documentation prior to 1325 nor after 1412. It will, nonetheless, provide an introductory chapter (Chapter 1), that will provide the historical background leading up to 1325 in Castile and Portugal.

The aforementioned year of 1325 has been chosen as the starting point of the comparative analysis at the beginning of the reign of Afonso IV in Portugal and the majority rule of Alfonso XI in Castile. The year of 1412 as the end of the comparative study was chosen, as the two kingdoms diverged in their official approach towards their respective Jews through the laws. In Castile, it was the *Ordinance or Pragmatic of Valladolid 1412* and in Portugal, it

was it was: *Alfonsine Ordinance of 1412, Book 2, Title 80.* The legislation of the year 1412, can also be seen as a denouement or resolution to the events of 1391 for both kingdoms, as each kingdom would react differently towards their Jews.

As an interdisciplinary doctoral thesis, consisting of the disciplines of medieval history and medieval literature will be required. The analysis of historical documents due to their origin, purpose, strengths and weaknesses will not suffice. Instead, the analysis of the creation, transmission and reception of such literature by its creators and the target audience or public of that same literature will also be taken into account. In other words, due to the nature of the literary pieces, were they to be read silently, aloud, or both, who was the target audience? Was it a select audience, such as courtesans at the royal court or that of a nobleman or did the select audience consist of many people from different social strata, as the preaching of the mendicant preachers or public polemic discourses and debates? Another wide-ranging target audience would be people from all social strata listening to royal proclamations that were read aloud in public squares by heralds.

The thesis will also focus on when and where Castilian and Portuguese legislation approached one another in terms of legal content and semantics used, as well as when and where the two diverged. This will help the investigation try to determine if these factors contributed to reinforcing the negative images in the collective mindset of the Christian imaginary. The same would apply to the role of both secular and ecclesiastical leadership in the proactive or passive protection or assault of the Jews. This would include both written attempts to put a halt on anti-Jewish preaching, as well as actual physical attempts to stand up to the anti-Jewish preachers and angry mobs.

Some of the limitations will be the lack of documentation, as much medieval literature has either been lost, stolen, destroyed or misplaced. As such, an analysis of the available late medieval literature will be used. The available literature consists of secular legislation, ranging acts of the Cortes of both Portugal and Castile, municipal legislation, diplomas and charters from the royal chancelleries of Portugal, ecclesiastical legislation from synods and councils from both kingdoms. Also to be used are the literary works from both kingdoms, ranging from ecclesiastical polemic pieces to secular narratives of prose and poetry of the nobility. Other literary pieces to be considered are the chronicles, which portray actors and

events through the lenses of the narrator, who, in turn, transmit a message of their patrons. This will be further developed in the sources section.

The outcome of the thesis will produce a comprehensive, although by no means total or exhaustive, comparative analysis of the literature written by the secular and ecclesiastical elites on the respective Jews of their kingdoms. It will provide the foundation for further investigation that could allow a more extensive and exhaustive compilation of the literature.

The structure of the thesis will be the analytical narrative of events and major actors of the two kingdoms with a brief description of the socio-economic situation for historical context and then the situation of the Jews in both kingdoms. The actual breakdown of late medieval sources, their comparison including the secular and ecclesiastical legislature of both kingdoms will be in the appendices. The analysis of sources will be followed by the charts that helps visualize the comparison and contrast of secular and ecclesiastical legislation. The first chapter will consist of the historical background of the Jews of Portugal and Castile from the mid-13th century to 1325. The subsequent chapters will not be divided by reigns, as each reign in the two neighboring Iberian kingdoms differed. Instead, they will be divided by turning points in 14th century and 15th century history. These would include the Bubonic Plague of 1348-1350, the Trastámara victory in the dynastic war in Castile in 1369, the Dynastic crisis in Portugal and the Avis victory in the dynastic war in Portugal to the months prior to the massacres in Castile and Aragon in 1391 and finally the massacres of 1391 and their aftermath until 1412. The reason for this division has more to do with the approach to the Jews in their respective kingdoms, rather than a focus on the monarchs of Portugal and Castile.

The breakdown of how the thesis will be further approached will be dealt with in the following sections:

1. Aims and Objectives
2. Methodology
3. Conceptual Framework
4. Late Medieval Iberian Sources: Portugal and Castile
5. State of the Art of Studies on late Medieval Portuguese and Castilian Jewry

1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

The thesis will try to ascertain how late medieval Iberian literature projected the image of secular and ecclesiastical leadership in Castile and Portugal in its attitude towards the Jews. It will focus on a comparative analysis of Portuguese and Castilian sources from 1325 to 1412. The study will compare and contrast the different roles played by the monarchy, nobility, clergy and literary elites in both Castile and Portugal in their approach to their Jewish minorities. Through late medieval sources and studies available, the research will analyze how the precarious bonds between the different social/religious groups either collapsed, as in the case of Castile or withstood the different socio-economic and political tensions as in Portugal from 1325 to 1412.

The reasons for the chosen dates that might seem arbitrary are due to the following:

- In 1325, D. Afonso IV assumed the throne of Portugal, whereas Alfonso XI of Castile reached the age of majority that same year;
- In 1412, both kingdoms passed major legislation towards their respective Jewish minorities that diverged considerably from each other.
    - In Castile, it was: the *Ordinance or Pragmatic of Valladolid 1412*
    - In Portugal, it was: *Alfonsine Ordinance of 1412, Book 2, Title 80*

Although the available evidence points out that there were no assaults on Portuguese Jewish quarters prior to 1449, there is also no systematic analysis towards the reasons why. Historians previously have provided suggestions but have not conducted sufficient in-depth comparative analyses of the available sources from Portugal and Castile. On the other hand, many in-depth studies have compared the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. A quick overview of the different plausible reasons why there were no massacres and subsequent harsh anti-Judaic legislation is necessary to present here before positing the final aims and objectives of this dissertation.

Professor Maria José Ferro Tavares, specialist in late medieval Portuguese Jewish affairs, claimed that in the Kingdom of Portugal, as many kingdoms earlier in the Middle Ages including Castile, the Jews had been protected by the Crown, the nobility and the Church. Portugal also had welcomed the Jews with a certain amount of benignity and humanity.[1] She further argued that Portugal provided a climate of acceptance of peaceful relationships

[1] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2000). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*. Guimarães Editores, p 51.

compare to the rest of Western Christendom. Rarely were there any explosions of popular sentiment against its Jewish community. They would begin by the second half of the 15th century and would be immediately crushed by the local and royal authorities.[2]
No cases of systematic pogroms have been discovered in the Kingdom of Portugal in the Middle Ages as was the case in many other places in Western Christendom, not even localized persecutions. In part, it can be explained in the greater capacity of tolerance of the Portuguese compared to the Castilians.[3]

Noticeably lacking is a thorough comparative study of late medieval sources between the two Iberian kingdoms of why the Kingdom of Portugal did not persecute its Jews as in Castile. Was it distinct conjunctures that led to different mindsets within each of these two societies from the second quarter of the 14th century to the early 15th century? To what extent did the political leadership play a role in the societal development creating, maintaining, weakening and destroying these ties in their respective kingdoms? One can look at the attempt by the Lisbon mob to assault the main Jewish Quarter during the events of December 1383 and that the mob was immediately dispersed by the Master of Avis, Dom João and his men.[4] Why were the attempts at controlling the crowd in Lisbon successful and not so the case in Castile?

According to Amador de los Ríos, the Jews of Portugal did not encounter such stiff opposition in acquiring farms or in limiting their acquisition of real estate. During the reign of Pedro I, Portuguese Jews were free to settle wherever they chose in the counties throughout the kingdom.[5] Although it might seem simple and straightforward, this socio-cultural and political development needs to be further studied and compared with that of Castile by revisiting the existing 14th and early 15th century legislation of both kingdoms and to verify what established historians have found and that certain details have not been left out, omitted or been misinterpreted.

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[2] TAVARES, Mª José (1984). Revoltas contra os Judeus no Portugal Medieval. *Revista de História das Ideais, nº 6, Revoltas e Revoluções*. Instituto de História e teoria das Ideais, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra, p 161.
[3] SOUSA, Armindo de (1992). *História de Portugal v.2. A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Coordenação de José Mattoso. Editorial Estampa, p 294.
[4] LOPES, Fernão (2017). *Crónica de Dom João I, 1ª Parte*, edição de Teresa Amado. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 48-49.
[5] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal,* t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 275.

Professor Carsten Wilke sustains the argument that even though it took the Portuguese sovereigns two centuries to finally implement anti-Judaic legislation that they had promised the Papacy to observe, the constant and continuous exemptions made these laws lose part of their harshness, severity or rigor. This distance between legislation and practice, which made everyday life more bearable for contemporaries, may be misleading to the historian, who has only written sources to study.[6] Another reason why there was a different development in Portugal according to Professor Carsten Wilke was that Portugal did not know the medieval scenery of the mendicant friars who would galvanize excited crowds with inflamed speeches and incite them to assault the ghettos.[7]

Professor Maria José Ferro Tavares also stated that 14th century Portugal would not know anything comparable to the heated disputations or the inflammatory preaching of the mendicant friars that would eventually lead to the forced conversions and the destruction of Jewish communities in the neighboring kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. She supports the view that perhaps the theological controversy between Christians and Jews did not exist might be due to a lack of sources.[8]

Alice Tavares also sustains this argument that there is little evidence of the religious Judeo-Christian polemic or controversy in Portugal in the 14th and early 15th centuries, although there exist few examples of them from the 13th century. Alice Tavares believes that the few examples of such literature in Portugal most likely is due to the absence of public disputations (at least registered) as in the other Iberian kingdoms, mainly in Castile and Aragon where these debates did take place. Another reason for the lack of polemic literature was due to the relative peaceful coexistence (*Convivencia*) in Portugal between the two ethno-religious communities until the end of the 14th century. After the ascension of João I to the throne, there would be small, insignificant incidents more related to urban crime and that were immediately placated by royal authority. This stood in stark contrast to what occurred in Castile and Aragon by the end of the 14th century.[9]

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[6] WILKE, Carsten L (2009). *História dos Judeus Portugueses*. Edição 70, p 36.
[7] Ibid., p 42.
[8] TAVARES (2000), p 152.
[9] TAVARES, Alice (2015). A literatura de polémica judaico-cristã em Portugal no século XV. In Afonso LU y Miranda A (eds) *O livro e a iluminura judaica em Portugal no final da Idade Média*. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, p 93-98; TAVARES, Alice (2010). La literatura de la polémica religiosa judeocristiana en Portugal antes de la Expulsión, en 1497. In *Iberia Judaica. Asociación Hispana de Estudios Hebraicos. La polémica judeo–cristiana en Hispania. The Jewish – Christian Controversy in Hispania*, vol. II, Alcobendas, p 177-192.

Alice Tavares explains that the reason for the lack of Portuguese Christian apologetics literature is perhaps due to the absence of registered theological discussions between the two monotheistic religions in Portugal at that time.[10] Professor Tavares believes that the absence of any evidence proving to the contrary can explain in part the lack of actual acts of violence in Portugal in the late 14th century compared to other Iberian kingdoms, such as Castile.[11] As Alice Tavares concluded, the lack of a substantial amount of Portuguese polemic literature in the 14th century can explain in part, the relative tolerance towards Jews and absence of violent outbursts against them when compared to other Iberian kingdoms, especially Castile[12] in 1355, 1360, 1366-69 and 1391. In other words, the limited creation and publication of these works of religious disputation transmitting negative images of the Jews were not accompanied by acts of violence in Portugal throughout the 14th century, as was the case in the other Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1391 or the increased anti-Judaic legislation that continued afterwards in the early 15th century.

This thesis will use the available medieval documentation of Portugal and Castile along with contemporary studies to investigate the plausible reasons if there were *linguistic* differences between the two neighboring kingdoms, as well as leadership roles, which could have acted as a barrier to the spread of assaults on the Portuguese Jewish quarters and to the harshening of anti-Judaic legislation. As modern methodological investigative tools cannot be used to measure social attitudes, late medieval secular and ecclesiastical records about the Jews will be used. These documents include laws, decrees, records kept in royal chancelleries, chronicles and municipal records. Both Christian and Jewish sources, when available, will be used. The imaginary will also be used to help understand the psychological and collective mindset of the two societies from these neighboring kingdoms.

The thesis will also focus on when and where Castilian and Portuguese legislation approached one another in terms of legal content and semantics used, as well as when and where the two diverged. This will help the investigation try to determine if these factors contributed to reinforcing the negative images in the collective mindset of the Christian imaginary.

[10] TAVARES, A. (2015).
[11] TAVARES, A. (2010)., p 1.
[12] Ibid., p 19.

The same would apply to the role of both secular and ecclesiastical leadership in the proactive or passive protection or assault of the Jews. This would include both written attempts to put a halt on anti-Jewish preaching, as well as actual physical attempts to stand up to the anti-Jewish preachers and angry mobs.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The thesis will compare the existing literature from 1325 to 1415 from the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile and see if the secular and ecclesiastical elites differed in their approach to the Jews. It will attempt to answer the question: How did Late Medieval secular and ecclesiastical Portuguese and Castilian Literature Project the Image towards the Jews?
As the thesis is focused on the late medieval period, there is little reliable quantitative data at hand. What little quantitative data available exists will be presented. As such, this thesis will be primarily limited to qualitative data. Although qualitative data does not provide numerical evidence based on case studies, surveys and interviews, they do provide an in-depth understanding of the actors involved, as well as the mindset of those who wrote the narratives, such as chroniclers, poets, polemic authors, etc. The focus groups are the secular and ecclesiastical Christian elites and the Jews of Castile and Portugal and how the former shaped, transmitted and received images of the latter.

The thesis will use as its qualitative data Castilian and Portuguese sources from the 14th and early 15th centuries, such as legal compendiums, chronicles, poetry, lyrics, books of chancelleries, ordinances and royal charters. Both Christian and Jewish sources will be used to cross-reference and match points of convergence between the two sources of the different religious groups, as well as overcome any possible bias and prejudice permeating into the investigation through the exclusive use of sources from one group. In order to achieve a broader base in the socio-cultural study of the period, the analysis of late medieval literature from the Iberian Peninsula will be required. These different literary genres reflect the way of thinking and mindsets of societies in any given period and provide more insight into what motivated people to take certain actions or not at crucial moments in history.

Research for data and information was conducted at the university libraries of the NOVA in Lisbon, and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (Centro de Documentação ID) of Lisbon, UNED of Madrid, the National Library of Spain in Madrid, the National Library of Portugal in Lisbon (for both studies and sources, including manuscripts), Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, Real Academia de Historia in Madrid, the municipal archives of Lisbon, Toledo and Seville, as well as the ecclesiastical archives of Toledo and Seville. What had helped the investigation was the fact that many works have been digitalized, which came to benefit the investigation tremendously during the many months of the two COVID shutdowns of 2020 and 2021. The downloading of material through Dialnet and Z-lib.org have proven essential in obtaining

documents that were either out of print or could not be accessed. The downloading of digitalized manuscripts from the National Libraires of Spain and Portugal, as well as from the Torre de Tombo have also helped tremendously. The purchase of many studies and printed versions of sources have also helped continue with the investigation, as well as keep a valuable collection of printed medieval sources and studies to be used for future use.[13] Amongst the late medieval sources, the thesis will also look at royal court acts, ordinances, chancelleries, memoirs and papal bulls that over time either protected or attacked the Jews and how Portugal and Castile differed in their approach in which bulls they would follow. The thesis will read and assess reprints of the original documents, such as chronicles, chancelleries, the acts of royal courts, ordinances and *aljamas*, either in university libraries or state archives and assess if they can demonstrate the levels of tolerance through the protection of the religious minorities.

Amongst the medieval legal sources to be analyzed are the *Actas das Cortes dos Reis de Portugal, D. Afonso IV, D. Pedro I and D. Fernando I,* vol. I-II. Also important for the investigation is to study the entries in the kings' books of chancelleries of both kingdoms, especially those of the Portuguese monarchs, as there is less information on the status of Portuguese Jews or Castilian Jews in Portugal than the information available of Castilian Jews. The ecclesiastical legislation from this period to be looked at are the synods of Portugal and Castile. The information was found in the studies conducted by the Spanish team under the guidance of Antonio García y García that began in the early 1980s, with the second volume dedicated solely to the synods of Portugal. The in-depth endeavors of García y García's team are still being conducted to this day with many volumes already published covering dioceses of Toledo, Burgos, Cuenca, Ávila, Seville, Murcia, Córdoba, Valladolid. The aforementioned sources under no circumstances are to be considered as final to the investigation. They are listed as a sample of what had been already considered as useful and analyzed for the thesis. As the investigation progressed, more literary and historical sources were found, analyzed and applied to the thesis. For a complete list, see the Bibliography.

[13] The places of purchase have been in Lisbon, Portugal: the *Centro de Estudos Históricos* of the *Universidade NOVA de Lisboa* for late medieval Portuguese sources, such as chancelleries and Acts of the *Cortes*; *Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda* for late medieval Portuguese chronicles; *Livraria Bertrand* for studies of Portuguese medieval history; *Livraria Ferin* for rare books that are out of print, *Livraria Almedina* for works on history, philosophy, sociology and anthropology. In Madrid, Spain: *Marcial Pons Librero* for late Medieval literary works, legal compendia, chronicles and studies on late medieval Spanish history and literature; *La Central del Callao* for late medieval literary and historical studies, including social movements and social conflict; *La Casa del Libro* for facsimiles, studies and medieval sources in printed format.

The anti-Jewish secular and ecclesiastical laws are to be analyzed using the methodological classification developed by Spanish historian José Mª Monsalvo Antón in the 1980s, which he only applied to Castilian secular laws of the *Cortes*.[14] Even though Monsalvo Antón did not apply it to proclamations or ordinances, this method provided an overall breakdown of the different types of discriminatory laws that affected many aspects of daily life of the Jewish minority. This thesis will apply Monsalvo Antón's methodological classification to the anti-Jewish secular laws of Castilian ordinances, the Portuguese *Cortes* and Ordinances, as well as the anti-Jewish ecclesiastical laws of the synods of Portugal and Castile, in order to facilitate a more comprehensive comparative analysis. The analysis of these laws shall be placed in Appendices I. Monsalvo Antón's classification of anti-Jewish legislation consisted of:

1. Administrative and Professional Discrimination and the Reduction of social and political influence of Jews: Reviewing the traditional Jewish presence in tax and rent collection;
2. Judicial Discrimination: Suppression of Jurisdictional Privileges and Prerogatives of the Jews;
3. Pragmatic and Interested regulation of the Economic Activities of the Jews within the scope of finance and credit;
4. Basis or Foundation of Confessional (Religious) Inferiority and the Discrimination towards the practice of non-Christian religion;
5. Limitations on the daily dealings between Jews and Christians and Segregation of the Jewish minority.[15]

[14] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1988). Cortes de Castilla y León y Minorías. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*. Ediciones Simancas, p 146-148. In the first place, the real motivations and objective historical causes of anti-Judaism or rather, the real role played by the actual economic and administrative links of the Jewish elites with the different social and political groups. As such, the study focused on the material character of anti-Judaism. The second plane involved the study of the ideological aspect of anti-Judaism that was used to justify the hatred and resentment of the different tiers of the dominant Christian society towards the Jewish minority community. The objective was to confront the two religious groups with stereotypical images of the minority group that was taken from reality and exaggerated or deformed to present a negative image that appeared threatening, and thus, justifying open hostility and violence. Jews, not only were presented as belonging to a faith that was erroneous, but as Christ killers – a matter that was denied by Sephardic Jews, who claimed that they reached the Iberian Peninsula before the birth of Jesus. Jews were also presented as rich usurers, power hungry and inclined to hurt Christians. It is here that *the link between the actual or real economic and administrative relations of a few prominent Jews was attached to the role of ideology and projecting the stereotype of the evil, greedy, malevolent and conniving Jew*. It was of little to no interest of those who propagated this image of the Jews that the majority of the Jewish community did not have the power, affluence or influence of the few prominent Jews of the court or wealthy merchants. On the *third plane*, seen from a *methodological point of view*, is the *model of Christian-Jewish coexistence within a formal legalistic relations framework*. *Through official legislation, the medieval Christian world impose a normative value system onto the Jews*. The *legal framework provided the expression of a hostile argument against the Jews and provided a degree of legal uniformity* to the different social groups. In terms of presenting their cases, the procurators' presentation of the Jews, especially in the cases of usury did not vary much from the stereotypical view held by the Church and the common people.

[15] MONSALVO ANTÓN (1988), p 151-184.

Unlike Monsalvo Antón, who did not create charts to illustrate his findings, the analyzed information will be placed into charts that will have the aforementioned types of anti-Jewish categories, the date and place of the Cortes, the article or item number of the legislation and a brief description of the legislation. The same is to be applied to the synods, chancelleries (when applicable) and ordinances of both kingdoms. These charts will be placed in Appendices II. The legal documents would also portray the mindset of those involved in the process, such as the municipal procurators and the Crown, as well as how the resolutions taken to the petitions would be transmitted to the target audience of common people through proclamations in open squares and public places, such as town and city squares.
Besides the breaking down of legal sources, the importance of both literary and historical sources (chronicles) will be considered. The former provides historians with a socio-cultural background or context, as well as the late medieval *imaginary* of the *collective mindsets* of the inhabitants of the two kingdoms. This is essential to have a better understanding of the events that occurred in any given period. These sources allow investigators to look into *mindsets* and how certain societal actors were portrayed, even if these *portrayals* were at times vivid or even imaginary. As such, the projected image of the concerned actors of a focus group, in this case the Jews, as well as those portraying them (both Christian and Jewish elites), such as the writers (if known), the patrons of the literary works, those who spread the message of the works, either through musical or theatrical performances or simply interpreted them through preaching to the common people in a more accessible language.

The approach taken will be to critically examine each source under investigation by looking at their *origins, purpose, content, values, strengths or attributes and limitations, flaws or weaknesses*. Not all limitations are negative, as long as the investigator is aware of them, can point them out and explain them. All biases and prejudices of the time period must be taken into account and weighed into the analysis as a reflection of the mindset of the period. This paper will use different literary and historical sources in order to examine different perspectives so as to come closer, within the possible, to a more objective and in-depth view of events. It is only after an evaluation of the selected sources used, can one come to a more objective conclusion of the aforementioned events. The analysis of the literary sources shall be placed in Appendices III.

The literary sources that will be analyzed are: (Christian sources) *Libro de los Estados* by Don Juan Manuel; *El Libro de Buen Amor* by Juan Ruiz,; the anonymous *Libro de miseria de*

omne; and, *El Rimado de Palacio* by Pero López de Ayala. Christian polemic works that will be looked at are: *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y Judío*, edición de Aitor García Moreno; and the anonymous Portuguese *Libro da Corte Imperial*. Jewish literary sources that will be analyzed are: *Proverbios Morales* by Sem Tob de Carrión, edición de Paloma Díaz-Mas; Sephardic stories, eulogies and poems; such as *Elegy on the martyrs of Toledo 1391* written by Jacob ibn Albaneh; *Chebet Yehudah (La Vara de Yehudah)* by Selomoh ibn Verga translated and commented by Francisco Cantera Burgos; Chapter 50 of the *Compendio Memoria del Justo* by R. Yosef ben Saddiq; and, *El Libro de la Tradición* by Abraham bar Selomoh de Torrutiel.

The historical sources, such as Castilian and Portuguese chronicles, ordinances and books from royal chancelleries that will be analyzed are: (Castilian sources) *Crónica de Don Enrique II, Crónica de Don Juan I, Crónica de Don Enrique III* from *Crónicas* de Pero López de Ayala edición de José-Luis Martín (1991); *Crónica Anónima de Enrique III de Castilla*: *(1390-1391)* edición de Michel García (2013); and, the entries of the year 1391 from the 18th century edition of a manuscript (Ms. 13089), *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y los judíos de Castilla*. (Portuguese sources) *Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V*, Livro 2, Títulos LXVI-LXXXXVIII; *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Afonso IV, vol. I-III, D. Pedro, D. Fernando* and *D. João*, vol. I, t. 1-3, vol. II, t. 1-3, vol. III, t. 1-3; and, *Crónica de Dom Pedro, Crónica de Dom Fernando* and *Crónica de Dom João I: Primeira Parte (2017) e Segunda Parte* by Fernão Lopes.

Studies are important for a few reasons. The first one is to obtain information, ranging from the general to the specific and particular on the topic or subject of investigation. In the case of this thesis, the topic or subject of investigation are the Jews of Castile and Portugal and the secular and evangelical elites that shaped and transmitted specific messages to a target audience of the Christian common people.

Many of the studies selected were conducted by specialists from both Spain and Portugal. In terms of Portugal, there are, among many others: Mª José Ferro Tavares, specialist in medieval Portuguese Jewish studies; Alice Tavares, specialist in late medieval Portuguese and Castilian Jewish studies; Filomena Barros, specialist on minorities in Évora; Armindo de Sousa, specialist in late medieval Portuguese *Cortes*; José Mattoso, specialist in Portuguese medieval history and the imaginary; Isabel Barros Dias, specialist in late medieval

Portuguese and Castilian chronicles. In terms of Castile, there are, among many others: José Amador de los Ríos, specialist in the political, social and religious history of Iberian Jews; Yitzhak Baer, another specialist in the social, religious and political history of the Jews in Castile, Aragon and Navarre; Julio Valdeón Baruque, specialist in the role of social conflict and Castilian Jews; Pilar León Tello, specialist on the Jews of Toledo, Palencia and Ávila; Isabel Montes Romero Camacho, specialist in the Jews of Seville; José Mª Monsalvo Antón, Enrique Cantera Montenegro and Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada specialists in late medieval Castilian Jews, Conversos, social conflict, the imaginary and literature; Rica Amrán, specialist of the role of Castilian chronicles in the projection of the image of Castilian Jews and Conversos in propaganda and socio-political and religious messages; Maya Soifer Irish, another specialist in the projection of the Castilian Jews in the Christian imaginary.

The careful reading and breakdown of studies are crucial in seeing if careful and meticulous investigation has been conducted by specialists in prior investigations. Part of the process is to compare the sources with the studies and verify where the studies are supported by the sources and see if there any inconsistencies with those studies that have claimed to have used medieval studies. Some of the issues that emerged from investigation of sources and studies will be further developed in the Sources section.

What has been crucial in the analysis of late medieval sources and the importance of understanding terms that, not only are spelt differently today, but to be aware of slight nuanced differences in meaning of terms. The *Elucidário de Viterbo* was crucial in overcoming certain shortcomings in the comprehension of certain late medieval judicial or legalistic terms.[16] Fortunately, many of the studies on Castilian Jews had glossaries providing the definitions of many of the late medieval judicial, legal, tax, and fiscal Castilian terms.

[16] *Elucidário das Palavras, termos e frases antiquadas da Língua Portugueza, A-F*, t. Iº (1865). Publicado por Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Lisboa, 1865; *Elucidário das Palavras, termos e frases antiquadas da Língua Portugueza,* G-Z, t. IIº (1865). Publicado por Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Conceptual frameworks help explain and understand the subject of investigation. They provide structure, guidance and clarification, as well as highlight underlying assumptions throughout the work. However, conceptual frameworks are not monolithic constructs imposing absolute truths. Instead, they provide a lens in viewing societies and interpreting events. As no one single theory fits into the focus of the thesis, the concepts from other theorists will be used; such as those developed by Gilbert Durand on the imaginary and its social function in marginalization, Searle's theory on the roles of mind, language and society, Pierre Bourdieu's theory on the role of language in symbolic power, Nieto Soria's ideas on communication and political conflict in the Iberian Peninsula and Gómez Redondo's approach to how images and messages are created and shaped by specific narrators, transmitted to specific target audiences through literature and how they are received by those same audiences, will be used to guide the thesis. The different concepts build upon and reinforce one another.

Prior to entering into late medieval Iberian literature, special note should be made into analogical thought that was predominant in medieval mindsets. Analogical thought consisted of *crosslinking human behavior*, *traits* and *beliefs* to *characteristics, objects* and *animals* in nature. Analogical thought was based on *symmetries, contiguities, correspondences, homologies* and *opposites*.[17] It is an important cognitive tool used by humans in explaining and understanding the world around them.[18] Even though it was initially used in ancient times, it was continued to be used in the medieval period and was prevalent in its literature. People in the Middle Ages needed *associations of others in order to perceive and understand them in what appeared to be a confusing world*. The medieval mind perceived the world through allegories. These allegories could be *in verbis*, extended metaphors that are developed as plastic symbols of an abstract concept or a spiritual reality or allegories that were *in factis*, *figurae* of historical events or a figuration between elements. Many times,

[17] FRANCO JÚNIOR, Hilário. "Similibus símile cognoscitur. O pensamento analógico medieval". *Medievalista* [em linha]. Nº 14 (Julho-Dezembro 2013), p 1-37

[18] SUNSTEIN, Cass R. "On Analogical Reasoning." *Harvard Law Review*, vol. 106, no. 3, 1993, pp. 741–791. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1341662; and, Gentner, D. & Smith, L. (2012). "Analogical reasoning." In V. S. Ramachandran (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Human Behavior* (2nd Ed.). pp. 130-136. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

these allegorical comparisons were used in Biblical typology of type-antitype, comparing stories from the Old Testament with the New Testament.[19]

Medieval analogical thought fits in with the medieval conceptualization and portrayal of "otherness" or alterity. In the medieval period, individuals or groups not belonging to the majority collective had social and behavioral consequences, as those who did not belong were not only viewed as different, but as *dangerous, dark, sinister* and *evil*. The representation of the "Other" through literature and the arts involves a multitude of different and overlapping messages that trigger the senses and the imagination. The senses of sight and hearing cross over and intermesh with emotions that translate into a web of conscious and unconscious reactions and behaviors that can potentially generate latent antagonism and/or even destructive hatred.[20]

The late medieval centers of creation and production of the image of the "Other" belonged to ecclesiastical and secular elites. The transfer process of divulging the images of alterity was slow, as it was shared orally, basically from the:

- Pulpit from where the sacred texts were read, interpreted and exemplified;
- Ecclesiastical art, be it architectural, sculptural, painting or luminaries;
- Theater and processions of religious character;
- Public squares in urban areas from where royal or municipal edicts and postures were proclaimed and posted outdoors for all to hear and see[21]

The different types of art forms and written texts, from religious stories to ecclesiastical and secular legal documents, reinforced each other in the messages created and conveyed about *alterity* or *otherness* to the target public in the majority Christian society. They identified the legal prohibitions towards specific "Others," that as time progressed, would develop this lack of specific knowledge and understanding of that "Other" amongst the majority Christian population, ultimately transforming it from "different" or "strange" to "absolute Evil" and as the generator of Terror in times of social instability.[22]

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[19] DISALVO, Santiago. "Algunas notas sobre la presencia de elementos tipológicos o figurativos en los *Milagros* de Gonzalo de Berceo y en las *Cantigas de Santa María* de Alfonso X" in *Revista do CESP*, v. 29, nº 42, jul.-dez. 2009, p 62-63.

[20] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro, "A Construção de um estereótipo: O Judeu no Mediterrâneo Ocidental e o seu reflexo na Arte (séculos XII a XVI)" in *Publicações do CIDEHUS: Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica*, ed. Mª Filomena Lopes de BARROS e José Hinojosa MONTALVO, Edições Colibri, 2008, p 18.

[21] Ibid., p 18-19.

[22] TAVARES, op. cit, 2008, p 19.

Anthropologist Gilbert Durand further developed analogical thought in his theories on the imaginary.[23] It would consist of a set of images, schemes, schemata, symbols, archetypes and myths that are created, projected, received and further developed amongst members of a particular society and culture.[24] He would state that the representation of the excluded or those who are socially marginalized form an integral part of the of the genesis of the social imaginary. These images possess an indispensable voice in the cultural formation of a society.

For Durand, the imaginary is *not static*, but forms part of a *social dynamic that evolves over time*. The images go through changes, mutations and transformations that are both social and historical.[25] In the first case or instance, societies that are *ill* or *sick*, suffer from the symptom of *fanatical absolutism* that reduces *all otherness* to complete marginalization and a "final solution." Under normal conditions, an individual or collective psyche holds a balance of diverse or different *otherness*.[26] The second instance is that marginality or *otherness* cannot exist in itself, as these human constructs are based on societal developments that create concepts of *otherness* and attribute them negative attributes. This is irrespective of the individual's or group's social status; they are susceptible to becoming marginalized at different points in time.[27] The third observation is that not a single social situation or function is reduced to imaginary inertia. There is a *continuous reinforcement of marginality through the imaginary*. But once the excluded reappears through renewed or transformed images, she/he becomes a pole for negative imaginary, feared, threatening, polluting by the dominant majority population.[28]

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[23] In the English translation of Gilbert Durand's *Anthropological Structures and the Imaginary* (1999), the "Translator's Foreword" defined the imaginary as per the *Penguin Dictionary of Philosophy*: **1.** adj. pertaining to the imagination; fictitious. 2. n. *As* a noun, the word is a recent import from the French and bears the traces of a long history of theorization about the *imaginary* within French philosophy, <esthetics, literary theory, cultural anthropology and psychoanalysis, p 7. The translator went further to explain that "*Durand's book deals with the structure of the human imaginary, within which it establishes a typology of figures, organized structurally according to several central archetypes and focusing on man's subjective experience of space and ultimately time"* p 8.

[24] DURAND, Gilbert. *Anthropological Structures and the Imaginary*. Boombana Publications, Brisbane, 1999, p 59.

[25] DURAND, Gilbert. *Campos do Imaginário*. Instituto Piaget, Lisboa, 1996, p 171-172.

[26] Ibid., p 173. Durand used the contentious term "totalitarianism", which was applied to 20th century dictatorships, such as Fascism, Nazism, Stalinism, Maoism. Fanaticism, as a negative human trait, has accompanied humankind for millennia prior to the 20th century and before the current era.

[27] Ibid., p 173-174. As an example, Durand used the nobility during the French Revolution as losing their status, becoming marginalized, persecuted and then eliminated.

[28] DURAND, op. cit., 1996, p 174. Durand used the example of US Western films, which portrayed delineated primitive racist values of the "good" cowboys or "Union troops" versus the "diabolical" Native Americans.

However, Durand's conceptualization of the role of the imaginary in marginalization does not suffice in explaining the role of literature and language in the shaping and transmission of images by elites to their target audiences. Therefore, other concepts from different theories are required.

John R. Searle in his *Mind, Language and Society*[29] offers a philosophical approach to how the human mind interacts with language in society and how language structures social consciousness through established and accepted values and norms. This interaction, in turn, creates an "objective social and institutional reality" that through language can be used a powerful tool to motivate humans to take action.

There are different levels of consciousness of individuals through *experience*, which is *saved and transmitted through language*. Written and oral language help humans to create a record of those experiences, which is *memory*. The written and oral record are nothing more than the creation and retention of consciousness. As such, the retention of consciousness is linked to *intentionality*.[30] In other words, the purpose of creating and retaining a record is to maintain an intentional artifice or construct in fulfilling the ideological goals of the elites. In the case of the thesis, it was to shape, project and retain negative images of the minority group of the Jews that refused to convert and posed a threat to indirectly proselytize Christians, as well as an economic threat to Christians.

Delving deeper into the role of language in shaping mindsets in society, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, analyzed language as an instrument of action and power in his work, *Language and Symbolic Power.*[31] Bourdieu saw *language as an instrument of action and*

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[29] SEARLE. John R. *Mind, Language and Society. Philosophy in the Real World*. Basic Books: New York, 1999.
[30] Ibid., p 74-76. Searle's interpretation of intentionality helps understand how elite members of the majority dominant Christian community created and transmitted specific negative images about the minority Jewish community and how the target audience of the dominant majority Christian community accepted and perpetuated such images. In other words, creation of such images by ecclesiastical and secular elites, their transfer to the target audience of the dominant majority Christian population were not accidental. There is an overlap between consciousness and intentionality; p 86.
[31] BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1991. The key concept to Bourdieu's sociological and anthropological interpretation was *habitus*, which was a set of *dispositions*, in which the agents would act or react in certain ways. These dispositions generated *practices, perceptions and attitudes* that are not governed by any specific set of rules. As such, they are *inculcated over time* from early childhood experiences. They *reflect the social conditions from which they were acquired*. Habitus allows agents with a notion of *what is appropriate*, of *how to respond* and *how to act* in their daily

power, and unlike linguists, who see language as an object of contemplation, Bourdieu claimed that linguistic exchanges "are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized."[32]

Part of the goal in linguistic exchange, besides transmitting ideas or information, was *the transmission of emotions through the awakening and reviving of socially marked experiences*. Bourdieu went further to claim that religious leaders and politicians achieve their greatest ideological successes through the use of *particular words* that have many definitions and that are employed in their discourse and can be used to *manipulate their target audience or public*.[33] As *all discourse is socially charged and has social connotations*, the importance was to make the agents in the audience feel that they are included and can "recognize themselves in the same message."[34]

José Manuel Nieto Soria, in his *Comunicación y Conflicto en la Cultura Política Peninsular (Siglos XIII al XV),* discussed how *space* acquired a relevant position in the political communication processes in respect to power that encompass *organization, mobilization, message selection*, all within the *location* in which political interaction took place. As there is a relationship between power and space, political communication of the elites, as a necessary component to the practice of their power, needs and claims the *availability of public space as a requirement as a means of transmission of the elites' messages*. Nieto Soria acknowledged that the study of the *public space in the successful transmission and reception of the elites' messages* is part of the many forms of *political communication*. He went further to assert that in the late medieval period, the public sphere was a well-structured space for the expression of power relations under strict ritualization conditions that would only allow the transmission of messages and their acclaim by the crowd. The *public space* was reduced basically to an *instrument of political pedagogy*, in which an image of the sublimation of royal power was

routines. Closely related to the habitus is the bodily *hexis*, which is a permanent *disposition*, such as the manner in which individuals speak, walk stand, and, as a result, most likely think and feel.[31] It is the *hexis* that would act as triggers for the target audience to act upon certain stimuli that had been inculcated into the masses over centuries.

[32] Ibid., p 37.

[33] Ibid., p 39.

[34] Ibid., p 41.

accompanied by another complementary image of hierarchical structuring of political society with the presence of ecclesiastical, noble and urban power.[35]

Part and parcel of the using of the public sphere for the transmission of specific messages to target audiences was the contextualized phenomenon of what Nieto Soria classified as *teatrocracia* or theatercracy, in which the acts of power were dramatically presented to the crowd in the public space in the form of symbols, insignia, clothes, gestures, rhetoric, in which there is a bi-directionality of monarch looking at the public and the public looking at the Crown.[36] Here the forcing of Jews (and Moors) to wearing distinctive signs on their clothes, as well as the type of clothes and length of hair and beards fit in with the anti-Jewish rhetoric that increased in the Cortes of both kingdoms, and in the preaching, open public trials and polemic debates that occurred in Castile. The reading aloud of anti-Jewish legislation, public polemic disputes between ecclesiastical leaders and rabbis, as well as hostile speeches from mendicant preachers against the Jews and how they could impress and influence the common people to turn against the despised and feared Jewish minority. The importance of the transmission of messages to target audiences in terms of the power of symbols and clothes, as well as in rhetoric, either in spoken or written format will be analyzed in regards to the marginalization, ostracization and alienation of the Jews in late medieval society.

Both secular and ecclesiastical elites would try to manage and direct the messages they wanted to transmit to their target audiences, either literate, semi-literate or illiterate.[37] The role of language, either oral or written, played a fundamental role in the transmission of messages, codes, images that reflected the ideological intensions of secular and ecclesiastical elites of the period, in which they were produced. The producers of texts chose the target language and selected specific terms and words in order to create, shape, reshape their message and choose the method of transmission – written, oral or both, so as to increase accessibility to a broader target audience that would receive the intended messages and act

[35] NIETO SORIA, José Manuel. "Comunicación y Conflicto Político: Algunas Perspectivas de Análisis" in *Comunicación y Conflicto en la Cultura Política Peninsular (Siglos XIII al XV)*. José Manuel Nieto Soria y Óscar Villarroel González (coords.). Silex Ediciones: Madrid, 2018, p 35-38.
[36] Ibid., p 38-39.
[37] GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando. *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, I, La Creación del Discurso Prosístico: El Entramado Cortesano*. Ediciones Cátedra: Madrid, 1998, p 10-13; and, GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando. *Historia de la Poesía Medieval Castellana, Tomo I, La Trama de las Materias*. Ediciones Cátedra: Madrid, 2020, p 11-13.

upon them. The end process of the transmission was a result of a set of social, cultural and political tensions that are incorporated in a process of textual affirmation. The subject matter of the text message is an integral part of the culture from which it was developed and is a reshaping of previous content knowledge, which reflect the existing social relations. The written or oral prose merely help organize the set of ideas in order for them to be understood and turn them into expected behavior patterns.[38]

Although the concept of Convivencia will not be redefined here, as it is not the focus of this thesis, it will be mentioned throughout the thesis, as it is *continuously raised by Iberian medievalists*. It will *not* be presented as a naïve belief that life in the medieval Iberian Peninsula consisted of a peaceful harmony amongst the three confessions, but rather as a more nuanced, complicated and multifaceted concept.[39] According to Julio Valdeón Baruque, the different religious groups in the respective kingdoms practiced a certain amount of autonomy within their own communities that would change to a precarious co-existence from the mid-14th century onwards.[40] According to Thomas Glick, *Convivencia* was "coexistence, but [with] mutual interpenetration and creative influence, even as it also embraces the phenomenon of mutual friction, rivalry and suspicion."[41] David Nirenberg would go as far as to claim that *Convivencia* was not predicated on peace and harmony but on *violence: legal, symbolic and physical*.[42] The violence of *Convivencia* was directed at the people *Christians conducted business transactions on an everyday basis and not on people they did not know*. "Attacker and victim alike were tightly bound in a wide variety of relations that enmeshed moments of violence and gave them meaning."[43] The breakdown in *Convivencia* will help explain the continuous marginalization of the Jews that would ultimately lead to violence.

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[38] GÓMEZ REDONDO, op. cit., 1998, p 11-13.
[39] SOIFER IRISH, Maya. "Beyond Convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain" in *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1, January 2009. Soifer Irish presented a concise summary of the debates over the concept of Convivencia since the publication of Américo Castro's *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* in 1948.
[40] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, J., "El Siglo XIV: la quiebra de la convivencia entre las tres religiones" in *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos: De la aceptación al rechazo*. Ámbito Ediciones: Soria, 2004, p 125-128.
[41] GLICK, Thomas. "Convivencia: An Introductory Note" in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*. Edited by Vivian B. Mann, et. al. George Braziller & The Jewish Museum, New York, 1992, p 1.
[42] NIRENBERG, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 2015, p 8-10, 229-230, 245: "Convivencia was predicated upon violence; it was not its peaceful antithesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it. thesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it. To call plague massacres (or Holy Week riots, miscegenation accusations, and the like) "intolerant" is therefore fundamentally to misconstrue the terms in which coexistence was articulated in medieval Iberia."
[43] NIRENBERG, op. cit., 2015, p 40.

These explanations are key in the focus of the thesis in that the many anti-Jewish messages transmitted to the target audience of the majority Christian community about the fringe minority Jewish community were successful in convincing the recipient public about the negative images transmitted about the desecration of the Holy Host, the kidnapping of Christian children for nocturnal blood rituals, the poisoning of wells, streams and rivers; and sorcery. Not only did the dominant Christian majority community understand it but reacted upon it in many instances in the most violent and cruel ways. As have been seen, the agents and actors (secular and ecclesiastical) transmitted these messages or speech acts and how the hearers or target audience (common people) reacted to these speech acts will be further analyzed in the thesis.

As has been discussed, the conceptual framework of applying the different theories of Durand's imaginary and marginalization; Searle's language, society and mind; Bourdieu's language and symbolic power; Nieto Soria's communication and conflict; and, Gómez Redondo's creation, transmission and reception of images and messages from literature, will provide a construct to analyze the documentation and determine if the analyzed literature shaped, projected and reinforced stereotypes and archetypes of the Jews into the Christian imaginary of Portugal and Castile. This would include not only a comparison and contrast of subject content but word choice as well. The comparison and contrast of the role of ecclesiastical and secular leadership will also be analyzed within the lens of the aforementioned conceptual framework.

Even though literary sources provide information regarding the projection of images of Jews into the collective mindset of the Christian majority society, pictural images, including icons helped project archetypes, prototypes and stereotypes in a visual manner that was easier to access for the common people, who, in general, were illiterate and could easily identify those characters that belonged to the majority Christian community and those outsiders (the Other), who were the marginalized and despised minority groups, including heretics, Muslims and Jews. A separate study is included in Appendix IV dedicated to Late Medieval Iconography with a focus on the *Cantigas de Santa María* (CSM), as they were composed in the Iberian Peninsula, written in Galician-Portuguese and read by the elites in both Castile and Portugal.

4. LATE MEDIEVAL IBERIAN SOURCES: PORTUGAL AND CASTILE

Literature is the expression of human thought, imagination, inspiration, reason, emotion and memory through language. It can be written or oral, which has been transcribed to collect for posterity. Through the use of language, literature conveys message and meaning. It has a target audience that the creator has in mind to share with its select audience or convince it of the artists' or creators' intentions. These intentions can be for pure artistic purposes of portraying what the artist or creator sees and believes to reflect or they can be for more narrowly defined purposes. These narrower intentions can be for religious, ideological, legal, political or economic purposes.[44]

History is a discipline that is not simply based on royal, noble or ecclesiastical written accounts but rather based on many social science and artistic sources as well, in order to create a more holistic reconstruction of the past. The Arts encompass literature (both prose and verse), music, painting (portraits, murals, miniatures illuminations), sculpture and architecture. The written narrative of events is not enough to help interpret and explain the past, but rather they need to be expanded upon by luminaries, stories, legends, monuments, the plastic arts, architecture, the collective imaginary, etc. These different fields help in understanding the past through a diachronic prism. As such, historians need to understand the different methodological approaches conducted by the specialists of each field in the human sciences that are pertinent to the specific study and apply them according to their academic/scientific rigor.[45]

It must be stressed the importance of providing a broad base in reconstructing history by using a wide and varied range of sources in order to get a more nuanced picture of events and

[44] For studies on Iberian medieval literature, see: DIAS, Aida Fernanda (1998). *História Crítica da Literatura Portuguesa [Idade Média],* V. I, Editorial VERBO. FERREIRA, Maria Ema Tarracha (1998). *Poesia e Prosa medievais: selecção, introdução e notas*, 3ª edição. Biblioteca Ulisseia de Autores Portugueses; also by FERREIRA (2004), *Antologia Literária Comentada: Idade Média,* 5ª edição, Editora Uliseeia; Lamas, Estela Pinto Ribeiro e Luís Ricardo Pereira. *Poesia Tradicional Portuguesa: Trovadoresca, Palaciana e Camoniana*. Instituto Piaget. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón (2014). *Estudios sobre lírica medieval*; prólogo de Margit Frank. Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles. GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (1998), *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. La creación del discurso prosístico: el entramado cortesano*, I, Ediciones Cátedra, S.A.; *El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso,* II, Ediciones Cátedra, 1999, *Los orígenes del humanismo. El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II,* III, 2002, and *Historia de la poesía medieval castellana: La trama de las materias,* I, 2020. DEYERMOND, Alan (1980), *Historia y Crítica de la literatura española. Edad Media*, I, Dir. Francisco RICO. Editorial Crítica.(1ª ed.) and (1991), 2ª ed.. LACARRA, Mª Jesús y Juan Manuel CACHO BLECUA (2012). *Historia de la Literatura Española, 1. Entre oralidad y escritura: La Edad Media*, Editorial CRÍTICA.

[45] MATTOSO, José (2019). *A Escrita da História*. Circuito de Leitores e Temas e Debates, pp 20, 36, 39, 48.

societal developments. Nonetheless, there will always be issues of bias and prejudice through the texts written by certain authors, especially if the dominant group composed them. In order to overcome these shortcomings, it is essential to use sources from both groups. The issues involving bias and prejudice and the different ways to overcome them will be further developed in the Methodological Approach.[46]

The thesis will use Castilian and Portuguese primary historical and literary sources from the 14th and early 15th centuries, such as legal compendiums, books of chancelleries, ordinances, albalás (royal letters), royal charters and polemics, as well as ecclesiastical legislation, such as councils and synods, and chronicles. Both Christian and Jewish sources will be used to cross-reference and match points of convergence between the two sources of the different religious groups, as well as overcome any possible bias and prejudice permeating into the investigation through the exclusive use of sources from one group. In order to achieve a broader base in the socio-cultural study of the period, the analysis of late medieval literature from the Iberian Peninsula will be required extending back to 1325. Such literary genres include poetry and lyrics and, prose. These different literary genres reflect the way of thinking and mindsets of societies in any given period and provide more insight into what motivated people to take certain actions or not at crucial moments in history.

Julio Valdeón Baruque broke down sources into the following: 1. Narratives; 2. Diplomatic; 3. Notebooks of the Cortes; 4. Municipal Acts; 5. Lawsuits and processes; 6. Fiscal and economic documents; 7. Memoirs; 8. Doctrinal and polemic writings; and, 9. Literary texts.[47] Under no circumstances, does this list mean a hierarchy of importance or the number of types of sources that will be used. They will depend on the number of sources available, but ranging from the aforementioned types.

1. Narrative sources consist primarily, but not exclusively, of chronicles. Special caution should be paid to this type of source as they are not an objective recount of events, but rather

[46] SHOAM-STEINER, Ephraim (2018). The Sources for Social and Institutional History. In *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Middle Ages-The Christian World,* (The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 6), Cambridge University Press, p 307.

[47] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media,* 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones, p 118-122. Valdeón Baruque had included travel memoirs amongst possible sources. However, the investigation process did not encounter any travel memoir dealing with Jewish issues in the late Medieval period in Castile and Portugal.

an account that reflects the ideas, opinions, perspectives and interpretations of the person who commissioned the work, as well as the imagination and literary license of the person, who wrote the piece. They could be used as effective tools of propaganda and ideology by creating an ideal image of the people and events that are being portrayed. Chronicles could either exaggerate or downplay catastrophic events, depending if they are defending the actors who were responsible or failed to take action or if the chronicles are being used as a weapon to attack those responsible, who either were responsible or failed to take action to stop or curb the catastrophe. Cross-referencing with other sources, such as laws, decrees, letters, and other chronicles, help in achieving a more approximate reconstruction of historical events, prior to more accurate and scientific methods used today by the social sciences in their analytical studies.[48]

This is not to discredit chronicles for their historical and literary values, but that they need to be taken with a grain of salt in terms of the objectivity of their recounting of events. Chronicles, however, offer an excellent source of study of the rhetorical and propagandistic

[48] AURELL, Jaume (2016). *La Historiografía Medieval: Entre la historia y la literatura*. Publicacions de la Universitat de València. DIAS, Isabel Barros (2000). *Metamorfoses de Babel: A historiografia ibérica (sécs. XIII – XIV): Construções e estratégias textuais,* Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos Portugueses, na especialidade de Literatura Portuguesa (Época Medieval), Universidade Aberta; also, "Gathering, Ranking and Denegating sources in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iberian Chronicles", Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle*, 2008, p 47-60; and, (2007).A Cronística Afonsina modelada em português: um caso de recepção activa. Isabel Beceiro Pita (ed.), *Hispania* vol. LXVII, nº 227 – número monográfico sobre *Portugal en la baja edad media: identidad nacional y sentimiento hispánico*, p 899-928. FERNANDES, Fátima Regina (2012). "As Crônicas e as Chancelarias Régias: a Natureza e os Problemas de Aplicação das Fontes Medievais Portuguesas" in *Revista Ágora*, Vitória, n.16, p. 77-94. GARCIA, Michel (Spring 2005). Una Nueva Versión de la Crónica de Enrique III, de Ayala. *Romance Philology*, Vol. 58, No. 2, p 225-237. GÓMEZ-BRAVO, Ana M. (2005). Espacio de la escritura: sobre la localización de la actividad cultural en la España y el Portugal del Cuatrocientos. In *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de literatura medieval, A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001*. GUTWIRTH, Eleazar (April 1984). The Jews in 15th Century Castilian Chronicles. *Jewish Quarterly Review,* New Series, Vol. 74, No. 4, p 379-396. LOZOYA, Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala, Marqués de (1933). El Cronista don Pedro López de Ayala y la historiografía portuguesa. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. 102, p 115-157. MIRANDA, José Carlos (Julho 2009). "Na Génese da Primeira Crónica Portuguesa" in *Medievalista* [Em linha]. Nº6, p 1-35. MOREIRA, Filipe Alves (2010). *A Crónica de Portugal de 1419: Fontes, Estratégias e Posteridade*, Dissertação de Doutoramento em Literaturas e Culturas Românicas Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto. RODRIGUEZ, Bretton (2015). Pero López de Ayala and the Politics of Rewriting the Past. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, v. 7, p 266-282; and, (Spring 2017). Competing Images of Pedro I: López de Ayala and the formation of Historical Memory. *La Crónica*, 45.2, p 79-108. SCHIAVINATO, Rodrigo Barbosa (jan/abr. 2018). Historiografia e Legitimação de Poder em Portugal e Castela (Séculos XIV-XV). *Hist. R. Goiânia,* v.1. n.1, p 148-162; and, (Junho 2018). Cronística em Portugal: Fernão Lopes e o modelo de justiça régia. *Revista Diálogos Mediterrânicos*, Nº 14, p 297-314. SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (Winter 2007). Medieval Portuguese Chronicles. Topics in a Discourse of Identity and Power. *e-JPH*, Vol. 5, nº 2, p 1-7. TREVISAN, Mariana Bonat e Douglas Mota (2014). O Sonho de Pedro I e a salvação do reino: D. João e os destino régio nas crônicas de Fernão Lopes (séc. XV). In *Os Sonhos na História*, e-Editorial IVITRA Poliglota. Estudis, Edicions i Traduccions, p 111-126. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 118.

literary tools used by historians to reflect the political thinking of the period in which they were written.[49] Instead, they had a didactic purpose of teaching or instructing the views of the Court[50] to the target audience of readers or listeners to when the accounts were read aloud. As such, they must be seen as subjective and arbitrary recounts of events and the main actors of the period presented.

In terms of the Castilian and Portuguese chronicles, there are: (Castilian Chronicles) *Crónicas de Don Pedro I, Don Enrique I, Don Juan I and Don Enrique III* from *Crónicas* de Pero López de Ayala edición de José-Luis Martín (1991);[51] *Crónica Anónima de Enrique III de Castilla*: *(1390-1391)* edición de Michel García (2013).[52] Pero López de Ayala's account of the development of anti-Jewish atrocities since the Civil Wars (1355, 1360 and 1366-69) between Castilian king Pedro I and his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara. It was the latter's violent anti-Jewish policies that led to many massacres of the Jewish minority that would be coupled with continued anti-Jewish legislation in the acts of the courts.
In comparison, it is important to stress how the anonymous Castilian chronicle (manuscript II-755 of the Real Biblioteca de España) placed much detail of the massacres than the official chronicle written by Pero López de Ayala, including an entire chapter (Ch.7) of previously undisclosed information. It also provided a more sympathetic view towards the Jewish victims.[53]

Crónicas de Dom Pedro I, Dom Fernando I and Dom João I: Primeira Parte (2017) e Segunda Parte by Fernão Lopes. The Portuguese chronicles provide a different narrative than their Castilian variants as their official approach towards their Jews as witnessed in the accounts of the reigns of Pedro I, Fernando I and João I. This runs in contrast to the

[49] MIRANDA GARCÍA, Fermín (2013). Prólogo. *La Imagen del rey en la cronística castellana: Propaganda y legitimación durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Ediciones de La Ergástula, p 11. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999)., t. II, p 1236. Gómez Redondo argued that the manner in which a chronicle, which was always at the service of specific interests, would take advantage of available sources, would wrap the chronicle in the clothing of credibility.
[50] ARIAS GUILLÉN, Fernando (2021). *The Triumph of an Accursed Lineage: Kingship in Castile from Alfonso X to Alfonso XI (1252-1350)*. Studies in Medieval History and Culture. Routledge, p 140. DIAS (2000), p 83.
[51] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. (1991) *Crónicas*. Edición, prólogo y notas. Editorial Planeta.
[52] *Crónica anónima de Enrique III de Castilla, 1390-1391* (2013). *Edición comentada de Michel GARCIA del Ms. II/755 de la Real Biblioteca*. Marcial Pons Historia.
[53] *Crónica Anónima de Enrique III, 1390-1391* (2013).

aforementioned developments in Castile and presents a more tolerant position towards the Jews under Dom João, Master of Avis and future king of Portugal João I.[54]

2. Diplomatic documents consist of public and private texts that were redacted to grant, confirm or revoke rights or privileges. There are the Portuguese kings' books of Chancelleries of the Kingdom of Portugal. Unfortunately, the Castilian chancelleries were lost and as there is less information on the status of Portuguese Jews or Castilian Jews in Portugal than the information available of Castilian Jews. These books of chancelleries refer to the Portuguese monarchs: Afonso IV, Pedro I, Fernando I and João I.

The approach taken will be to critically examine each source under investigation by looking at their *origins, purpose, content, values, strengths or attributes and limitations, flaws or weaknesses*. This approach will help us establish who the writers or creators of the sources were, who their target audience was, what the message was (religious, propagandistic, legal, etc.), point out if the authors and their sources achieved their aims and goals or not. This thesis will use different literary and historical sources in order to examine different perspectives so as to come closer, within the possible, to a more objective and in-depth view of events. It is only after an evaluation of the selected sources used, can one come to a more objective conclusion of the aforementioned events.

3. Notebooks (Cuadernos) of the Cortes. The next set of late medieval legislation from the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal is the Acts of the Royal Cortes (Estates General), in which the different estates would assemble and discuss and petition the desired legal documents to resolve issues. It is here that the investigator sees the stark difference between the two kingdoms in the amount, extent and severity of the acts of the Castilian Cortes compared to those of the kingdom of Portugal.

Actas de las Cortes de Castilla y León.[55] From the reigns of Sancho IV and Fernando IV, Jews were becoming more marginalized and their rights and privileges removed through

[54] Lopes, Fernão (2007). *Crónica de D. Pedro,* 2ª edição, revista. Edição crítica de Giuliano Macchi, Imprensa Nacional-Casa de Moeda. Lisboa; (2004). *Crónica de D. Fernando*, 2ª edição, revista. Edição crítica de Giuliano Macchi, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda; (2017). *Crónica de João I: Primeira Parte*, edição crítica de Teresa Amado, Imprensa Nacional - Casa de Moeda.

[55] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla,* t. 1. (1861). Real Academia de la Historia; and, *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla,* t. 2 (1863). Real Academia de la Historia.

court acts, including the possession of land. This would be briefly lifted under Alfonso XI and the Ordinances of Alcalá de Henares of 1348 and continued under his son, Pedro I. After the dynastic and civil war between Pedro I and his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara, who would become Enrique II. From 1369 towards 1391, the legal situation of the Jews reversed and would become more precarious over time in spite of the efforts of the monarchs to impede this development. This process would continue until the severe legal dispositions of the Ordinances of 1412.

4. Municipal Acts. The following step in the analytical process of late medieval legislative sources is that of the selected case studies of four municipalities in Castile and Portugal. The original chosen cities were Toledo, Seville, Lisbon and Évora, as they were the urban centers with the largest Jewish communities in their respective kingdoms. However, after the years of investigation and the lack of sufficient evidence, the number of cities were expanded to Porto and Murcia. In terms of Portugal, *Livro dos Pregos,*[56] *Livro das Posturas Antigas*[57] and *Livro das Leis e Posturas*[58] will also be analyzed as they dealt with the municipal legislation of Lisbon as both an urban center and the royal seat of power. Many laws issued by the court and found in the official court acts and chancelleries were found in the aforementioned law books.[59]

This type of study is followed in the Portuguese city of Évora, which according to Maria José Ferro Tavares had the second largest Jewish population after Lisbon as of the late 14th century.[60] The many pieces of legislation discussed the rights granted to and prohibitions imposed on the Jews. These rights ranged from butcheries, owning vineyards and the expansion of the Jewish Quarters in Évora in 1408, which confirmed the previously mentioned Document 517 from the Chancellery of King João I (vol. III, tome 2). Some of the prohibitions were the not allowing the Jews to contract Christians to pick the grapes for their wine.

[56] *Livro dos Pregos* (2016). *Estudo introdutório, transcrição paleográfica, sumários e índices*; Martins, Miguel Gomes. Coleção Documentos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.
[57] *Livro das Posturas Antigas* (1074). ed. de Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues. Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.
[58] *Livro das Leis e Posturas* (1971). Faculdade de Direito, Universidade de Lisboa.
[59] *Livro dos Pregos* (2016). Document 29 in folios 33-33v from 2 September 1314 accounts for the register of the same law in the *Livro das Leis e Posturas* (fl. 60v) but had a more extensive and detailed entry than that of the *Livro das Leis e Posturas*.
[60] O *Livro das Posturas Antigas* da Cidade de Évora (2012). Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes. Évora, CIDEHUS-UE.

Supporting the legislative aspect of the case-studies but on an ecclesiastical level, are the synods of the selected Portuguese and Castilian cities of Lisbon, Braga, Évora, Palencia, Toledo, Ávila, Cuenca, Segovia and Seville. They provide evidence of the protections and proscriptions of the Church on a more local, bishopric level.[61] The synods allow the investigator to look for any discrepancies between the larger official ecumenical councils of Western Christendom and the smaller more localized bishoprics, as well as see if these local laws matched up with the secular laws of the realm.

5. Lawsuits and Processes. By 1373-1375, theological attacks by conversos, such as Juan de Valladolid, would enter into polemic disputes with Rabbi Moíses ha-Cohen. There were several public polemic disputes organized throughout Castile, but the most famous dispute was held in the Cathedral of Ávila in April 1375.[62] Although, it is not known if many commoners were present, the results of the polemic arguments announced to the pubic in their summarized form would have further heightened tensions between the Jewish and Christian communities.

6. Fiscal and Economic documents. A prime example of such documents were found in Castile towards the end of the reign of Enrique II, *Un Cuaderno de Cuentas*, which was ordered in 1378 and completed in 1379. In the document are all of the debts that went to the royal treasury until the end of 1378. The importance of the document, besides the amount of money owed to the royal treasury, was how the institution functioned and was organized in the second half of the 14th century. From this document, many different types of social, economic, judicial, military and political issues can be derived and interpreted from it.[63] Passing from the Christian literary sources, the thesis will analyze late medieval Jewish sources in order to achieve different interpretations of events and different collective mindset of the confessional mindset of the ostracized and marginalized minority community. Jewish literary sources that will be analyzed are: Sephardic stories, eulogies and poems; such as *Elegy on the martyrs of Toledo 1391* written by Jacob ibn Albaneh; *Chebet Yehudah (La*

[61] GARCÍA y GARCÍA, Antonio. *Synodicon Hispanum v. II, Portugal* (1982). Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*; Synodicon Hispanum X, Toledo y Cuenca* (2011). Dir. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos; *Synodicon Hispanum v. XI, Cádiz, Canarias, Cartagena, Córdoba, Granada, Málaga y Sevilla* (2013). Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.
[62] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 72-73. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 370. BAER (2001), p 369. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 245.
[63] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1966). *Un Cuaderno de Cuentas de Enrique II*. *Hispania – Revista Española de Historia*, p 3. Tirada aparte del tomo XXVI, p 99-134.

Vara de Yehudah) by Selomoh ibn Verga translated and commented by Francisco Cantera Burgos (1927); Chapter 50 of the *Compendio Memoria del Justo* by R. Yosef ben Saddiq; and, *El Libro de la Tradición* by Abraham bar Selomoh de Torrutiel. The common theme of these Jewish sources is that they provide an interpretation of the Jewish community of the events leading to the massacres of 1391, the anti-Jewish massacres as they developed and the immediate aftermath. They provide in many instances more detail of prominent Jewish victims and the names of synagogues that were destroyed than recorded by Christian accounts of the events.

7. Memoirs. In the late 14th and early 15th century Castilian Royal Chancellor Pero López de Ayala wrote the *Rimado de Palacio*, which reflected the author's views and perspectives of Castilian society of the period. In a didactical-moral exposé, he presented a harsh criticism of Castilian society of the period, including his own order of the nobility, the Church, the Third Estate (commoners)[64] and a vicious attack on the Jews.[65] Although most likely Chancellor López de Ayala's work did not reach a broad audience amongst the Castilian populace, it most likely reached an audience amongst the nobility, upper echelons of the clergy and the monarchy. His work reflected and reinforced the preconceived notions, biases, prejudices and animosity towards the Jews that already existed in the collective mindset of the dominant majority Christian community in late medieval Iberian society.

It was in the *Rimado de Palacio* that Pero López de Ayala would describe Jewish rent and tax collectors as sinister vampire like creatures that sucked the blood from the people (Christian majority). As such, there could be a subtle anti-Jewish bias that is not as overt as in his book of poetry. López de Ayala only had two short entries of the massacres in his chronicle of

[64] ORDUNA, Germán (1991). Introduction to LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Rimado de Palacio*. Clásicos Castalia, p 23-24, 41-43, 51, 56, 88-89; according to Orduna, couplets 1-704 were composed were written prior to 1385. SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, H. (2000). Introducción a LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Rimado de Palacio*. Peter Lang Publishing, p L-LII. ADAMS, Kenneth (2019). Introduction to LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Libro Rimado de Palacio*. 2ª edición. Ediciones Cátedra, p 85-94. GARCIA, Michel (2019). LÓPEZ DE AYALA, Pero. *Libro del Canciller o Libro del Palacio*. Edición, introducción y notas de Michel García. Universidad del País Vasco, p 19-24. GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (2020), p 659, 663. LACARRA, María Jesús y CACHO BLECUA, Juan Manuel (2012p 376-379. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 143. López de Ayala clearly made reference to this in the couplets 720-727, 740, 748, 750, 755-769, 775, 777, 779-780, 786, 794-807 and 813-819.

[65] AMRÁN, Rica. La minoría judía en el Rimado de Palacio y en las Crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: puntos de encuentro y diferencia. *Releyendo Pero López de Ayala diez años después*. Coordination Rica AMRÁN. Éditions Orbis Tertius, p 96-100. GÓMEZ REDONDO (2020), p 670. ORDUNA (1991), p 43, 91. SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, H. (2000), p LXXVI. ADAMS (2019), p 47, 48. LACARRA y CACHO BLECUA (2012), p 379.

Enrique III in spite of the widespread massacres that occurred throughout many parts of the kingdom.[66]

8. Doctrinal and polemic writings. The anonymous late 14th century and early 15th century *Livro da Corte Imperial* in Portugal.

9. Literary texts dealing with Jewish issues would continue to develop as the 14th century advanced into the 15th century. Some of the 14th century Castilian literary texts that would deal with the Jews were, Don Juan Manuel's *Libro de los Estados*,[67] Juan Ruiz' *El Libro de Buen Amor,*[68] the anonymous *Miseria de Omne,* and the *Proverbios Morales* by Sem Tob de Carrión.[69]

It is expected that through the breaking down of sources, both literary and historical sources, that the necessary socio-cultural background or context will be achieved. The selected sources should allow the investigation to analyze and determine of the divergent role of language, including word choice, leadership and the imaginary in the Kingdoms of Portugal and Castile towards their respective Jewish minorities in the late Medieval period.

One of the many issues in investigating the 14th century is the lack of available sources from the period that could help portray the daily life in the Iberian Peninsula. Many sources, due to many reasons, have either been lost or destroyed.[70] In order to attain a more nuanced and

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[66] LOPEZ DE AYALA (1991). *Crónica del Rey Don Enrique Tercero de Castilla y León*, Chapter V p 713 and Chapter XX pp 738-739.

[67] DON JUAN MANUEL (1991). *El Libro de los Estados*, edición de Ian Macpherson. Editorial Castalia. STEFANO, Luciana de. "La Sociedad Estamental de Don Juan Manuel" in *NRFH*, XVI.

[68] HAMILTON, Michelle. *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature*. Palgrave MacMillan: New York, 2007. BLECUA, Alberto, edición. *El Libro de Buen Amor*, 1ª ed. RUIZ, Juan. Austral: Barcelona, 2016. GYBBON-MONNYPENY, G.B., ed. *Libro de Buen Amor*. Juan Ruiz. Clásicos Castalia: Poesía siglo XIV: Barcelona, 2017. GIRÓN, José Luis. *Libro de Buen Amor*. Castalia Didáctica: Barcelona, 2017. BLANCO AGUINAGA, Carlos, et al.. *Historia Social de la Literatura Española*, I. Coordinador Julio Rodríguez Puertolas. Editorial Castalia: Madrid, 1979. MALKIEL, María Rosa Lida de. *JUAN RUIZ: Selección del Libro de Buen Amor y estudios críticos*. EUDEBA (Editorial Universidad de Buenos Aires), 1973.

[69] SEM TOB de CARRIÓN (1988). *Proverbios Morales.* Edición de DÍAZ-MAS, Paloma y MOTA, Carlos. Ediciones Cátedra. GÓMEZ REDONDO (2020)., p 644-645, 656-658. LACARRA, María Jesús y CACHO BLECUA, Juan Manuel (2012)., p 122-123.

[70] In terms of the lack of medieval sources read the in-depth analysis on the lost medieval Castilian literature and the discussion of its causes by DEYERMOND, Alan (1995). *La literatura perdida de la Edad Media castellana. Catálogo y estudio. I. Épica y romances*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca. These losses were attributed to fires, theft, misplacement (temporary losses), purchases by private collectors or simply unappreciated throughout the centuries and used as toilet paper or paper to kindle fires. Also see: SMITH, Colin (1984). On the 'Lost Literature' of Medieval Spain. In "*Guillaume d'Orange"* and the "*Chanson de geste"*:

holistic reconstruction of such a complex society, many different types of sources are used, from the poetic to the legal, which the interdisciplinary approach provides. However, it should also be noticed that all of these different types of sources were created by intellectual elites, which had biases in their narratives in the attempt to project a particular image of those who commissioned their creation.[71]

In terms of sources from the 14th to early 15th centuries, there is also a relative scarcity of documents to reconstruct the socio-political history of Iberian Jews. This is more pronounced in Castile and Portugal compared to the Kingdom of Aragon; Portugal having less available material compared to Castile. In terms of Jewish sources, particularly rabbinical responsa, there is absolutely no known documents from 14th century Portugal and few from Castile. The issue with *responsa* in itself, is that they omit much information about the original text they are responding. Another issue with the responsa that over the centuries they were copied and edited. As a result, the original information was either changed or omitted. Other issues dealing with 14th century Iberian Jews were the studies that either were too focused on the specific town or city under investigation or were part of very broad strokes within the context of Iberian or Castilian, Portuguese, Navarran and Aragonese medieval history.[72]

Essays Presented to Duncan McMillan in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday (Reading: Société Rencesvals), p 137-150; also, TATE, Robert (1988). Spanish Literature: Lost Works. In *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Jospeh R. Strayer, XI, Charles Scribner & Sons, p 442-445; and, MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón et al. (1951). *Reliquias de la poesía épica*, p xvi-xviii; also see: LAMA, Victor de (2018). *Poesía medieval*. Penguin Clásicos, p 12. A more recent analysis conducted by LACARRA, Mª Jesús and Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua (2012), can be found in Chapter 1: "De los textos perdidos a la creación del Canon" with detailed subchapters that not only discuss the losses of medieval texts but their consequences for national literature as well, and the rediscoveries of some texts, either misplaced in other texts or books, buried in some other library or auctioned and sold to museums or galleries (p 25-66). In terms of the lost medieval Portuguese literature, see: DEYERMOND, Alan (1986). Lost Literature in Medieval Portuguese. In *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*, Dolphin Book Co., p 1-12; MIRANDA, José Carlos (2009). Na Genése da Primeira Crónica Portuguesa. *Medievalista online*, ano 5, número 6, IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais, p 2. Most recently, in 2008, the *Primera Crónica Portuguesa* was established by Filipe A. Moreira from the *IV Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz*, see: MOREIRA, Filipe A. (2008). *Afonso Henriques e a Primeira Crónica Portuguesa*. Estratégias Criativas.

[71] TOLAND, John (2009). Au-delà des mythes de la coexistence interreligieuse : contacts et frictions quotidiens d'après des sources juridiques de l'Espagne médiévale. In *Mythes de la coexistence interreligieuse : histoire et critique. Centre interdisciplinaire d'étude de la religion et de la laïcité*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, p 4.

[72] RAY, Jonathan (2006). *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia*, Cornell University Press, p 4-6: In his introduction, Ray argued that due to the scant amount of contemporaneous sources, most medievalists have focused on the 14th and 15th centuries. See: ASSIS, Yom Tov (2012). The Jews of Barcelona and Maritime Trade. In *The Jew in Medieval Iberia: 1100-1500*, ed. Jonathan RAY, Academic Studies Press, p 187. Assis brought out the same complaint regarding the lack of sources for both Portugal and Castile compared to the written culture of notary publics for private and public records, especially for commercial and financial transactions in the Kingdom of Aragon, especially for Catalonia and Valencia. Also see for the need of an interdisciplinary approach towards Jewish Medieval studies in order to assess more sources: MATA, Isabel and PONCELA, Ángel (2015). "El reflejo complejo naturaleza social entre las

Compounding the issue of lost sources were those purported sources recorded by historians claiming that they were in municipal or ecclesiastical archives. During the investigation, many of the purported medieval manuscripts that were supposedly in the archives in Toledo and Seville were not there. This was the case of manuscripts that Pilar León Tello claimed to be in the municipal archives of Toledo and José Amador de los Ríos, who claimed that the royal *albalás* against archdeacon Ferrán Martínez were to be found in the ecclesiastical archives of the Cathedral of Toledo and Seville.[73] Unfortunately, due to COVID restrictions, doctoral candidates were not allowed to enter into the stacks. However, the archivists were helpful and entered into the stacks to look for the purported manuscripts. The situation was further complicated in that Amador de los Ríos did not give any manuscript code numbers in his work. However, the dates of the *albalás* were used to try to find them. Unfortunately, the archivists could not find these manuscripts from the late 14th century. They stated that many times the manuscripts claimed to be in the municipal and ecclesiastical archives by historians were simply not there. This unfortunate situation fits into what Deyermond had written about missing late medieval sources from Castile and Portugal. Fortunately, 18th century manuscripts were able to be found in the manuscripts section of the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid and have been digitalized.[74]

Also, to take special care when dealing with digitalized versions of sources is to pay special attention that the digital version is complete and not missing folios. This occurred with one of the manuscripts from the 18th century, Ms. 13089, located in the Biblioteca Nacional de España that was missing folio 70. Upon reporting the issue, the manuscripts section of the library provided the actual manuscript and a digital photo of folio 70 was taken on the spot and the archivist reported the situation so that the digital photo could be added to the entire digitalized work.[75]

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etnias de la Península Ibérica en algunos textos alfonsíes y hebreos" in *Natura e Natureza no tempo de Afonso X, o Sábio*. Autores e Gabinete de Filosofia Medieval / FLUP. Edições Humus, p 149-172.

[73] AMADOR de los RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 571, 579.

[74] This was the case of the municipal archives of Toledo through contacts with the archivist, Mariano García Ruipérez, and ecclesiastical archives in December 2021 through contacts with the archivist Alfredo Rodríguez González, who stated in an email that some of the documents that appeared in *Los Judíos de Toledo* by Pilar León Tello are not found in the archives. In terms of the ecclesiastical archives of the Cathedral of Seville through Sra. González Ferrín on 2 December 2021.

[75] *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y judíos de Castilla*. Mss. 13089 (s. XVIII). Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid, 28 June 2022.

Investigators also need to take care with studies conducted by historians. Many times, due to lack of available material not yet discovered or negligence, inattentiveness or inadvertency, might come to certain conclusions that do not correspond to the information from available sources. Therefore, the importance for investigators to cross-reference studies with late medieval sources, either in manuscript form or printed versions, in order to discern if the historians' conclusions are correct or if anything is missing. This occurred with Amado de Sousa's detailed and lengthy study on the Portuguese *Cortes* during the Avis Dynasty beginning in 1385. Even though, Amado de Sousa wrote that anti-Jewish legislation was recorded for the *Cortes* of 1389 and 1390, he failed to report any anti-Jewish legislation at the first *Cortes* held in Coimbra in April 1385 under newly acclaimed King João I of Avis that was recorded in the *Livro dos Pregos*, doc. 129, chapters 22 and 23 of the Special Chapters of Lisbon.[76] Hence, the importance of cross-referencing sources and studies.

Also important through the thorough revision of studies through the careful analysis of sources is to see if certain interpretations by historians are consistent with the available evidence. The case of Julio Valdeón Baruque and his claim that the Ordinances of Alcalá de Henares of 1348 were anti-Jewish as they forbade Jews from lending money and left them without any recourse to remain economically viable.[77] However, upon close review of the Ordinances of Alcalá de Henares of 1348, it was found that Castilian King Alfonso XI condemned in Law 55 all orders of Christian society, nobility, clergy and Third Estate in practicing usury and forbade them from such practice.[78] In a separate article, Law 57, of those same ordinances, the king condemned both Muslims (Moors) and Jews for practicing usury and also forbade them from such practice. In order to compensate the financial loss from moneylending, the king granted the Jews the right to purchase, lease and sell land. North of the Ebro River, the Jews were allowed to buy up to 20,000 maravedis in land,

[76] SOUSA, Armindo de (1990). *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*, vol. II. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, p 231 236. *Livro dos Pregos* (2016). Documentos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. Colecção Documentos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, p 247.
[77] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio,* 2ª ed., p 24. Here Valdeón Abruque did selective quoting by leaving out the section on both Christians and Moors: "que de aquí adelante ningún judío nin judía… no sea osado de dar a logro por sy nin por otro." He conveniently left out, "Que ningun christiano nin christiana den a usura", p 531 and "… nin moro nin mora …", p 532. Both citations are from: *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861). Real Academia de la Historia. A bit further on in his comments, Valdeón Baruque acknowledged that the anti-Jewish attitude was not as *intransigent*, as the Jews could purchase land as compensation, p 24-25.
[78] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861). Real Academia de la Historia, p 531.

whereas south of the Ebro River, Jews were allowed to purchase up to 30,000 maravedis in land.[79] Thus, the importance of revisiting the interpretations or verifying the conclusions claimed by renown historians is of primordial importance to see if nuances or facts have been left out in their assessments.

[79] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861), p 532-533.

5. STATE OF THE ART OF STUDIES ON LATE MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESE AND CASTILIAN JEWRY

The state of the art of Late Medieval Iberian literature on the topic of the Jews within the time frame of this thesis (1325-1412) has continued to flourish and expand over the past ten years. This has been the case of academic sources for both Portugal and Spain.[80] For purposes

[80] AMRÁN, Rica (2014). *Judíos y Conversos en las Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla (siglos XIII al XVI)*, Universidad Rey don Juan Carlos. Editorial Dykinson; BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2016). Judeus, Cristãos e Muçulmanos no Portugal Medieval. *Praça Velha: Revista Cultural da Cidade de Guarda*, No. 36, p 37-54; CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2021). La Sefarad medieval en la historiografía española del último siglo. In: *Análisis 12*, Instituto de Política Internacional-UFV, p 1-39; (2019). "Los judíos de Castilla ante el cambio de dinastía" en *Memoria y Civilización: Anuario de Historia*. Universidad de Navarra, 22, p 141-161; and (2013). El miedo al judío en la España de la Edad Media. *Estudios de Historia de España*, Vol. XV, p 153-187. http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/greenstone/cgi- bin/library.cgi?a=d&c=Revistas&d=miedo-judio-espana-edad-media; CORRAL SÁNCHEZ, Nuria (2014). El Pogromo de 1391 en las Crónicas de Pero López de Ayala. *Ab Initio*, Núm. 10, p 61-75. http://www.ab-initio.es/; FERREIRA, Ana Pereira (2019). Transactions between Lisbon Jews and the Chelas Convent in the Late Middle Ages. Documental Analysis. *Hispanica Judaica Bulletin*, v. 14, p 39-55; FOLLADOR, Kellen Jacobsen. (jan-jun 2014). A Guerra Trastâmara como um exemplo da intolerância contra os judeus na Idade Média. *WebMosaica: Revista do Instituto Cultural Judaico Marc Chagall*, v.6, n.1, p 87-102; LABRADOR MARTÍN, Virginia (2013). Violencia antijudía en el reino de Castilla durante la Edad Media. *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Electrónica sobre Antigüedade e Medievo*, vol. 2, no 1-1, p 181-196; LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Á (2016). *Judíos y Conversos de Castilla en el siglo XV: Datos y Comentarios*. Editorial Dynkinson; LÓPEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Santiago (2017). Persecución y expulsión de los judíos: Fuentes históricas y literarias en la península Ibérica (siglos XIV-XV). *Vegueta. Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia,*17, p 175-197; MIMOUN, Alexandre (2021). *De l'ennemi 'doctrinal' à l'ennemi 'fonctionnel'. Évolution de l'image des juifs à la cour de Castille (1252-1371)*. Master 2 mention Histoire à Distance. Université Paris Nanterre; MONTEIRO, Maria Filomena Mourato and Maria do Céu Simões TERENO (18-20 novembro 2012). Mosteiro de Santa Clara e judiaria: dois espaços de religião na cidade de Évora – Portugal. In *Congresso Internacional "Herança judaica em Portugal – Ciência, cultura, conhecimento."* Instituto Politécnico de Tomar; NOGUEIRA, Carlos Roberto Figueiredo (2012). Reclusão e proteção: os Judeus em Portugal na Crise do século XIV. *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, 12, p 135- 146; PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los judíos en España, Marcial Pons*, 5a reimpresión, Ediciones Marcial Pons Historia, PÉREZ CASTAÑO, Gonzalo. "*Sin pan que comer ni vestidos con los que cubrirse* ": 'Violencia y situación jurídica de los judíos de Castilla durante la guerra civil entre Pedro I y Enrique II de Trastámara (1366-1369)' in *Roda da Fortuna: Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo*, 2014, Volume 3, Número 1-1 (Número Especial), pp. 308-331. ISSN: 2014-7430; RAY, Jonathan (2018). Ch. 4: The Jews in Medieval Spain: Community, Marginality and the Notion of a Mediterranean Society. In *From Catalonia to the Caribbean: the Sephardic Orbit from Medieval to Modern Times*. Essays in Honor of Jane S. Gerber. Edited by Francesconi, Frederica et al. BRILL; ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montes (2021). Los Judíos en la Edad Media española. *Arco Libros* and (2021) Los Judíos sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la cuestión y Perspectivas de la Investigación. In *Las minorías étnico-religiosas en la España Medieval* del Máster en Estudios Históricos Avanzados, Universidad de Sevilla; SILVA, Manuela Santos (2016). Comunidades e Personalidades Judaicas ao Serviço e sob a Protecção da Família Real: Uma Relação mantida desde os Primórdios da Monarquia Portuguesa até finais do Século XV. *Praça Velha: Revista Cultural da Cidade da Guarda*, N° 36, p 55-64 and (2014). Os Judeus e a Cultura de Corte em Portugal (séculos XIV e XV). In *O Livro e as interacções culturais judaico-cristãs em Portugal no final da Idade Média.* Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas "Alberto Benveniste", Instituto de História da Arte, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, p 63-77; SOIFER IRISH, Maya (2018). Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville. In *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Adams, Jonathan and Cordelia Haß. Routledge, p 306-319; TAVARES, Alice (2020). "Literatura de Controversia religiosa judío-cristiana medieval en Portugal (siglos XIII-XV): estado de la cuestión. Discursos y motivaciones" in *PERICHORESIS*, 18.4, p 63-69; TAVARES, Ma José Ferro (julio-diciembre 2014). Judeus de Castela no final da Idade Media: onomástica e fontes documentais. *SEFARAD*, vol. 74:2, p 303-342; TAVIM, José Alberto Rodrigues

of this thesis, the state of the art will be divided into studies prior to 2012 and more recent studies post 2012. The criterion for such a decision is the thesis submission date of September 2022 as a *benchmark or end point*. These studies include books and journal articles, both printed and online versions. However, under no circumstances does it mean that previous publications are not worthy of their own merit. In fact, previous publications from the 19th and 20th centuries have provided the groundwork from which the more recent investigations could work on. The state of the art of this thesis will provide only a sample of the most pertinent studies from the extensive list of studies on Portuguese and Castilian Jews from the late Medieval period from which the most important information was used.

STATE OF THE ART PRIOR TO 2012

As mentioned above the state-of-the-art studies prior to 2012 provided the groundwork and foundation for the most previous analyses. First the studies on the Jews in Portugal will be reviewed, followed by the studies on Castilian Jews. Some of these earlier investigators are, amongst many others, Alexandre Herculano, Maria José Ferro Tavares and her work on the Jews in Portugal in the 14th century, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV* and her two-volume work on the Jews of Portugal in the 15th century, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*. In Spain, Amador de los Ríos and his three-volume work, *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, Julio Valdeón Baruque, *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*, *Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media,* Pilar León Tello her two-volume work, *Los Judíos de Toledo: Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental*. Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho's *Notas para el Estudio de los judíos sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media (1248-1391)*, provides an extensive study on the Jews of Seville in the Late Medieval period including a description of the Jewish quarters and its demography, socio-economic aspects, their legal situation, Christian-Jewish relations and finally a table of the identified Sevillian Jews including specific dates, their professions and the sources where the information was retrieved. Enrique Cantera Montenegro and his chapter on "Judíos medievales: Convivencia y persecución" in *Tópicos y realidades de la Edad Media,* vol. 1. Professor Cantera Montenegro also provided an invaluable historiography on Medieval Spanish Jewish literature that helps investigators to conduct further in-depth research. José Monsalvo Antón and his *Teoría y evolución de un conflicto*

da Silva (2018). Joias da Documentação Judaica Medieval Portuguesa. In *Os Judeus na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média. Análise das suas Fontes*. Almedina. p. 65-95.

social: el antisemitismo en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media in Spain. Oscar Perea Rodríguez' extensive historiographical study of Spanish Jews and Conversos.[81]

PORTUGAL

The 19th century Portuguese historian, Alexandre Herculano provided the foundation for analysis of Portuguese Jews from the Middle Ages to the Modern era through his three-volume work, *História da Origem e do Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal,* published between 1854 and 1859. His groundbreaking work not only provided insightful analysis of Portuguese Jews from the perspective of a 19th century historian, but provided an exhaustive reference to many of the pertinent period documentation, as well as the location of these documents, such as the National Library of Portugal, national and regional archives, monasteries and convents.[82]

Mª José Ferro Tavares' two-volume, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*, is a seminal work on Portuguese Jews in the 15th century published in 1982.[83] Volume I is divided into seven chapters plus a conclusion and bibliography. The first chapter is dedicated to Jewish communities (*comunas*) and Jewish quarters (*Judiarias*). Chapter 2 focuses on administrative and judicial organization, whereas chapter 3 dealt with taxes, positions and services (*tributos, encargos e serviços*). Chapter 4 examined society and chapter 5 the economy. Chapter 6 dealt with assistance to the community, cult and teaching/learning (*Assistência, Culto e Ensino*). The final chapter, Chapter 7 focused on Jews and Christians: a form of coexistence (*Judeus e Cristãos: uma forma de coexistência*).

[81] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Estudios y Documentos Nº 27, Departamento de Historia Medieval. Universidad de Valladolid, and (2004). *El chivo expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, 2ª edición. ÁMBITO Ediciones; ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montes (1983). Notas para el Estudio de los judíos sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media (1248-1391),In: *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*., p 251-277. PEREA RODRÍGUEZ, Oscar (2008). CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2000). Judíos medievales. Convivencia y persecución. *Tópicos y realidades de la Edad Media,* v. 1, Benito Ruano, E. (coord.), Real Academia de la Historia. Colección Estudios; MONSALVO ANTÓN, José (1988). *Teoría y evolución de un conflicto social: el antisemitismo en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media*, Colección Historia de los movimientos sociales, Siglo XXI de España Editores.

[82] HERCULANO, Alexandre (1853-1859). *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, t. I-III.

[83] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (1982). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV,* v.1-2, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, and (2000) *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*. Colecção História e Ensaios, Guimarães.

Another important Portuguese scholar, who has focused on late Medieval Jews is Professor Saul António Gomes, "Os Judeus no Reino Português" published in *Minorias Étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica* (2009). His article analyzed the presence of Portuguese Jews in the Iberian Peninsula since Late Antiquity. Not only did Professor Gomes discuss Jewish Iberian culture from Late Antiquity to the Medieval period, he also focused on their judicial/legal, economic and social situation. Professor Gomes analyzed the existing Medieval documentation. He also has an extensive bibliography. His works provides a good synopsis of the situation of Portuguese Jews in the Medieval period for investigators to use as a foundation and reference point to look for sources.[84]

From that same year, Professor Saul Gomes wrote an academic article, "A questão judaica nos autores medievais portugueses" published in *Caderno de Estudos Sefarditas*, that focused on the projection of the image of Jews in Late Antiquity and Medieval Christian literature. His analysis started with the Church fathers throughout the Roman empire in general and then moved on to the Iberian Peninsula in particular. Not only did he assess such works, but reviewed previous studies conducted by other Portuguese scholars, such as Professor Mª José Ferro Tavares and Professor Aires Nascimento. Once again, Professor Gomes' work provides a foundation for investigators in the early phase of their research on Portuguese Jews and their image in Medieval literature.[85]

SPAIN

José Amador de los Ríos wrote a three-volume opus between 1875-1877 on the Jews of Spain and Portugal from their arrival to the Iberian Peninsula in Antiquity to the 16th century after the edicts of expulsion of 1492 and 1496.[86] It is volume II that provided the most important information for the current thesis. Professor Amador de los Ríos' work provided an exhaustive bibliography that would provide a foundation for future investigations.

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[84] GOMES, Samuel (2009). Os Judeus no Reino Português (Séculos XII-XIII). In: *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica, Período Medieval e Moderno*. Publicações do Cidehus, p 79-91.
URL: http://books.openedition.org/cidehus/232

[85] _____ (2009). A questão judaica nos autores medievais portugueses. In: *Caderno de Estudos Sefarditas*, Vol. 9 (2009), p. 93-120.
URL: http://www.catedra-alberto-benveniste.org/_fich/15/Saul_Antonio_Gomes.pdf

[86] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS, José (2012). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. I-III. Editorial MAXTOR.

Another important investigative work is Yitzhak Baer's two-volume work, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* that covered the history of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula from the 11th century to their expulsion of 1492. Professor Baer was able to intertwine the diverse aspects of society, religion, culture, economics, politics and history of the Jews in the medieval Hispanic kingdoms in the first volume. The second volume is focused on the Inquisition in the 15th century and the final expulsion of the Jews in 1492.[87]

Pilar León Tello's extensive work, *Los Judíos de Toledo*, published in 1979, is a comprehensive two-volume historical study and documental collection of the Jews of Toledo from their establishment in the Iberian Peninsula and their settlement on the Tagus River in Antiquity to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. The first volume is dedicated to the historical development supported by the documental collection of the Jews of the city, from the Visigoth period through the Muslim period or al-Andalus, the conquest of the city by Christian forces and finally Castilian and Spanish rule. The different topics covered include the roles of the Jews in the economy and administration, such as tax and rent collectors of al-Andalus and Castile to the importance of Jewish intellectuals and translators at the Courts of Muslim emirs and Christian kings. The first volume also included the changes in attitudes towards the Jews and the persecutions throughout the 14th century, forced conversions, the "converso" issue after 1391 and the final expulsion from the Kingdom of Spain in 1492. The second volume consists of a chronological inventory of Medieval documents pertaining to Toledan Jews and their professions.[88]

Enrique Cantera Montenegro's *La historiografía hispano-hebrea* published in 2002 provides investigators with an extensive, in-depth analysis of the different types of narratives written by Jews and/or Conversos from the Medieval period to the early Modern Era. Professor Cantera Montenegro presented in his work two narrative genres created by Spanish Jews: the first genre consists of chronicles. Unlike Islamic and Christian chronicle writing, which transmitted important events of secular characters, the Jewish chronicle writing focused on religious or Biblical tradition. The other genre is the narrations of the persecution of the Jews. The study provides investigators with the authors, their biographies and works, dates of

[87] BAER, Yitzhak (1961). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, v. I, from the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century;* and, *v. II, from the Fourteenth Century to the Expulsion.* Varda Books.
[88] LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo: Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental*, t. 1. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto B. Arias Montano.

publication of those works, as well as places where they lived, travelled and passed away. All of this is written in chronological order, which facilitates finding the authors according to the period in which they lived.[89]

Oscar Perea Rodríguez' historiographical work, *Minorías en la España de los Trastámara (II): judíos y conversos*,[90] published in 2008, not only includes bibliographical references but also tables that present Jewish neighborhoods, legal communities, synagogues and cemeteries, as well as members of the Jewish and Sefardic intelligentsia and the geographic location of Conversos. Even though the period covered in the study is 1369-1516, it still provides excellent references of documents, sources and studies. His work broke down the study of Late Medieval Jews and Conversos in the early modern period into their legal status, religious polemic, pogroms and final expulsions.

Perhaps one of the most prolific non-Iberian historians writing on the Jews of medieval Iberia is David Nirenberg. He has dedicated much of his investigation to the daily life of Jews, Muslims and Christians in the late medieval period in Western Christendom in general and the Hispanic kingdoms in particular. These studies ranged from the imagery and figures of Jews in late medieval poetry and the plastic arts to anti-Jewish law, inter-confessional sexual relations, segregation and violence. His works have been printed in books and academic articles in French, Spanish, German and English over decades.[91]

An important contributor to the studies of Spanish Jews, is Rica Amran of Sephardic heritage, who has written prolifically in Spanish, French and English. One of her focused studies on the topic, is her *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla: Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos*.[92] As the title indicates, her study analyzed the

[89] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2002). La historiografía hispano-hebrea. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, H. Medieval, t. 15, p 11-75.
[90] PEREA RODRÍGUEZ, Oscar (2008). Minorías en la España de los Trastámara (II): judíos y conversos, In: *e-Humanista*, vol. 10, p 353-468.
[91] NIRENBERG, David (1996). *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle* Ages. Princeton University Press; (October 2002). Conversion, Sex and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain. *The American Historical Review.* Vol. 107, No. 4, p 1065-1093; (spring 2003). The Birth of the Pariah: Jews, Christian Dualism, and Social Science. *Social Research*. Vol. 70, No. 1, Pariah Minorities, p 201-236; (Apr. 2006). Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh: 'Jews' and 'Judaism' in Late-Medieval Spanish Poetry and Politics. *Speculum*, v. 81, N° 2, p 398-426; (Jul.-Aug., 2007). Une société face à l'altérité : Juifs et chrétiens dans la péninsule Ibérique 1391-1449. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 62^{e} Année, No. 4, p 755-790.
[92] AMRAN, Rica (2009). *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla: Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (Siglos XIV-XVI)*. Junta de Castilla y León.

political, social and religious messages conveyed through propaganda. Hence, the images created by Christians of the Jewish minority projected into the collective Christian imaginary of the late Medieval period in Castile. Her study began with a background discussion of the Jews in Visigoth Spain through Jewish culture in al-Andalus to the role of Jews in Christian Castile, including the role of the Cortes and anti-Jewish legislation. The second chapter is dedicated to the Converso issue beginning with the Civil War between Pedro I and Enrique II in the mid-14th century through the massacres of 1391 and the Converso problem until 1449 and 1467 with the Toledan riots. The third chapter dealt with the role of the Catholic sovereigns, the Inquisition and the final expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492. The final chapter delved into the role of written propaganda and its justification in orality in creating an image.

STATE OF THE ART POST 2012

PORTUGAL

The most renown specialist in the case of Portuguese Jews is Professor Maria José Tavares, who has written prolifically on the subject for decades. Her most famous works have been her in-depth analyses of the Jews of Portugal in the 14th and 15th centuries. The 15th century work being accompanied by an entire volume on the extensive documentation provided on 15th century Portuguese Jews and a thorough analysis thereof. This analysis included many charts clarifying the documentation with the names of prominent Jewish families, their professions and places where they lived. Professor Maria José Ferro Tavares fortunately has updated her work on the Portuguese Jews of the 14th century, which provides current investigators with a revised version to use as a foundation for further research and investigation.

Professor Filomena Barros has led the way in the investigation of late medieval Portuguese minorities, both Muslims and Jews in the Évora region. She has written many academic articles on the specificities on both minority groups. Professor Filomena Barros' 2016 article, "Judeus, Cristãos e Muçulmanos no Portugal Medieval",[93] provides investigators, not only with her own assessment of the status of the two confessional minorities of Portugal in the Late Medieval period, but important dates, events secular and ecclesiastical legislation and the sources in the footnotes and bibliography. She explained in the first chapter the societal

[93] BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2016). Judeus, Cristãos e Muçulmanos no Portugal Medieval. *Praça Velha: Revista Cultural da Cidade de Guarda*, Nº 36, p 37-54.

and ideological boundaries constructed by the Catholic Church in that neither Muslim nor Jewish minorities could dominate over Christians. Professor Filomena Barros referred to the 3rd and 4th Lateran councils of 1179 and 1215 in the Church's justification of the segregation of both Muslim and Jewish minorities.[94] Her second chapter focused more on the societal boundaries built in Portugal itself. Professor Filomena Barros explained that the process of creating boundaries was much longer and more complex than in other kingdoms in Western Christendom. Even though there were certain similarities with the condition of the Jews in Castile, the case of the Portuguese Jews was more favorable or less hostile than in Castile, in which the Jews in Portugal enjoyed more the trust and protection of the Crown. There was also a stronger resistance on the part of the Crown in imposing the sign designating the Jewish confession on the clothing of Jewish subjects.[95] However, the royal privilege of exemption in wearing the distinctives seemed to have angered the urban elites, who would present their complaints through their procurators to the Crown at the Cortes. Professor Filomena Barros explained how the symbolic and visible signs of "otherness" was to help Christians distinguish themselves from the legally inferior minority groups and to either avoid or discriminate against them.[96] Professor Barros also used a poem attributed to the troubadour, Afonso Giraldes, and addressed to King D. Afonso IV:

> "fez bem aos criados seus / e grão honra aos privados / e fez a todos os judeus / trazer sinaes divisados / e os mouros almexias / que os pudessem conhecer"[97]

Barros explained how the hierarchical nature of the dominant Christian majority would impose separate neighborhoods for both minorities, not that Jews and Muslims would not congregate voluntarily in their own urban communities, but that by the second half of the 14th century, it would be mandated by royal decrees.[98] Further acts of discrimination was banning

[94] BARROS (2016), p 39. Part of the denigration of the judicial position of the Jews as a deicide people was that on Good Friday, they had to have their window shutters and doors closed. Both Jews and Muslims had to dress differently in order not cause confusion amongst the different confessions.
[95] Ibid., p 41-42. In fact, there were 43 complaint articles presented to Pope Clement IV against Portuguese king D. Afonso III for his protection of the Jews. It would only be under King D. Afonso IV (1325-1357) that references to the obligation of wearing the distinctives were written.
[96] Ibid., p 42. It was only in 1391 that King D. João I imposed the red hexagonal sign on the outer clothing of Jews that was to be placed at the mouth of the stomach.
[97] MACEDO, José Rivair, "Os sinais da infâmia e o vestuário dos mouros em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV", *Bulletin du centre d'*études *médiévales d'Auxerre* | BUCEMA [En ligne], Hors-série n° 2 | 2008, mis en ligne le 24 janvier 2009, consulté le 13 août 2016. URL: http://cem.revues. org/9852. BARROS (2016), p 43: "Almexias" were a type of tunic worn by Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula.
[98] BARROS, (2016), p 45. At the Cortes of Elvas in 1361, the municipal procurators petitioned King D. Pedro I to order the segregation of Jews and Muslims in order to avoid that they mix with Christians. The king acquiesced by ordering that in the large towns, where there were 10 individuals of either minority confession, specific

Christian women from entering Jewish and Muslim quarters alone. They could only enter them during the day and accompanied by two Christian men if these Christian women were married and only by one Christian man if these Christian women were single or widowed.[99] Barros would continue in her analysis of discriminatory legislation in the mid-14th century in that Jews or Muslims caught outside of their respective neighborhoods after sunset or before sunrise would be flogged in public. At first, it was only applied to Lisbon under D. Pedro I in 1366, but would be applied throughout the realm under D. João I.[100]

Perhaps most important for investigators was Professor Filomena Barros' analysis of the deconstruction of social norms restricting the Muslims and Jews. Unlike in neighboring Castile, the Portuguese Crown showed much more leniency and provided exceptions to discriminatory legislation. Many time the exceptions would be applied to those professions that occupied the same space in which they practiced their business.[101] In fact, in July 1403, the town of Loulé contracted a Jewish blacksmith to be one of the municipal officials, as the town lacked a qualified person to oversee the municipal activities of the town. Moreover, Jews, Muslims and Christians would participate in municipal plenary meetings and decision-making.[102]

Professor Graça Viteira Lopes, who has dedicated her academic career to the Galician-Portuguese Cantigas (both of Santa Maria and the profane ones as well), has updated in 2018

areas would be given to them in order to have their own street or neighborhood. This would be reiterated at the Cortes of Coimbra in 1390 under King D. João I.

[99] BARROS (2016), p 46. It was King D. Pedro I who imposed this royal decree in 1366 and ordered that any Jew or Muslim, who would take in a Christian woman, would be punished by death. See: *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I (1357-1367)* 1ª edição. Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa. 1984, pp. 534-535. *"*por azo e engano e arteirice do diabo*"* cometiam *pecado de fornizio* com homens de outra lei, especificando-se que essas infrações decorriam nos bairros dessas minorias ("nos arrabaldes onde moram os mouros como nas judiarias onde moram os judeus").

[100] Ibid., p 47. See: *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I (1357-1367)*, pp. 534-535, and *Ordenações Afonsinas, livro II*, tit. LXII, p. 356 respecitvely.

[101] Ibid., p 48. On 6 November 1382, Rabbi Josefe Vivas of Évora complained to the king that Jews and Muslims were placed at a disadvantage, as they could not easily displace themselves from their shops to their homes and vice versa, and that the legislation went against what the rights they previously enjoyed. As a result, municipal leaders made the exception to allow Jewish and Muslim physicians and apothecaries to leave their respective neighborhoods and attend Christian patients at night. See: *O Livro das Posturas Antigas da Cidade de Évora*, (2012). Introdução e revisão de BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de e SANTOS, Maria Leonor S. O. Silva, Évora, CIDEHUS-UE, pp. 118-119, e-book https://issuu.com/cidehus/docs/ livro_posturas_22-07-14_final.

[102] Ibid., p 48. See: *Actas de Vereação de Loulé (Séculos XIV-XV)*, revisão e estabelecimento definitivo do texto de DUARTE, Luís Miguel, separata de Al-'Ulya 7, Loulé, 1999/00, p 78-79; 99-102; 136-137; 234-237; *Actas de Vereação de Loulé (Século XV)*, revisão e estabelecimento definitivo do texto de DUARTE, Luís Miguel, separata de Al-'Ulya 10, Loulé, Câmara Municipal, 2004, p 53-55.

her extensive work on the satire of medieval Galician-Portuguese *Cancioneiros*. The updated study also included a section on the *Cantigas* directed towards the Jews. Professor Viteira Lopes focused on the case of a Portuguese minstrel, Estêvão da Guarda, who wrote about a prominent Jew of the period, Dom Josepe, who most likely was a high-ranking fiscal functionary at the court of Portuguese king Dom Dinis (1279-1325). The cantiga presents the dispute between Dom Josepe and another prominent Jew, Dom Foam, in which the former was accused by the latter of arbitrarily applying a tax rate on others and avoiding his own fiscal responsibilities. Professor Viteira Lopes explains how Estêvão da Guarda narrated the contention between the two and how Dom Josepe was able to successfully defend himself and was acquitted, whereas Dom Foam was shown to have acted in bad faith. What is important in Professor Viteira Lopes' analysis, is that that Jews were still presented as a cohesive, but completely separate social group. Professor briefly mentioned the case of the Jewish minstrel, Vidal de Elvas, from whom we have two known cantigas. Unfortunately, Professor Viteira Lopes did not dedicate more pages analyzing Vidal de Elvas.[103]

The most recent literary study on Portuguese Jews in the late Medieval period is that of José Carlos Miranda, "Judeus e motivos de origem hebraica no *Livro das Cantigas* de Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos" published in 2020 by *e-Spania*. Professor Miranda focused on the Jewish minstrel in the late 13th to first half of the 14th century that was included into the *Cancioneiro* complied under the auspices of the Conde de Barcelos. This Jewish minstrel was Vidal de Elvas. Also related in the *Cancioneiro* through a cantiga was the dispute between two prominent Portuguese Jews of the period, Dom Foam (Foão) and Dom Josep, in which the former accused the latter of not fulfilling his tax obligations. The importance of Professor Miranda's study is the emphasis on the Conde de Barcelos' inclusion of a Jewish minstrel and clearing of the name of Dom Josep in his dispute with Dom Foram. The Conde de Barcelos' *Cancioneiro* was remarkable that it included a Jewish minstrel, which was basically unheard of in Western Christendom during that period. Professor Miranda's study of the aforementioned work helps investigators with the possibility to further study the differences in how some Portuguese secular elites viewed and treated the Jews in comparison to their Castilian counterparts. Perhaps even more impressive is the Conde de Barcelos' flattering dedicatory to Vidal de Elvas.[104]

[103] LOPES, Graça Viteira (2018). *A Sátira nos Cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*. Editorial Stampa.
[104] MIRANDA, José Carlos (2020). Judeus e motivos de origem hebraica no *Livro das Cantigas* de Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos. In: *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, p 1-19.

CASTILE

Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela wrote an extensive historiography on the State of the Art of Medieval Spanish Jews and Converts in 2015.[105] The purpose of his study, as he stated himself, was to present the major works on the subject for future investigations. Professor Professor Álvarez Palenzuela divided his study into the state of the art and bibliographical repertoires, international congresses and conferences, the series of courses for students to attend on Spanish Jewry and Sefardim. He would continue his discussion with exhibits and specialized academic journals on the subject matter, such as, *Sefarad*, and *El Olivo*, published by the *Centro de Estudios Judeo-cristianos* of Madrid since 1977. Another important academic journal dedicated to Iberian Jewry is the *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem since 1998. The rest of his historiographical study is similar to other works. Professor Álvarez Palenzuela divided his study into: the historical trajectory of the Spanish aljamas from al-Andalus to the Crowns of Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal. He presented the studies dedicated to the Spanish Jews' legal situation, their professional and economic activities, their daily lives, religious polemic, the development and growth of conversos or New Christians and their tensions with the Old Christians. Afterwards, Professor Álvarez Palenzuela discussed the studies on the creation or implementation of the Inquisition and the final expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. He ended his study with a very extensive bibliography that still is extremely helpful for future investigators.

Professor Rica Amran provided investigators with an updated version of her study of late medieval Castilian chronicler, Pero López de Ayala, in 2019, "La minoría judía en el Rimado de Palacio y en las Crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: puntos de encuentro y diferencia"[106] from the original article, "Los judíos en las crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: los acontecimientos de 1391" from 2009.[107] In the original study, Professor Amran focused on the chronicles written by Pero López de Ayala, whereas the updated 2019 version included the chronicler's scathing critique of Castilian society of the period, including his view on

https://repositorio-aberto.up.pt/bitstream/10216/138745/2/522041.pdf

[105] ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA, Vicente Ángel (2015). Judíos y conversos en la España medieval. Estado de la cuestión. In *eHumanista/Conversos*, 4, p 156-191.

[106] AMRAN, Rica (2019). La minoría judía en el Rimado de Palacio y en las Crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: puntos de encuentro y diferencia. In *Releyendo Pero López de Ayala diez años después*. Coordination Rica AMRÁN. Éditions Orbis Tertius, p 96-100.

[107] _____ (2009). Los judíos en las crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: los acontecimientos de 1391. In: *Autour de Pedro López de Ayala,* ed. Rica Amrán, Indigo-UPJV, p 203-215.

Jewish tax and rent collectors and moneylenders. In the 2009 analysis, Professor Amran explained how López de Ayala's purpose was to justify the positions taken by the first Trastámara's, from Enrique II through Juan I to the first years of the reign of Enrique III. These positions included the intense anti-Jewish policies of Enrique de Trastámara during the dynastic conflict with his half-brother, King Pedro I, which included spreading lies about the legitimate king having been switched at birth with a Jewish baby to allowing angry Christian mobs to assault Jewish quarters and holding the Jewish quarters of Burgos and Toledo hostage until having paid excessive ransoms. Once the Trastámara camp won the dynastic war, Enrique de Trastámara (at that point Enrique II) tried to revert back to a traditional position of cooperating with Jewish elites in the fiscal administration of the realm. However, by then the damage had been done and both urban procurators and resentful members of the common people wanted to circumscribe the royal privileges granted to the Jewish minority.[108]

The updated 2019 version of Professor Amran's work discussed the socio-cultural context of the *Rimado de Palacio* written by López de Ayala, specifically on how he viewed Jewish moneylenders and rent and tax collectors. He wrote how the "Jews" as a collective, and not just the moneylenders, rent and tax collectors, came to drink the blood out of the poor common people. Such symbolic comments alluded to stereotypes projected into the collective late medieval imaginary that had been inserted into the mid-13th century Alfonsine legislative work, the *Siete Partidas*, and would continue to propagate into the late 14th and early 15th centuries as can be attested by López de Ayala's poetic work.[109] Professor Amran continued in explaining the verses written by López de Ayala accusing the Jews of pushing up rents to unreachable ceilings for the commoner to pay. Professor Amran pointed out that the characters portrayed in the verses were actual figures from the period, Abraham Abenzercer, the royal medic, and Samuel ha-Levy, the royal treasurer under Pedro I.[110]

The importance of Professor Amran's updated work was to indicate that even if the anti-Jewish policies of Enrique de Trastámara's anti-Jewish policies and propaganda during the dynastic conflict was harsh, they were only side events in the main pro-Trastámara narrative

[108] AMRAN (2019), p 93-94.
[109] Ibid., p 96-98.
[110] Ibid., p 99-100.

of the chronicles. In terms of the *Rimado de Palacio*, the author's own prejudices towards the Jews are also a minimal part of his overall critique of Castilian society of the period.

Professor Enrique Cantera Montenegro published an extensive historiography in 2021 on Medieval Sefarad[111] in which he went over the works of 20th centurry specialists on Medieval Spanish Jews starting from Francisco Cantera Burgos, Yitzhak Baer through Abraham Aarón Neuman and Julio Valdeón Baruque to Oscar Perea Rodríguez, Enrique Cantera Montenegro, Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho and Luis Suárez Fernández, amongst many other historians. Professor Cantera Montenegro also presented in his historiography the major publishing houses, foundations, organizations and conferences (both Spanish and international) dedicated to Medieval Spanish Jewry. The historiographical analysis was broken down into local and regional studies, Jewish quarters and communal buildings, internal life of Jewish communities, the legal regime of the aljamas, daily life, the Jewish family, Hispanic Jews in the economic and socio-professional activities, which in turn, was broken down into six categories: crafts, printing, mercantile and commercial activities, medicine, royal administration and finance. Professor Cantera Montenegro's historiographical analysis then moved on to discuss Medieval anti-Judaism, citing the works of Philippe Wolff, Angus MacKay y Julio Valdeón Baruque. Linked to this contentious topic, is religious polemic debates and preaching. The analytical work then focused on the historiography of persecution and expulsion. The final part was dedicated to printed documental sources. All in all, Professor Cantera Montenegro's historiographical work provides an excellent foundation for investigators to begin their research into Medieval Spanish Jewry.

Professor Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho has updated her extensive work on *Los Judíos Sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la Cuestión y Perspectivas de la Investigación* in 2021.[112] She divided her work into documental and printed sources of Sevillian Jews and where investigators can retrieve them. The work then provides a general bibliography that includes the history of the Jews and Judaism, studies on the interpretation of Jewish presence in Spain, History of the Spanish Jews, concrete aspects of the Spanish Jews, History of Castilian Jews, the history of particular Castilian Jews. Finally, Professor Montes Romero-

[111] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2021). La Sefarad medieval en la historiografía española del último siglo. In: *Análisis 12*, Instituto de Política Internacional-UFV, p 1-39.
[112] ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel Montero (2021). Los Judíos Sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la Cuestión y Perspectivas de la Investigación. *In Las minorías étnico-religiosas en la España Medieval del Máster en Estudios Históricos Avanzados*, Universidad de Sevilla.

Camacho dedicated her analysis to the History of the Sevillian Jews: State of the Art and Research Perspectives. This is perhaps the most important part of the analysis as it relates to the future of research and investigation on the question of Sevillian Jews in the Late Medieval period. This part of the analysis included the history of the Sevillian Jewish community, its socio-economic positions, institutional framework and demographic structure.

Perhaps the most recent analysis of Castilian Jews of the Late Medieval period is Cecil Reid's 2021 work, *Jews and Converts in Late Medieval Castile: Breaking with the Past*.[113] Reid provided in his work a comprehensive study of Castilian Jews in the Late Medieval period. His study is divided into chapters, the first dedicated in how the monarchs approached their Jewish subjects. The second chapter focused on how the most prominent Castilian Jews were tax and rent collectors, as well as the role of their taxes paid to the royal coffers as a protected minority. His third chapter focused on the breakdown of inter-confessional relations between Christians and Jews, in which the author focused on the socio-economic interpretation of these developments and downplayed the religious and imaginary aspect of blood libel or the purported ritual sacrifices of Christian children and the desecration of the Holy Host. The fourth chapter of Reid's study is the chronological analysis of the recurring acts of violence towards the Jews starting from 1355 (Enrique de Trastámara's first bid to the Castilian throne) to the massacres of Jews throughout southern and central Castile in 1391. Chapter five was dedicated to the projection of the image of the Jews in both Jewish and Christian literature. This included Marian literature, polemic literature from both confessions, political satire and moral poems. The sixth chapter presented the different methods of forced and free conversions of the Jews to Christianity and the different waves of these conversions. The seventh and final chapter focused on the identity of the Conversos and the power of the most prominent ones. Reid provides a comprehensive and concise history of Late Medieval Castilian Jews. His work provides a sound foundation for investigators as it provides definitions of late medieval terms, important dates, events, important names and dates for new scholars to use.

As can be seen, the aforementioned historiographical works are only a sample of the broad array of studies dedicated to Portuguese and Castilian Jews of the Late Medieval period, in which investigators can use as a reference point to and foundation for their research.

[113] REID, Cecil (2021). *Jews and Converts in Late Medieval Castile: Breaking with the Past*. Routledge.

CHAPTER 1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT 1250-1325

Medieval analogical thought fits in with the medieval conceptualization and portrayal of "otherness" or alterity. In the medieval period, not belonging to the majority collective had social and behavioral consequences, as those who did not belong were not only viewed as different, but as dangerous, dark, sinister and evil. The representation of the "Other" through literature and the arts involves a multitude of different and overlapping messages that trigger the senses and the imagination. The senses of sight and hearing cross over and intermesh with emotions that translate into a web of conscious and unconscious reactions and behaviors that can potentially generate latent antagonism and/or even destructive hatred.[114]

The different types of art forms and written texts, from religious stories to ecclesiastical and secular legal documents, reinforced each other in the messages created and conveyed about alterity to the target public in the majority Christian society. They identified the legal prohibitions towards specific "Others," that as time progressed, would develop this lack of specific knowledge and understanding of that "Other" amongst the majority Christian population, ultimately transforming it from "different" or "strange" to "absolute Evil" and as the generator of Terror in times of social instability.[115]

I.A.1. Ecclesiastical Law

Reflecting the late medieval spiritual mindset in Western Christendom in general and in the Iberian Peninsula in particular are the many ecclesiastical laws passed by Church councils, such as the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the synods in Portugal and Castile. These ecclesiastical laws dealt with the pending issues of the period, running from corruption of clergy members to dealings with heretics and religious minorities, such as Muslims and Jews. This chapter will focus on the ecclesiastical rulings on the particular religious minorities of the Jews.

In terms of the Iberian Peninsula, the non-ecumenical councils or territorial Councils that reinforced the 4th Lateran Council of 1215, were those of Valladolid of 1228 and Lleida

[114] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2008). A Construção de um estereótipo: O Judeu no Mediterrâneo Ocidental e o seu reflexo na Arte (séculos XII a XVI). In *Publicações do CIDEHUS: Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica*, ed. Mª Filomena Lopes de BARROS e José Hinojosa MONTALVO, Edições Colibri, p 18
[115] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2008), p 19.

(1229) that also propagated the accepted canon laws of the 4th Lateran Council throughout the respective kingdoms of Castille and Aragón. As in the 4th Lateran Council, these two Councils dealt with the subject matter, amongst others, of the Jews and Converts. The two Iberian territorial Councils established how Jews were to be protected but were to live separate from the Christian majority. Jews had to pay the tithe and high taxes.[116] These territorial Councils[117] would reinforce the negative image that had been developing in the collective mindset of the Iberian Peninsula through the role of the preaching of the mendicant preachers that had also been established at the 4th Lateran Council of 1215. The role of these preaching coupled with the ecclesiastical laws would bombard the common person with the same type of approach to "others" outside of the Christian fold.

The anti-Jewish canons set by the Fourth Lateran Council, along with the Councils of Valladolid (1228) and Lleida (1229) would set the ideological superstructure for monarchs throughout Christendom to impose secular anti-Jewish legislation throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. The kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula were slower and more reticent to follow the severe precepts set by the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council.[118] King Fernando III of Castile petitioned for papal dispensation of such harsh measure and received it from the Pope.[119] It wouldn't be until King Alfonso X and his legal compendia *El Fuero Real*[120] and the *Siete Partidas* the harsh ecclesiastical precepts were updated and intended to supersede the *Fuero Juzgo*, which was the legal code from the Visigothic period. Important to note and which will be analyzed later, is how the Jews, along with the Muslims were cast to the last

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[116] *SYNODICON HISPANUM*: X, Cuenca y Toledo, Dir. Antonio GARCÍA y GARCÍA (2011). Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. See also LINEHAN, Peter (1971). Councils and Synods in Thirteenth Century Castile and Aragon. In *Studies in Church History*, vol. 7: *Councils and Synods*, p 101 – 111.

[117] A brief explanation in the difference between national, provincial/territorial Councils and Diocesan synods is that the first is called and presided by the papal legate to institute the norms and canon laws decided upon at the ecumenical councils. The provincial or territorial councils are called and presided by the archbishop of a large metropolitan area and would regulate religious doctrine and practice with the support of the other suffragan bishops under the archbishop. The synods, on the other hand, were called by the bishop of an area and discussed the same matters with his archpriests, archdeacons, parochial clergy. According to Enrique Torrija Rodríguez, Valladolid (1228) was a national council: TORRIJA RODGRÍGUEZ, Enrique (2013). La marginación sacralizada. Disposiciones conciliares y sinodales contra judíos y musulmanes en el arzobispado de Toledo durante la Baja Edad Media. *Poder y Violencia en la Edad Media Peninsular (Siglos XIV y XV)*. Roda de Fortuna (Revista electrónica sobre Antigüedad y Medioevo), vol. 2, nº 1-1, p 204.

[118] LINEHAN, Peter (1971). *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century* [Thesis], Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Third Series, Series Nº 4, Cambridge University Press, p 10, 15, 18-19, 34.

[119] AMADOR de los RÍOS, José (1976). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. I. Real Academia de la Historia, p 361-364.

[120] Libro IV, Título II, leyes I-VII, De los Judíos. In *Fuero Real de Alfonso X El Sabio*, edición de Antonio Pérez Martín (2015). Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, p 118-120.

part of the legal compendia of *el Fuero Juzgo* and *Las Siete Partidas* and placed alongside sorcerers, lepers, thieves, adulterers, heretics and other social outcasts and minority groups that lived on the fringes of the dominant Christian majority society.[121] However, actual anti-Judaic acts of the Castilian Cortes would happen under Sancho IV in the late 13th century. Portuguese anti-Judaic secular legislature would first appear in 1290 under D. Dinis but would be ignored and only by the first half of the 14th century would anti-Judaic measures be enforced to a greater extent under D. Pedro I. These forms of secular legislation will be analyzed in-depth in subsequent chapters.

The increased tensions between the Christian majority and its minority religious groups, especially the Jews, would intensify and worsen as the 13th century progressed. The worsening economic situation coupled with the perception of certain groups of people benefitting from the social and economic weaknesses of the common people was exacerbated with the projection of the Jews as demonic and the propagated legends of blood libel. The Church played an ambivalent role in the projection of mixed messages and negative images of the Jews. On the one hand, the Church protected the Jews, as firsthand witnesses of the revelation of God and simply needed to be convinced that Christ was the Messiah and convert to Christianity. On the other hand, the Church propagated the message that Jews were Christ killers and were evil, conniving, treacherous, greedy and profiteering off of Christians through usury.[122] The preaching of Dominican and Franciscan monks propagated this negative message amongst the lower rungs of society, as did the imagery of songs, stained glass, statuary, frescos, etc. Ecclesiastical legislation would continue to demand the separation of Jews from Christians, ban the practice of usury, for Jews to live in separate neighborhoods and wear distinctive signs on their clothes.

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[121] *Setena Partida*, Título 24, Leyes I-XI, De los Judíos. In *Las Siete Partidas* (1985). Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, p 74-76.

[122] LE GOFF, Jacques (1990). *Your Money or Your Life. Religion and the Economy* (Patricia Ranum, trans.). Zone Books. Le Goff provides a generic overview of the issues of usury and the responses of the Church in the 12th & 13th centuries to what it perceived as a sin and abuse committed by moneylenders towards borrowers. LE GOFF, Jacques (2010). Ch. 7. Prêt, endettement, usure. In *Le Moyen Âge et l'Argent*. Éditions Perrin. Le Goff stated that the purported fortune amassed by Jews in usury was much less than claimed at the time. Le Goff argued that with the circulation of money in the 12th & 13th centuries, the Jews were present in the management of currency. They would be replaced by Christians in the 14th & 15th centuries (p 102-111). LE GOFF, Jacques (2013). Ch. 3. I. L'Église contre les marchands. In *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Âge*, 2e éd. Quadrige PUF. This part was dedicated to the efforts of the Church to stymie usury practices.

As the medieval world was full of analogous symbols, the usurer was compared to the spider, the sly and deceitful fox or the vicious and bloodthirsty wolf. In the Middle Ages, there were three categories of men: nobility, clergy and those who worked. Jacques de Vitry would create a fourth category of men: the usurers. They were associated with evil and the Devil. After death, they went directly to Hell. Usurers prior to death, would lose the ability to speak and confess their sins.[123] Not only does this indicate that Christians were involved in usury (via confession and hell), but in the analogous comparison of usurers with negative images of fierce animals in order to provide associations for the common people to comprehend. These images would be further projected onto Jewish usurers in particular and Jews in general as the Middle Ages progressed. Ecclesiastical legislation would help reinforce the negative image of the Jews in the collective mindset of the majority Christian imaginary.

As previously mentioned, in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council demanded restrictions on the Jews, including wearing distinctive signs on their clothes to easily recognize them in public. Iberian monarchs refused to apply these rules for the longest time. However, the relations between the Christian majority and Jewish minority began to deteriorate. The Church, which was struggling to combat heresy on all levels, came into contact with Orthodox Jews, who also rejected rationalism and the increasing number of Jews entering in official positions of the court as financers and tax collectors.[124] This would be an interesting parallel development in the two faiths, as the two religions struggled to combat what was apparent heresy to doctrine. Unfortunately for the Jews, as a minority community that was undergoing continuous marginalization and demonization on both ecclesiastical and secular levels, their internal division would weaken them vis-à-vis the dominant Christian majority throughout the 13th and 14th centuries.

[123] LE GOFF (2010), p 108-110.
[124] ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA, Vicente Ángel (1988). *Historia de España: La Consolidación de los Reinos Hispánicos (1157-1369)*, t.6. Coordinador: Ángel Montenegro Duque. Editorial Gredos, p 349. CONDE FERNÁNDEZ, J. (1988). *Historia de la Iglesia en España: la Iglesia en la España de los siglos VIII al XIV*, II-2º, dirigido por Javier FERNÁNDEZ CONDE. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, p 542.

I.B.1. Secular Laws

I.B.1. a. *El Fuero Juzgo*[125] - *c.* 1240 translation from Latin to Castilian

The *Fuero Juzgo* was the translation of the Visigoth legal code of 654 CE (*Liber Iudiciorum*) from the original Latin into Leonese and Castilian ordered by Fernando III and it was given to those localities that either did not have a charter of rights, such as the newly conquered territories from the Muslims or for those localities that desired to change their fuero or charter for a more uniform legal code. The text, which was derived from the legal compilation known in ancient codices as *Liber Iudiciorum, Liber Iudicum, Liber goticum, Liber iudicis, Lex gotorum, Librum iudicum*, used the name of Forum Iudicum. It was later translated into Castilian romance as *Fuero Juzgo* or *Jurisdiction of the Judges* in the mid-13th century.[126]

In terms of Book 12, it is interesting to note how Jews were placed with heretics and insults/obloquy. The same would happen to the placement of the Jews in *El Fuero Real* and *Las Siete Partidas*. Book 12 dedicated its title, Title 2: "On Heretics and the Jews and other Sects"[127] and was divided into 18 laws, the last law dealing with the Perfidy of the Jews. Once again, the negative, sinister and dark image of the Jew is projected into the collective mindset through laws that have been kept over the centuries. The Jew is portrayed as greedy, untrustworthy, soulless and perfidious. Not only are prejudices reinforced but the physical activities of Jews are restrained and constrained, as not being able to accompany Christians.

I.B.1.b. *El Espéculo*[128]

The first major Alfonsine legal compendium was the *Espéculo*. Interesting to notice was the lack of any separate books or titles in religious minorities and that instead they were side-by-side with Christians in how to swear an oath, etc., using their own religious texts; Jews would swear on the Torah, etc. It seems that this was an attempt to treat all of his subjects in the same manner or was it, as Antonio Pérez Martín claimed that the *Espéculo* was never completed, and as such, perhaps would have had separate titles for Muslims and Jews in a

[125] Difference between Liber Iudicum, Librum Iudicum and Liber Iudiciorum (Libro de los Juicios or Book of Trials); *Liber Iudiciorum* was the Visigothic legal compendia inherited by the Castilians by the 13th century.
[126] CORONAS GONZÁLEZ, Santos Manuel (2015). *FUERO JUZGO, Edición de la Real Academia Española, 1815*, Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, p XI.
[127] *Fuero Juzgo* (2015), p 175-185.
[128] This Alfonsine legal document has been transmitted to us in four manuscripts: Biblioteca Nacional 10.123 (olim II 5) from around 1390; Bibilioteca Nacional: Res. 125 (olim II 136) from early 16th century, Biblioteca del Palacio Real: II-101 from the 18th century and Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia: 9/6112 from the early 19th century: *Opúsculos del Rey Sabio: El Espéculo*. Edición de la Real Academia de la Historia (1836). Estudio Preliminar: Antonio PÉREZ MARTÍN. Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado. Madrid, 2018, p XIX-XX.

separate book with those who were societal outcasts or who lived on the margins of society. However, then that would not explain why the Muslims and Jews were included in the same titles but different laws, either prior or after the Christians.

I.B.1.c. *El Fuero Real*

Once having assumed the throne after his father's (Fernando III) death in 1252, one of Alfonso X legislative efforts to codify Castilian law into a single, unified compendium was the *Fuero Real* created between the end of 1254 and the beginning of 1255.[129] It was to replace the outdated and incomplete *Fuero Juzgo* from the Visigoth period and that was only translated into Castilian by 1241.[130]

The fourth book, corresponding to *Partida* VII, dealt with the penal code and focused on people living on the fringes of society that one could classify as marginalized. It related to people who had abandoned or did not accept the Catholic faith. They dealt with insults, heresy, apostasy, Jews, adultery, prostitution, sodomy, rape, statutory rape (sex with minors or with widows), false documents, defamation, larceny and theft.[131] Unlike *Las Siete Partidas* that included the Muslims (Moors), the *Fuero Real* did not include them. Nonetheless, it is the title dealing with the Jews that is of interest to this thesis. Compared to the *Fuero Juzgo*, which treated the Jews in the most vitriolic manner by trying to force them to convert, the *Fuero Real* sought to determine a place for Jews in the kingdom.[132]

I.B.1.d. *Las Siete Partidas*

The *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso X's major contribution to late medieval Iberian law giving is considered as legal normative literature, as it is what the prince believed what should be

[129] *Fuero Real de Alfonso X, Rey Sabio* (2015), p XVIII. For further discussion on the dating of the Fuero Real, see pages XIX-XXII.
[130] Ibid., p X-XI. The *Fuero Real* consists of four legal books divided into 72 titles and 550 laws. Its structure, like that of *Las Siete Partidas*, follows the same systematic order as that of the canonic "Cinco Compilaciones Antiguas" compiled in the "Decretals of Gregory IX" or "Liber Extra" and followed in the later works of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. The first book corresponds to the *Partidas* I-II, which is a brief compendium of ecclesiastical and royal law, including the mention of the people's fidelity to the king and his son. It also deals with the organization of justice of the realm: mayors, spokesmen, prosecutors and judges, the latter being nominated by the king. The second book, corresponding to *Partida* III focused on common law, regulated charter letters, summons, court arrangements, defense, evidence and proof and delivery of sentences. The third book, corresponding to *Partidas* IV-VI dealt with family law, succession and contracts.
[131] *Fuero Real de Alfonso X, Rey Sabio* (2015), p XI-XII.
[132] For further discussion on the treatment of Jews in the *Fuero Real*, see: SANZ GONZÁLEZ, Mariano (2012) Los judíos en el Fuero Real. *GLOSSAE. European Journal of Legal History*, 9, p 110-143.

ethical and morally sound for his kingdom and his subjects to follow. It is part of what is considered as sapiential or knowing literature, along with *speculo*[133] or mirror, reflecting the code of conduct that all Christians should follow of what is good and bad, acceptable and reproachable, what is to be rewarded and punished. Along with the law giving, the *Siete Partidas* also classified and categorized the different members of societal groups: from the Church, sovereign, nobility and commoners within the Christian majority community to the societal outcasts of criminals, heretics, sorcerers, witches, Muslims and Jews in the last part of the legal work.

The Seventh Part of the legal compendium not only dealt with those groups of people outside the Christian faith, such as the Muslims (classified as Moors in that time period) and the Jews, but with crime; such as treason, infamy, false witness, homicide, theft, incest, adultery, rape, kidnapping, witchcraft, sorcery and heresy (Alfonso X, p 361-443). It is revealing the mindset of the Castilian monarch in having Jews and Muslims (Moors) placed in the same part of the legal compendium with criminals, derelicts and heretics, as the aforementioned religious groups were considered as heretics since they did not believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God and their savior. The Seventh Part could be viewed as a means in reinforcing popular views and attitudes on the Jews and Muslims in late medieval Christian society that they lived on the fringe of Christian society, and as such not completely trustworthy, suspicious and borderline criminal. As such, the Seventh Part codified the unequal status of the two minority religious groups in a legal code on the par of other groups that were not altogether wholesome.

The seventh part classified all minority and fringe elements of the Christian majority society and cast them into the same sinister light, not only to be ignored, but rather to be shunned and rejected. Placed on a par with Judaism and Jews are Muslims, lepers, witches, sorcerers, sorcery and witchcraft.[134]

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[133] Prior to the writing of the *Fuero Real* and *Las Siete Partidas*, Alfonso X had promoted a legal compendium known as the Espéculo, which reflected the king's conception of the role of the Crown in providing a uniform law for the realm. This was met with much resistance from the nobility and Alfonso X was forced to take it down.

[134] KAPPLER, Claude (2004). *Monstruos, demonios y maravillas a fines de la Edad Media*. AKAL ediciones-Serie Interdisciplinar. Kappler pointed out that both witches and Jews were accused of blood sacrifice rituals of young innocent children. As previously mentioned in the *Cantigas* 4 and 6 and *Exemplum* 313, monsters were symbolic figures that would devour their victims. In terms of who these "monsters" were, late medieval Christianity pointed at eccentric women, who were steadfastly independent and well versed in herbalism, and were classified as witches, and the Jews. Both witches and Jews were accused of throwing children into ovens,

Adding to the many other profanities that the Jews committed as the heretics, Jews were accused of desecrating the Holy Host (wafer) by stepping on it, defecating on it, puncturing holes in order to repeat the Passion of Christ. Supposedly Baby Jesus would be covered in blood and scream in terror rising from the desecrated Holy Host. As with witches, who would supposedly assemble to cast spells, make magic potions and roast babies or small children, the Jews would also surrender to such rituals, assemblies or orgies in the murdering of children.[135]

This view in the medieval collective mindset or imaginary, would reflect in the lawgiving of each and every kingdom of Western Christendom, especially in Castile under Alfonso X and his *Siete Partidas*. Both sorcerers and witches were placed next to the Jews in Part 7 of the Castilian legal compendium, with the former placed in Title 23 and the latter in Title 24. By placing witchcraft and sorcery next to Judaism, the lawgivers of the dominant Christian society denigrated the religion of Judaism to that of the dark practices of sorcery and black magic. This giving credence to the legends of the Jews performing orgiastic rituals of blood sacrifice of children at night. Judaism, would no longer be viewed as the older predecessor to Christianity but as an aberration of the human soul.[136]

Pinharanda Gomes argued that medieval Iberian Jewish leadership, rabbinical scholars, desired physical separateness from Christians in order to avoid Jews from falling into the temptation of Christian idol worshipping, having sexual relations with Christians and avoid

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either as punishment, in the case of the Jews, or as a means of sustenance by roasting children in the oven (Kappler, p 316).

[135] KAPPLER (2004), p 306-307. Kappler used the discovery made by Freddy Raphaël in his article, "La représentation des Juifs dans l'art medieval en Alsace" (1972) that showed the collusion between the Jew, the woman and the Devil. The persecution of Jews and witches were two podalities of one same phobia. The Jew was the incarnation of the Devil, whereas the woman or witch was his consort and companion.

[136] *ALFONSO X, el Sabio: Las Siete Partidas* (1992). Editorial Castalia Odres Nuevos. Title 23, Law 1 dealt with soothsayers, fortunetellers, sorcerers and witches discussing how conundrums could be positive, when using the liberal arts of astronomy and astrology, but negative, when soothsaying, fortunetelling by looking into crystal balls, mirrors, water, swords or any shining object, and cast spells into metal or make predictions using human skulls or those of dogs and other beasts. The law considered these people as dangerous and harmful to society (p 409-410). Title 23, Law 2 dealt with those who conjure evil spirits, create images or other forms of spells, including magic potions. The law specifically mentioned *Nigromancia*, which is Latin for the ability to call or conjure evil spirits. Many times, people who look for such spells or the calling of evil spirits are lured into dangerous places at night, in which they get the shock of their lives and can either end up insane, possessed by demons or die from these encounters. The law continued with forbidding not only the use of black magic but of concocting potions to make people fall in love. These potions were usually poisonous and either caused great pain and sickness or death, p 410-411.

the consumption of eating non-kosher food or Jewish food being processed or even touched by gentiles. Nonetheless, rabbinical scholars, according to Gomes, did not want discrimination and harassment, but rather a separate Convivencia of faiths. Gomes called it a tacit agreement between Hebraic legalism and Christian pragmatic.[137]

Supporting Pinharanda's argument about Jewish scholars and rabbinical leaders deploring contacts between Jews and Gentiles was 13th century Catalan rabbi from Gerona, Jonah ben Abraham Gerondi (1200-1263), who condemned intimate relations between Jews and gentiles. Rabbi Gerondi wrote in his *Gates of Repentance* (*Sha'are teshuvah*) that for a Jew to lay with his gentile servant should be struck down (killed) by a fervent believer. A child born from this intimate relationship will be a pitfall for the Jew and a reminder of his sin.[138]
By the time of Alfonso X and the mid-13th century, there seemed to be an initial drive towards more tolerance and less harshness towards the Jews, as noted in the *Fuero Real* of 1254. However, by the 1260s, there began a shift away from the relative tolerance practiced by the Castilian-Leonese monarchs and a tendency towards marginalization and denigration

[137] GOMES, Pinharanda (2009). *A Filosofia Hebraico - Portuguesa. I. História da Filosofia Portuguesa*. 2ª Edição. Guimarães Editores, p 16-21: Gomes based his findings on passages from the Old Testament, especially Exodus 23, 24 and 34, Leviticus 19, 20 and 26, and Deuteronomy 7. Gomes focused on the biblical prescriptions of "separateness" in order not to contaminate the Jewish community from the idol worshipers, p 16 by making reference to Leviticus 20: 26 "You shall be Holy to me: for I, Yahweh, am Holy, and have set you apart from the people, that you should be mine" (World English Bible). In terms of GOMES discussion of Jewish separateness from Christians within the context of *Las Siete Partidas*, see: p 26. Further supporting the separation of Jews from gentiles, see: KATZ, J. (1961). *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*. Oxford University Press, p 26-36 and 48-63; and, SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, H., op. cit. (2016), p 163-165.

[138] GERONDI, Jonah ben Abraham (1999). *The Gates of Repentance*. (Yaakov Feldman, trans.). Jason Aronson, Inc., p 207-208: "131. One who cohabits with a [gentile] maidservant is like those culpable for a court-imposed death sentence for two reasons. First, as our sages put it, "One who cohabits with a Gentile woman should be struck by a fervent believer" *(Sanhedrin* BIB). *As* it's said, "He impaled them both" (Numbers 25:8). 13 That's to say, if you find such a person erring in full sight of others, and he won't stop, you're to kill him as soon as you come upon him. And thus, in a sense, this sin is more significant than all others culpable for a court-imposed death sentence. For those others are only sentenced to death after witnesses, warning, and judgment of the Sanhedrin. But this sinner killed by whoever comes upon him-without witnesses or warning. **132.** Aside from that, this wrongdoer "has profaned God's holiness by loving and marrying the daughter of a foreign god" (Malachi 2:11). Each Gentile child produced becomes a pitfall and a snare to him, as well as a reminder of his sin. And he, the father, will bear his child's sins because he betrayed God by having borne alien children. **133.** Second, "Heaven will reveal his transgression, and the earth will rise up against him" Qob 20:27). For his sin will quickly bring about his downfall, and he'll ultimately hang by his scalp from a tree. He'll thus be like one culpable for a court-imposed death sentence since the destruction of the Holy Temple by being sentenced by Heaven to death for his acts of rebellion in the unusual ways we indicated above. And so our sages said, "Whoever cohabits with a maidservant is to be hung by his scalp. *As* it is said, 'God will smite the heads of His enemies, the hairy scalp of those who continue on in their guilt' (Psalms 68:22)" *(Bamidbar Rabbah* 10:4). That is, He'll smite their "hairy scalp" by hanging them by their hair. And as it's said, "God will excise whoever does that-who calls and responds from the Tents of Jacob" (Malachi 2:12). And our sages explained that one who "calls" refers to sages, and one who "responds" refers to their disciples (*Sanhedrin* 82A).

of the Jewish community demanding more restrictive laws against the Jews, as witnessed in the *Siete Partidas* of 1265. This can be evidenced through the discussion of the different and laws and seen in the chart above.

María Dolores Bollo-Panadero discussed the importance of the negative image of the religious "other" in both legal and religious medieval texts, as it was the official religion, the Catholic Church that imposed the social norms of conduct. This is what is meant by Christian hegemony and ideological formation of the emerging Castilian state, which made the medieval social *convivencia* or coexistence more difficult.[139]

Combining analogical thinking with the literature of the period,[140] messaging in the Middle Ages, relied on allegorical thought and symbolism for the average person to understand. Christian symbolism was important in always comparing and contrasting, good vs the bad, the old and the new. This would include depicting contrary figures, which would provide a plastic symbolism to help explain abstract concepts, also known as *allegoria in verbis*. In terms of dealing with religious minorities, there would be the juxtaposition of the Old Law versus the New Law, stories, characters and events from the Old Testament versus those in the New Testament.[141]

1. C. Late 13th and Early 14th Centuries (1284-1325)

This sub-chapter will provide historical context prior to the analysis of anti-Judaic Portuguese and Castilian literature between 1325 to 1412. It will look at the economic crises and demographic decline and climate change in Western Europe in general, and the Iberian Peninsula in particular. When studying the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile, it will also

[139] BOLLO-PANADERO, María Dolores (Septiembre 2008). Textos de Persecución: Formación Ideológica y Hegemonía Cristiana en la Literatura Castellana de los Siglos XIII-XV. *Hispanófila*, No. 154, p 15.
[140] WEISS, Julian (2006). *The 'Mester de Clerecía': Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth Century Castile*, Tamesis, p 1. Focusing on the literature of the Iberian Peninsula in the late medieval period, the 'mester de clerecía' was a literary genre of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and would produce the most significant body of clerical and secular verse in Western Christendom. Its birthplace was in Castile and it would have a strong impact on the political, social and religious changes in late medieval Europe. The genre wrote about many topics from epic tales to romance. The clerics adopted the role of intermediaries between the spiritual values and secular knowledge and the unsophisticated world of the illiterate. The composers would re-shape and reconstruct from popular oral legends to classical Latin texts and French literary works
[141] DISALVO, Santiago, (2009), p 62-64; imagery would be further used as the juxtaposition of two female images: the blindfolded, older synagogue with her head down, holding a broken staff and the proud, younger ecclesiam with her head up and brandishing a sword.

study the social turmoil and political conflicts through dynastic wars, as well as their impact on their respective Jewish communities from 1284 to 1325 through anti-Jewish legislation.

1.C.1. Western Europe: The Demographic-Environmental Crisis

The economic and demographic[142] growth and subsequent expansion in trade and migration to urban centers from the 12th to 13th centuries had already begun to slow down by the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries. In part, the expansion of agricultural production had reached its limits, as the amount of arable land had become exhausted. Marshes had been drained, forests had been felled and less fertile land was used, which brought less returns in terms of food production.[143] The decline in food production brought in increase in food prices and subsequent hunger and increase in deaths, as either there was not enough food for the increasing population, and, food prices were too high to afford.[144]

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[142] It is important to emphasize the nature of demographic reconstruction used by historians in the late Medieval period. As per Peter BILLER's interpretation of *historical demography* in: *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000, p 6: "Historical demography is this way of thinking and studying, but applied to past peoples by modern historians…. Historical demographers go back in time, before censuses and towards populations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which can be known only fragmentarily through patient reconstruction of families on the basis of surviving series of registers in some parishes."

[143] BACKMAN, Clifford (2013). *The Worlds of Medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press, p 335 (food production), p 372 (demographic and urban growth and the difficulties in maintaining population growth). BAUCH, Martin & SCHENK, Gerrit Jasper (2020). Teleconnections, Correlations, Causalities between Nature and Society? An Introductory Comment on the 'Crisis of the Fourteenth Century'. In *The Crisis of the 14th Century.* De Gruyter, p 5: "The interdependencies between natural environment and human activity [was] discussed in addition to weather and climate. Thus, the colonization period of the High Middle Ages, which led to enormous clearances, an expansion of farmland, and population growth, could have had long-term negative effects on the water balance and soil erosion, which in turn could result in decreased harvests and diminished resistance to epidemics and insects." Also see: MOSEN, Susanne and Juliette FINZI (2015). The long arm of climate change: societal teleconnections and the future of climate change impact studies. In *Climatic Change 129*, p 13–26: applied social studies methods in analyzing climate change and its impact on society. According to BAUCH and SCHENK (2020), p 18, the social teleconnections applied by MOSEN and FINZI could be applied to Medieval societies: Economic: foodstuff trade; energy production: draft animals & mills; migration of populations due to disasters & famine; and, human health: famine & vulnerability to epidemics. Also see: ROSEN, William (2014). *The Third Horseman. Climate Change and the Great Famine of the 14th century*. Viking Penguin, p 258.

[144]BACKMAN, (2013), p 371-373; POSTAN, M.M. (1973), *Essays on Medieval Agricultural and General Problems on the Medieval Economy*. Cambridge University Press, p 5. On page 172: "A society in which every appreciable failure of harvests could result in large increases in deaths is a society balanced on the margin of subsistence. A balance so precarious and so frequently upset implies either or both of two inter-related possibilities. One is that cultivation was pushed to the point at which land could sustain its cultivators only in years of favourable harvests such as could be expected to occur in only about two years out of three; the other is that individual holdings were so small as to be unable to support their cultivators except in years of good yields. Both possibilities indicate an extreme degree of rural over-population." Discussing further the role of bad harvests and small landholders on page 173: "The village smallholders and labourers were thus the harvest-sensitive element in rural society. It is through them that the effects of bad crops and high prices were transmitted to the village society as a whole. And it is their mortality that largely accounts both for the height and for the fluctuations of overall mortality." See: STONE, David (2005). *Decision-Making in Medieval Agriculture*. Oxford

Followed by the decrease in returns of agricultural production, fluctuations in climate affected most of Western Europe differently from the second to fourth decades of the 14th century. The first crop failures hit the Mediterranean basin in 1311 and lasted approximately until 1314. It is calculated that between thirty-thousand to forty thousand people were affected by the subsequent hunger. In 1315, crop failures followed until 1322 in northern Europe. The torrential rains of 1315 and 1316, not only washed away top soil and drowned crops but damaged city walls and fortresses.[145] The crop failures severely affected the already overstretched food supply. Peasants, who had obtained credit to pay for seed, ploughs, cattle, etc., found themselves impoverished, as they had no means of repaying their loans.[146]

1.C.2. Iberian Peninsula: The Demographic-Environmental Crisis

Contrary to the rest of Western Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, did not suffer from the same demographic pressures of overpopulation and limited amounts of land. In other words, the Malthusian explanation for the diminishing returns of food production due to an increase of population and limited amount of land does not apply. One of the reasons was the conquest of formerly Muslim held territory by Christian forces.[147] Nonetheless, the decline in population,

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University Press, p 62: "Since peasants made up the bulk of the population, and agriculture was their major source of food and income, the way in which they farmed their smallholdings in fact lies at the core of our understanding of the medieval economy and society. At no point is this truer than at the turn of the fourteenth century, when population was at its medieval peak, the demand for land was extraordinarily high, and the threat of hunger and starvation loomed large."

[145] FREEDMAN, Paul (2008). Rural Society. In *The New Medieval Cambridge History*, v. VI (1300-1415), ed. Michael Jones. Cambridge University Press, p 88-89: "Laments about the disastrous rains and prolonged freezes appear in chronicles written in all parts of northern Europe and this literary evidence is confirmed by tree-ring measurements (dendrochronology). There is some possibility that these conditions reflected a long-term change in the European meteorological conditions and it is conceptually appealing to regard the end of medieval agricultural and demographic expansion as caused by a fundamental change towards a wetter, colder climate." For an interdisciplinary approach towards the crisis, see: BAUCH, Martin and SCHENK, Gerrit Jasper (2020), p 1-23. BACKMAN (2013), p 374. As an example of the damage to food production due to the slaughter of livestock, "At a single priory in northern England, that of the Austin canons at Bolton, the estate's herd decreased from three thousand animals in 1315 to only nine hundred in 1317." CAMPBELL, Bruce (2016). *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late Medieval World*. Cambridge University Press, p 148 and in terms of dendrochronology, p 285; POSTAN (1972), p 13; ROSEN (2014), p 255-258, p 277-278: "Any decade from the middle of the twelfth century on would see variations in harvest size of 10 to 20 percent just based on fluctuations in rainfall and sunshine, and a shortfall of 20 percent meant starvation for at least some people. *The shortfall in 1315 was as much as 60 percent*, and it would be more than 20 percent for at least two more years throughout Europe." [Italics are mine].

[146] CAMPBELL (2016), p 184.

[147] BILLER (2000), p 112: "It is generally agreed that population was pressing upon resources in 1300, although with marked local and wider regional variation. The largest 'regional variation' was Spain. There, although population is agreed to have been growing much as in the rest of western Europe, reconquest kept on throwing open vast territories for resettlement. The pace of this was such as to provoke policies to encourage expansion of population."

although not caused by the same factors as in the rest of Europe, did have similar consequences.[148] The lack of demographic growth as in the rest of Western Europe, meant that the migration of peasants from the north to the south, weakened the economic structures of the northern territories.[149]

By the reign of Sancho IV (1284-1295), the Castilian economy had begun to show signs of stagnation, decline and poverty. As a specific example, the Council of Córdoba, in order to deal with the large amount of poverty in the city itself as well as in the nearby localities, had to pass an ordinance in February of 1286 forbidding its inhabitants from spending lavish amounts of money on weddings and burials. This was an attempt to ban exorbitant amounts of money being spent for these occasions, in which people would be in debt or financially ruined.[150] Although Córdoba does not represent the entire kingdom, such ordinances are indicative of what documentation is available of the economic difficulties the kingdom was going through in the last two decades of the 13th century.[151] By 1300, the crisis had become widespread throughout Castile with unusual weather patterns, hunger, death, uncultivated and abandoned land.[152]

The early years of the reign of Fernando IV (1302), there were reported cases of widespread famine in Castile in which people were forced to eat bread made of grass.[153] Unfortunately, the chronicle that bears the king's name did not specify which regions were affected. Diego

[148] RUIZ, Teofilo (2007). *Spain's Centuries of Crisis 1300-1474*. Blackwell Publishing, p 30.
[149] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1989). *Historia de España, v. IV. Feudalismo y Consolidación de los Pueblos Hispánicos (siglos XI-XV),* 3ª ed. Editorial Labor, p 125-126.
[150] Ordenanza del concejo de Córdoba regulando el gasto suntuario en bodas y entierros. 1286, febrero, 10. Córdoba. Archivo Municipal de Córdoba, Tumbo de Privilegios, f. 11r-12v. Some of the items would include expensive clothes and food. It would also limit the number of days for weddings and mourning the deceased to one day only, as well as the amount of guests allowed.
[151] GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, M. (2011). Un Testimonio cordobés sobre la crisis económica de la segunda mitad del siglo XIII. In *A través de Sevilla y Andalucía. Estampas de Historia medieval*. Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, p 21-27.
[152] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, Francisco J. (2004). *La España de los siglos XIII al XV: Transformaciones del feudalismo tardío,* 2ª edición. Editorial Nerea, p 41, 59. BENÍTEZ GUERRERO, Carmen (2017). *Crónica de Fernando IV. Estudio y edición de un texto postalfonsí*. Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, Cátedra Alfonso X el Sabio, p 127: Capitolo XV. [35] "…la tierra de Asturias era muy fuerte para entrar…e otrosi que el tiempo era muy fuerte de nieves e de aguas e de yelos…."; p 156: Capitolo XVI [73] "E en este tiempo fueron tantas las aguas, que duro bien tres meses que nunca çeso de llover." The entries are from 1306 and 1308 respectively. Even though they are not from the late 13th century, they allude to severe weather and climate fluctuations or irregularities.
[153] BENÍTEZ GUERRERO (2017), p 65: Capitolo IX. [2] "E este anno fue en toda la tierra muy grand fanbre; e los omes muriense por las plaças e por las calles de fanbre, e fue tan grande la mortandad en la gente que bien cuydaran que muriera el quarto de toda la gente de la tierra. E tan grande era la fanbre, que comian los ommes pan de grama e nunca en tienpo del mundo vio omme tan gran fanbre nin tan gran mortandad."

Ortiz de Zúñiga in his annals of the history of Seville, used a fragment from a chronicle that reported for the year 1311 (era of 1349) hunger, famine, calamities, disease, fevers and many deaths due to the lack of cures and malnutrition and that there seemed to be no remedy at hand as the land was sterile and there was not enough harvest to sustain one-third of the populace.[154] Such conditions would cause fear, anguish, frustration and panic amongst the common people, as they would seek answers to developments that appeared to be inexplicable.

A useful tool to study how events would lead to a hostile Christian environment towards the Jews is Valdeón Baruque's trifold model to analyze the 14th century crises in Castile. Besides looking at: 1) fluctuations in climate; 2) high death rates; and, 3) devastating wars, he wrote that it was also: 1) Conflict between landlords and peasants; 2) Urban Conflicts; and, 3) Anti-Jewish sentiment and action. All of these factors were concomitant and would lead to increased social tensions and political opportunism of particular factions of the Castilian elite during the dynastic wars of 1355, 1360 and 1369, that would exacerbate the animosity towards the Jews felt by the common people.[155]

1.C.3. Political-Dynastic Crisis in Castile: Crisis in Leadership

The chronicles of the period from the late 13th century until the last third of the 15th century narrated the chaotic, if not convulsed, state of affairs, in which Castilian politics was embroiled. Coupled with this political instability was, as previously discussed, the economic, demographic and pandemic issues of the 14th century.[156] The many issues began with the heir to the throne, Infante Sancho, married his second cousin, against the wishes of his father and the Church, as the Church only allowed marriage between cousins if they were four or five times removed. In 1282, Infante Sancho with the help of many noblemen, who were guaranteed their traditional jurisdictional rights by Infante Sancho, led an uprising in Toledo and deposed his father, Alfonso X, who was in Seville.[157] Only a handful of noblemen, such

[154] ORTIZ DE ZÚÑIGA, Diego (1795). *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble ciudad de Sevilla*, v. II, Edición de Antonio M. Espinosa y Cárcel, p 45: "La era de 1349 (año 1311) fue de grandes dolencias e calamidades en Sevilla, ca murió mucha gente, e la más era doliente, e mal guarida de fiebres, e fallescieron muchos por mengua de cura e de mantenimiento, por el hambre que ende había, a que no se esperaba remedidar, ca el año era estéril e no nacía cosecha para mantener la tercia parte de las gentes…"
[155] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1975). *Los conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Siglo XXI Editores, p 15-37
[156] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 4-5 and 11-12
[157] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ, César (2012). *Poder Real y Poder Nobiliar en la Corona de Castilla (1252-1369)*. Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, Itxaropena, S.A., p 63: Sancho IV's relations with the nobility

as the Lara dynasty and Alfonso de La Cerda, continued to support Alfonso X. From 1282 until the death of Alfonso X in 1284, there were effectively two reigning kings in Castile, with Alfonso X recognized by the Church.[158]

For years, there would be political instability, as part of the Castilian nobility under Alfonso De La Cerda, who established himself as king in Almazán in 1288 with the help of the Kingdom of Aragon, would contest the legitimacy of Sancho IV. This domestic instability would be exploited by Castile's neighboring kingdoms: Aragon, which would openly refuse to acknowledge Sancho IV and openly supported Alfonso de La Cerda, and Portugal, which intervened on different sides in 1287, 1289, 1293, and 1295-1297 and then stood by the wayside observing developments and seeking what advantages, it could take from the internal instability in Castile and its continuous wars with Aragon.[159]

The political instability caused by the upper nobility's rebellion against the centralizing authority of the Crown and taking advantage of the minority rule of Fernando IV, provided a political vacuum, in which certain bands of nobility would sack and pillage towns and villages.[160] These bands were accused of being *malfechores* (evildoers) and committing acts

were complex, as once he allowed them to seize territory and reclaim prior feudal rights, it would become extremely difficult to control them. Some of the aristocratic families involved were the Haro, Castañedas, Finojosas, Salcedos, Mendozas, Manzanedos and Manriques, amongst many others; also see: FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, op. cit., 2004, p 36-37; ÁLVEREZ PALENZUELA, Vicente (1988). *La Consolidación de los Reinos Hispánicos (1157-1369)* in *Historia de España*, t. 6. Editorial Gredos, p 114.

[158] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 37-38; GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 57-59. GÓNZALEZ MÍNGUEZ (2016), Capítulo 27: La reacción oligárquica frente al poder de las monarquías (1284-1325). In *Historia de España en la Edad Media*, 6ª impresión, coord. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela. Editorial Planeta, S.A., p 603-605.

[159] LINEHAN, Peter (2008). *Spain 1157-1300: A Partiable Inheritance*. Blackwell Publishing, p 623; FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 38; MARQUES, Oliveira A.H. de. (2010). *História de Portugal: Das Origens ao Renascimento*, v.1, 14ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 200-201; MATTOSO, José (1997). Dois Séculos de Vicissitudes Políticas: 1096-1325. In *História de Portugal: A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, 2º Vol. Editorial Estampa, p 128-130; PIZARRO, José Augusto De Sotto Mayor (2012). *D. Dinis* in *Reis de Portugal*, 2ª edição. Círculo de Leitores e Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa. Temas e Debates, p 136-148; LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2014). *Poder político y sociedad en Castilla Siglos XIII al XV: Selección de Estudios*. Dykinson, p 134-136.

[160] GAUTIER DALCHÉ, J. (1970-71). L'histoire castillane dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 7, p 246, called it a rupture in the balance between the diverse social and political forces; also the *Crónica de Fernando IV*, op. cit., 2017, p 11: inserted a claim in 1295 by Don Enrique, brother of Alfonso X, uncle of Sancho IV, that how it pained him to see the land in the state it was in and that it was his will that the land return to the state it was once under his father Fernando III (commo el se dolia del estado de la tierra, que non estava en la manera que devia, e que su voluntad era que tornase a la manera que fuera en tiempo del rey don Ferrando, su padre, e que a esto les ayudaría el, e que se ternia con ellos).

of bandolerismo (banditry).[161] This in turn led to the setting up again of the *hermandades* that formed in 1282-1284 in support of Infante Sancho against his father Alfonso X. The *hermandades* this time were created to protect their municipalities form the excess of the upper nobility and support the king and his regents.[162] The *hermandades* were specifically mentioned in article 12 of the Cortes de Valladolid of 1295.[163] According to O'Callaghan, a total of 130 towns were represented by 248 townsmen at the Cortes of Valladolid of 1295.[164] Also that same year, a *hermandad* in Andalucía formed, which included Sevilla, Córdoba and Écija. In 1296, Jérez joined the hermandad, followed by Baeza, Jaén, Úbeda and Andújar, which would later form the *Hermandad General de Andalucía* in 1297.[165]

Important to note about the *hermandades*, besides presenting their formal complaints about the abuses of the upper nobility, was their increased hostility towards the Jews at the Cortes. This was due to the increased economic competition and tension between the Jewish merchants and financiers and their Christian counterparts.[166] The urban patricians would focus attention on the "abuses" practiced by Jewish moneylenders and how the common people suffered under the heavy weight of high interest rates. The *hermandades* would view the Jews as belonging to privileged outside groups that existed on the margins of Christian society.[167]

Only in 1301, years after the death of Sancho IV, did Fernando IV and his mother, María Molina de Meneses, receive Papal dispensation recognizing her once forbidden marriage to

[161] MANZANO MORENO (2015), p 567. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 63. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 86-87. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2005). *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV: Política y cultura*. Editorial Síntesis, p 27.

[162] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 72. Not only were there confrontations between knights and commoners in Zamora, Córdoba and Sevilla, but uprisings against seigneurial rule in Santiago and Palencia, and the murder of the nobility in Segovia, Soria and Úbeda.

[163] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. I (1861).Real Academia de la Historia, p 132: "Otrossi las hermandades que lizieron los delas uillas de nuestros rregnos de Castiella e de Leon e de Gallizia e de Estremadura e del arçobispado de Toledo otorgamos las e confirmamos gelas asi como las fizieron."

[164] O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F (1989). *The Cortes of Castile-León, 1188-1350*. University of Pennsylvania, p 53: Represented at the Cortes were: 33 Leonese and Galician towns, 23 towns from Extremadura, 10 from the Toledo archbishopric and 64 towns from Castile. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2005), p 27.

[165] MONSALVO ANTÓN (2005), p 27.

[166] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 42.

[167] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2019). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 2. Sociedad*. Editorial Dykinson, p 319-320, 323, 329, 363-368. In his work, Ladero Quesada made the connections of how the Jews, as marginalized outsiders were perceived as serving the powerful and mighty, as the Crown, aristocracy and upper clergy, whereas the lower strata of the social ladder suffered the economic consequences of the high interest rates of Jewish moneylenders and their descent into poverty. The practice of usury was paired with other "suspicious" professions and practices; such as prostitution, bestiality, vagabondage, ruffianism, etc.

her younger second cousin, Sancho IV. Thus, the papal dispensation made their son, Fernando IV, legitimate in the eyes of the Church and Western Christendom.[168] In spite of Fernando IV coming to age in 1301 and the neutralization of La Cerda's claim to the throne in 1304, instability throughout the countryside continued as the banditry and abuses of the *malfechores* (evildoers) did not cease.

Unfortunately for Castile, Fernando IV died at the age of 26 in September 1312, leaving behind his 1-year-old son, now crowned as Alfonso XI, under the regency of María de Molina de Meneses, the young king's grandmother. Once again, the disgruntled Castilian nobility took advantage of the situation of another regency of a sovereign during minority rule. The violence started again due to the *bandolerismo* (banditry) of the *malfechores* (evildoers) and once again,[169] the *hermandades* were organized by 1315 to protect the interests of the common people in the urban centers and their surrounding countryside.[170]

1.C.4. Elites in the urban centers

Besides the urban patricians and nobility, the next important group was that of well-off burghers and merchants, who were already detainers of wealth, economic power and began to assert political-administrative power by entering in council organisms. In this manner, they could try to ascend to the ranks of the nobility. This was a desired goal by the ascendant bourgeoisie. Once attained through the purchase of lands and entitlement, the new nobleman

[168] See: *Crónica de Fernando IV*, op. cit., 2017, p 15-16: This had been agreed upon at Guarda in 1295 between King D. Dinis and the regent Queen María de Molina de Meneses, in the name of her son, Fernando IV.
[169] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012): Capítulo 11 "La minoría de Alfonso XI: tiempos de anarquía", p 119-131; RUIZ, Teófilo, op. cit., 2007, p 58: "from 1312 to 1325, Castile was ruled by a regency in which… the prevalent mood was one of anarchy and factional struggles between the king's uncles and other relatives, the high nobility, and the urban elites. As already seen, the onset of the late medieval crisis hit Castile particularly hard in the 1310s and 1320s. Contemporary accounts, above all the chronicle of Alfonso XI, decried the waves of violence and the spoiling of the realm. Most of the regents… took little or no action to address the violence sweeping the land. Either because of their incompetence or greed, or because inaction (or the wrong action) was the way to secure the support of some faction of the high nobility, most of the regents followed policies which ran counter to the interests of the young king or the realm."
[170] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla* (1861),t. 1., p 248-249: Reasoning by the *Hermandad General* at the Cortes de Burgos of 1315, "veyendo los muchos males e dannos e agrauiamientos que avemos rrecebidos fasta aquí de los ommes poderossos et por rrazon que nuestro ssennor el Rey es tan pequenno que nos non puede ende ffazer auer derecho e emienda fasta que nuestro ssennor Dios le llegue a hedat;…para guardar sennorio e seruiçio del Rey e todos sus derechos que á e deve aver, e para guarda de nuestros cuerpos e delo que avemos e de todos nuestros fueros e ffranquezas e libertades e buenos usos e costunbres e privillegios e cartas e quadernos que auemos todos e cada unos de nos, e merçedes de los rreyes que tenemos e devemos aver con derecho , et para que se cunpla e se faga la justiçia en la tierra conplida miente comino deve, meior que se non ffizo ffasta aqui, e binamos en paz e en asosego, por que guando nuestro sennor el Rey ffuere de hedat ffalle la tierra mejor parada e mas rrica e mejor poblada para su serviçio."

would begin to forget his "vile" origins as soon as possible. As such, the urban elites did not represent a homogenous class, but rather a complex set of different parties and bands that would be involved in many complicated late medieval conflicts.[171]

The clergy and lawyers that nourished universities and administrative institutions – especially those powerful ones in the cities linked to the court of the different kingdoms – constituted another powerful and influential sector of urban society in the late medieval period. The clergy, as well, did not constitute a homogenous group. The lower clergy came from the lower strati of society, whereas the bishops came from the nobility with the jurisdiction over wide territorial domains.[172]

1.C.5. Minorities in urban centers. Muslims and Jews

Referring to the common people of the urban centers, enlarged in a notable manner by the contingents of peasants that had abandoned the land throughout the decades of crises, was also heterogenous. The "boni homines" consisted of an urban proletariat that became more numerous and the increasing amount of marginalized – the sick and vagabonds – *had very little in common, besides not being privileged*. The groups of slaves, coming from captive Muslims, reached the thousands. They were concentrated in the Mediterranean ports of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.[173] This group will be of extreme importance, as socio-economic pressures and political conflicts would mount as the 14th century would progress, so would the desperation of this marginalized social group and would unleash their hatred, frustration and violence on another minority group that did not belong to the dominant

[171] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 111; SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1988). *La Consolidación de los Reinos Hispánicos (1157-1369)* in *Historia de España*, t. 6. Editorial Gredos, p 278-279: discusses the development of the *caballeros villanos* and *infanzones*, who monopolize municipal administrations. He would further explain the differences between the *vecinos* (neighbors), who owned their own homes and possessed other realty and the *moradores* (inhabitants), who did not own their own homes and owned little property. The wealthiest *vecinos* would be classified as *hombres buenos* (good men) and would exercise positions of municipal administration besides the *caballeros* or knights. Also see: GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ, Enric (2003). *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV: Economía y Sociedad* in *Historia de España 3er milenio*. Editorial Síntesis, p 252-253; LADERA QUESADA (2019), p 250-251, Ladero Quesada would then discuss the less privileged social strata of the urban centers. These included smaller merchants, craftsmen and artisans. They were the labor nerve of the urban centers. These people, in turn, had a more beneficial status over the peasantry, as they had less fiscal share and military responsibilities, such as the municipal militia consisting of bowmen and lance men. Ladera Quesada also looked at the three different angles to study social urban reality, which was direct taxation (privileged, exempt or poll tax), the amount of taxable wealth (*cuantía*) and the distribution of professions (p 262-263).

[172] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 111-112.

[173] Ibid., p 112.

majority Christian group and that had been demonized for over a long period of time – the Jews as they belonged to *another law* or *religion*.[174]

Jews and Muslims (mudéjares) formed part of two well defined urban groups. Their strong configuration, ethnic articulation, economic position and religious-cultural world allowed for apparent contradictions with the other citizens and the birth of numerous conflicts that led to destabilizing, to a certain degree, the precarious balance of the urban society of the period.[175]

As in all groups and communities, an oligarchical elite emerged and dominated Jewish communities. MacKay mentioned the *taccanot* or communal statutes that were promulgated by the highest-ranking members of the communities. In the case of Tudela of 1305, there were eight members from the eight families that met regularly in the name of the community. This, in turn, would lead to tension, conflicts and disputes within the communities themselves. Leadership within the community, instead of being based on wisdom and piety, was based on power and wealth.[176]

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[174] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (2015). Las minorías étnicos-religiosas: mudéjares y judíos en los tiempos de la crisis. In *El Siglo XIV en primera persona. Alfonso XI, rey de Castilla y León (1312-1350)*, Manuel GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ (coordinador). Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla, 2015, p 83: "Por lo que se refiere a Castilla…sus reyes pusieron en práctica una política ambivalente, que fluctuaba entre la secular protección de las monarquías hispanas a los judíos…y el cumplimiento de la nueva normativa eclesiástica , en el pueblo iba prendiendo, poco a poco y de manera irremediable, la llama del rechazo hacía las minorías étnico-religiosas, especialmente agravado por las terribles consecuencias de las sucesivas crisis que asolaron a la Europa de la época…. Desde principios del siglo XIII, las antiguas minorías étnico-religiosas empezaron a ser vistas por la mayoría cristiana como comunidades distintas, debido a que pertenecían a *otra religión* o mejor, a *otra ley*, según la terminología de la época, situación de diversidad o alteridad que, en principio, fue tolerada, pero que poco a poco, empezaría a ser rechazada por la sociedad cristiana." According to BILLER, op.cit., p 66, "'faith' (or 'law') 'of the Jews' — tend to essentialize the ensemble of peoples, faith, and cult which they denote. LADERO QUESADA (2019) p 359: "… la persistencia en su ceguera (*caecitas*) al no admitir a Cristo como Mesías, su permanencia en una fe religiosa que se consideraba caducada y degenerada, podía ser ya un motivo de desconfianza y recelo, alimentado por el tópico de haber sido el pueblo "deicida"… y por falsedades que les acusaba de odio a los cristianos… del crimen ritual de niños cristianos [a] las acusaciones de profanación de la hostia consagrada, especie de "deicidio simbólico". Also see: RUBIN, Miri (1999). *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. Yale University Press.

[175] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 113.

[176] MACKAY, Agnus (1992). Los Judíos de España durante la Edad Media. In Los Judíos de España, Kedourie, Elie, ed., Editorial Crítica, p 27-28, 30. Agnus MACKAY mentioned the difficulties in determining estimates of the Jewish population of the Hispanic kingdoms, according to MacKay, as there is not sufficient documentation to reach a definite conclusion on exact numbers. MacKay based the numbers presented on: SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ L. (1980). *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media*. RIALP, p 96-100. Suárez Fernández believes that there were around 100,000 Jews in the 13th century, which would make it 2% of the population. After the deadly consequences of the Bubonic Plague (1348-1350) and the massacres of Jews during the Dynastic Wars of 1355, 1360 and 1366-69 and in further massacres and flight of thousands of Jews in 1391, the number would diminish. Nonetheless, the Jewish minority was always present in medieval documentation, ranging from chronicles, laws and literature.

It is necessary to discuss the predominant economic role of certain members of the Jewish community, in order to understand part of the origin of the conflict between the Christian majority and Jewish minority communities. Notable personalities of the Jewish community played important roles in the political and economic positions of the Court of the Christian sovereigns provoked the ire of peasants. On top of that, many of these royal representatives were rich merchants, who had enough funds to invest into activities known as usury. As such, it was viewed that these rich Jews were weaving nets of economic dependence, in which noblemen and knights, who were short of money, would be caught. Ecclesiastical legislation found itself ineffective in banning it in practice.[177]

Angus MacKay also discussed the different types of professions and employment the Jews performed in order to make their living. Besides the stereotype of the Jews as being money-lenders, financiers or tax and rent collectors, the majority of Jews worked in different types of more humble professions. Many Jews owned or rented rural properties in the form of small farms, vineyards and orchards. Others had large flocks of sheep. Documentation from Calahorra from the 13th and 14th centuries reveal a dynamic real estate market, in which the Jews participated in the purchase, sale and renting of lands for cultivation of cereals, vineyards and orchards. These Jews dealt with parochial clergymen and Christian landowners.[178] As can be seen, Jews did not have a monopoly on real estate, in which they would purportedly exploit Christians. The notion that Jews controlled the economy was a myth propagated by Christian economic rivals and mendicant preachers, who wanted to project a negative image of the Jews in order to isolate and marginalize them even further. The mendicant preachers wanted to place enough pressure on the Jews for them to convert to Christianity, whereas urban economic rivals would try to force out Jews from performing royal and municipal administrative tasks through legislation.

Joseph Pérez took the above argument and developed it further by explaining that the Jews, as being under royal protection, felt that they had to serve their protector, the monarch, not only during periods of peace and stability, but especially during periods of upheaval and crises. Jewish administrative duties, such as fiscal agents, helped the Crown extend its

[177] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 113.
[178] MACKAY (1992), p 28.

jurisdiction over the realm to the detriment of the nobility and the clergy. The increase of use of Jewish administrators also incensed the Christian municipal leaders and procurators, as they believed that the Jewish minority was given too much power over state affairs and influence over the Crown to the detriment of municipal leaders.[179]

José Mª Monsalvo Antón explained the reasons behind using Jews were, not only the personal allegiance and loyalty between the Crown and the Jewish communities, but, the independence that the individual Jews employed were not susceptible to political pressures by other parties, such as the nobility and clergy. Also important in the choice of employing Jews, was Jewish expertise in financial matters and credit sphere, especially in terms of assured capital liquidity that would be needed throughout the many financial and monetary crises of the 14th century.[180]

However, the role played by Jews was not that simple, as many prominent Jews also worked in the service of the nobility and clergy. Such duties included tax and rent collection, as well as the administration of seigneurial territory. The employment of Jewish administrators and fiscal agents would also lead to the misgivings, apprehension and mistrust of the municipal authorities and procurators, as they believed that their prerogatives were being undermined. As will be discussed further down in this chapter, the municipal procurators' attempts to curtail and eliminate the role of Jewish administrators and fiscal agents for the Crown and nobility through legislation in the Cortes.[181]

These actions and endeavors of all parties, albeit royal, seigneurial, municipal, Christian or Jewish, added to the tensions and upheavals of the 14th century, which would begin with the attempts to pushout official Jewish administrative and fiscal activities, as well as

[179] PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos en España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcia Pons Historia, p 71-73. Pérez further explained the role of education in the Jewish community through the Talmudic schools and the advanced cultural level attained by many young Jewish men, which was superior to that of most young Christian men, that allowed them to earn high ranking positions in the royal administration. On page 121, Pérez discussed the expansion of royal authority through the role played by prominent Jews and the perceived power these prominent Jewish administrators had over the Crown: "Los judíos, tanto los burócratas de la corte como los agentes fiscales, aparecían desde cierto punto de vista como el elemento más significativo del creciente poder real; como además mantenían los judíos su clásica actitud de lealtad y adhesión al poder legítimo, era fácil atacar la vinculación – cuando no la subordinación – de la monarquía a los judíos."

[180] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1988). "Cortes de Castilla y León y minorías" in *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, v. II. Cortes de Castilla y León, p 152.

[181] MONSALVO ANTÓN (1988), p 155-158.

circumscribe their role in late medieval economy by barring them land ownership through legislation in the Cortes, and would end in violence by using of the Jewish minority as scapegoats for all of the ills of society.[182] Such accusations would be heaped on the Jews by different social groups, ranging from contenders to the throne to the common people, as will be seen in the next chapters.

I.D. Portugal in the Late 13th and Early 14th Centuries

According to Oliveira Marques, Portugal presented its own set of unique characteristics in the late medieval period that were similar to Castile. These were the fusion of socio-economic, political and cultural structures between the Christian north that had little Arab/Muslim influence and those of the south, which had undergone Arab/Muslim direct rule for centuries. Whereas the north had socio-economic structures of feudalism more in line with the rest of Western Europe, the south had an adapted and modified version of it due to the demands of the Christian conquest of Muslim held territory of repopulating the abandoned areas after those conquests.[183] By the 14th century, Portugal, as the other Iberian kingdoms, in which the population, gathered around three vectors. These were: a territory that had well-defined, internationally recognized political boundaries by the end of the 13th century; royal power centralized under one administration of the Crown; an official state language and cultural identity that was continuously developing in its national affirmation.[184]

[182] Ibid., p 159.

[183] MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (2010). *História de Portugal: Das Origens ao Renascimento*, v.1, 14ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 73

[184] SABATÉ, Flocel y FONSECA, Luís Adão da (2015). The Spain that Never was: The Iberian Peninsula from its Peripheries. In *Catalonia and Portugal: The Iberian Peninsula from its Peripheries*. Peter Lang: Bern, p 29. Bernardo Vasconcelos da SOUSA wrote: "Com D. Dinis, o Português foi adoptado como língua da chancelaria régia, no que constituiu o passo decisivo para a « oficialização» da língua escrita, assumidamente um poderoso instrumento da administração e da política da Coroa. Nesta mesma perspectiva se inseriu a fundação da universidade portuguesa, também por iniciativa de D. Dinis, que para tal pediu e alcançou autorização papal, em 1280-1290. O Português, tanto no domínio da oralidade como no da escrita, tendo por base o Latim originariamente falado na área galaico-portuguesa e incorporando vocábulos de origem árabe, cotou-se, pois, como um elemento fundamental para afirmar e enraizar uma identidade e uma tradição cultural próprias, indissociáveis do espaço político que era o reino de Portugal. Além da vertente administrativa, e da já referida utilização nas produções poéticas trovadorescas, primeiro no âmbito de uma cultura oral e depois com o seu registo por escrito, o Português conheceu também, sobretudo a partir do século XIV, uma profusa utilização para o registo de discursos historiográficos ou afins." SOUSA, Bernardo Vasconcelos e (2015). *Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)* in *História de Portugal*, 8ª ed. Ramos, Rui, Coordenador, et al. A Esfera dos Livros, p 132.

I.D.1. Economic crises in Portugal

As a result, in the decrease in agricultural prices and the increase in deaths was both an increase in prices and wages. As in Castile, the efforts of price controls were also to be found in the Portuguese Cortes by the mid-13th century. Nonetheless, there is irrefutable evidence of the presence of the representatives of the municipal councils (concelhos) at the Cortes of 1252 in which King D. Afonso III tried to stop the rise in prices. The king was trying to put a stop in the rumors that the value of money would alter in a short span in time. The monarch himself shared these same fears in letters addressed to high-ranking members of the clergy and to the Pope himself.[185] The king needed to recur to a stabilizing monetary policy of seven years through an extraordinary service.[186] As a complimentary service, the king mandated an ordinance on prices and salaries.[187]

The rise in prices reflected the economic situation that began to stagnate by the end of 13th century and issues of hunger would appear where there were heavy concentrations of population. As in Castile (1255-1262) and the rest of Western Europe, part of the reason was due to outdated production methods, overuse of land, the draining of swamps and the claiming of forests to increase food production in spite of diminishing returns, and the intensification of fishing. Soon, the lack of food production could not meet the demands of the increasing population, and soon hunger and famine would begin. This would be the case of the peripheries of Coimbra and Porto. Registers of agricultural crisis appeared in 1253,

[185] HERCULANO, Alexandre, (1941). *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica (P.M.H.)*, p 196-197.

[186] Charter currency or *moeda forera* provided exemptions and privileges to the king in issuing currency and having the right to modify its weight every seven years. Afonso III was allowed to demand an amount above the what was normally paid. This extraordinary tax found opposition in the clergy when the majority of subjects had already paid it: Martín, (1988), p 385.

[187] MARTÍN, José-Luis (1988). Cortes de Castilla y León y Cortes de Portugal. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. II. Simancas Ediciones, p 381, 385 and 386. There is a record of the ordinance for the north of Portugal between Minho and Douro. However, it is almost certain that there was a price and salary differentiation for Central and Southern Portugal, as was done in Castile as well. On page 387: The clergy's refusal to pay more taxes to finance the currency stability policy, led to further monetary instability and economic hardships. The seven years gone by, Afonso III minted new currency and had to confront new grievances, which forced him to call upon the Cortes of Coimbra in 1261 in order for the Crown to reach an agreement. This accord amounted to a parity of the old and new currency for the following four years, in which the old currency would be withdrawn and that every subject of the land paid a subsidy to the king. Whosoever had property worth 10 pounds pay half a pound, whosoever had property worth 20 pounds, pay one pound, and if it should reach 100, then he/she would pay two pounds. The maximum amount was fixed at 3 pounds for those who possessed property worth over thousand or more pounds.

difficulties in the supply of wheat in the years between 1268 and 1272, as well as the effects of a plague in Beira around 1273. In Estremadura there was a scarcity of wheat in 1295.[188]

I.D.2. Dynastic conflict in Portugal from 1319 to 1324

Compounding the situation for this period was the civil war of 1319-1324 between King Dom Dinis and his heir Infante Dom Afonso (would become Afonso IV).[189] As in Castile, Alfonso X's grandson, Dom Dinis, who had spent time at his grandfather's court observing the gargantuan scientific, literary, historic, legalistic endeavors, returned to Portugal to implement similar works from literary and historic to legalistic works.[190] One of them, was the curtailing of the particularism and prerogatives of the nobility, that the Crown accused of arbitrariness and tyrannical abuse of power with its vassals. This consisted in royal inquiries (inquirições) of the clergy's and nobility's property in order to see how much wealth they actually had and to tax that same wealth. The nobility protested, as it felt that its prerogatives were not only being scrutinized, but that the Crown was curtailing its power. The Crown launched 1284, 1288-1290, 1301, 1303-1304 and 1307 inquiries. The nobility tried to stop or reverse these inquiries by first protesting at the Cortes of Lisbon of 1285 and the Cortes of Guimarães in 1288 and failed and then asking the Church to arbitrate, but in the two attempts to stop the Crown, the Church found no legal precedent to stop it in 1315 and 1316.[191]

Similar to the previous case in Castile, although under no circumstances identical, the nobility protested the encroaching centralization of the Crown under Dom Dinis and finally found a champion to their cause in the person of the heir to the Portuguese throne, the Infante

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[188] MATOSSO, José (2015). *Identificação de um País: Parte II Composição. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096-1325*. Temas & Debates e Círculos de Leitores, p 565-566

[189] MATOSSO, José (1993). *A Formação da Nacionalidade (1096-1325)* in *História de Portugal: A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, v. II, Direcção José Matosso. Editorial Estampa, p 249; also see SOUSA, Armindo de. *Condicionamentos Básicos (1325-1480)* in *História de Portugal: A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, v. II, Direcção José Matosso. Editorial Estampa, p 336. SOUSA used Fourquin's calculation that by mid-13th century to support 3000 people, 3,000 hectares of land were needed to produce 1,000 tons of wheat: FOURQUIN, Guy (1969). *Histoire économique de l'Occident Médiéval*. Librairie Armand Colin, p 209.

[190] LINEHAN (2008), p 632-634. Besides promoting Portuguese as the official language for legal and royal documents in 1290, Dom Dinis had the *Partidas* translated into Portuguese without imposing its prescriptions on his subjects, as well as circumscribing aristocratic prerogatives in favor of those of the Crown and the increasing role of centralizing state authority with trained officials. The king espoused the creation of a professionally trained and educated personnel and petitioned from the Pope and obtained the dispensation to create a center of General Studies (today university) in order to provide the army of royal professionals.

[191] VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, Bernardo (2009). *I Parte: Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)* in *História de Portugal*. RAMOS, Rui (coordenador). A Esfera dos Livros, p 116-118; MATTOSO (1997), p 138-139; MARQUES (2010), p 147; PIZARRO (2012), p 121-123, and conflict with the nobility, p 229-232

Afonso. Crown Prince Afonso, jealous of his two half-brothers, who held positions of power under their father, demanded control of justice/the judicial system, which would have given him control of the realm. The king refused and the Crown Prince, with rebellious noblemen, led a revolt against the king supported by many members of the disaffected nobility and began a civil war that lasted from 1319 until 1324, that would end without any particular side winning, but with the half-brothers relinquishing their previous positions of power.[192]

I.D.3. Social repercussions and comparison with Castile

In terms of societal repercussions, there was not the case of rampant banditry of the nobility towards the common people as in Castile. This is of importance, as the dynastic conflict between ruling king and crown prince did not destabilize society to the same extent as in the neighboring kingdom. There were no *Hermandades* created in Portugal to defend and protect towns and villages from the nobility. Only certain members of the nobility and the bishop of Estremoz were murdered. Many towns and villages were spared from the sacking, pillaging and murder from brigand knights and noblemen.[193] In a broader sense, Castilian society from the late 13th century to the first quarter of the 14th century became destabilized and would continue to destabilize with each dynastic conflict throughout the 14th century, as will be seen in the next chapters. The lack of decades of social turmoil, as in Castile, most likely played a role in the Portuguese common people not looking so much for scapegoats for their ills. As Valdeón Baruque discussed in the case beginning with the Castilian dynastic war and the many decades of minority rule, political instability and social upheaval, the municipal procurators would unleash their resentment towards the Jews in the Cortes held from the late 13th century and throughout the 14th century as they viewed the Jews, not only as undesired economic rivals but as a privileged group protected by the competing elites and given an unfair advantage. However, Mª José Ferro Tavares would take this argument and place it within the Portuguese context of the Jews being seen as economic rivals of the emergent

[192]BARCELOS, Dom Pedro, Conde de (2009). *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, vol. IV. 2ª ed. Edição Crítica de Luís Filipe Lindley CINTRA. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 252-258; VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, op.cit., p 118-119; SERRÃO (2001), p 263-265; VASCONCELOS E SOUSA, Bernardo (2009). *D. Afonso IV (1291-1357)* in *Reis de Portugal*. Círculo de Leitores e Temas e Debates, p 39-75; MARQUES (2010), p 203; PIZARRO, op. cit., 2012, p 243-257.

[193] MATOSSO (1997), p 139-140; PIZARRO (2012), p 247 claimed that the murdered bishop was from Évora and that those men who committed acts of murder were "malfeitores" but that they did not assault many towns and villages and murder commoners. Once again, the sacking and pillaging could have been limited in scope, as the *Cortes Portuguesas* used the term "villa" or town, which could have been in reference to Santarém, where the Cortes were held in 1325.

urban Christian mercantile classes and as having too many privileges granted from the Crown, nobility and the clergy.[194]

I.E. Tension Between Christians and Jews Prior to the 14th Century

The increased tensions between the Christian majority and its minority religious groups, especially the Jews, would intensify and worsen as the 14th century progressed. The worsening economic situation coupled with the perception of certain groups of people benefitting from the social and economic weaknesses of the common people was exacerbated with the projection of the Jews as demonic and the propagated legends of blood libel. The Church played an ambivalent role in the projection of mixed messages and negative images of the Jews. On the one hand, the Church protected the Jews, as firsthand witnesses of the revelation of God and simply needed to be convinced that Christ was the Messiah and convert to Christianity. On the other hand, the Church propagated the message that Jews were Christ killers and were evil, conniving, treacherous, greedy and profiteering off of Christians through usury. The preaching of Dominican and Franciscan monks propagated this negative message amongst the lower rungs of society, as did the imagery of songs, stained glass, statuary, frescos, etc. Ecclesiastical legislation would continue to demand the separation of Jews from Christians, ban the practice of usury, for Jews to live in separate neighborhoods and wear distinctive signs on their clothes.[195]

Adding to this official policy of ambivalence, was the Crown's acquiescence to the municipal procurators' demands of proscribing the Jews in the economy. At the Cortes of Valladolid of 1293, Sancho IV, the Crown forbade Jews from owning, purchasing or inheriting land. Any land Jews had; they would have to sell it within the year. By excluding prominent Jews from earning their livelihood from agricultural production, the Crown was forcing them to lend money in order to compensate for financial losses in foregone revenue from owning land. The increased moneylending, in turn, would exacerbate pre-existing prejudices in the

[194] TAVARES, Mª José (1991). O Crescimento económico e o antijudaísmo no Portugal medieval. In *Actas III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de História Medieval: La Península Ibérica de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*, p 62; VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 33-37

[195] CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (1998). La *imagen del judío* en la España medieval. *Tiempo, Espacio y Forma*, Serie III, Hª, Medieval, t.11, p 16-18. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2012). El enclave infiel: el ideario del «otro» judío en la cultura occidental durante los siglos XI al XIII y su difusión en Castilla. In *Los caminos de la exclusión en la sociedad medieval: pecado, delito y represión/ XXII Semana de Estudios Medievales*, p 192-199.

collective mindset of the majority Christian society that it already held about the Jews and increase social tensions between Christians and Jews.[196]

I.F. Legal Pressure on the Jews in the First Quarter of the 14th Century

There were three coinciding factors in the first quarter of the 14th century that accelerated the process of anti-Jewish hostility. The economic depression that encouraged hatred and resentment towards those involved in finances; mistrust of Catholic leaders towards those who experimented/practiced interfaith relations; and the effort by the Grand Master Salomon ibn Adret who wanted to strengthen Jewish spirituality and creating a rift between the opulent Jews in the service of the Christian monarchs and the more pious Orthodox Jews.[197]

The 14th century throughout Western Christendom was a very difficult time for the many Jewish communities, as persecutions began to multiply. The numerous victims amongst the Jewish population in Navarre in 1320, coupled with the expulsion of the Jews in England France in the 14th century forced many Jews to seek refuge in the Iberian kingdoms. Due to the large part of the migratory flow of Jews went to the Kingdom of Aragon that the anti-Jewish tendencies were stronger there. Finally in Castile, the accusations of the former Grand Rabbi of Burgos, Abner de Burgos, who had converted to Christianity and changed his name to Alfonso de Valladolid, coupled with the arguments of Raimundo Martínez, accusing the Talmud of blasphemy led more ecclesiastical leaders to call for the intervention of the Inquisition.[198]

During the first quarter of the 14th century, the situation of the Jews in Castile did not improve, in terms of how they were treated by the dominant Christian majority and the cleft that continued to grow between the privileged and entitled Jewish elite and the majority of middle income and poor Jews, who continued to follow Jewish Orthodoxy. The Castilian kings, Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, continued to employ the Jewish elite in performance of royal tasks, such as royal treasurers, physicians and astronomers. Some of these prominent Jews were under Sancho IV: the Andalusian Don Simuel as almoxarife (royal treasurer), and as finance experts, Don Isaac ibn Yaish, Don Judá Abravanel and Abraham ibn Shoshan.

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[196] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861), p 127-129. ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (1988), p 353.

[197] TORREMOCHA SILVA, Antonio (1994). Las Cortes de Castilla y León y las disposiciones sobre judíos (1250-1350). *Eúforos*, Nº 1, p 63. ÁLVAREZ (1988), p 351. PÉREZ (2014), p 71-73.

[198] ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (1988), p 353.

Under Alfonso XI, the chief almoxarife was Don Yuçaf de Ecija, who formed part of the royal private council along other Christians. The Toledan don Samuel ibn Wakar was the royal physician and astronomer, whereas Rabí Mosé Abzaradiel fulfilled the roles of royal Scribe of the chancellery and a judge in Toledo.[199]

I.G. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation in Portugal under D. Dinis

Whereas the situation of Castilian Jews in the 14th century worsened and became ever more precarious, the situation of the Portuguese Jews would follow a different course, albeit a nuanced one compared to their fellow brethren in the neighboring kingdom. According to 19th century Spanish historian, Don José Amador de los Ríos, the Jews of Portugal, in spite of increasing anti-Jewish legislation, did not encounter as much harsh opposition or hostility from the popular spheres as from those in Castile. Portuguese Jews could acquire rustic real estate or farms. Portuguese Jews were free to establish themselves anywhere within the realm (as long as they would live within Jewish quarters). Jews could purchase, sell, rent and exchange real estate with Christians, as long as there were two notary publics or scribes present who could guarantee that the transactions were not deceitful in anyway.[200]

Jewish artisans, either as masters or journeymen, were sought after by Christians from kings to peasants. Some acquired the status of royal servants and courtiers, in the exercise of their profession as royal armorers and goldsmiths to tailors, bookbinders or blacksmiths. At times, in the municipalities, they were the only officials of a given office, so the municipal authorities were concerned with interceding with the sovereign, in the sense of granting them tax exemptions or social privileges.[201]

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[199] *Historia de la Iglesia en España,* II-2º (1982), p 525. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (2015). Las minorías étnicos-religiosas mudéjares y judíos en los tiempos de la Crisis. In *El Siglo XIV en primera persona: Alfonso XI, rey de Castilla y León (1312-1350)*. Estudios conmemorativos del VII Centenario del acceso al trono del rey castellano (1312-2012), coordinador Manuel GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ. Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 96. LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo: Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental*, t. I, p 116-119: she also discussed the rivalry between the prominent court Jews, such as Don Yuçaf de Ecija and Samuel ibn Wakar. BAER (2001), II, p 153-158. Baer identified as Yosef Halevi Efraim ben Isaac aben Sabat.

[200] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS (1876), t. II, p 183-184 and p 275-276.

[201] TAVARES (1991), p 62. TAVARES, Mª José (1982). *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XV*, v. I. Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, p 300-301: explained how the Jewish guilds most likely were organized in the same manner as the Christian ones with masters, journeymen and apprentices. There is evidence of royal letters and of the nobility that granted certain Jewish masters the right to work for them and reside in their palaces.

As previously discussed in this chapter about the growth of the urban bourgeoisie and its economic weight and political influence during the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries, the Christian majority of the urban elites would view their Jewish counterparts as competition and wanted to circumscribe and reduce influence of the Jewish minority in municipal and royal affairs. This rivalry would develop into a hostility over time from the Christian artisans and their guilds towards the Jewish artisans, as the work and craftsmanship of Jewish artisans was acknowledged by the Crown, upper clergy and the nobility. The masters of the Christian guilds would attempt to limit and circumscribe Jewish artisans, merchants and financiers through the urban procurators, who would appeal to the Crown at the Cortes. This occurred during a period in which antagonistic mindsets towards the Jewish minority were developing amongst the Christian majority.[202]

Conclusion to Chapter 1

This chapter has explained the social, demographic, environmental, economic and political developments in Western Europe in general and Portugal and Castile in particular, in order to provide context to the chapters dedicated to the analysis of the production, transmission and reception of anti-Jewish literature in the proceeding chapters from 1325 to 1412. This chapter has presented the series of demographic, economic, political and social crises that led to famine, population decline, scarcity, increase in wages and prices, economic instability, political turmoil and social conflict. It was especially the last issue that would affect the Jewish minority in Castile and Portugal and lead to an increasing amount of legislation from the municipal procurators at their respective Cortes to circumscribe and curtail the economic activities and social status of the Jews. This was due, in part, to the emerging bourgeoisie of the Christian majority's view of the Jewish minority as a competitor that needed to be stifled economically and as arrival to the Crown's favors. The Jewish minority was also viewed as caterers and minions of the entitled orders of the nobility and clergy that stood in opposition to the emergent urban bourgeoisie of the Christian majority. As the 14th century developed, the antagonism between the two rival groups would increase.

One aspect that is crucial in the development of anti-Jewish attitude in Castile, were the many years of political turmoil and social unrest during the many years of minority rule and the conflict between many members of the nobility and the Crown under the regency of Doña

[202] TAVARES (1991), p 62.

María de Molina. Not only did the latter lead an anti-Jewish stance in the literature (Molinismo) created in this time period, even though she depended on Jewish finances to support the cause of her son and grandson, this projection of negative Jewish images would continue to reinforce the pre-existing ones in the collective mindset of the common people.

As seen in Castile, there was more anti-Jewish legislation than in Portugal. Not only in terms of numbers but in terms of the different types of restrictive legislation that was presented by the municipal procurators to the Crown at the *Cortes*. Even though there was some legislation that tried to remedy wrongs committed by both Jewish moneylenders and indebted Christians through the notarization of debt letters, there were more restrictive laws than those that tried to provide fairness to both sides. Portugal, on the other hand, had less restrictive laws proposed by the municipal procurators and more laws that tried to remedy grievances presented by both sides. This attitude towards legislation would be important in the development of the different types of anti-Jewish views in both kingdoms as the 14th century would continue to advance into the early 15th century. Although Portuguese procurators would present more restrictive anti-Jewish legislation in this time period, it will be less in number compared to Castile.

CHAPTER 2 Castile and Portugal: Similar Legislative Approach to Jews: 1325-1348

2.A. Holistic View of Western Europe: Context

In order to provide further context to the comparative analysis of Portuguese and Castilian literature and the projected image of the Jews, a quick review of the different crises affecting Western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula must be discussed, as these would reflect in mounting social tensions and exploited by certain political elites in Castile. Municipal elites through the petitions of their procurators at the *Cortes* would ask the Crown to impose harsh anti-Jewish legislation. Portugal, on the other hand, although it also witnessed anti-Jewish legislation from its own municipal procurators in its respective *Cortes*, did not suffer the same amount of legislation. Portugal also did not have any significant amount of anti-Jewish polemic literature. As such, there would be diverting trends in the creation, transmission and reception of anti-Jewish literature between the two kingdoms.

The many economic and demographic crises did not end or subside after 1325. A third wave of bad harvests beset Europe in the 1330s once again due to climate change. Along with bad harvests, was the spread of livestock epidemics, which decimated the amount of livestock as a source of food and beasts of burden. For kingdoms like France and England, the impact of the onset of the Hundred Years War would affect the population with an increase in taxation to finance the conflict. Not only did peasants as tenants or as serfs suffer, but landlords as well, as the drop in returns from their agricultural production dropped.[203]

The decades of climate change, bad harvests, scarcity, famine had not only killed many people but had weakened the immune systema of those who survived. This would leave the overall European population vulnerable to any major epidemic outbreaks.[204]

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[203] STONE, op.cit., p 46

[204] POSTAN, op.cit. p 164: "In so far as deaths were caused by bad harvests and famine a further interval was bound to intervene between our figures of deaths and the events which caused them. Starvation, unlike an epidemic, does not kill men outright. It may debilitate them and thus condemn them to an earlier death than the one to which they would otherwise have succumbed, but this would not necessarily result in immediate demise." Also see: BAUCH & SCHENK, op.cit., 2020, p 5-6: "The famine crisis from 1315 to 1322, which was obviously not limited to north-western Europe, the cattle fever starting in 1318, and, last but not least, the bad harvests and years of scarcity in the 1340s in Central Italy seem to correlate with a worsening climate (wet and cold summers); these agrarian crises were accompanied by epidemics and had weakened the population prior to the arrival of the Black Death in 1347. The intensifying meteorological extreme events hit an increasingly vulnerable society." On p 8: "Vulnerability" as a concept examines, for example, social conditions and processes and how these influenced whole societies – or segments thereof – and their ability to respond to dangers and catastrophes. From a historical point of view, the concept builds a methodological bridge between natural sciences, engineering, social sciences, and cultural studies."

The most commonly sought out scape goat were the Jews. The Jews were viewed as the greedy and deceitful merchants and moneylenders, as Christ killers and guilty of desecration of the Eucharist and blood libel. Attacks on Jews were in part an outlet to social-economic frustrations as the common people viewed them as symbols of excessive and wrongly accumulated wealth. There were religious reasons, such as Jewish refusal to accept the Catholic faith, Christ killers and desecration of the Holy Host. Another important reason was the desire to destroy the records of debt letters on the part of those Christians, who had incurred huge debts with exorbitant interest rates.

2.B. Castile from 1325 to 1348

Nonetheless, the situation had not improved by the time Fernando IV's son, Alfonso XI, entered majority rule in 1325. Records from the period report a dire situation. From his chronicle, it was reported that many areas of the kingdom had been abandoned, as many inhabitants would migrate to Portugal and Aragon. These depopulations were due to political instability, minority rule, a divided nobility, banditry and a policy of pillaging conducted by rival nobility members.[205] The *Cortes* held in Valladolid in 1325 began with its first point stating how much land in the kingdom was left abandoned, untilled and uncultivated, that there was much banditry, robbery, misery and how rents had declined. The king promised to put an end to the banditry, insecurity and misery in order for the kingdom to survive.[206]

2.B.1. Alfonso XI Enters Majority Rule and Consolidation of Power

The young 14-year-old monarch would not remain passive or idle once he assumed the reins of power. From the outset of his reign, Alfonso XI[207] showed his political cunning and shrewdness, under the guidance of his royal counselor and chronicler, Fernán Sánchez de

[205] *Crónica de D. Alfonso el Onceno*, 2ª ed. 1ª Parte (1787). Edición de D. Francisco Cerda y Rico. Real Academia de la Historia, p 78: "Et dice que avía muchas razones et muchas maneras en la tierra, porque las villas del Rey et todos los otros logares de su regno rescebian muy grand daño , et eran destroidos: ca todos los Ricos-omes, et los caballeros vivían de robos et de tomas que facían en la tierra" and p 79: "Quando el rey ovo á salir de la tutoría falló el regno muy despoblado et muchos logares yermos [abandonados], ca con estas maneras muchas de las gentes del regno desamparaban heredades, et los logares en que vivían, et fueron á poblar á regnos en Aragón y Portogal."

[206] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. I (1861). La Real Academia de la Historia, p 373: "Primera miente por quela mi tierra es robada e astragada e yerma e las rentas son menguadas, que sea la mi merced que torne manera e ordenamiento en la costa e en la fazienda de mi casa. E otrossi en las quantias delos ricos omines e delos caualleros, porque se pueda cunplir e yo e ellos podamos beuir sin malffetrias, ca es cosa por que me alongará Dios la vida e me manterna en mi estado e en mi mira."

[207] For a detailed study on the reign of Alfonso XI, see: GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, Manuel, coord. (2015) *El Siglo XIV en primera persona Alfonso XI, rey de Castilla y León (1312-1350).* Editorial Universidad de Sevilla.

Valladolid, in reasserting the power of the Crown after so many decades of political and social chaos and weakness of central authority.[208] His political actions would be based on three premises: 1) basing the knighthood as the foundation of his court [and no longer based on that of the rebellious upper nobility]; the restoration of a judicial order that made the Crown the center of legal authority and legislative practice; and, 3) the recovery of a historiographic narrative, not only to affirm the present as a record of the past for future generations, but to understand the king's actions, justify them and highlight their most important aspects, precisely those that earned Alfonso XI the nickname as Righteous.[209]

It is the third point that interests the thesis, as it deliberately called for the creation by royal chroniclers, lawgivers, chancellors, poets and lyricists to project and transmit specific images and ideas to a target audience. The nature of this literature would be to portray a strong-willed sovereign, who would restore stability, order and justice to his kingdom through the application and enforcement of the laws with the support of force when need be. These laws would focus on all subjects of the Crown, including religious minorities, such as Muslims and Jews.

The first step in asserting his power, Alfonso XI summoned the *Cortes* in 1325 in Valladolid. The purpose was multifold for the monarch. The first reason was to hear as soon as possible from the three estates across his realm what the most pending issues were to address. The second was to remedy the situation after the many years of neglect and poor leadership on the part of his tutors, who he summarily dismissed. Alfonso XI also emphasized on how such an assembly of the three estates could no longer wait as the kingdom was near perdition. And finally, the third reason was that through such actions, the young monarch projected the image of accessibility, responsibility, accountability and independence of action.[210]

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[208] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ, César (2012). *Poder Real y Poder Nobiliar en la Corona de Castilla (1252-1369)*. Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, p 137.

[209] GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (1999). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana, v. II, El desarrollo de los géneros. La ficción caballeresca y el orden religioso*. Ediciones Cátedra, p 1297; ROJAS GABRIEL, Manuel (2016). Capítulo 28 El Triunfo de las Monarquías. In *Historia de España de la Edad Media*, Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela (Coord.), 6ª impresión. Editorial Ariel, p 628-631. As an example of Alfonso XI's preference for the knights over the upper nobility on page 629: "Alfonso XI creía firmemente que los caballeros constituían el grupo social más importante de Castilla, y desde los primeros momentos, intentó atraerlos a su servicio dotándolos adecuadamente y exaltando los ideales caballerescos."

[210] *Crónica del rey D. Alfonso el Onceno, Parte I* (1787), p 80-81: "Et pues que fué complida la edat de los catorce años , et seyendo entrado en la edat de los quince, envió mandar á los del Concejo de Valledolit que lo avian tenido en guarda fasta entonce, que veniesen ante él, et dixoles: que pues él avia complida edat de catorce años , que queria salir de aquella villa, et andar por sus regnos: ca pues los sus tutores andaban

Another step was to call as few *Cortes* as possible. The king summoned only three plenary sessions of the *Cortes* during his reign: Valladolid in 1325, Madrid in 1329 and Alcalá de Henares in 1348. The summoning of only three plenary sessions in a quarter of a century demonstrated the reluctance of the Crown to deal with the entire three estates at the same time. Instead, the monarch preferred assemblies or *ayuntamientos* that did not include all three estates at the same time.[211] According to his chronicle, Alfonso XI would listen to the complaints and petitions presented to him at least three days a week, in order that he knew and understood what the issues at hand were. He was well aware of the immense damage that had been perpetrated to the kingdom by the *malfechores* (evil doers) and well-disposed in terms of listening to the complaints brought to him and bringing justice against the *malfechores*.[212]

It was this sense of implementing justice and the rule of law after so many decades of lawlessness under King Alfonso XI, *el justiciero*, that one could extrapolate his sense of extending justice and fairness to all communities in his kingdom, including those of religious minorities, such as the Muslims and Jews and which this chapter will assess and develop. From the available literature, it seems that it was the young king's desire to bring back some social and political stability that motivated him to use the legal premises of his great-grandfather, Alfonso X, in slowly bringing the different social groups and orders under the aegis of the Crown as part of his centralizing the role of the state. These different social

desavenidos, et por la su desavenencia eran destroidas et herniadas muchas villas et logares en los sus regnos, et la justicia non se complia, que si él tardase mas la estada allí, que todos sus regnos serian en grand perdición.

[211] O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F (1989). *The Cortes of Castile-León: 1188-1350*. University of Pennsylvania, p 36-37. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1989). Dirección de Manuel Tuñón de Lara. *Historia de España: Feudalismo y Consolidación de los Pueblos Hispánicos (siglos XI-XV),* v. IV. Editorial Labor, p 162. Over time, the upper nobility and clergy would lose interest in the Cortes and in the meddling of perception of tributes, as they had access to the Royal Council. The Cortes would become primarily an assembly of towns and cities. ARIAS GUILLÉN, Fernando (2012). *Guerra y Fortalecimiento del poder regio en Castilla. El Reinado de Alfonso XI (1312-1350)*. Ministerio de Defensa. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p 226: Arias Guillén argued that there is the possibility that the nobility stopped involving itself in the perception of tributes, due to the strengthening of royal power, as Alfonso XI would tightly control rent collection with an iron fist and would not allow the magnates control or usurp the funds. However, due to a lack of documentation, it is difficult to determine this with certainty.

[212] *Crónica del rey D. Alfonso el Onceno*, Parte I, (1787), p 80: "el rey en sí de su condición… non dubdaba en lo que avia de decir. Et en quanto él estido en Valledolit asentábase tres dias en la semana á oir las querellas et los pleitos que ante él venian, et era bien enviso en entender los fechos, et era de grand poridad, et amaba los que le servian cada uno en su manera, et fiaba bien et complidamiente de los que avia de fiar…. Et amaba mucho todos los suyos, et sentíase del grand daño et grand mal que era en la tierra por mengua de justicia, et avía muy mal talante contra los mal fechores."

groups would also include religious minorities, including the Jews, in dispensing legislation and justice.

2.B.2. Economic Situation during Alfonso XI's Majority Rule

In spite of Alfonso XI's active measures in remedying the situation in Castile, the climate changes continued to take their toll on planting (seeding), stunted crop growth and harvests. There were cereal crises in 1333-1334 and 1343-1347.[213] The *Cortes* of 1345 reported a dire situation for the land, as the persistent frosts and snows postponed the planting of seed, which, in turn, brought late harvests and a shortage of cereals for bread and feed for cattle. Cattle perished, bread was scarce, people starved and prices skyrocketed.[214] The dire conditions would have an impact on society, increasing worries, fears, frustrations, anguish and heightening social tensions.

Part of the response to the economic crises was a shift towards cattle raising and wool production by the nobility, as a means of less reliance on intense manual labor needed for cereal crops that had become expensive due to the decrease in population, making the supply of manual labor scarce. The gradual shift towards cattle herding, which required less manual labor, allowed the nobility to recover over time avoiding further losses in seigneurial returns. Even though the process had begun in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, it would continue throughout the decades from the mid-14th to the late 14th century, as exports of wool along with iron increased throughout that period. Not only did cattle raising increase revenues for the nobility but for the treasury as well.[215]

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[213] LADERA QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2017). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 1. Población. Economía*. Ediciones Dykinson, p 67; GUINOT RODRIGUEZ, Enric (2003). *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV: (9) Economía y Sociedad*. Editorial Síntesis, p 164

[214] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. I. (1861), p 484: "1. A lo que nos pidieron por merced que por rrazon que en este anno en questamos fue muy grant mortandat en los ganados, e otrosi la simiença muy tardia por el muy fuerte tenporal que ha fecho de muy grandes nieves e de grandes yelos, en manera (piolas carnes son muy encarecydas e los omes non las pueden auer, e el pan e las carnes encarecen de cada dia: por esta rrazon e por rrazon de las sacas que nos mandamos que oviese del pan e de las carnes, e salen de cada dia carnes e pan mucho fuera de los nuestros rreynos en manera que esto es nuestro desserviçio e dannos de todos los del nuestro sennorio, e que nos pidian merçed. que toviesemos por bien de defender que non ayan saca de carnes ni de pan fasta que Dios de mas mereado de carne e de pan, e otrosi que fuese la nuestra merced que si sobre rrazon de las sacas sobre dichas mandasemos saber verdad . que touiesemos por bien que se fiziese pesquisa cerrada sobre ello segun que lo nos otorgamos en las cortes de Madrid." LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2011). *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla (1252-1369)*. Real Academia de la Historia, p 158-159; VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1975). *Los conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Siglo XXI Editores, p 83; and, VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1989), p 108.

[215] GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 163. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1989), p 105-107, 121. ÁLVAERZ PALENZUELA, Vicente (1988). *La Consolidación de los Reinos Hispánicos (1157-1369)* in Historia de España. Editorial Gredos, p 310-312, 314. CAUNEDO DEL POTRO, Betsabé (2004). Reinos Occidentales, 1250-1480. In *Economía y*

As trade increased, so did the need for available currency and liquidity. As money continued to circulate, so did the need for precious metals and letters of exchange. As the use of both increased, so did the fluidity of capital and the expansion of markets. However, the need of capital exceeded the actual amount that many entrepreneurs had. They turned to bankers and moneylenders for easily available capital at high interest rates. This allowed bankers and moneylenders to earn marginal profits. Some of these moneylenders were prominent Jewish merchants and financiers.[216]

2. C. Jews in Castile during the Reign of Alfonso XI

Amador de los Ríos described the situation in which the Jews found themselves socially and economically in Castile at the beginning of the reign of Alfonso XI. As discussed before, the declining rents due to climate change, poor harvests and declining labor supply had reduced agricultural production and rents. The increase in prices and wages due to reduced production and less labor also contributed in the reduction of rents. As such, the nobility in a desperate attempt to maintain their lifestyles, had ravaged and pillaged the land, leaving the peasantry impoverished. Many Christians had to recur to Jewish moneylenders in order to pay for goods and supplies and had incurred heavy debts to service. At the *Cortes* of 1325 and 1329, the young king heard the complaints of *both* Jews and Christians. The latter complaining that the burden was too heavy to bear, whereas the former complained that they would not be able to service their taxes if they were not paid. The king hence decided to protect the debts of Christians to Jews and reduced the deferrals and losses that their regents had granted to Christians. The king rejected the procurators' appeals to forgive all of the debt after the indebted Christians had paid the principal. Alfonso XI, in order to alleviate the financial burden of his subjects but not to leave his Jewish at a financial disadvantage, forgave only one-fourth of the debts. The rest of the debt had to be paid in three installments.[217]

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sociedad en la España medieval, Historia de España IX, dir. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra. Ediciones Istmo, p 148, 165-169. LADERO QUESADA (2011), p 119-127. Ladero Quesada discusses the tributes paid by cattle ranchers and shepherds to migrate or transport their livestock.

[216] ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (1988), p 316-318. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1989), p 119-120.

[217] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 23-25. Amador de los Ríos based his explanation on *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, op. cit., Cortes de Valladolid de 1325, petición nº 14, p 378-379; SUÁREZ BILBAO, Fernando (2000). *El Fuero Judiego en la España Cristiana: Las fuentes Jurídicas siglos V-XV*. Editorial Dykinson, p 101: Suárez Bilbao also added the Cortes de Madrid of 1329 in the maintenance of repayment of Jewish loans and forgiving only one quarter of the debt. ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (1988), p 354.

Important to focus were the ideological motives and legislative petitions that fed into anti-Jewish attitudes and that permeated medieval Iberian society. These anti-Jewish sentiments needed to be exploited in order to bring about a collective action against the Jewish communities in the *Cortes*. One of the causes that were exploited by anti-Jewish personalities was the deep economic crisis of the early 14th century. According to Valdeón Baruque, anti-Jewish sentiment had only been dampened or muffled during economic expansion. Once the expansion ended and economic decline set in, the easiest scapegoat to find for societal ills was the Jewish minority, who although "tolerated" was never integrated into the mainstream majority Christian community and, as such, was easy to deviate popular discontent with the socio-economic instability against visible minorities.[218]

Elsewhere in Western Europe, the situation became worse for the Jews: the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdoms of England and France in the late 13th and early 14th centuries respectively. In 1320, there was a wave of massacres against the Jews in the south of France. All of these acts encouraged the Christian leaders and dissatisfied Christian masses hope to eliminate the despised Jewish minority. The many economic crises and social unrest from the beginning of the 14th century led the common people to blame the Jews for their ills. Both Valdeón Baruque and Joseph Pérez laid blame squarely on the shoulders of the Castilian Catholic Church and its doctrinal contributions to anti-Jewish sentiment. Some of the lies propagated by preachers were the profanation of the Holy Host and the blood libel of ritual sacrifices of Christian children. Joseph Pérez pointed out that it was only a matter of time before the verbal assault of preachers would turn into actual physical violence by the Christian masses. Even though many of the ecclesiastic measures were not actually applied, they still fed into the anti-Jewish ideological sentiment that would be used to justify the assault on Jewish communities in the second half of the 14th century.[219]

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[218] RUIZ, Teófilo (2007). *Spain's Centuries of Crises: 1300-1474*. Blackwell Publishing, p 139-142, 150-151 and 154; on page 142 Teófilo Ruiz wrote, "Those on the lower rungs of society, that is, the majority of the people, had already absorbed the virulent attitudes toward religious minorities codified in the Fourth Lateran Council edicts, in popular anti- Semitism, and in economic resentment. All of these different and complex sets of opinions had been carefully fanned by Mendicant preaching and rumor." PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). Los *Judíos en España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, p 104: "El ambiente popular en España era tan antijudío como en el resto de Europa, pero, en los siglos XI, XII y XIII, la coyuntura política y económica no permitió que las cosas llegaran a un punto de ruptura. Cuando en el siglo siguiente cambie la coyuntura y se abra un período de crisis, la situación de los judíos se volverá dramática." VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio: Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media,* 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones, p 17-18; the term: "amortiguado" was used for dampened or muffled.

[219] PÉREZ (2014), p 100-104: "el antijudaísmo popular". VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2000), p 21.

During the 14th century, a sentiment began to develop that the solution to the "Jewish problem" was to model the decisions taken in England and France and banish the Jews altogether from Castile. In 1339, Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo, the king's senior chamberlain and extremely jealous of the influence of the prominent Jews had at the Court, proposed to King Alfonso XI the expulsion of the Jews from Castile and extracting 4,000,000 maravedis from them before their departure in order to finance the king's campaign against the Muslims. Fortunately for the fate of the Jews, Gonzalo Martínez would be found guilty of treason and executed.[220]

In spite of royal protection, the majority of Jews, who lived outside of the court, did not have the same privileges[221] as the prominent court Jews. The average Jewish person was at the mercy of any potential attack from the majority Christian population, who viewed the Jews as greedy, moneylending Christ killers. As has been previously seen, the legal offensive through the ecclesiastical (Synod of Zamora) and secular legislation (*Siete Partidas* and Acts of the *Cortes* since Sancho IV) would culminate in the first half of the 14th century with the Ordinances of the *Cortes of Alcalá de Henares* of 1348.[222] [See Appendix I for details].

King Alfonso XI denounced the practice of usury and forbade all confessions and all three societal orders from practicing it. Alfonso XI allowed Jews to invest their money into the purchase of land of a maximum of 20,000 to 30,000 maravedis, depending if the lands were north or south of the Duero River. The purpose was not to destroy the Jews as a socio-economic class but to divert their economic endeavors to agricultural activities. Alfonso XI wanted to please all parties, Christians and Jews, secular and ecclesiastical, by banning usury, but allowing Jews the right to earn their livelihood by allowing them to own land and

[220] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2000), p 22; BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, Vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century*. Translated from the Hebrew by Louis Schoffman. Varda Books, p 354-360. IBN VERGA, Selomoh. *La Vara de Yehuda (Sefer Shebet Yehudah*), ed. María José Cano. Biblioteca Nueva Sefarad, Volumen XVI, Riopiedras Ediciones: Barcelona, 1991, p 87.

[221] As defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the term "privilege" means: "a right or immunity granted as a peculiar benefit, advantage, or favor" – in other words, the favor, advantage or benefit over other individuals or groups. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/privilege

[222] RUIZ (2007), p 142, 154. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, p 23. Valdeón Baruque would claim that the Ordinances of Alcalá de Henares would circumscribe the actions of the Jewish community but did not explain how, as the same ordinances revoked King Sancho IV's law from 1293 that forbade Jews from owning land. Jews were allowed to purchase land up to 30,000 maravedis south of the Duero and 20,000 maravedis north of the Duero. In another chapter and title, the same ordinances condemned and forbade Christians from the practice of usury. As such, Alfonso XI's legal policies tried to provide fairness (*equiparar*) to all religious communities.

produce goods to sell. This way, Jews were not to be ostracized and segregated but more integrated into the majority Christian society by using the land to earn their livelihood and away from the scorned and contemptuous moneylending schemes from before.[223]

Unfortunately, the dispositions of the Ordinances of Alcalá de Henares of 1348 had little impact as King Alfonso XI would die to the Bubonic Plague in 1350 and the economies of Castile and the rest of Western Europe would spiral into another deep economic and demographic crisis. As a result, Christians once again would have to recur to loans from Jewish moneylending and the ban on Jewish moneylending was suspended. Even though they tried to reduce the potential dangers to which the Jewish minority community was exposed, the acts of the *Cortes* revealed the tension and resentment felt by the common masses and the Third Estate towards the supposed manipulations of Jewish moneylenders.[224]

The growing anti-Jewish sentiment from the late 13th century to mid-14th century was accompanied by the internal division within Castilian Jewish society and which, would play a primordial role in the events in the second half of the 14th century. This division consisted of the adherence to traditional Orthodox Judaic teachings or the adherence of the philosophical teachings of Maimonides and Averroes. The prominent wealthy Jewish elite that served in the courts of the Castilian monarchs followed the more open and cosmopolitan approach to life of Maimonides, whereas Jewish religious leaders followed a more stringent and traditional Orthodox approach to religion. According to the latter, the worldly court Jews had corrupted Judaism and making it weak. They claimed that this materialistic elite had reduced Biblical content to mere allegorical symbolism. The great mass of Jewish community members of small merchants, tradesmen, artisans, etc. adhered to the traditional approach to Judaism and resented the prominence and apparent ostentatiousness of the court Jews. As a result, the Jewish religious leaders raised their voices of concern and criticism of the materialistic lifestyle of the court Jews and called out for major moral reforms.[225]

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[223] *Cortes de los reinos antiguos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861), p 531-534. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, p 24-25. BAER (2001), p 361: According to Yitzhak Baer, the dispositions from the Ordinance of Alcalá would have financially ruined the small group of Jewish moneylenders, as the returns from the land would have been much smaller than their profit from moneylending. Baer had written that it was only a tiny minority of Jews that were dedicated to finance and credit. The "majority of the Jews earned their livelihood by petty trade, handicrafts and the sale of produce from their fields and vineyards."

[224] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS (1876) t. 2., p 212-216. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 25.

[225] SUÁREZ BILBAO (2000), p 124-125; GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 259. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 18-19; BAER (2001), p 311-316 (The development of the Jewish Community), p 316-325 (Rabbi Asher's Communal leadership) and p 325-327 (The Jewish Courtiers of Alfonso XI).

Further causing rifts within the Jewish *aljamas* of Castile was the selection of the elders for the leaders or *mukhademin* of the *aljamas* or *kahals* and *dayyanim* or judges. By the late 13th century and throughout the 14th century, the clear lines between judges (*dayyanim*) and elders (*mukhademin*) began to blur and there was no clear line between the competence, prerogatives and authority of the two bodies. What compounded the situation was the fact that many times the elders or *mukhademin* were chosen from the ranks of the wealthy secular members of the *aljamas*, who pursued materialistic gains, rather than the scholarly rabbis and pietists who actually studied the Law. This, in turn, produced discontent from the humble classes of the *aljamas*, who saw the wealthy members of their community joining the ranks of the *mukhademin*, in order to solely increase their power and influence over the community. This provided for further tension and division amongst the *aljamas* during a period in which anti-Jewish legislation increased from the municipal procurators to discriminate against and further isolate the Jews from the majority Christian society.[226]

Adding to the social division amongst the Jews and the anti-Jewish sentiment was the role played by converts. Once these prominent Jews had converted, they displayed an acute fanaticism to their former religious brethren. The newly converted Christians would act as an effective battering ram against the Jewish community and would help accentuate the divide in the Jewish community as mentioned above. The recent converts felt an intense zeal and displayed a limitless hostility towards their former religious brethren. As an example, there was the case of physician Abner de Burgos, who prior to his baptism to the Christian faith in 1320, wrote the polemic work "The Wars of the Lord" of which scant passages have survived. However, after Christian baptism, he became Master Alfonso de Valladolid, who, in his polemic works, such as the *Moreh Zedek* (The Counter of Justice), fiercely attacked the Talmud and Judaism in general. Other works included, *Minath Kenoath* (An Offering of Zeal), *Sod ha-Gemul* (The Secret of Retribution) and *Migdal Oz* (A Tower of Strength). It would be Abner de Burgos' polemic writings that would bring the Jewish communities of Castile into turmoil. Most important of all, as noted by Joseph Pérez, was Alfonso de Valladolid's cry to persecute and force Jews to convert.[227]

[226] BAER (2001), p 212-213.

[227] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS (1876), p 84 n1. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 20. PÉREZ (2014), p 98-99. RUIZ (2007), p 154 and 163. BAER (2001), p 327-354. On page 330: "his motives must be sought within the wide scope of the internal and external quarrels and troubles that were the portion of Spanish Jewry in those days…. From Abner's own words (as quoted from his *Moreh Zedek*) that the

2.C.1. Jews in The Court of Castile under Alfonso XI

In spite of the growing demands to isolate, segregate, ban and expel the Jews, the Castilian monarchs still needed the skills and abilities of their Jewish subjects; not only in terms of finance and administering state affairs, but as physicians, astronomers and as translators and diplomats in royal negotiations with al-Andalus. As such, the decisions taken at the Synod of Zamora were ignored by the Castilian monarchs. As seen in the previous chapter, Fernando IV had Samuel de Belforado as his almojarife (treasurer). Alfonso XI named Yuçaf de Écija as his senior almojarife and among other prominent Jews of his court were Mosén Abzaradiel, royal scribe, and Samuel ben Wakar (also spelt Waqar, Uaqar or Alhuacar), famous physician and astronomer of his time. Not only did the monarchs use the indispensable skills and abilities of the Jews, but the nobility as well; one of them being none other than Don Juan Manuel of the House of Haro, who wrote a warm apologia of the Jews and recommended that his son accept as his counselor, the Jewish physician Don Çulema.[228]

However, these prominent Jewish administrators were continuously under the scrutiny of Jewish rivals and became the target of envious Christian administrators, who coveted their positions. Ibn Wakar was a well-known rival of Don Yuçaf. The two prominent Jewish administrators were constantly trying to outbid each other for the king's favors. Adding to the atmosphere of intrigue and duplicity was Gonzalo Martínez, the king's chamberlain, who was openly hostile to the Jews and was able to take advantage of the open rivalry between the two prominent men and was in part responsible for their downfall.[229] In 1327, Don Yuçaf was removed from office after allegations of swindling the treasury were revealed. As part of the punishment, the official name of the position of almoxarifes was changed to treasurers and the king ordered that only Christians be allowed to collect Christian rents. Don Yuçaf was

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foundations of his belief in the religion of his fathers had been undermined by the tribulations of his people and by the non-fulfillment or misinterpretation of its Messianic prophesies."

[228] AMADOR DEL RÍO (1876), p 128-129. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, p 22-23. BAER (2001), p 325-327. IBN VERGA, Selomoh (1991). *La Vara de Yehuda (Sefer Shebet Yehudah*), ed. María José Cano. Biblioteca Nueva Sefarad, Volumen XVI, Riopiedras Ediciones, p 84-85. *Crónica de D. Alfonso Onceno*, op. cit., 1787, p 155-156.

[229] *Crónica de D. Alfonso el Onceno*, in which the king had to fire his treasurer, Don Yuçaf after many accusations of embezzlement and fraud were laid upon him by Gonzalo Martínez. Don Yuçaf was arrested, imprisoned, tortured and died in prison. Upon his death, the king absolved Don Yuçaf of wrong-doing and released his wife and children from prison, whereas Don Yuçaf was given an honorable burial procession accompanied by knights to his resting place in Córdoba: *Crónica del rey don Alfonso el Onceno*, op. cit., p 137. IBN VERGA (1991), p 85.

replaced by Don Samuel ibn Wakar, who was allowed to control the royal mint. After Gonzalo Martínez continued to plot intrigues against the two royal administrators, in 1336 the king had both prominent Jews arrested, imprisoned, tortured and their goods and belongings confiscated. Both men would die in captivity.[230]

As a reward, the intrigant Gonzalo Martínez was awarded the title Master of Alcántara, after he had been able to rid himself of his two main Jewish rivals, Don Yuçaf de Écija and Don Samuel ibn Wakar in one day. Afterwards, Gonzalo Martínez felt that he was in a secure enough position to further conspire against the Jewish community, such as Don Samuel Ya'is, royal physician, and Moses Abzaradiel, the royal scribe.[231]

As a reaction to the presence of prominent Jews in the royal court and the increasing tension between the former and Christian ministers, Gonzalo Martínez advised the king in 1339 to expel the Jews, as had occurred in England and France and to confiscate their wealth, estimated at around 4,000,000 maravedis.[232] The idea was forcefully rejected by the archbishop of Toledo, Gil de Albornoz, who saw the wealth in the tributes paid by the Jewish communities and other benefits obtained by the Jews, and the notion was dropped.[233]

The hostile arguments that shaped the image of the medieval Jew can be grouped according to their religious, economic, psychological or ethnic character. These arguments fit in the conceptual framework of Durand, Searle, Bourdieu, Nieto Soria and Gómez Redondo. Also, when analyzing the causes of the fear generated by the Jews in Christian society, it is worth distinguishing between factors that caused a physical fear and factors that caused a psychological fear. While the factors that generated physical fear of the Jews had, as a general rule, a more popular component and, it could be said, also an irrational one, even though they could often be fears induced from intellectual circles, the factors that generated psychological fear would be more intellectual and rational.[234]

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[230] *Crónica de D. Alfonso Onceno* (1787), p 175. BAER (2001), 326-327, and 354-356. AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS (1876), p 131-133.
[231] *Crónica de D. Alfonso Onceno* (1787), p 337-338. Ibn VERGA (1991), p 86, BAER, (2001), p 355-356.
[232] TORRIJA RODRÍGUEZ (2013), p 201. BAER, (2001), p 356. Ibn VERGA (1991), p 84 and 87.
[233] LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo*. *Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental, t. 1.* Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p 118. BAER (2001), p 357. IBN VERGA, (1991), p 88.
[234] CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2013). El miedo al judío en la España de la Edad Media. In *Estudios de Historia de España,* vol. 15, p 155.

2.C.2. Castilian discriminatory and restrictive Jewish Legislation under Alfonso XI

The reign of Alfonso XI produced a massive amount of anti-Jewish legislation proposed by the municipal procurators in order to circumscribe, prescribe and reduce the amount of Jewish economic activity. The majority of the anti-Jewish legislation was focused on debt, moneylending and usury. As mentioned above, the image of the king as the justice-bringer was to be maintained. The municipal procurators believed that the Crown would impose all of the anti-Jewish legislation petitioned, whereas Jewish leaders saw the Crown in protecting their prerogatives.

The king, while agreeing in principle and endorsing the demands of the municipal procurators, never fully acceded to the ordinances. The reality was that only the great Jewish financiers could actually generate the large loans necessary to run a government always in constant need of funds. The *Cortes* recorded the relentless demands from the municipal procurators to reduce the interest rates collected by Jews, cancellation of Christian debts to Jews, as well as other restrictive economic measures from the Christian mercantile elites to eliminate or reduce Jewish competition.[235] As will be seen, the king would only agree to cancelling one-fourth of the debt, as he needed Jewish money to finance his endeavors.

It must be noted that, although particular or specific laws were not anti-Jewish in nature, they had indirect consequences for the Jews, especially Jewish moneylenders. At the *Cortes* de Burgos of 1338, Ordinance Nº 32, the king forbade that knights gamble with dice or card games with their salaries (sueldo) or on credit (fiado) during their service to the king.[236] Ordinance Nº 32 demonstrates that there was an issue with the nobility and knights gambling and borrowing money from Jewish moneylenders, although indirectly implied, to do so. It also reflected the discontent of the municipal procurators with the perceived financial power of Jewish moneylenders over Christian society.

As previously mentioned, the most important piece of legislation from the reign of Alfonso XI was the Ordinance of Alcalá de Henares from 1348, as the king banned the practice of usury to all subjects, Christians, Jews and Muslims in the kingdom, but allowed Jews to purchase, sell and lease land as a form of compensation to the loss Jewish moneylenders

[235] RUIZ (2007), p 151.
[236] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861), p 453.

would have incurred from the lack of interests accrued from their loans. North of the Ebro, Jews were allowed to purchase up to 20,000 maravedis, whereas south of the Ebro, Jews could purchase up to 30,000 maravedis.[237] This legislation was unique in the sense that the odious practice of usury was not solely linked exclusively to the Jews. It did not reinforce previous stereotypes of wicked Jewish moneylenders plotting the downfall of Christians. See the appendices 2.C.2. for the breakdown of the actual legislation according to the categories established by Monsalvo Antón.

2.D. The Kingdom of Portugal under Afonso IV from 1325 to 1348

Although King D. Afonso IV's reign[238] lasted from 1325 until 1357, this chapter will focus on the period from 1325, when Alfonso XI came of age and entered majority rule. As such, both Iberian monarchs were responsible for their independent and direct rule and the calling of their respective Cortes and pass laws. They will be responsible also for their own diplomacy and military actions. The chapter will end in 1350 with the sudden death of Alfonso XI to the Bubonic Plague and the advent of a new king, Pedro I.

According to Portuguese historian, José Mattoso, the year 1325 was not only the beginning of the reign of the new king, Dom Afonso IV after the death of his father, Dom Dinis, but was the end of the initial period of the creation and erection of the main organs of the Portuguese monarchical state. As discussed in the previous chapter, it was this political development of monarchical centralization that led to the civil war between 1319-1324 that pitched the old monarch, Dom Dinis, against the Crown Prince or Infante allied with the nobility. By this time, the Portuguese economy had been slowly transforming and adapting to market mechanisms within the kingdom itself and abroad, moving from a subsistence economy to one geared to international trade, commerce and finance. These changes would create economic dislocations to the realm and present challenges to the social fabric and increase tensions between different groups that would manifest themselves later on in the century.[239]

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[237] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, v. I. (1861), p 531-534.

[238] For an in-depth study on Afonso IV's reign see: VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, Bernardo (2009). *D. Afonso IV (1291-1357)*. Temas e Debates – Círculos de Leitores.

[239] MATTOSO, José (2015). *Identificação de um País: Oposição e Composição. Ensaio sobre as Origens de Portugal (1096-1323)*. Temas e Debates – Círculo de Leitores, p 48-49 and 586. COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (1989). O Poder e a Sociedade ao tempo de D. Afonso IV. *Revista de História*, 8. Universidade de Porto, p 35, 38-39. PIZARRO, José Augusto de Sotto Mayor (2012). *D. Dinis (1261-1325)*, 2ª edição. Temas e Debates – Reis de Portugal, p 332-333. GODINHO, Vitorino Magalhães (2009). *Portugal: A Emergência de uma Nação (das*

As in Castile and the rest of Western Europe, not all was positive in terms of the situation in Portugal. There was economic stagnation, climate change, crop failures, famine, death and demographic decline. Records of cereal crop failures during the reign of Afonso IV were reported for the years of 1331, 1333, 1343, 1355-56. As in Castile, there is a lack of statistics indicating the exact amount of those who died due to hunger or hunger related diseases. Instead, historians based their conclusions on testimony witness from the period. There were reports of "fogos mortos", abandoned farms, unplowed fields and forests reclaiming formerly cleared land.[240] Many of the written testimony is the petition to emigrate to other regions due to the lack of "besteiro de conto"[241] and the need to control and set the amount of workers in a locality. It was reported that in some regions, there were claims that the demographic drop reached up 75% of the population. However, Portuguese historians called for caution in these reports as there are no statistical evidence from the period to support these claims.[242]

As in Castile, the *Cortes* of Évora in 1325 under King Afonso IV, Art. 1º presented many written complaints submitted by the urban procurators about the many ills affecting the realm that went back to the reign of the king's father, D. Dinis. One of the complaints was that the royal dezimeyros and debt collectors (porteiros) were seizing more than what was allowed in

raízes a 1480), 2ª tiragem. Edições Colibri, p 32. COSTA, Bruno Marconi da (2014). A experiência social dos mesteirais medievais portugueses - uma abordagem thompsoniana. *Roda de Fortuna - Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo*, Volume 3, Número 1, p 221-241. Marconi da Costa discusses the socio-economic transformations that occurred in the Portuguese economy in the late Middle Ages with an emphasis on the effects on artisans' and craftsmen's guilds during D. Dinis' reign. He used the Thompsonian model to explain change in social consciousness due to shared material experiences of groups of people.

[240] MARQUES, A. H. Oliveira (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV,* v. IV, in *Nova História de Portugal*. Dir. Joel Serrão e A. H. Oliveira Marques. Editorial Presença, p 19-32. Studies of abandonment of land in the regions of Entre-Minho e Douro, Trás-os-Montes and Mondego had been conducted by the time of the book. See the study on the Mondego region (around Coimbra) that dealt with demographic decline in the 1340s by: COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz, *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média (Estudo da História Rural)*, Coimbra, 1983, p 18-20. SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal [1080-1415]*, v. I, 6ª ed. Editorial VERBO: Braga, 2001, p 348-349: Serrão placed emphasis on the devastating effects on Portuguese demographics due to the Bubonic Plague. However, he did discuss the effects of the famines and demographic decline in the Portuguese population prior to the plague. As a source, he used the Cortes of Santarém of 1331, in which the municipal procurators put pressure on D. Afonso IV to take action by providing bread to his people, if he wanted to keep his subjects from perishing. In terms of the difficulties in ascertaining exact population figures, besides the aforementioned authors. SOUSA, Armindo de (1993). *Condicionamentos Básicos (1325-1480)* in *História de Portugal: A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, v. II, Direcção José Matosso. Editorial Estampa, p 330-331 and 334; in terms of comparing the demographic decline to other Western European countries, read p 335. GODINHO (2009), p 26-27.

[241] Term in Portuguese that can mean soldier using arrows or iron-tipped lances or the number of soldiers in a locality. *Elucidário de Viterbo das palavras, termos e frases da Língua Portuguesa*, t.1 (A-F) (1865), 2ª edição. Editor A. J. Fernandes Lopes, p 133.

[242] MARQUES (1987), p 24.

terms of collateral. The king then ordered that the royal debt and collateral collectors only seize what was permitted by law.[243]

At that same *Cortes*, the municipal procurators complained to the king about the abuses perpetrated by the nobility and knights, according to Art. 6º, entered in the homes and inns of commoners, the homes of merchants, artisans and clergymen by breaking down their doors and breaking into their chests and seizing their clothes and would remain lodged in those aforementioned places. The king ordered, as per previous laws from King D. Dinis and other kings, that such activities cease and that any nobleman or knight, who continued such acts would be punished.[244] Art. 9º also complained about the nobility and knights supposedly purchasing barley, bread, meat and wine on credit (*fiar*) by giving the commoners their word and then refusing to pay after one year had passed. The king ordered that no more buying on credit continue and that those who have not paid, must pay double the amount.[245]

This is a record that even some members of the nobility and knights were suffering from the consequences of a decline in their rents due to the dire economic situation and felt entitled enough to sack and pillage the homes and property of the commoners, who they were obliged to protect according to the social order of the Middle Ages. However, not all of these acts can be solely linked to climate change, poor crop yields and population decline, but to the five-year civil war between King D. Dinis and his son, Infante D. Afonso (King D. Afonso IV as of 1325) that would bring about brigandage and social instability and unrest. In part, the nobility and knights would recur to Jewish moneylenders in order to pay for debts incurred and would find themselves in dire straits when they could not finance their loans. This would be reflected in the many complaints presented at the *Cortes*.

The situation became so dire that municipal procurators at the Cortes of Santarém in 1331 plead to King Afonso IV to maintain the policy of handing out bread to the famished people and avoid that his subjects perish due to hunger.[246] Through the royal *inquiriçõe*s (inquiries)

[243] *Actas das Cortes Portuguesas Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 13.
[244] Ibid., p 15.
[245] Ibid., p 16.
[246] *Actas das Cortes Portuguesas Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 45: [Art. 47.º]: "as suas gentes valeram mais e seeram mentheudas…. Se nom queredes que o vosso poobo peresca per fome e por mingoa dos bens temporaes que deus dã na vossa terra a que ligeijramente podem vivjr pelas cartas da saca do pam que dades porque o sacam do vosso Senhorio E esto se pode tornar em dano dos Ricos e dos Pobres."

dealing with the amount of land owned by the nobility and Church, in order to tax them, looking at the parcels of land between the years of 1335 and 1385.[247]

2. E. Jews in Portugal during the Reign of King Afonso IV

According to Medieval expert on Portuguese Jews, Mª José Ferro Tavares, the legislation under King D. Afonso IV was breaking point in Jewish legislation as more restrictive laws were introduced. She explained that these anti-Jewish laws were a response to the economic recession and the climate of instability created by collective behavior.[248] According to Ferro Tavares, the first anti-Judaic laws to be passed under Afonso IV were that of the physical separation of the Jews and the wearing of distinctive signs to segregate the Jews.[249] However, upon closer examination of anti-Jewish laws passed, already in the *Cortes de Évora* of 1325, a law [Art. 12º] and at the Special Chapters of Lisbon [Art. 4º] of the *Cortes de Santarém* of 1331 were passed that banned Jews from bearing witness or giving testimony against Christians unless the Jewish testimony was supported by a Christian.[250] [See Appendix 2.E.]

The importance of such legal documents is that they set a precedent of reducing the credibility and reliability of Jews. They feed into the popular imaginary that Jews, as a whole, are unworthy of the trust of the Christian majority population, as they are dubious and deceitful characters. This image was reinforced by the continuous accusations made by indebted Christians and municipal procurators at the *Cortes* that Jewish moneylenders had made deceitful usury contracts and debt letters to entrap Christians for many years and decades.[251] These claims will be further studied in detail in the subchapter dedicated to the Portuguese *Cortes* under the reign of Afonso IV. [See Appendix 2.E.]

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[247] SOUSA (1993), p 331-332. Unfortunately, as of the printing of the book, no list of taxpayers of the extraordinary general taxes that were approved by the Cortes has survived, even though it was recorded that dozens and dozens of them were made throughout Portugal.

[248] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (1991). O Crescimento económico e o antijudaísmo no Portugal medieval. in *Actas III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de História Medieval: La Península Ibérica de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492)*, p 53: "O grosso da legislação antijudaica de Trezentos seria promulgada por D. Afonso IV, como resposta a à conjuntura de recessão económica e ao clima de inestabilidade nos comportamentos colectivos, perante a peste negra e as suas sequelas. A segregação física, imposta pelo uso do sinal, sucediam-se as ordenações contra a usura, algumas delas saídas das cortes de 1331."

[249] Ibid.

[250] *Actas das Cortes Portuguesas Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 16-17 for *Cortes de Évora of 1325*, p 64 for *Special Chapters of Lisbon of the Cortes de Santarém of 1331*.

[251] *Cortes Portuguesas Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), *Cortes de Santarém* of 1331 [Art. 22º], p 35; [Art. 53º], p 7; *Capítulos Especiais de Bragança of 1331* [Art. 5º], p 55-56; *Capítulos Especiais de Lisboa of 1331* [Art 35], p 71; [Art. 49], p 76; *Capítulos Especiais de Sintra of 1331*, [Art. 11], p 97; *Cortes de Santarém (Pragmática) of 1340*, [Art. 30], p 113-115; Capítulos Gerais de Lisboa of 1352 [Art. 4], p 126.

However, in all due fairness, King Afonso IV declared at the *Cortes de Santarém of 1340*, also known as the *Pragmática of 1340*, that any party, irrespective of Christian or Jew deceiving the other party or royal officials, would be fined and had to pay all the debt, including damages incurred by the Jewish creditor. The king also ordered that if there happened to be any irregularities, then they would have to be denounced within sixty days. If such claims were made and found to be false, then the accuser would be punished.[252] Perhaps, it is the official pronouncements and legal procedures of due process that led many to refrain from attacking the Jews. These legal measures could have acted as brakes on any possible public discontent about the high interest rates placed on loans by moneylenders.

Nonetheless, there is no written testimony of popular outbursts of anger or rage against the Jews. Professor Mª José Ferro Tavares supports the view that the theological controversy between Christians and Jews did not exist, as far we know, due to a lack of sources. She also stated that 14th century Portugal would not know anything comparable to the heated disputations or the inflammatory preaching of the mendicant friars that would eventually lead to the forced conversions and the destruction of Jewish communities in the neighboring kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.[253]

According to Professor Alice Tavares, there is little evidence of the religious Judeo-Christian polemic or controversy in Portugal in the 13th and 14th centuries, although there exist few examples of them from the 13th century. Alice Tavares believes that the few examples of such literature in Portugal most likely is due to the absence of public disputations (at least registered) as in the other Iberian kingdoms, mainly in Castile and Aragon where these debates did take place. Another reason for the lack of polemic literature was due to the relative peaceful coexistence (convivência) in Portugal between the two ethno-religious communities until the end of the 14th century. After the ascension of João I to the throne, there would be small, insignificant incidents more related to urban crime and that were immediately placated by royal authority. This stood in stark contrast to what occurred in Castile and Aragon by the end of the 14th century.[254]

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[252] Ibid., p 114-115.
[253] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2000). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*, 2ª edição. Guimarães Editores, p 152.
[254] TAVARES, Alice (2010). La literatura de la polémica religiosa judeocristiana en Portugal antes de la Expulsión, en 1497. *Iberia Judaica. Asociación Hispana de Estudios Hebraicos. La polémica judeo–cristiana en Hispania. The Jewish – Christian Controversy in Hispania*, vol. II, Alcobendas, p 177-192 (e-version: p 1-28).

Professor Alice Tavares explains that the reason for the lack of Portuguese Christian apologetics literature is perhaps due to the absence of registered theological discussions between the two monotheistic religions in Portugal at that time. Professor Alice Tavares believes that the absence of any evidence proving to the contrary can explain in part the lack of actual acts of violence in Portugal in the late 14th century compared to other Iberian kingdoms, such as Castile.[255] Professor Carsten Wilke supported Professor Alice Tavares' assertion by stating that Portugal did not know the medieval scenery of the mendicant friars who would galvanize excited crowds with inflamed speeches and incite them to assault the ghettos.[256]

By not forcing their own Portuguese Jewish communities to public disputations, the outreach of such polemics would not go beyond the literary circles of the realm, which in most cases in the late medieval world was relatively limited. As a result, the projection of the image of the Jew as an evil heretic that needed to be publicly exposed to its errors would be contained to a small group and would not permeate into the larger collective psyche of the popular masses, reinforcing past images from previous centuries that were projected by other forms of transmission, such as song, sculpture, murals, miniatures, recitals. The limited scope of these literary disputations can in part explain, why 14th century Portuguese society was relatively more tolerant than Castilian, as the Portuguese authorities did not force Portuguese Jewish liturgical leaders to debate their dogma and faith in public and expose them to the ridicule, derision, taunting and mockery of the common people. These aggressive and controversial theological *altercatio* had the potential to incite the mobs to violence, when provoked and excited over an extended period of time or during times of crises and the search for convenient scapegoats.

2.E.1. The Portuguese Cortes under the Reign of Afonso IV

Although Afonso IV's reign was from 1325 to 1357, for a parallel comparison with Alfonso XI of Castile, the Cortes of both kingdoms in this chapter will be looked at from 1325 to 1350. Afterwards, in the following chapter, the legislation of both kingdoms will be

[255] TAVARES, A. (2010), p 1.
[256] WILKE, Carsten (2009). *História dos Judeus Portuguesas*, tradução do francês *Histoire des Juifs portugais*: Jorge Fernandes da Costa. Edições 70, p 42.

compared-contrasted after the effects of the Black Death and how the acute economic situation would reflect on the legislation on the Jews of both realms.

It is important to analyze and interpret the Portuguese *Cortes* for the messages conveyed, that although the language may seem neutral, word choice and the ignoring or downplaying of important characters, events or passages will convey a different message for the target audience during the period it was written and future generations. As in the case of the Castilian *Cortes*, word choice and selection of issues were important in the projection of certain messages and images to be kept as an official record of the Crown. Omission of events or characters would also assist in the transmission of that projected message as well.

2.E.2. Restrictive and discriminatory Jewish Legislation under Afonso IV

As previously mentioned, it was under Afonso IV that Portuguese legislation became strikingly anti-Jewish by revoking many of the previous privileges[257] granted by previous monarchs. The amount of anti-Jewish legislation increased during the reign of Afonso IV, especially in terms of moneylending, accusations of usury, using old letters of debt and privileges from previous reigns, such as D. Dinis and Afonso III.[258] The king many times would respond to the complaints of both municipal procurators and Jewish leaders all debt letters be rewritten by official municipal scribes and notary publics and that old debt letters not be accepted.

At times, it seemed that King D. Afonso IV tried to follow a policy that would appease the increasing demands of the municipal procurators, who demanded more anti-Jewish legislation and an attempt at being fair. However, it must be stated that the revoking of privileges does not mean to place the Jews in a negative legal status, as privilege suggests a position of advantage or superiority. This apparent fairness was not based on a sense of morals and ethics, but one more of pragmatism as the Crown depended on affluent Jews to collect taxes and rents, pay their yearly taxes on royal protection, as well as run the royal finances in the treasury. Perhaps the most important issue was the terminology employed and the condemnation of usury, that was not solely linked to the Jews, but as one of the many

[257] As defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the term "privilege" means: "a right or immunity granted as a peculiar benefit, advantage, or favor" – in other words, the favor, advantage or benefit over other individuals or groups was revoked. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/privilege
[258] TAVARES (1991), p 53.

paths that men choose to commit malice, which was in the *Pragmática* of 1340 held in Santarém.[259] Perhaps this could have influenced Alfonso XI of Castile at Alcalá in 1348. See Appendix I, Ch. 2.E.2. for the breakdown of the restrictive Jewish legislation according to the categories established by Monsalvo Antón, and Appendix II, Ch. 2.E.2 for the charts.

2.E.3. Portuguese Chancelleries of Afonso IV

The chancelleries are the written record or documentation of the letters and charters granted by the Crown towards individuals or communities and kept by the royal chancellor. In terms of transmitting a message or image, the fact of using a specific language is not an undifferentiated act, as the specific language used reflects the ideological framework of the chancellery.[260] Many letters and charters were granted to religious minorities, including the Jews, either granting privileges and rights, or confirming previous rights, or revoking them.

According to Professor Fernandes, it was King Afonso IV, who began the process in 1357 of registering a variety of letters and charters into books of chancelleries. This was part of the process of centralization of the monarchy that had begun under his grandfather King Afonso III and his father, D. Dinis, who had declared Portuguese as the official language of the court and realm in 1290, and no longer used Galician-Portuguese as the official language. This process of centralized record keeping was continued with King Afonso IV son, Pedro I, who introduced both Caesarian era and the year of reign.[261]

In terms of official political documentation amongst royal ordinances and acts of the Cortes, chancelleries represent, according to Professor Fátima Regina Fernandes, one of the most contemporary sources of the narrated facts and events. However, subsequent selections, omissions and filtering by later court chancellors consolidating records could have left

[259] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 114.
[260] GOMES, Samuel António (12-15 outubro de 2005). "Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas: Observações acerca da sua produção documental latina e vernacular" in *IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico*. Universidade de Lisboa, p 545-457. The use of Portuguese as the royal language for chancellery records did not happen by decree but was slowly introduced over time until it became the official court language in 1290 under King Dom Dinis. The choice of the Portuguese vernacular language fit within the framework of providing a means of transmitting the legal messages of the centralizing state apparatus of the Portuguese Crown.
[261] FERNANDES, Fátima Regina (2012). As Crônicas e as Chancelarias Régias: A Natureza e os Problemas de Aplicação das Fontes Medievais Portuguesas. *Revista Ágora Vitória*, n.16, p 80.

modern historians and investigators with a limited record and view of events and their protagonists from the period under study or what she calls a "portion of reality."[262] As such, investigators and historians must keep in mind that these official government records are to leave a legacy of certain rulers to keep them in a positive light for posterity and, thus, past government officials either left out or eliminated passages and documents that were not too flattering of a certain ruler or rulers and their policies and legislation.

Little anti-Jewish legislation existed from the Chancelleries, as the majority of expedited diplomas were the granting of rights and privileges to individuals. However, there is some diplomas obliging Jewish moneylenders to either have their existing debt letters up to twenty years signed and sealed by a notary public or to write future debt letters by an official scribe and signed and sealed by notary publics.[263] Noteworthy from the chancelleries was found in Document 256 from the third volume of the Chancelleries. In order to provide a more level playing field for all of his subjects, the king called for all debt letters to be notarized and sealed and that no Christian, Moor or Jew pay any debt over 20 years, as the king called for "all of them to have equality the ones with the others" (*eles todos ygualdade hûus com outros*).[264]

The use of chancelleries in historical investigation of the late medieval period provides a detailed view of the direct contractual transactions between Crown and subjects, and in the case of the Portuguese Jews, their rapport with the Crown. As already mentioned, many of these royal letters dealt with charters granted to individual Jews or Jewish couples in providing the use or lease of land, shops and homes, including bakeries and butcher shops. Others dealt with inheritance of property and allowing children and grandchildren the right to use the property. In other instances, the chancelleries demonstrate the petitions from Jewish legal representatives to the Crown for debt relief or the use of officially sealed documents for all legal transactions, including debt letters. In other words, the late medieval chancelleries provide the written record of Portuguese Jews from the micro level of the individual to the macro level of the entire Jewish community. [See Appendix I, Ch. 2.E.2. for the breakdown

[262] FERNANDES (2012), 80.
[263] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV*, v. II (1992), p 385-387.
[264] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV*, v. III, *1325-1336*, 1ª edição (1992). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica Centro de Estudos Históricos, p 9-10.

of the restrictive Jewish legislation according to the categories established by Monsalvo Antón, and Appendix II, Ch. 2.E.2 for the charts].

2.F. Ecclesiastical Councils in Castile and Portugal 1325-1348

In terms of the councils held in Castile in the period 1325-1348, there were: Alcalá de Henares in 1325, 1326, 1333 and 1347, and in Toledo in 1336, 1339, 1345 and 1347. It seems that the majority of councils and synods were more concerned with the crisis of corruption and lack of appropriate training of the clergy within the Church than with the issues dealing with Jews and Muslims. Although, the concerns with religious minorities and their contacts with Christians did arouse some concern, they were downplayed by the increase in the assemblies convened to deal with the internal issues of the Church itself. [See Appendices I and II, Ch. 2.F.2. for the breakdown of the individual synods in Castile and Portugal].

2.G. Christian and Jewish Chronicle Writing 1325-1348

2.G.1. Christian Chronicle Writing in Castile

The literature from the period reflected the socio-cultural changes in the collective mindsets of the people in Castile and Portugal due to the socio-economic and political transformations. The frustrations, fears and anguish turned established concepts and attitudes on their heads, as well as how people would search for convenient scapegoats for their everyday struggles, their financial setbacks and physical suffering.

Historical science attempts to find more objective elements such as documentation and previous historiographical products, producing new historiographical constructions and the historical narrative itself. Its function is the explanation through interpretation of the past from strict parameters that safeguard scientific rigor, but they are influenced by the image that a certain group has transmitted through the practices of remembrance. As a result, they are not completely objective either. All it can do, is strive to achieve an approximation of what might be held as an objective truth. As such, the historian does not reproduce events and facts, she/he only narrates them. The purpose, the legacy, both document and literature, is the historians' working material, but in historical narration the event does not reach the receiver, public or audience directly but rather through an elaborate product, which is the final written text, a new reality generated by the historian who becomes the link between historical discourse and historical reality. Both the purpose and the text are influenced by the context in

which they were written, the literary techniques used and the ideology of the producers and transmitters. That is why it is necessary to establish a critical reading of the texts and even determine when a certain image about a subject or minority was sometimes established as official truth.[265] It is this last aspect, the projection of a certain image or images in the imaginary of a majority society is what interests this thesis.

In order for the successful projection of specific images and messages, chronicles needed to be linear, clear and simple in their message in order to achieve a broad audience, the chronicles also needed to be written, as already discussed in the first chapter, in the vernacular of the kingdom.[266] They also needed to have a series of certain elements, such as memory, didactic teaching and pragmatism. These elements have been considered as essential and integral part of historiography.[267]

In the conformation of the identity, one can focus on three agents. On the one hand, the image made of oneself, an identity recognized and built for others; an initial *otherness* of our own self. On the other hand, the reflection that is received and that is the opinion of others, the identity attributed, contrasted and recognized by the *other*, in which what is important *is not reality*, *but the reality of the image* and that is nothing more than a personal façade generated *based on expectations*. Finally, personal identity, the identity of the self, the intimate and authentic, formed through the process of contrasting the image made of oneself and that recognized by the other; a reflective process where the idea that others have of ourselves is valued —contrast between the projected and reflected identity— and that is recognized as authentic by the subject.[268] It is this *other*, that will be of intertest in the historical narrative of this thesis and chapter as well.

Prior to focusing on the reigns of Alfonso XI of Castile and Afonso IV of Portugal, it is important to highlight the importance of political-ideological communication through chronicles as discussed by José Manuel Nieto Soria. It is the space from within contradictory

[265] SACRISTÁN, Teresa Martialay (2011). Reflexiones sobre la Alteridad en la Edad Media: el Caso Judío. In *Alteridad Ibérica: El Otro en la Edad Media*, coordinador Pedro Martínez García. Monografías de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, p 37.
[266] DIAS, Isabel Barros (2000). *Metamorfoses de Babel: A historiografia ibérica (sécs. XIII – XIV): Construções e estratégias textuais*. Tese de Doutoramento em Estudos Portugueses, na especialidade de Literatura Portuguesa (Época Medieval), Universidade Aberta, p 21, 27-28.
[267] DIAS (2000), p 38 and 83.
[268] SACRISTÁN (2011), p 42.

discourse that are exchanged between the three main actors that have the legitimacy to publicly express themselves concerning politics: the politicians or leaders, the informers and public opinion. Extrapolating these figures to the Middle Ages, these actors would be the rulers, such as the monarchs; the scribes, chroniclers, lawgivers, heralds, poets and troubadours; and then the royal and noble courts, universities and town squares. Nieto Soria switched the term "informers" to that of "transmitters" of information and political discourse.[269]

In the further development of political communication, Nieto Soria delved into political culture, which is a set of beliefs, attitudes and values in respect to the prevalent political system of a particular society and the actual expressions of that political system. This is important when looking at medieval societies going through change and political conflict from the 13th throughout the 14th to the 15th centuries, in which the resources and fields of state action broadened. These changes occurred in the historical context of the traditional ecclesiastical monopoly on the language of power that was ceding its once predominant place to a more diverse secular political discourse. Another issue is when the message is directly linked to *propaganda and political confrontation*. This would involve the *diffusion of beliefs, norms and values that shape ideologies and promote mobilization of target audiences*.[270] This development would fit in Bourdieu's view of language as being an *instrument of action and power* by *stimulating emotions* by activating collective memories of past experiences.[271]

In terms of the analysis of medieval texts as a political weapon, historians have to look at its literary production, especially when studying late medieval chronicles. According to Carmen Benítez Guerrero and Isabel Barros Dias, there are two lines of investigation. The first line consists of textual issues, the process of composition, its use of sources, manuscript

[269] NIETO SORIA, José Manuel (2018). Comunicación y Conflicto Político: Algunas Perspectivas de Análisis. In *Comunicación y Conflicto en la Cultura Política Peninsular (Siglos XIII al XV)*. José Manuel Nieto Soria y Óscar Villarroel González, coords. Silex Ediciones, p 17-19. However, in an epistemological approach to the communication process, Nieto Soria recognized the many issues and problems that many arise in the transmission. Some of these issues may involve the communicative intermediation factor, in which the message is affected via a filtering process, in which messages are coded and decoded. Political communication is not reduced to propaganda. Some can be objective communication, such as orders and decisions that are not dressed in propaganda. The process of transmission of specific messages consists of "communicator" or those who generate the communicative artifact that will determine the message and act on the will to propagate it. This is followed by the receptor or receiver of the message, such as the target audience or public.
[270] NIETO SORIA (2018), p 20-22.
[271] BOURDIEU, Pierre (1991). *Language & Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press, p 39, 41.

transmission, etc.[272] The second line consists of the ideological analysis of the texts through studying them within the historical context in which they were written.[273] Chronicles were the bearers of a thought that fit in with the values of those who were promoting their particular ideology to be reflected and justify the existing social order as well, especially the Crown.[274]

Royal chronicles, as official narratives commissioned by monarchs, were created to transmit a positive image of the monarch. These chronicles projected images legitimacy, power and authority of the king. It had to transmit the message of fairness and dispel any notion of arbitrariness and unfairness of the monarchs. As such, they did not present a balanced, neutral or objective view of the main characters or events.[275]

Part and parcel of the didactic nature of the chronicles was the presentation of the main characters within the historical framework of the chroniclers' narrative. The positive and negative traits of these characters brought an internal cohesion to the plot of the story. These juxtapositions could be either explicit or implicit. In terms of the former, direct comparisons between characters, situations or simply facts. In terms of the latter, through occasional and

[272] BENÍTEZ GUERRERO (2013), p 23. DIAS (2000), p 12-13: Isabel Barros Dias stated that the Alfonsine historiographic process of creating, transmitting and receiving knowledge would undeniably mark post-Alfonsine Iberian chronicle writing.
[273] BENÍTEZ GUERRERO (2013), p 25. DIAS (2000), p 60. SCHIAVINATO, Rodrigo Barbosa (2018). Historiografia e Legitimação de Poder em Portugal e Castela (Séculos XIV-XV). *Hist. R. Goiânia,* v.1. n.1, p 149.
[274] GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1241. DIAS (2000), p 7 and 81: Dr. Isabel Barros Dias wrote that the rhetorical reasoning of the historical narrative was an important weapon in facilitating the *transmission, comprehension and internalization of certain notions and concepts* and to use that *weapon efficiently as a means of detraction and legitimization of attitudes and historical characters*. SCHIAVINATO (2018), p 153. QUEIMADA e SILVA, Tiago João (2015). Chronicle-Composition in Medieval Portugal: A General Outline. *MIRATOR,* 15:1, p 33. A thorough analysis of the study of chronicles should be to approach the manner in which the chroniclers and those who commissioned such works (monarchs), thought of their image of power and the way they believed it was opportune to correct or regulate that narrative, so that they could justify their actions and the manner in which they portrayed it in their texts. These historiographic texts provide an excellent source in the history of ideas and how they were to be transferred, dispersed or spread from one of the secular centers of power, namely the Crown. The issue at hand, is not solely to use chronicles as merely a medium to transmit information, but as an object of analysis in itself and to study its function as an instrument to instruct the receiving society and its character as a political weapon. BENÍTEZ GUERRERO (2013), p 15-16. DIAS (2000), p 17: Isabel Barros Dias presents monarchs, who commissioned chronicles, as authors/ideologues who wanted to direct the narrative in a certain direction, especially in the idealization of the king. SCHIAVINATO (2018), p 148: Schiavinato added that not only the works were analyzed but the intentionality of those, who commissioned them as well.
[275] ARIAS GUILLÉN, Fernando (juin 2011). La imagen del monarca en el siglo XIV. *e-Spania* [en ligne], 11, p 6-7: in these pages Arias Guillén explained the role of the monarch as dispenser of justice by either providing conciliatory means to rebellious aristocrats or executions by example of treasonous noblemen; also ARIAS GUILLÉN (2021), p 144. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1254, 1257.

discreet allusions. Each example used in the chronicle was a representative microcosm of the didactic intentions within the totality of the work. Even the recount of reproachable conduct was not to be avoided, as it was to be used as useful lessons to be transmitted in the expectations that they would be absorbed by the target audiences.[276]

That is one of the main issues of chronicles: the difficulty of proving the veracity of the events recounted. The only way is to compare the chronicles with other sources. If not, then historians or those studying history will fall into the trap set by chroniclers, who wanted only their interpretation of events for future generations. This is not to discredit chronicles for their historical and literary values, but that they need to be taken with a grain of salt in terms of the objectivity of their recounting of events. Chronicles, however, offer an excellent source of study of the rhetorical and propagandistic literary tools used by historians to reflect the political thinking of the period in which they were written.[277] Instead, they had a didactic purpose of teaching or instructing the views of the Court[278] to the target audience of readers or listeners to when the accounts were read aloud. As such, they must be seen as subjective and arbitrary recounts of events and the main actors of the period presented. See Appendix III 2.G.1. for the analysis of the Jews in the *Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno* and the poem version of the above chronicle, known as *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* in Appendix III 2.G.1.a.

2.G.2 Jewish Iberian Chronicle Writing (La Vara de Yehudah)

Passing from the Christian literary sources, the chapter will analyze late medieval Jewish sources in order to achieve different interpretations of events and different collective mindset of the confessional mindset of the ostracized and marginalized minority community. Jewish literary sources that will be analyzed are: *Chebet Yehudah (La Vara de Yehudah)* by Selomoh ibn Verga translated and commented by Francisco Cantera Burgos (1927) and by María José Cano (1991); Chapter 50 of the *Compendio Memoria del Justo* by R. Yosef ben Saddiq; and, *El Libro de la Tradición* by Abraham bar Selomoh de Torrutiel. The common theme of these

[276] ARIAS GUILLÉN (2011), p 40-41.
[277] MIRANDA GARCÍA, Fermín (2013). Prólogo. *La Imagen del rey en la cronística castellana: Propaganda y legitimación durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Ediciones de La Ergástula, p 11. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1236. Gómez Redondo argued that the manner in which a chronicle, which was always at the service of specific interests, would take advantage of available sources, would wrap the chronicle in the clothing of credibility.
[278] ARIAS GUILLÉN (2021), p 140. DIAS, (2000), p 83.

Jewish sources is that they provide an interpretation of the Jewish community in the Iberian Peninsula from the 12th century progressing through the 13th and 14th centuries, touching different topics ranging from the Bubonic Plague, the dynastic war in Castile and their effects on the Jewish community, the massacres of 1391, the immediate aftermath until final expulsion in 1492. They provide in many instances more detail of prominent Jews than recorded by Christian accounts of the same historical developments.

Before proceeding to the chronicles, it must be discussed how Christian historiography differed from Jewish historiography during the Middle Ages. Both Enrique Cantera Montenegro and Francisco Cantera Burgos explained how Jewish historiography was extremely limited, if not deficient, compared to Christian historical sources. According to Francisco Cantera Burgos, this occurred when the Jews lost their nation or statehood after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. As a result, the Jewish people lost an interest in keeping factual records or accounts of events. Instead, it became more interested in maintaining the religious identity and unity of its faithful while moving from territory to territory and being a "guest" in a host nation.[279]

Enrique Cantera Montenegro supports this claim, stating that Jewish medieval culture lacked a factual account of its own history, whereas the Jewish Community excelled in questions of philosophy, theology, literature, science and medicine.[280] Nonetheless, during times of difficulties and hardships, historical events, such as the massacres during the First Crusades, the massacres in Castile and Aragon, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, were recorded in literary texts.[281] [See the analysis of *La Vara de Yehudá*, as well as its comparison with the *Crónica de Alfonso XI* in Appendix III 2.G.2 and 2.G.3.]

[279] CANTERA BURGOS, Francisco (1927) in BEN VERGA, Salamón. *Chébet Jehuda (La Vara de Judá)*, traducción española por Francisco Cantera Burgos, Librería López-Guevara, p 4-5.
[280] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2002), p 11; on p 13-14: Both historians discuss how there are two schools of thought on why the Jews lost interest in relating past events in written form that were not religious in nature. The first school of thought led by Amos Funkenstein, states that the Jewish leaders of the Talmudic school had a disinterest, if not disdain for the "present" and focused more on liturgical and religious questions. The second school of thought, led by Hayyim Hillel Ben-Sasson and Ron Bakai, believe that this lack of interest in keeping a record of events was linked to not having a national territory per se. Bakai argued that medieval historiography (dispensing of royal decrees, charters and letters) was linked to the historical development of a specific political and geographical identity, which the Jews at the time lacked. Ben-Sasson supports this idea by stating that it was the lack of political leadership of the Jewish community in state affairs that led to this disinterest in keeping archival records of events concerning its own community.
[281] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2002), p 17; on p 20: This historiographic genre became known as "Books of Memory" or martyrology, in which Jews who died for their faith are remembered by registering their names.

2.G.3. Chronicles Of Portugal During the Reign of Afonso IV

According to Tiago João Queimada e Silva, the chronicle was the most widely used historical literary genre in late medieval Portugal. It was a means of projecting an ideological message to support the different power elites that had commissioned those chronicles for the contemporaneous generation and future generations as well.[282] The purpose of the first Portuguese chronicles was to establish a narrative that countered the hegemonic attempts of the Leonese and the Castilian Crown in encroaching into Portuguese affairs, limit its autonomy or even end its sovereignty. These attempts by Castilian Crown were met with increasing resistance and hostility from the Portuguese ecclesiastical and secular elites.[283]

As previously discussed in this chapter in the dynastic dispute between the disgruntled Crown Prince or Infante, soon to become Afonso IV in 1325, along with magnates who were jealous to maintain their particularistic aristocratic interests intact, the nobility was able to regain cultural hegemony in the creation of historiographic accounts. This was seen in the *Livro de Linhagens* (Book of Lineages) by the king's half-brother, Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos in 1340. This ideological-political and cultural struggle led Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos to produce the *Crónica de Espanha de 1344*, which flipped the Alfonsine narrative of the importance of the Crown on its head, and presented, instead, the importance of the nobility in the history of the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula with an emphasis on the chivalrous deeds of the most prominent dynasties of the Iberian magnates. The Portuguese historiographic narrative also diluted the original Alfonsine narrative of Castilian hegemony

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Of this genre, two books stand out: Emeq ha-Barka or "Valley of Sorrow" and the Shebet Jehudah or "Staff of Judah", the last being known as the most original and complete account of medieval Jewish history.

[282] QUEIMADA e SILVA, (2015), p 33. He presented a succinct but detailed presentation of the origins of Portuguese chronicles to give the reader a foundation to understand the thesis of his article (p 34-37).

[283] For in-depth studies on the development of late Medieval Portuguese chronicles, especially prior to *Crónica de Espanha de 1344*, see: CINTRA, op. cit. t. I, 2ª ed, 2009, cap. VI "A Crónica de 1344 e as Origens da Historiografia Portuguesa" p CCCXVII-CDXIX; DIAS, (2000), Cap. 4. Reelaborações do modelo afonsino no Ocidente da Península Ibérica, p 72-94; CATALÁN, Diego (1962). *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos. Cuatro Estudios sobre el Nacimiento de la Historiografía Romance en Castilla y Portugal*. Editorial Gredos, cap. II. Una Crónica Portuguesa anterior a la obra Historial de Don Pedro de Barcelos, p 213-288, with a special emphasis on subchapter: (e) La Historia de Portugal en la 'Crónica Portuguesa de España y Portugal', p 241-253. QUEIMADA e SILVA (2015), p 37-38.

under the rule of one leadership – the king of Castile, as its purpose was to provide emphasis on the separateness and independence of Portugal.[284]

In spite of a unique and separate type of narrative from Portugal, neither *Crónica de Espanha de 1344* nor the *Crónica de 1419* discussed the Jews in any detailed manner for *the reign of Afonso IV*. It did however, narrate the story of Castilian Jews in the *Crónica de Espanha* based on the Castilian epic on El Cid and the purported affair of Castilian king Alfonso VIII with a Jewess from Toledo. As these narrations did not occur in Portugal or during the reign of Portuguese king Afonso IV, they are included in a separate Appendix. Please see Appendix V. Nonetheless, this partial gap in information in terms of how the royal or nobiliary narrative wanted to present the Jewish community at the time was covered in the *Cancioneiro* or *Livro das Cantigas* compiled by Count D. Pedro de Barcelos, in which he praised the work of a Jewish minstrel, Vidal of Elvas and included two prominent Jews, Dom Josep and Dom Foam, mentioned in six cantigas.

2.G.4. Conde de Barcelos and Jews in the Livro das Cantigas

As previously mentioned above, the Conde de Barcelos compiled many cantigas over the decade of the 1340s and created a *cancioneiro*.[285] The Conde was perhaps the only aristocrat to use and acknowledge the artistic work of Jewish minstrels. It must be noted that there were some Jewish minstrels, who composed songs following the genres of *Cantigas de Amor* and the *Cantigas de Escárnio e Maldizer*. Nonetheless, these Jewish minstrels would remain scarce in the compilation of written lyrical texts. From the 13th century, there is a Samuel de

[284] KRUS, Luís (2011). "A vivência medieval do tempo": *1. A Escrita e o Arquivo: Condicionalidades e Práticas* in *A Construção do Passado Medieval: Textos Inéditos e Publicados (Luís Krus)*. IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais, p 29. The article was originally published in *Estudos de História de Portugal. Homenagem a A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, vol. I (1982), Estampa, p 343-355. Also see from the same collection, op. cit., *2. A Comemoração das Origens: Reis, Santos e Heróis*, "O discurso sobre o passado na legitimição do senhorialismo português dos finais do século XIII", p 171-179. HERCULANO, Alexandre (1860). *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica (PMH)*, vol. I. TYPIS ACADEMICIS, p 133. MATTOSO (2015), p 106-107 presented the superiority of certain noble families and the titles and positions obtained through monarchs, p 239-240, 246 within the framework of Ideology and culture, p 792. DIAS (2000), p 76-78. Barros Dias discussed how the Portuguese historic narrative would emphasize on nebulous events or arguable deeds committed by Castilian sovereigns in order to leave them in a negative light. This was argued that it was used to support the anti-Castilian imperialist and hegemonic tendencies, p 88. QUEIMADA e SILVA (2015), p 38-40.

[285] Given the complexity of attributing the authorship of the *Livro das Cantigas* to the Conde de Barcelos, this situation should be nuanced and, above all, these cancioneiros were copied in the 16th century in which the cantigas from the lost source may have been transmitted: cancioneiros from the Vatican and the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. For further information, see MIRANDA, José Carlos (2020). https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/35578?lang=es.

Leiria, who was documented as being a minstrel. In the 14th century, there are Vidal of Elvas and Dom Josep. The former would write his cantigas within the genre of love and the latter of scorn and cursing.[286]

Here we see the role played by the Conde de Barcelos and his attitude towards the Jews by including in his *Cancioneiro*, six cantigas that referred to Dom Foam and two cantigas that referred to Dom Josep of Elvas (B 1300/V 904; B 1303/V 908; B 1304/C 1304; B 1313/V 918; B 1314/V 919; B 1315/V 920) written by Estêvão da Guarda in the 14th century[287], as well as three cantigas written by Dom Josep himself. Dom Josep was purportedly a prominent tax collector or high-ranking member of the royal treasury during the reigns of Portuguese kings D. Dinis and perhaps D. Afonso IV.[288]

The most remarkable cantiga is the *B 1315, V 920*, which is considered as a *tenção* or poetic dispute. The cantiga itself is a poetic exchange between Dom Josep[289] and Estêvão da Guarda about fiscal questions, primarily on the subject matter of the *talha* or a proportional tax on goods that was collected by Jews. Unfortunately, the cantiga is incomplete, especially a response by Esêvão da Guarda in the fifth stanza. The issue of contention is the accusation by another Jew, Dom Foam (Foão), of having been levied a too heavy tax rate and how Dom Josep purportedly had not fulfilled his own tax obligations. Throughout the exchange, Dom

[286] MARTINS, Mário (1986). *A Sátira na Literatura Medieval Portuguesa (Séculos XIII e XIV)*. Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, p 90-91. Not much is known in terms of Vidal of Elvas. It is only known that he was of Jewish origin and that it is assumed that lived in the second half of the 13th century and first half of the 14th century. Two of his Cantigas of love are recorded in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, in which he dedicated his love to a particular *Dona*. These cantigas are: *Faz-m'agora por si morrer* and *Moir, e faço dereito.* In: *Cantigas medievais Galego-Portuguesas*. fcsh, unl (2011-2012). https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/autor.asp?ling=eng&cdaut=156&pv=sim

[287] GUARDA, Estêvão da. Vós, Dom Josep, venho eu preguntar. In: *Cantigas medievais Galego-Portuguesas*. FCSH, UNL (2011-2012). In order to find the individual cantigas, please go to the link below and find the appropriate ones in the index on the right-hand side of the page of Estêvão da Guarda. https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/autor.asp?pv=sim&cdaut=30

[288] LOPES, Graça Videira (2018). *A sátira nos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*. Editorial Estampa, p 247.

[289] As per the website of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH) at the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa (UNL), "it has not yet been possible, however, to locate this Dom Josepe, also because we don't know his surname. Several Jews bearing this name appear in documents from King Denis' chancellery and, according to Resende de Oliveira (see the reference at the end of the footnote), another Dom Josepe had lands in Torres Vedras (just as Estêvão da Guarda). We do not know, however, if he is any of them." OLIVEIRA, António Resende de (1994), *Depois do espectáculo trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri.

Josep was able to defend his reputation and prove that Dom Foam (Foão) had acted in bad faith by making false accusations.[290]

In terms of *Cantigas de Amor* (Songs of Love), the Conde de Barcelos included the two songs composed by the Jewish minstrel, Vidal of Elvas, *Moir' e faço dereito* (B 1605/V 1138) and *Faz-m'agora por si morrer* (B 1606/V 1139). Most important about the multifaceted images that this minstrel painted in his compositions, which were not typical of the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula, but rather those images from the south or al-Andalus, as well as the use of certain poetic prototypes found in the Bible´s *Song of Songs*.[291]

Quite remarkable about the attitude that the Conde de Barcelos had towards this Jewish minstrel from Elvas, was the paratext about Vidal:

> Estas duas cantigas fez um judeu d'Elvas, que havia nome Vidal, por amor d'ua judia de sa vila que havia nome Dona. E pero que é bem que o bem que home faz se nom perça, mandamo-lo screver. E nom sabemos mais dela[s] mais de duas cobras, a primeira cobra de cada ua.[292]

What is left of Vidal of Elvas' works are fragments in which the author is beseeching the favor of the female object of his desires, a particular *Dona*, which can be both a proper name, as well as an allusion to hallucinatory herbs, which can be associated to the madness or folly of love, as can be seen in B 1605/V 1138.[293]

> Moir' e faço dereito
> por ua Dona d'Elvas
> que me trage tolheito,
> como a quen dan as ervas.
> Des que lh'eu vi o peito
> branco, diss'aas sas servas:
>
> A mia coita non á par

[290] MARTINS (1986), p 92. Also look at the link below: General note: Vós, Dom Josep, venho eu preguntar. In: *Cantigas medievais Galego-Portuguesas*. fcsh, unl, (20122-2012). https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/cantiga.asp?cdcant=1345&pv=sim
LOPES (2018), p 247-248.
[291] MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro (2020). Judeus e motivos de origem hebraica no *Livro das Cantigas* de Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos. In: *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, p 4. VIEIRA, Yara Frateschi (2018). Uma inclusão problemática nos cancioneiros galego-portugueses: o inusitado retrato feminino nas cantigas de Vidal, Judeu d'Elvas. In *Cauterio Suave*, Ibis, p 350 e 355.
[292] MIRANDA (2020), p 3. The cantigas of this minstrel were studied by Luciana Stegagno PICCHIO (1979). *A Lição do Texto. Filologia e Literatura*, Edições 70, p 67-93. António Resende de OLIVEIRA (1994). *Depois do Espectáculo Trovadoresco. A estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos sécs. XII e XIV*. Colibri.
[293] VIEIRA (2018), p 347-348. MIRANDA (2020), p 5.

ca sei que me quer matar
e quero eu morrer por ela,
ca me non poss' en guardar. 10[294]

What is important about these cantigas, is not only the themes themselves, but how Dom Pedro Conde de Barcelos included these cantigas written by Jews into his *Cancioneiro*, which was quite uncommon in Western Christendom, if not unheard of in that time period. Moreover, for many decades, if not centuries, Jewish presence in the European courtly milieu never awoke interest by literary experts, as such a phenomenon was considered as either inexistant or irrelevant. However, Jewish authors in reality were not unknown. Nonetheless, Jewish authors had to overcome many socio-cultural obstacles and impediments, as troubadorism or minstrelsy was marked by particular social roots, in which the Jews, due to their religious diversity, would not be considered as part of the Christian community and its social imaginary. It is due to the many obstacles that members of the Jewish community had to surmount in order to enter this artistic community and even to be considered as part of such community that Jewish poets were placed in the margins of this medieval gentile genre. In spite of all of these issues, it is remarkable that Dom Pedro, Conde de Barcelos had the openness and audacity to include a Jewish troubadour in his compilation of Galician-Portuguese songs.[295]

Even though the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* did not present any new information on the Jews already discussed in the *Primera Crónica General de España*, in certain occasions, as seen above, presented Jews in a different light, as was the case of the Jewish convert, Diego Gil, or as in the case of the Jewess of Toledo, provided more in-depth details of the fate of the victim of malign slander (witchcraft). The Conde de Barcelos' *Cancioneiro* was novel in its addition of Jewish minstrels, which was almost unheard of in Western Christendom in that period.[296] The count was not only able to fight off any potential protests and complaints of contemporaries, but left the record of Jewish minstrels' work to posterity. He also wrote a flattering dedicatory to Vidal of Elvas and of the quality of the minstrel's work.[297]

[294] Moir' e faço dereito. In: *Cantigas medievais Galego-Portuguesas*. fcsh, unl, (2011-2012). https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/cantiga.asp?cdcant=1630&pv=sim
[295] MIRANDA (2020), p 12.
[296] Ibid., p 2-3, 11-13.
[297] ALVAR, Carlos (2010). *Apostillas cancioneriles: De Vidal de Elvas a Álvarez de Villasandino*. Biblioteca Virtual Universal. Facilitado por la Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. https://biblioteca.org.ar/libros/153117.pdf

2.H. Castilian *El Libro de los Estados* de Don Juan Manuel

The nobleman and nephew of King Alfonso X, Don Juan Manuel,[298] was one of the most powerful men in Castile in the first half of the 14th century. Don Juan Manuel was involved in the tutelage of Fernando IV and Alfonso XI during their minority rule. He began to write many of his reflective and meditative works on the role of the ideal leader or prince. Some of these works would fit in the genre of specula and exempla. His *Libro de los Estados*[299] *(Book of the Estates*) would be considered as the most ambitious and broadest of works from the first half of the 14th century and is dedicated to the study of late medieval social structure.[300]

The content of the book deals with the intellectual defense of Christianity. Priests are to show to the enemies of the Faith, Jews, Muslims (Moors), pagans and gentiles, through the Holy Scriptures and the use of reason that Christian Law is the only one that grants salvation. It is for Christians to preach to them and show them the best way to save their souls. In other words, it is for Christians to fight against visible and invisible enemies of the Faith.[301] Don Juan Manuel's work was also an intellectual defense of the Christian faith, which focused on two aspects: to show the enemies of the faith: Jews, Moors (Muslims), pagans and gentiles. This was to be achieved through Holy Scripture and to convince the enemies of the Faith that Christian Law was the only one that guaranteed salvation. At the same time, priests using Holy Scripture were to preach and show Christians the ways to save their souls and keep their estates.[302] See Appendix III for the analysis of Don Juan Manuel's work on his interpretation of the Jews and the Old Testament.

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[298] Don Juan Manuel was the cousin of Sancho IV, second cousin to Fernando IV and third cousin to Alfonso XI.
[299] *Estados* in this sense is not of a centralized political entity or the condition in which a person can be. Rather, it refers to the societal orders of the Middle Ages: nobility, clergy and commoners or Third Estate. This would be the estates or *états* in French when referring to the Estates General or *États Généraux*.
[300] Don Juan Manuel (1991). *El Libro de los Estados*, edición de Ian Macpherson. Editorial Castalia, p 7. STEFANO, Luciana de (1962). La Sociedad Estamental de Don Juan Manuel. *NRFH*, XVI, p 329-330. Stefano wrote on page 331: "Desde un punto de vista objetivo y específicamente social, Don Juan Manuel emplea la palabra para designar los grupos sociales básicos de la sociedad, dotados de análoga situación y de unos mismos privilegios, o bien formas particulares, rangos o (más precisamente) "dignidades" dentro de un determinado grupo social, como "estado de duque" o "estado de emperador." On page 332: "En la Edad Media la condición social y el status jurídico tienden a unificarse: el derecho es creado en su mayor parte por la sociedad misma, a través del uso o de la costumbre o de la conversión en jurídicas de situaciones fácticas de poder. En virtud de esas normas, la sociedad se estructura en un sistema de "privilegios", los cuales no se entienden, según veremos después, en el sentido de una. situación jurídica simple mente ventajosa, sino en su valor primario (*privi-leges*), es decir, como derechos o libertades privativos o particulares de cada grupo o persona -concepción del derecho completamente opuesta a la igualdad y homogeneidad de nuestros actuales ordenamientos jurídicos."
[301] Don JUAN MANUEL (1991), p 359.
[302] STEFANO (1962), p 359.

2.I. Castilian *El Libro de Buen Amor* by Juan Ruiz

The *Libro de Buen Amor* (*Book of Good Love*) attributed to Archpriest Juan Ruiz is one of the most exceptional literary pieces in Castilian literature of the first half of the 14th century, as it encompasses so many literary genres besides its storyline of a young man trying to seduce young women through the help of an elderly female go-between. Juan Ruiz portrays the image of a merry-making, bacchanal and lively minstrel clergyman and lover of all types of worldly pleasures. Archpriest Juan Ruiz used many different styles and genres in his romance. These included, among others, narrative, dialogue, fables, proverbs, minstrel and goliardic lyric, poems, songs, including cantigas, internal monologues within the nature of an artificial autobiography, and Hebrew and Arab influences.[303] The themes or subjects were also multifaceted, ranging from love, suffering, life and death; basically, the human condition.[304] The work also included debates between the main characters, who represent concepts that were part and parcel of late medieval society; such as abstinence, represented by Doña Quaresma and the pursuit of carnal pleasure, Don Carnal. Even though the work has no parallel in Western European literature, its concepts are universal and themes recurrent in European thought.[305] To a great extent the work reflects the cultural paradigm that Western Christendom was going through in the first half of the 14th century. Not only was society divided due to difficult material conditions and political instability, but it was going through an extreme polarization of values.[306]

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[303] BLECUA, Alberto, edición (2016). *El Libro de Buen Amor*, 1ª ed. RUIZ, Juan. Austral, p 308-309. BLANCO AGUINAGA, Carlos, et al. (1979). *Historia Social de la Literatura Española*, I. Coordinador Julio Rodríguez Puertolas. Editorial Castalia, p 88. MALKIEL, María Rosa Lida de (1973). *JUAN RUIZ: Selección del Libro de Buen Amor y estudios críticos*. EUDEBA (Editorial Universidad de Buenos Aires), p 12.

[304] BLANCO AGUINAGA (1979), p 90. GYBBON-MONNYPENY, G.B., ed. (2017). *Libro de Buen Amor*. Juan Ruiz. Clásicos Castalia: Poesía siglo XIV, p 17-19.

[305] MALKIEL (1973), p 291. BLECUA, Alberto, ed. (2016). *Libro de Buen Amor*. Arcipreste de Hita. Austral, p 303-304. GIRÓN, José Luis (2017). *Libro de Buen Amor*. Castalia Didáctica, p 38-41. GYBBON-MONNYPENY (2016), p 16-24. CASTRO, Américo (1996). *España en su Historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos*. CRÍTICA (Grijalbo Mondadori), p 355-357. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 143.

[306] GIRÓN (2017), p 15-18. BOBES NAVES, Rosa (1980). *Clerecía y Juglaría en el s. XIV: Libro de Buen Amor*. Editorial Cincel, p 7-8. BLECUA (2016), p 299-303. Besides the dates written on the manuscripts, Ms. T (Toledo) of 1330 and Ms. S (Salamanca) of 1343, the work was placed in the second quarter of the 14th century as the author mentioned Don Gil de Albornoz, who was archbishop of Toledo from 1337-1350. This gives Ms. S a certain amount of historical reliability due to cross-referencing with the existence of historical figures from that time. The book is based on two drafts or editions of the work. The first dated back to 1330 and the second to 1343 during the reign of Alfonso XI. That would place both editions of the work during the many social, economic, demographic and political crises that rattled Western Europe in general and the Iberian Peninsula in particular and five years prior to the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague.

The *Libro de Buen Amor* is perhaps an excellent literary piece that reflected the ambivalence shared amongst the Castilian elites and, to a certain extent, the population in general towards the Jews. On the one hand, Jews, as a whole, were presented as cruel and inhuman Christ killers. On the other hand, the Jews were presented as warm and welcoming people, who shared their Passover meal from a renegade Christian, who sought refuge in the quarters for a few days and then was then provided even more assistance from the rabbi himself by lending his horse to Juan Ruiz in order to make his escape. As such, the literary work is a reflection of the changing and evolving affections and images represented in the imaginary of the majority Christian society towards cultural and religious minorities in general and in certain instances, towards Jews in particular.[307] See Appendices III Ch. 2.I. for further analysis.

2.J. Portuguese Polemic Literary Works 1325-1348

Unfortunately, there is no Portuguese literary work available that resembles *El Libro de los Estados* by Don Juan Manuel or *El Libro de Buen Amor* by Archpriest Juan Ruiz. There are two fragments of a manuscript of the Portuguese translation of *El Libro de Buen Amor* at the Municipal Library of Porto.[308] However, Portuguese literary works in this period were dedicated to theological works, including religious disputes, such as *Collyrium fidei* by Álvaro Pais and *Speculum disputationis contra Hebraeos* by João de Alcobaça. These types of literary works would be in part similar to Don Juan Manuel's *Libro de los Estados*, in that they reflected on the nature of the Christian faith and the supposed failures of the other two monotheistic religions of Judaism and Islam and that only in the acceptance of Christianity as the true faith that mortals could achieve salvation. See appendices for analysis.

2.J.1 Speculum Disputationis Contra Hebraeos

The author Friar João de Alcobaça, was a Portuguese Cistercian monk who lived in the first half of the 14th century. The work is essentially apologetic in nature, included within the context of the best controversy pieces of the Middle Ages. It was produced, as confessed by

[307] RUIZ, ed. Gybbon-Monnypeny (2016), p 356: [1183] "Fuyó de la iglesia, fue se a la joderia; rresçibieron lo muy bien en su carniçería; pascua de pan çenzeño, estonçe les venía; plogo a ellos con él, e él vido buen día." RUIZ, ed. Gybbon-Monnypeny (2016), p 356: [1184] "Luego lunes de mañana, don rrabí Açebín, por le poner en salvo, emprestó le su rrozín;" RUIZ, ed. Gybbon-Monnypeny (2016), p 101: "Señor Dios, que a los judíos, pueblo de perdición…" RUIZ, ed. Gybbon-Monnypeny (2016), p 331: [1051] "los *judíos golhines"*, p 331; [1053] "pueblo porfiado", p 332.

[308] DIAS, Aida Fernanda (1998). *História Crítica da Literatura Portuguesa, vol. I, A Idade Média*. Editorial VERBO, p 56-57. The text was found by Professor Arthur Askins from the University of California, Berkeley and director of the research project BITAGAP (Bibliografia de Textos Antigos Galegos e Portugueses).

its own author, in the knowledge of a real controversy in Barcelona in the presence of King Jaume I of Aragon between Friar Paulo of the Order of Preachers (a former convert) and Rabbi Moíses ben Nahman or Nahmanides of Gerona, one of the leading wisemen of Catalonian Judaism and defender of the Jewish faith. As the Dominican preacher was defeated in the dispute, Friar João de Alcobaça decided to write the *Speculum Disputationis Contra Hebraeos* or *Speculum Hebraeorum*, in order to remedy such ill, he decided to write his refutation in Latin and making reference to Hebrew in order to improve on his arguments. He chose the name *Mirror of the Jews* so that the Jews and converts, as men could look at the stains on their faces, could look at their old errors.[309]

The method and form of dialogue was that of so-called *Altercatio*, which is an altercation or aggressive or hostile dialogue. In the case of the text, the Jew, *Hebraeus*, asked questions, in which the Christian, *Respondeo* answered them in long responses, in which the author believed in well-founded and consistent arguments based on Biblical passages from the Old Testament.[310] See the appendices for the analysis of the work.

2.J.2 Collirium Fidei Adversus Haereses

Another intellectual work that fits into the trend of polemic literature of the 14th century is *Collyrium Fidei Adversus Haereses* written by the canonist-theologian and Bishop of Silves, Álvaro Pais (1275/1280-1349). The work was not only directed towards the Muslims and Jews but towards all heresies and errors in general. The work was most likely written between 1345 and 1348.[311] The *Collyrium Fidei*, was important in understanding the

[309] ANTUNES, José (1995). *A cultura erudita portuguesa nos séculos XIII e XIV. (Juristas e teólogos)*. Tese de doutoramento em Letras (História da Idade Média). Faculdade de Letras. Universidade de Coimbra, p 274-275. GOMES, Pinharanda (2009). *A Filosofia Hebraico - Portuguesa. I. História da Filosofia Portuguesa*. 2ª Edição. Guimarães Editores, p 216.

[310] GOMES (2009), p 216. TAVARES (2010), p 9. ANTUNES (1995), p 375. Every now and then, the author would recur to allegories and analogies from nature, as according to the author, the creation was the external word of God, the natural Gospel, the mirror of Divine thought, the indelible mark of the Image of God, especially in man. Due to this method of defending the faith, the Holy Trinity helped him in order to prove this particular interpretation of Christian dogma. On pages 376-377: Antunes wrote that it was important to note that out of the entire work, there are the prophecies and the spiritual intellection of Scripture of the Old Testament and how they would be fulfilled in the New Testament. The promise of complete redemption, not only of the souls but of the bodies on Judgment Day is also one of the points developed in the work. And last, it deals with the Jews' complete inability to understand and correctly interpret the Holy Scriptures.

[311] TAVARES, A. (2010), p 6-7. ANTUNES (1995), p 381. It consists of six parts, encompassing a number of different articles. Each article covers a different heresy or error and the respective refutation on the part of the author with arguments taken from the Holy Scripture, the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* and the *Fathers of the Church.* The judicial culture or background of the work is most likely the University of Bologna, where the author studied and became a professor.

particular and specific political, philosophical, social and religious context of the Iberian Peninsula of that same period.[312] Pais, not willing that ignorance blind the eyes of anyone, appears like an inexperienced physician, attempted to anoint or cure the eyes of all of the faithful with the booklet that he chose to call the collyrium or eyewash of faith or *Colírio da Fé*. In this manner, as collyrium is an ointment to clean the impurities of the eyes, he would thus try to through the True Faith elucidate or clarify the minds of the infidels or unfaithful blinded by the devil.[313] See the appendices for the analysis of the aforementioned works.

According to Antunes, these works were not only expressions of the polemic trends of religious controversy that the Iberian Peninsula went through in the late medieval period, but expressions of how the presence of Muslims and Jews left an indelible mark in the soul of the Hispanic people. Important for the thesis is how Antunes also concluded that this religious antagonism of polemic character is revealing of possible existing tensions between the believers of the three faiths. These works suggest dialogue, disputes and problems of coexistence or Convivencia amongst the peoples of different beliefs that formed or made up the same community that crossed over and lived side-by-side on a daily basis.[314]
This would be a tacit recognition of the role of the *other* influencing and affecting majority Christian society as in the *Libro de Buen Amor*. It would reflect how Christian elites viewed the reality of a heterogenous, although not integrated, society of marginalized and ostracized minorities that would nonetheless affect customs, manners and way of thinking.

Although these refutations actually took place in public, they were in another Iberian realm, the Crown of Aragon, and occurred almost a century prior to the writing of the accounts in Portuguese. As such, these events were both remote in time and space to the target audience of Portugal, most likely the clergy. The publication of these disputations would also have a limited number of readers receiving the transmitted negative image of the "Jew" as the majority of the population could neither read nor afford such expensive luxury items as books in the 14th century. Hence the intended range of diffusing such negative images was limited and could explain, in part, why the majority of the Portuguese common people were not susceptible to anti-Jewish rabble-rousing hate speech as in other Iberian kingdoms, especially

[312] *Colírio da Fé contra as Heresias (Collyrium Fidei Adversus Haereses)*. Frei Álvaro Pais, Bispo de Silves (1954). Estabelecimento do texto e tradução do Dr. Miguel Pinto de Meneses. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de Psicologia e de História da Filosofia, p VII.
[313] ANTUNES (1995), p. 385. TAVARES, A. (2010), p 7.
[314] ANTUNES (1995), p. 378.

in Castile. It is the lack of public disputations, in which the common people could have observed and witnessed how Jewish religious leaders were attacked by Church leaders, that the Portuguese common people were not incited to mock, deride and perhaps even taunt members of the Jewish community.[315]

For the time frame of 1325-1350, there were few virulently anti-Judaic literature available in Portugal. Based on the evidence available, the lack of a substantial amount of Portuguese polemic literature in the first half of the 14th century can explain in part, the relative tolerance and lack of violent outbursts against the Jews when compared to other Iberian kingdoms, especially Castile and Aragon at the time. In other words, the creation and publication of these works of religious disputation and perhaps limited circulation were not accompanied by acts of violence in Portugal throughout the 14th century.[316]

Conclusion to Chapter 2

The second chapter has analyzed the existing Portuguese and Castilian literature, either secular or religious, and found that they, although did not add anything new to the image of non-Christians, reinforced pre-existing biases and prejudices towards Jews and Muslims. Even though these speculative and reflective literary works were based on discussion and debate, they would still leave a distorted message and image of the Jews as a collective that would be further projected into the imaginary of the Christian majority and lead to further ostracization and marginalization. These projected images reflect the conceptual framework based on the theories of Durand, Bourdieu, Searle, Nieto Soria and Gómez Redondo.

The years between 1325 and 1350 also presented a complex image of a very difficult period for Portugal and Castile. On the political front, the reigns of Afonso IV of Portugal and Alfonso XI of Castile ended years of open conflict. In the case of Portugal, the civil war had already ended and the new king would be able to reestablish stability to his kingdom. In the case of Castile, the young Alfonso XI would declare majority rule at age of 14 and enter a period of neutralizing his political opponents, amongst them Don Juan Manuel.

[315] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (1982). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*, vol. I. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. Universidade de Lisboa, p 440.
[316] TAVARES, Mª (1982), p 440. TAVARES, A. (2010), p 19.

Notwithstanding, both monarchs inherited kingdoms that were hurt socially due to abuses inflicted upon the population by renegade noblemen and knights, as well as economically due to downturns in agricultural production that brought about reduced returns.

The aforementioned economic difficulties brought about demands from the municipal procurators to place financial restrictions on the economic competitors of the Christian merchants and financiers in the urban centers – namely the Jews. The municipal procurators would continuously demand at the *Cortes* that the king forgive all of the debts owed to the Jews. The kings, on the other hand, knew that such actions would lead to the financial ruin of the prominent Jewish financiers and bankers, and would refuse to grant the wishes of the municipal representatives. The legal representatives of the Jewish communities would present their own complaints of Christians trying to deceive municipal authorities in order not to pay their debts. The Crowns would forgive only one-quarter of the debts. In terms of the claims of deception on the part of the Jews (*cartas dobladas*, collecting debts that have been already paid, etc.), the kings responded by re-writing the debt letters and contracts by official municipal scribes and sealed by notary publics. The respective Crowns also responded that anyone, irrespective of confession, who violated the law, would be punished. In other words, the official response was the application of a uniform royal legislation covering all types of debt. On the one hand, it was part of the process of the centralization of administration under the auspices of the Crown. On the other hand, it was the Crown's attempts in aligning religious minorities, Jews and Muslims, on a more leveled legal playing field with Christians (*equiparar*). This is not the same as placing the religious minorities on an equal social basis, but rather that of all religious groups followed the same laws.

Christians could not use Papal bulls to avoid repayment of debts to Jewish moneylenders or, in the case of knights and nobility, no longer pawn their weapons, armor or horses as collateral or debt repayments. Also, important to note was the terminology used in Portuguese legislation to describe usury as the "many paths that men take to use malice" and not simply singling out the Jews of practicing usury. This messaging plays an important role in the projection of the image of Jews into the Christian imaginary.

In terms of Castile, Alfonso XI would dedicate his reign in reversing many of the anti-Jewish legislation from the reigns of his grandfather, Sancho IV, and the minority rule of his father, Fernando IV. Like his Portuguese counterpart, the Castilian monarch would create legislation

that would align his religious minorities to Christians (*equiparar*) in following legal procedures. He would finally revoke his grandfather's law that forbade Jews from owning land. Alfonso XI's goals were to reduce the social tension between Jews and Christians by 1) forbidding usury contracts for all religious communities; and, 2) allow wealthy Jews to earn a profit by investing into land and reap the benefits from agricultural production. As such, by the end of this period, both kingdoms would have similar, by no means identical, laws concerning the Jews. Both kingdoms had revoked privileges in favor of uniform laws that would apply to all religious confessions. As a result, there would be a mixed message transmitted through the available legislative literature of removing privileges for a standardization of legal procedures. As in Portugal, Alfonso XI's condemnation of usury across all societal groups of Christians, Jews and Moors, and orders of nobility, clergy and Third Estate, projected a message of fairness and justice into the Christian imaginary.

CHAPTER 3. BUBONIC PLAGUE: INFLECTION POINT 1348-1352

From the vast areas of Central Asia, a bacillus began to propagate and infect different populations that came into contact with it. The name of the bacillus has been designated as *Yersinia pestis* that is transferred by fleas that infect their hosts through their bites. The Bubonic Plague broke out in Western and Central Europe in 1348-1349 and would continue to spread until 1350 to northern Europe. It was first detected in Europe in Constantinople, as Genovese merchant ships came into contact with the inhabitants of that city's inhabitants when the ships docked there. The ships continued to Sicily, where the sick sailors came into contact with the inhabitants of Messina in September 1347. From there, the disease would spread to the central and northern Italian cities by March 1348. The bacillus would continue to spread via other ships that went to southern France, the Catalonian and Valencian coasts of the Kingdom of Aragon and then the southern coasts of Castile and Portugal by September 1348 and would move inland 1349-1350. Depending on the region, death rates ran between 10%-20% to 40% to 50% of the regional population.[317]

3.A. The Bubonic Plague in Castile and Portugal

The Plague was worse for the Iberian Peninsula than the previous famines that had afflicted the different regions of the peninsula. Although there are few period statistics to verify the number of deaths in Portugal and Castile, historians have been able to *infer only approximate*

[317] KLAPISCH-ZUBER, Christiane (reprint 2006). Plague and Family Life. In *The New Cambridge Medieval History, v.6, 1300-1415.* Cambridge University Press, p 130-132. BYRNE, Joseph (2006). *Daily Life in the Black Death*. Greenwood Press, p 4-6. CAMPBELL, Bruce (2016). *The Great Transition Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World*. Cambridge University Press, p 295, 300-303. Campbell claimed that the Plague hit Portugal and southern Spain in 1349. ABERTH, John (2005). *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348–1350. A Brief History with Documents*. Palgrave Macmillan, p vii; and ABERTH (2010) *From the Brink of the Apocalypse Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edition. Routledge, p 81-82. RODRIGUES, Teresa Ferreira (2008). A crise dos séculos XIV e XV (1325-1480). In *História da População Portuguesa. Das longas permanências à conquista da modernidade.* Coordenação de Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues. CEPESE e Edições Afrontamento, p 113. SOUSA, Armindo de (1997). *História de Portugal, 2º vol. A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Coordenador: Dr. José Mattoso. Editorial Estampa, p 283-84. OLIVEIRA MARQUES, A.H. (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, vol. IV da *Nova História de Portugal*. Editorial Presença, p 20-21 & p 503. GARCÍA de CORTÁZAR, José Ángel (1998). Capítulo II: La Confirmación del Ritmo y del Rito Comunitarios: La Fiesta y la Epidemia. In *Historia de España*, t. XVI. Dirigida por Jover Zamora Menéndez Pidal. Espasa Calpe, p 240. SESMA MUÑOZ, José Ángel (2014). *Manual de Historia Medieval*. Editores José Ángel García de Cortázar y José Ángel de Sesma Muñoz. Alianza Editorial, p 300. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, Francisco (2004). *La España de los siglos XIII al XV. Transformaciones del Feudalismo Tardío*, 2ª edición. Editorial Nerea, p 63-64. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1989). *Feudalismo y Consolidación de los Pueblos Hispánicos (Siglos XI-XV)*. Editorial Labor, p 100. GAMA BARROS, Henrique (1986). *História da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*, t. II. Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, p 195.

numbers through indirect information.[318] It is believed that up to one-quarter of the Castilian population perished to the plague, depending on the region. The purchase and sale of land or their leasing plummeted. A document from the Santa Clara monastery of the Villalobos locality of Zamora in December 1348 spoke of the great mortality or *gran mortandad*, whereas another document from the same locality discussed the difficulties in finding labor to work in the monastery due to the tribulations befallen upon the people and the great number of deaths (*mortandades*).[319]

In an attempt to follow the trajectory, studies have been conducted to see the number of deaths of bishops and prelates from that period. Bishops in Burgos, Tuy, Santiago de Compostella and Oviedo passed away.[320] The plague had reached Andalucía by March 1349 and had reached its peak by 1350. It was in that same year, that it reached Gibraltar, where the Castilian armed forces were besieging the site and cost the life of King Alfonso XI.[321]

The immediate consequences of the plague and the drastic fall in population due to many deaths and abandonment of lands caused an acute labor shortage, which led to a decline in available labor and a disorganization in the labor market, which, in turn, led to a decline in production, more than of consumption, and to a subsequent increase in prices and wages. The

[318] CASTÁN LANASPA, Guillermo (2020). *La Construcción de la Idea de la Peste Negra (1348-1350) como catástrofe demográfica en la Historiografía española*. Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, p 218. In his work, Castán Lanaspa offered many graphs and charts with new data to present models of the effects of the Bubonic Plague on the different Hispanic kingdoms of the late Middle Ages. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2017). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 1. Población. Economía*. Editorial Dykinson, p 70. SESMA MUÑOZ, op. cit., 2014, p 301. RODRIGUES, op. cit., 2008, p 110, 116-117. Rodrigues stated that most documentation for this period in Portugal is to be found in ecclesiastical archives than in secular municipal notaries. RUIZ, Teófilo (2007). *Spain's Centuries of Crisis 1300-1474*. Blackwell Publishing, p 45-46. VASCONCELOS E SOUSA, Bernardo (2015). *História de Portugal, 1ª Parte – Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)*, 8ª edição. Coordenador Rui Ramos. A Esfera dos Livros, p 81-82. MATTOSO, op. cit., 1997, p 284. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, op. cit., 1989, p 100. OLIVEIRA MARQUES, op. cit., 1987, p 23. GAMA BARROS, op. cit., t. II, 1896, p 194.

[319] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1996). La dinámica demográfica: Crisis y Recuperación. In *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, vol. XII*, dirigido José María Jover Zamora. Espasa Calpe, p 84-85. RUIZ, op. cit., 2007, p 46.

[320] URBIETO, Arteta (1975). Cronología del desarrollo de la Peste Negra en la Península Ibérica. In *Cuadernos de Historia anexos a la Revista 'Hispania'*, 5.

[321] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1996), p 85. OLIVA HERRER, Hipólito Rafael (2016). La Crisis del XIV en Nuevos Contextos una reflexión sobre la crisis y sus interpretaciones historiográficas. In *El rey don Pedro I y su tiempo (1350-1369)*, Manuel García Fernández (coord.), Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 48. RUIZ, op. cit., 2007, p 46. There are some records in which a landowner would in some localities would offer half of his land in order to find a peasant that would work both plots for five years. This is an indicator of how the population in certain regions collapsed due to death and simply abandoned the land to move to other areas, including urban centers. An example showing the decline in rents was from the Burgos Cathedral from farms and mills collapsed to around 50% or more. In certain instances, the cathedral could not find clients to use some of their mills.

political authorities reacted by setting price and wage controls. The *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1351 reflected the initiatives to impose wage and price controls. There were also thwarted attempts to set into place severe work obligations on the peasantry and bind the peasants to the land. The extent of this initiative was unprecedented in Castile.[322] Another source reflecting the amount of abandoned land left fallow is the *Becerro de las Behetrías* from 1352[323], which documented numerous partially or totally uninhabited localities that has been closely related to the recent deaths of the period. In some cases, the mention of the plague is quite explicit, as it happens with Estepar.[324] [See Appendices 3.A. for an analysis of the *Becerro de las Behetrías.*]

Long-term material consequences of the plague throughout the second-half of the 14th century due to pre-existing changing meteorological conditions, decline in food production, pandemics, would lead to further hunger, fall in life expectancy and demographic decline, inflationary pressures, economic transformations, social tensions, wars.[325] The Bubonic Plague did not initiate these processes, but accelerated them.[326] Long-term psychological effects of the plague were a collective sense of fear, anxiety, insecurity, which, in turn, were reflected in the mentality and imaginary of the period and in the attitudes towards death.[327] The second (1361-64) and third waves (1371-74) of the plague will be discussed in later chapters.[328] An analysis of the psychological impact of the plague on the collective mindset and imaginary reflected in literature will be developed in the next subchapter when looking at the change in perception and sensibility of Western Europeans.

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[322] LADERO QUESADA (2017), p 69. RUIZ (2007), p 46. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1975). *Los Conflictos sociales en el Reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV* in *Historia de los Movimientos Sociales*. Siglo XXI Editores, p 84-85.
[323] *Becerro de las Behetrías de Castilla* mandado por hacer por Don Pedro I de Castilla, 1ª edición facsímil. (2013). Editorial Maxtor, (Original work published in 1866).
[324] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1996), p 85. For an in-depth study of the abandoned localities and plots of land in Old Castile, see: CABRILLANA, Nicolás (1972). Los despoblados en Castilla la Vieja. In *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, Nº 120, p 5-60. Cabrillana based his study on the *Becerro de las Behetrías*.
[325] CAMPBELL (2016), p 311-312, 376. CASTÁN LANASPA (2020), p 230. According to Bruce Campbell, the Black Death pushed the construction sector into a deep depression until the mid-1360s, in which building reached only 50% of the pre-1348 levels. It wouldn't be until the early 15th century when Castilian daily wages in construction would reach pre-Plague levels.
[326] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 117. According to Fernández Conde, the nobility had surpassed the original difficulties of the 14th century and was able to come out of the crisis strengthened and renewed. In order to preserve or improve its condition, the aristocracy counted on the support of the political administration. The economic interests of both groups often coincided.
[327] LADERO QUESADA (2017), p 69. RODRIGUES (2008), p 108. CASTÁN LANASPA (2020), p 230.
[328] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 66. RAU, Virgínia (1986). *Estudos de História Medieval*, 1ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 159.

Portuguese historians have also tried to follow the itinerary of the plague in Portugal. It is believed that it reached Lisbon first via maritime routes by September of 1348 and then moved inland and throughout the realm until early 1349. Major cities and towns were devastated, including Santarém, Coimbra, Porto, Bragança and Silves. Many monasteries and religious communities were struck hard. Supposedly, all of the officials at the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora perished to the plague, whereas the Convent of Lorvão, the abbess confessed that most of the ladies had died due to the pestilence.[329]

In Portugal, as in Castile and the rest of Western Europe, the Plague affected various regions differently, ranging from Lisbon and Coimbra to Braga. The *Livro da Noa*, in which it was recorded that two-thirds of the population died, whereas the *Estatutos* or *Constituções* of the *Colegiada de São Pedro de Almedina de Coimbra* of that same year claimed that not even one-tenth of the population survived. Analysts today do not believe that these numbers are correct and that they exaggerated the numbers of dead.[330] Nonetheless, the Bubonic Plague worsened the economic situation and intensified the demographic decline, as well as increased amount of destitution, misery, vagrancy and crime, which, in turn, led to an increase in social tensions. The image portrayed from period sources is that of an agrarian economy in complete disarray due to the abandonment of agricultural labor, untilled soil and lack of planting seed, unattended cattle, the abandonment of rural houses, and the skyrocketing of wages and salaries. Semi-deserted and deserted localities, towns and villages were called *fogos-mortos* (dead households). As in Castile, many rural laborers migrated to the cities, such as Lisbon, Porto and Évora, in search of more attractive wages. King D. Afonso IV's response was to set price and wage controls, as well as oblige peasant laborers to

[329] OLIVEIRA MARQUES, A.H. (2010). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Das Origens ao Renascimento*, 14ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 179-180; also by OLIVEIRA MARQUES, A.H. (1986). *Nova História de Portugal, vol. IV, Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*. Editorial Presença, p 503. OLIVERIA da SILVA, André Filipe (2021). *A Peste Negra em Portugal: Os casos do Entre-Douro-e-Minho e do Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana*. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (FLUP), p 219. According to Oliveira da Silva, there is ample evidence to suggest that the Plague broke out in Portugal in June 1348.

[330] ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, liv. 99 [Livro da Noa], fl. 21v-22: "Livro da Noa onde se diz que *morrerom duas partes* [de três] *das gentes*, acrescentando-se que *as de mays das gentes tambem as que morrerom como as que ficarom todos ouverom estas doors."* Also see the doctoral thesis by: OLIVEIRA da SILVA (2021), p 371. RAU (1986), p 160.

return to their land and till the soil via royal letters that circulated throughout the realm in 1349[331] and the acts at the *Cortes* of Lisbon in 1352.[332]

3.B. Change in Sensibility and Affection due to the Bubonic Plague

In the medieval imaginary, all concepts, attitudes and notions concerning the world and life had a fixed place in a larger hierarchical system of ideas, in which they were linked to concepts of a higher order. One of the most important aspects of the medieval mind was discrimination.[333] The mindset of the medieval individual was based on what was conceived as "right" or "correct" as being absolutely immovable and certain in its view of the world. There was also a sharp contrast and dichotomy of late medieval beliefs and values that on the one hand, the Church, which was the leading spiritual authority, espoused indulgence and clemency, while on the other hand, it espoused a need of retaliation of what could be conceived as sin.[334]

The Black Death would not only harden and intensify the pre-existing views, notions, ideas, concepts and attitudes but also help accelerate the shift in collective mindsets and attitudes in the expression and representation of death in the late medieval imaginary. The shocking number of deaths brought about by the pestilence following decades of hunger due to climatic change, crop failures, rising costs and prices, banditry, and wars would lead to a *paradigm shift*. The loss of life led common people to have a certain detachment to life as their collective existence was plagued with anguish, insecurity, pain and suffering.[335] This was reflected in the artwork, also known as macabre art and literature of the period that demonstrated an aversion to temporal life. *Prior to the 14th century*, Western Christendom

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[331] *Livro das Leis e Posturas* (1971). Prefácio de Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva. Universidade de Lisboa, Faculdade de Direito, p 448-452.
[332] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV, 1325-1357* (1982). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 124-126, 135.
[333] HUIZINGA, Johan (1987). *The Waning of the Middle Ages.* Penguin Books, p 207
[334] Ibid, p 22.
[335] ARIÈS, Philippe (1974). *Western attitudes toward death: From the Middle Ages to the Present.* John Hopkins University Press, p 2-3. LÁZARO ROMERO, Irene March (2018). Muerte y cambios de mentalidad en la Europa del siglo XIV. In *Revista de Humanidades, Arte y Cultura Independiente*, nº 3, p 3. HERRERA CABALLO, Judith (2016). La imaginería de la Muerte en la Baja Edad Media. In *Revista Historias del Orbis Terrarum. Anejos de Estudios Clásicos, Medievales y Renacentistas*, Vol. 12, p 39. DEMURGER, Alain (1990). *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs : XIVe-XVe siècle. Nouvelle Histoire de la France médiévale,* 5. Éditions du Seuil, p 18. DELUMEAU, Jean (1991). *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture, 13th-18th Centuries*. St. Martin's Press, p 97. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2017). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 1. Población. Economía.* Editorial Dykinson, p 69.

perceived death as a dreamlike phase before Final Judgment in which all souls would be judged and either be rewarded with eternal salvation or damnation. However, this position would change during the 14th century due to a change in mentalities or mindsets. Death would be presented as the *Grim Reaper* and would enter Western imaginary in this period.[336]

One of the greatest horrors to those who experienced the pestilence were the number of victims who were abandoned by their loved ones and would die alone in the streets or those, who were discovered by their neighbors due to the stench of their decomposing bodies and laid out their bodies on the street in front of their homes. Compounding the horrific situation, were the burials in mass graves of entire families, as there were no more plots of land in church graveyards. These images project the extent of death caused by the Plague. Boccaccio in his famous work *Il Decameron*.[337] See Appendix III, Ch. 3.B.

Due to the convulsions of the 14th century, the human psyche, especially that of the common people, did not know how to adjust and maintain a firm balance between frank irreverence and *foolish credulity* of which the clergy itself was also a victim. The common people would give credit to all of the so-called revelations and prophecies that many times were nothing more than the fantasies of disturbed people and lunatics. The naïve religious conscience of the multitude relied simply on the visual image of purportedly holy things in order to establish a *truth*.[338] Within the religiosity of the common people was the popular *phantasmagory*. People's fear of the supernatural resided in its indefinite character of its phenomenon.[339]

One of the social developments, if not phenomenon, was the flagellant movement. It was based on the premise that the plague was of design from God to punish mortals for their sinful ways and that self-inflicted corporal punishment by using whips [flagella], humans would be saved. The people involved in it would march in processions whipping themselves

[336] JOST, Jean E. (2016). The Effects of the Black Death: The Plague in Fourteenth-Century Religion, Literature, and Art. In *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*, vol. 16, ed. Albrecht Classen. De Gruyter, p 194-195. ARIÈS, op. cit., 1974, p 28-29. LÁZARO ROMERO (2018), p 1-2. DEMURGER (1990). p 18.
[337] BOCCACCIO, Giovanni (2001). *Decameron*, volume primo, ristampe. A cura di Vittore Branca. Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, p 18-19.
[338] MINOIS, Georges (2016). *La Guerre de Cent Ans*. Éditions Perrin, p 720. HUIZINGA (1987), p 159. HERRERA CABELLO, Judith (2016). La imaginería de la Muerte en la Baja Edad Media. In *Revista Historias del Orbis Terrarum*. *Anejos de Estudios Clásicos, Medievales y Renacentistas*, Vol. 12, p 52-53. DELUMEAU (1991), p 98.
[339] HUIZINGA (1987), p 162. JOST (2016), p 198.

while singing hymns praising Jesus. It was so radical that monarchs and Popes condemned the movement. The issue with the flagellant movement was that by opening wounds on their backs, they would expose themselves more to the possibility of infection from the bacteria that caused the plague.[340]

In terms of literature and the shift in the perception, interpretation and transmission of the image of death, is the Catalano-Aragonese *Dança General de la Muerte* (*Dance of Death*) dating from the late 14th century. It would predate many of the other Western European literary pieces and artwork dealing with the waves of deaths from the 14th century.[341] The poem describes how mighty ecclesiastical leaders, such as prelates and archbishops should enjoy their final meals and then join the dance of death. [See Appendix III, Ch. 3.B.2.]

In terms of Castile, there were already literary works prior to the Bubonic Plague that reflected the shift in the popular attitude towards death.[342] One of these works was *El Libro de Buen Amor* by Archpriest Juan Ruiz, who was discussed in the previous chapter. The second edition would reflect the famines of 1331-1334 and 1343-1347 in Castile.[343] Juan Ruiz' work demonstrate that the change in the attitude towards death was well underway. The archpriest would use the new 14th century attributes towards death, which were not stoic, but

[340] ABERTH (2010), p 133-153. BYRNE (2006), p 204-205. JOST (2016), p 198.
[341] SOLÁ-SOLÉ, J. M. (Oct. 1968). En torno a *La dança general de la Muerte*. *Hispanic Review*, Vol. 36, No. 4, p 303-327: Historical experts have dated it somewhere between 1360 to 1400, with some claiming it to have been composed around 1392-1393. From page 309: "En el pasado siglo, su fecha de composición se situaba hacia 1360, debido a que el mencionado manuscrito forma parte de una colección miscelánea que contiene, entre otros textos, los Proverbios morales del rabi Sem Tob." And on the same page, "Actualmente muchos críticos, sin aportar pruebas concluyentes, situarían la data hacia 1400." Upon further analysis of the text, on page 312, "nosotros situaríamos la composición de la *Dança* en su texto original hacia finales del siglo XIV." Finally on page 313: "La *Dança* española hubiera sido, pues, una de las primeras *danzas de la Muerte* europeas, si no la primera. Habría sido anterior en unos treinta o más años a la famosa del cementerio de los Santos Inocentes de Paris, empezada a pintar, según nos cuenta un cronista contemporáneo, en agosto de 1424 y terminada durante la cuaresma del año siguiente. Se adelantaría, por consiguiente, a todas las europeas conocidas, con lo que de ninguna manera podemos considerarla, como han hecho algunos autores, como directa o indirectamente inspirada en la francesa de los Santos Inocentes."
[342] MITRE, Emilio (1988). *La muerte vencida. Imágenes e historia en el Occidente medieval (1200-1348).* Ediciones Encuentro, p. 9.
[343] MALKIEL, María Rosa Lida de (1973). *Juan Ruiz. Selección del LIBRO DE BUEN AMOR y estudios críticos*. Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, p 1. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, Francisco (2004). *La España de los siglos XIII al XV: Transformaciones del feudalismo tardío*, 2ª edición. Editorial Nerea, p 62. RUIZ (2007), p 43. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2014). *Poder Político y Sociedad en Castilla siglos XIII al XV. Selección de estudios*. Editorial Dykinson, p 125. LADERO QUESADA (2017), p 67. CAUNEDO del POTRO, Betsabé (2004). Grandes transformaciones del siglo XIV. In *Economía y Sociedad en la España Medieval, Historia de España IX*. Director Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra. Ediciones Istmo, p 146. OLIVA HERRER, Hipólito Rafael (2016). La Crisis del XIV en Nuevos Contextos una reflexión sobre la crisis y sus interpretaciones historiográficas. In *El rey don Pedro I y su tiempo (1350-1369)*, Manuel García Fernández (coord.), Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 49-50.

rather viewed death as an evil enemy who tore away loved ones [1520 and 1527]; acted as a social equalizer [1521 and 1528]; as a destructive force of heroes and lordships [1554 b]; but what is very unique about his lament is the complete lack of resignation, the vivid horror of death and, logically, the jubilation for the victory of Jesus over death.[344] Perhaps most illuminating for the paradigm shift towards death in the passages in appendices 3.B.3.

In terms of Portugal, Oliveira Marques wrote that the Bubonic Plague brought about a *change in mentalities,* especially in *people's attitude towards life and death*. As in the rest of Western Europe, Portuguese society was confronted with the fact that its members could be confronted with sudden and horrific death. One of the manifestations in this change in attitude was the devotion to religion and to attain a closer relation to God, the Virgin Mary and some of the saints. In a more sinister and dark form of emerged the processions of flagellants. However, in Portugal, they were fewer in number and intensity as in other parts of Western Europe.[345]

The barbaric idea of *retaliation* was reinforced by *fanaticism*, as previous *decades of violence* had *altered perception*. This *shift in late medieval mindsets and its imagery* were also reflected in the medieval concepts of good and evil, which were portrayed in overloaded descriptions.[346] The chronic insecurity of the late medieval period made it desirable for the greatest amount of severity possible to be applied on the part of the authorities. It would seem that the end of the Middle Ages witnessed an increase in *judicial cruelty*. Late medieval man seemed to show or give preference to the *most drastic treatments*. This was reflected in the law giving and sentencing for crimes in this period. Harsh laws reinforced by harsh punishments. *Torture, public beatings, floggings, public executions* through hangings, etc.[347] It was not questioned if the criminal deserved punishment, rather there was a popular sense of

[344] MALKIEL (1973), p 229.
[345] OLIVEIRA MARQUES (2010), p 193. The cult of the Virgin Mary, which had existed for centuries, regained strength and intensity. Another of the many forms of devotion was that of the Holy Spirit and that of Saint Francis, which led to the expansion of the Franciscan order. Common people were in the search for spiritual love and a mystical form of living. Another development was that of the brotherhoods, sisterhoods and fraternities with charitable ends. They would create and run hospitals, hostels, shelters and stores for the poor and sick.
[346] BYRNE (2006), p 51, 86, 96, 100-101, 133, 149, 187-188, 193, 204, 216, 226, 289. ABERTH (2010), p 140-141, 159, 199. HERRERA CABELLO (2016), p 44, 50, 53-54, 56. LÁZARO ROMERO (2018), p 2. HUIZINGA (1987), p 208-209.
[347] ABERTH (2010), p 32, 156-159, 163, 170, 174, 176, 180, 188-190. BYRNE (2006), p 102, 148, 199. HUIZINGA (1987), p 209.

justice that sanctioned the most rigorous penalties, especially for robbers, witches, sorcerers and sodomites. What was mostly noticeable in this judicial cruelty was the *people's satisfaction in accepting its brutality and viciousness*. Torture and executions were *contemplated by the spectators as the amusements of fairs*.[348]

The excesses of the mendicant preachers and flagellants presenting their doomsday scenarios and advocacy of *violent action* against those who did not conform to their world vision, especially those members of society that lived on the fringes of the dominant majority Christian society would dominate Western society. These targeted groups, not only lived outside of the city walls (lepers, sorcerers, thieves, bandits) or within enclosed neighborhoods inside the city walls (Jews, Muslims), they were categorized by the Church and secular legislation as a legal category of their own. They were negatively portrayed in both oral and written word, as well as depicted in drawings and sculptures of having distinct and different physical traits, which reflected their inner traits and characteristics.[349]

3.B.1. Consequences for the Jews

As a marginalized group, the Jews were imagined to have wanted to destroy Christendom through the poisoning of the waters, including rivers, streams and wells. This would lead to irrational reactions and panic on the part of the common people of the Christian majority society, that in turn, led to wholesale massacres of Jews in certain regions of Germany, Switzerland, France and Catalonia. In many cities in Western Europe, false confessions were extracted from both Christians and Jews under duress of torture that Jewish physicians and apothecaries had created satanic concoctions to poison the waters. The flagellants would also be involved in the blaming of the Jews. The insidiousness and mendacity of blaming the Jews for the plague reached the stage in which the Holy Roman Emperor, Karl IV, allowed

[348] DEVIA, Cecilia (2013). *Violencia y dominación Baja Edad Media castellana*, Tesis Doctoral. Facultad de Filosofías y Letras: Universidad de Buenos Aires, p 330-331. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª. (2016) *Los conflictos sociales en la Edad Media*. Editorial Síntesis, p 183-190 & p 265-327. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 117-118. OLIVEIRA MARQUES, A.H., *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, vol. IV da *Nova História de Portugal*. Editorial Presença: Lisboa, 1987, p 273-277 & p 505-532. MORENO, Humberto Baquero (1985). *Marginalidade e Conflitos Sociais em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV. Estudos de História*. Editorial Presença, p 14-18. HOLMES, George (1975). *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt (1320-1450*). The Harvester Press, p 125-133. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1975). *Historia de los Movimientos Sociales. Los conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Siglo XXI editores, p 82-139. HUIZINGA, op. cit., 1987, p 32.

[349] 582. CONFORTI, Maria (2018). La Peste Negra. In *La Edad Media, III. Castillos, mercaderes y poetas, Coordinador Umberto Eco*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, p 582. FOSSIER (2010), p 25. ABERTH (2010), p 133-153. BYRNE (2006), p 204-205. HUIZINGA (1987), p 187.

potential rioters to sack and seize Jewish property before any outbreak of the plague in their towns and cities. This occurred in Nuremberg, Regensburg, Augsburg, and Frankfurt. The violence got so out of hand that Pope Clement VI had to intervene twice on 4 July and 26 September 1348 [See Appendix III Chapter 3 to read the translation of the Papal Bull of Clement VI] and condemn the violence and state that the Jews were not responsible for the plague.[350] In a society continuously confronted and surrounded by despair, anxiety, death, torment, torture, an in-depth review of the anti-Jewish violence will be discussed in the next subchapter with a focus on the Iberian Peninsula.

3. C. Situation of Jews in Castile and Portugal, 1348-1352

According to José Amador de los Ríos in his *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal* the disease, which he dubbed *cólera-morbo* or *morbid-rage* hit Catalonia and Valencia first, then the Kingdom of Granada, Castile, the Algarve, the rest of Portugal, Galicia, the northern coast of Leon and Castile before reaching Navarre and then making its way inland. As a result of the disease's devastating effects on the population, Amador de los Ríos claimed that there was a radical change in the mindsets, morals and ethics of society's members. As the disease spread and claimed more lives, there was a spirit of despair and disparagement towards life.[351]

The Jews were accused of voluntarily causing and spreading diseases and epidemics. These accusations spread throughout Western and Central Europe during the first decades of the 14th century, reaching its zenith of hysteria in the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague of 1348 and the repeated cycles of reoccurrence of the plague thereafter. Many Christians viewed the plague as Divine Punishment for harboring the Jews, Christ killers, in their midst. In many places in Europe, the spread of the epidemic was reduced to magical potions, concocted by Jewish sorcerers with human blood and urine, poisonous herbs, frog legs and serpent heads, which were then diluted into a fetid black liquid. The Jews would then pour these potions into

[350] TRACHTENBERG, Joshua (2001). Ch. 4. A Jew is full of sorcery. In *The Devil and the Jews. The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its relation to modern Anti-Semitism*. VARDA Books, p 57-75; Trachtenberg discussed in depth and detail the reality and the fiction of the image of the Jewish sorcerer, magician, astrologer and alchemist in the medieval imaginary. Also see: p 102-105. ABERTH (2010), p 153-183. NIRENBERG, David (1996). *Communities of Violence Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press, p 231-249. JOST (2016), p 198-199. CONTI (2018), p 582. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 286-287.

[351] AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal,* t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 259-260, 262.

the waters of rivers, wells and fountains. However, these accusations would have consequences that were worse for the Jews than the blood libel allegations, as the Jews were not selecting a few young Christian boys for the false allegations of sacrificing them for their blood, but that the Jews were targeting the entire Christian population at large in order to bring their Messiah. Instead of a Jewish victim or two being executed, entire Jewish communities would be attacked and wiped out in France, Germany and Catalonia.[352] The absurdity of this claim included the belief that the Jews were somehow immune to the disease and reflects the gullibility and credulity of the ignorant, uneducated and misinformed masses of the majority dominant Christian society towards the minority Jewish social group. This last claim was an essential link of Jews and Judaism to witchcraft, sorcery and demonic rituals.[353]

Before continuing with a narration of events as they unfolded and their analysis, a brief summary of how the Jews were perceived by the majority Christian population must be outlined. Joseph Pérez, in his book *Los Judíos de España*, presented a different approach to the changes of mid-14th century and that the Jews prior to the mid-14th century were not abused by the majority Christian population to corner in, humiliate and eliminate the other religious minorities. For Pérez, there was something more concrete that was in play: *socio-economic and political disturbances (trastornos)* that had been taking place over a period of two centuries that would *come to the fore by the mid-14th century with the crop failures, famines and outbreak of the Bubonic Plague of 1348*.[354] According to Valdeón Baruque, it was in the 14th century that the relationship switched from one of *Convivencia* to simply one of *coexistence*. The Bubonic Plague of 1348 made matters worse for the Jews as they were

[352] ABERTH (2010), p 161-162, 173-176, 181-182. Aberth explained that the poisoning of waters accusations was not as religiously motivated as blood libel allegations. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2013). El miedo al judío en la España de la Edad Media. *Estudios de Historia de España*, Vol. XV, p 167. LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo: Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental*, t. 1. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto B. Arias Montano, p 111. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1998). *La Baja Edad Media Peninsular, Siglos XIII al XV: La Población, la Economía, la Sociedad* in *Historia de España: Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, vol. XII, p 294-295. TRACHTENBERG (2001), p 102-105.

[353] TRACHTENBERG (2001), p 57-75; Trachtenberg discussed in depth and detail the reality and the fiction of the image of the Jewish sorcerer, magician, astrologer and alchemist in the medieval imaginary. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2002). La historiografía hispano-hebrea. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, H. Medieval, t. 15, p 60-61.

[354] PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos en España*, 2ª edición. Marcial Pons Historia, p 107.

blamed for having infected the waters. As a consequence, the Jewish quarters in Cataluña were attacked.[355]

Here it is important to note the difference between what was *actually real and what was perceived to be real*. The majority Christian society already had an extremely negative perception of the Jew as a pariah or social outcast due to fact that the Jews never accepted Jesus as the Messiah and according to Church doctrine of Late Antiquity or early Middle Ages, the Jews were blamed for deicide for having crucified Jesus. The banning of Jews in Castile from holding land from 1293 to 1348 and leaving them with no other option than to dedicate themselves to crafts, artisanry, trade and finance as their means of sustenance further tarnished the image of the Jews, as these professions were viewed as unproductive and sterile.[356] The commercial success of certain Jews allowed them to amass financial wealth, which allowed them to lend money with interest, as the Church banned only Christians from lending money with interest but not the Jews. Notwithstanding, Castilian Jews only consisted of one-fifth of financial administrators as tax and rent collectors for the Crown and not a monopoly on this position as believed by the common people. Records from the mid-14th century onward, show that the Jews were recorded as rent collectors and treasurers but never as accountants or book keepers or as public treasury officials.[357]

Angus MacKay also supported the interpretation of *the dangers of what is "perceived" reality* and *what is actual reality.* MacKay pointed out that some Jews did play a significant role in finance, tax and rent collection and money-lending. And in terms of their relative

[355] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). El Siglo XIV: la quiebra de la convivencia entre las tres religiones. In *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos: De la aceptación al rechazo.* Ámbito Ediciones, p 125-148.
[356] MACKAY, Angus (1992). Los Judíos de España durante la Edad Media. In *Los Judíos de España*, Kedourie, Elie, ed., Editorial Crítica, p 28. MacKay also discussed the different types of professions and employment the Jews performed in order to make their living. Besides the stereotype of the Jews as being money-lenders, financiers or tax and rent collectors, the majority of Jews worked in different types of more humble professions. Many Jews owned or rented rural properties in the form of small farms, vineyards and orchards. Others had large flocks of sheep. Documentation from Calahorra from the 13th and 14th centuries reveal a dynamic real estate market, in which the Jews participated in the purchase, sale and renting of lands for cultivation of cereals, vineyards and orchards. These Jews dealt with parochial clergymen and Christian landowners.
[357] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2009). *La Hacienda Real de Castilla (1369-1504). Estudios y documentos*. Real Academia de la Historia, p 456-457, 511: "los judíos aparecen como recaudadores y tesoreros, nunca como contadores y oficiales públicos de la Hacienda; sólo como arrendadores, y esto no de una forma tan abrumadora." On p 519: "Los judíos castellanos… podían llegar a controlar una quinta o sexta parte de los arrendamientos de impuestos reales…. Por lo tanto, tuvieron un papel muy destacado, sobre todo en relación con lo exiguo de su número, y una actividad hacendística importante, pero menos de lo que se ha supuesto." PÉREZ, op. cit., 2005, p 118-119.

numbers compared to Christians and Muslims, who also were dedicated to these professions, the Jews represented a *higher proportion* of those represented in these categories in relation to their percentage of the overall population.[358] Nonetheless, as Fernández Conde pointed out, it was viewed that these rich Jews were weaving nets of economic dependence, in which noblemen and knights, who were short of money, would be caught.[359] Here investigators can see how the most updated research has discredited previous claims that the Jews dominated royal, noble and ecclesiastical finances. Such historians include Valdeón Baruque, Yitzhak Baer and Sánchez-Albornoz.[360] In other words, it was the successful projection of a distorted image of the Jews that was continuously transmitted to the Crown in the Cortes and to the common people and would help increase social tensions in a period of continuous meteorological/climatic changes, demographic and economic crises and that historians, most likely unwillingly, would perpetuate centuries later in the historiographic narrative.

In demystifying false legends, both Ladero Quesada and MacKay criticized past historians for painting an image of Jews as having a natural and innate talent for finances and banking. Even though the Church had forbidden Christians from lending money with interest (usury) and thus could not ban Jews in lending money, this argument is not completely convincing in explaining, as there were Jews who had absolutely no financial talent, as well as there were money-lending Christians. Ladero Quesada and MacKay suggested a more practical explanation using the family business as a base for the reason why certain Jewish families were more prone to finances: through direct observation of older family members, teaching, guidance and acquired experience, the heirs would inherit the business. This is based on the documentation, even though sparse, showing true financial dynasties over the centuries. Another myth to dispel was that the Jews did *not control* the larger or greater part of fiscal and financial transactions. In reality, it was the opposite. However, at the highest level of

[358] MACKAY (1992), p 29. MacKay mentioned the tax collector under Alfonso X, Selomó ibn Sadoc, who acquired huge tracts of land in the Seville region. His son also became influential in the court. MacKay also mentioned the financier Samuel ha-Leví, who was the royal treasurer under Pedro I in the mid-14th century. Nonetheless, these prominent Jews were only a tiny fraction of the actual Jewish population. LADERA QUESADA (2009), p 517.

[359] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 113.

[360] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos y la Revolución Trastámara*. Estudios y Documentos, Departamento de Historia Medieval, Nº 27. Universidad de Valladolid, p 64. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio (1956). *España, un enigma histórico*, p 206-277. BAER, Yitzhak (1966). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. II, p 250. As can be seen, these studies were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s and the most recent studies in the 21st century have discovered more documentation that has countered previous claims.

certain positions, specific Jews did have a high level of technical competence and talent that was unequal.[361]

Returning to the Bubonic Plague and its consequences, Joseph Pérez, George Holmes and John Aberth focused on the *psychological and social effects of the Black Death* and the *spread of irrational rumors about the role and responsibility of the Jews in the spread of the pandemic*. The popular panic led to uncontrolled reactions in Germany, in which groups of people would self-flagellate and attack Jews in order to apply the wrath of God. The most propagated rumor, however, was the tale that the Jews had poisoned the waters of the wells.[362]

Prior to the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague in 1348-49, Jews and Lepers had been burned alive in France in 1321 due to the use of false letters accusing the Jews of Toledo who had conspired with their religious brethren in France and the Moors (Muslims) of Granada and Morocco in poisoning the wells of Christian lands. The insidious rumor entered the Iberian Peninsula that same year via the Kingdom of Aragon, as a Christian was arrested in Teruel for having tossed poisonous herbs and powders into a well. The accused Christian, under torture claimed that two "Jews" had prepared the poisonous concoction. By 1348, the Jews were accused of having provoked the Black Death. The common person saw the purported "Christ killers" as the Sowers of the pandemic. What aggravated the situation, was how certain intellectuals launched their accusations against the Jews. One example was that of Alfonso de Córdoba, physician in Montpellier. As such, popular instinct was reinforced by the opinion of some intellectuals. It was through the correspondence of these medical figures throughout the Crowns of France and Aragon that the allegation of water poisoning spread. Compounding these false allegations were the writings of some of the chroniclers of the period, who added to the iniquitous accusations. One example was that of Jean de Venette in his *Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis,* in which he accused the Jews of poisoning the wells and waters and corrupting the air. In many parts of Western Christendom, the masses of the

[361] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2011). *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla (1252-1369)*, 2ª edición. Real Academia de la Historia, p 248. "A pesar de la escasez de datos hay algo que se puede afirmar, comparándolos con otras épocas posteriores: por mucho que fuese la importancia de aquellos financieros y arrendadores judíos, pertenecían todos a varios círculos familiares o de relación profesional muy restringidos en relación con el conjunto mismo de la comunidad judía." MACKAY (1992), p 29-30.
[362] HOLMES (1975), p 163. PÉREZ (2014), p 109-110. ABERTH (2010), p 153-156.

Christian masses, enraged at the supposed perversity of the Jewish minority, attacked and assaulted Jewish communities and massacred many of their members.[363]

Similar accusations were widespread during the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague, as it was widely believed that the Jews were responsible for the spread of epidemics. Such rumors were easily believed by the disoriented and credulous common people, who could not understand the apparently inexplicable spread of death, accompanied by the crisis in subsistence and a huge rise in prices. Not only did this crisis raise tension between the rich and the poor, lords and vassals and the king's treasurers and tax payers, but exacerbated the social tensions between Christians and Jews that had been previously fertilized by the diatribes of the clergy in the previous century. It all came together to present the Jew as absolute evil; whose mere presence unleashed the wrath of God.[364]

The Bubonic Plague of 1348 and its nefarious consequences on the population in general would have social-legal effects on the Jews. As a result of the many hardships and famine caused by the many "bad years" of poor harvests, the hardships due to the rise in prices, and the many deaths caused by the Bubonic Plague, played a large role in *the dissatisfaction of the popular masses and the Jews were simply blamed for them*. This was easy to do as they were both an unassimilated minority and an enemy religious group. As such, the *previously latent theological-ideological conflict would pass on to an open social conflict*. The decades-long crises that persisted in Western Europe in general and the Iberian Peninsula in particular led to the *intertwining of the broader socio-economic problems with the narrower and focused issues of blaming the Jews for the troubles of the period*. In terms of the Crown of Aragon, there were anti-Jewish pogroms in many Catalan localities. Anti-Jewish violence, *if not officially sanctioned, were viewed as escape valves for the lower layers of the common*

[363] ABERTH (2010), p 169-171, 180-182. Other physicians were Jacme d'Agramont from Lleida, Gui de Chauliac in Avignon, André Benedict, Vicar of Narbonne, who was in correspondence with Gerona, Roussillon and Cerdanya, as well as with Pedro el Ceremonioso, and Alfonso de Córdoba, who was stationed at the medical school of Montpellier and was in correspondence with the rest of the Crown of Aragon. It must be reminded that the Barony of Montpellier belonged to the Crown of Aragon until 1349. To read the correspondence including an analysis, read, LÓPEZ de MENESES, Amada (1959). Una consecuencia de la Peste Negra en Cataluña: el Pogrom de 1348. In *Sefarad*, año IX, fasc. I, p 92-97. For the printed version of the official documents from the royal chancellery, see the Appendices in fasc. 2 of *Sefarad,* IX, 1959, p 321-362. PÉREZ (2014), p 110. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones, p 25-26. NIRENBERG, David (2015). *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle* Ages, 2nd printing, New Paperback edition. Princeton University Press, p 200-226. TRACHTENBERG (2001), p 101-105.

[364] PÉREZ (2014), p 110.

people or popular masses to express their discontent. It is here, that Nirenberg and Aberth emphasize the role of secular and ecclesiastical leaders in propagating stories of poisoning by sorcerers and Jewish astrologers that would incite the mob against the Jews.[365] [See Appendix III, Ch. 3.C. for a discussion of the Persecution of Jews in the Crown of Aragon].

Cantera Montenegro explained the *misconstrued belief* that Jews were sorcerers by pointing out that any behavior considered as strange or different would immediately cause suspicion. One example from the early 14th century was the Jewish custom of tossing of a firewood into an oven used by Christians in order to bake bread. The origin of this custom comes from the Talmud that forbade Jews from consuming food cooked or prepared by gentiles. When Jews were forbidden in having their own ovens, rabbis allowed that a Jew could intervene in the process of baking bread in a Christian oven by symbolically tossing in a firewood into the oven. Many Jewish treatises in the 13th and 14th centuries dealt with the subject matter.[366] This would arouse suspicion by the common people of the Jews practicing sorcery and witchcraft.

Cantera Montenegro claimed that throughout the Middle Ages and for varying reasons, the *presence of the Jewish minority* constituted a *source of fear for the dominant Christian majority*. Their presence would create a *physical fear of causing bodily harm and even death*. The Jews would be perceived as the instigators of the spread of diseases and epidemics. Closely linked to this image was that of the Jews being sorcerers and magicians, poisoning waters to undermine Christian society, abducting Christian children for blood rituals and desecrating the Holy Eucharist. Cantera Montenegro asked to what extent were these fears instigated by higher spheres in order to incite the anger and hatred of the common people with the intention of using the Jews as scapegoats in determined situations.[367]

These accusations fit into Kappler's analysis of the *psychological role of the monster image in medieval imaginary*. Jews, as a fringe minority group in the greater dominant Christian society were viewed as different, threatening, secretive, suspicious and thus associated with evil, sinister creatures that were threatening to that same dominant majority Christian society.

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[365] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1985). *Teoría y Evolución de un Conflicto Social: El Antijudaísmo en la Castilla en la Baja Edad Media.* Siglo XXI, p 230. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1998), p 294. ABERTH (2010), p 181. NIRENBERG (2015), p 237-239.
[366] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2013), p 169-170.
[367] Ibid., p 187.

Due to the lack of formal education of the common people, from literacy to critical thinking skills, the average person, living in an environment of fear, was prone into believing the rumors that spread about the purported rituals committed by the Jews. There would be no need for evidence or actual culprits arrested committing the supposed acts. In the medieval imaginary, rumors sufficed to convince the average person living in a brutal world of fear.[368]

3.C.1. The Case of Castile

In Castile, there is little data that there were any assaults on the Jews, but León Tello believes that the Jews suffered as much as the Christians due to the documentation of the Cathedral of Toledo from that period stating that many houses were left empty of their inhabitants.[369] However, the dire consequences of the Black Death did not translate into violent attacks against the Jews. Ladero Quesada pointed out that the number of assaults on Jewish quarter in this period in the immediate aftermath of the spread of the first wave of the Bubonic Plague was insignificant when compared to the Crown of Aragón. These assaults were in Arjona in Upper Andalucía in 1350 and in 1354. The assaults on the Jewish quarters of Toledo and Cuenca in 1355[370] would be part of the Trastámara sponsored violence against the Jews as part of Count Enrique de Trastámara's campaign to seize the throne from his half-brother King Pedro I and which will be analyzed in the following chapter.

Valdeón Baruque asked the question if it was due to a smaller number of deaths in Central Castile and if it were the case, was it due to relative isolation and distance from maritime ports and the dry climate that made the spread of the disease less auspicious? Notwithstanding, Castile was still victim of a great demographic catastrophe. However, the popular masses of Castile did not unleash their ire on the Jewish minority community. Even though there was an assault on the aljama (Jewish quarter) of Seville in 1354, Valdeón Baruque claims that it was relatively late as a reaction towards the plague and that there were other important factors for the attack. Therefore, according to Valdeón Baruque, the well-established equation: spread of the pandemic in the mid-14th century = assault of the Jewish quarters did not have its correspondent response in Castile, *at least not in an immediate and obvious manner*. Nonetheless, the demographic fall would be used as an excuse used by the

[368] KAPPLER, Claude (2004). *Monstruos, demonios y maravillas a fines de la Edad Media*. AKAL ediciones-Serie Interdisciplinar, p 211, 217, 306-307, 316-320.
[369] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 112.
[370] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2019). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 2. Sociedad*. Editorial Dykinson, p 369.

Christians against the Jews in the future. The tremendous sense of insecurity engendered by the Black Death brought about a powerful stimulus towards further social tension, especially within the context of Jewish-Christian relations, in which many social, economic, political, religious and ideological factors converged.[371]

In terms of Toledo, historians have used the inscriptions of the tombstones of the Jewish cemetery as a reliable witness of the number of Jews who perished in this time period and their names. The development of the disease became most intense amongst the Toledano Jews between the summer of 1349 and the autumn of 1350. There are over 30 epitaphs from this period.[372] These epitaphs belong to the prominent families, which led León Tello to believe that the number of poor Jews was probably larger as they would not have the money to pay for such tombstones or that they were buried in common graves. To give an idea of the extent of human loss amongst family members, the Jewish community lost its Rabbi Yehudá Ben Asher, his wife Miriam and his two sons Hayim and Selomó amongst other family members.[373] (See the appendices 3.C.1. for the poem).

3.C.2. The Case of Portugal

In Portugal, as in Castile, there were no riots or assaults on the Jews registered. Besides the legislation passed in Leiria in 1349 and at the Cortes of 1352, there were no major issues with the Jews, such as mention of outbursts of violence against their community. As will be further analyzed, the Jews were encouraged to cultivate the land and earn their living from the fruits of their labor than to lend money at excessive rates. The desire was to push away the Jews from a despised activity of moneylending, that was viewed as unproductive and sterile, and to become more involved in a productive activity, such as agricultural production.

What stood out in the legislation of 1349 [fol. 157] was the word choice of the use of the terms "maliciously" and "with cunning", as well as in the acts of the Cortes of 1352, Article 4, [folio 35v-36][374] the use of the term "malice" in the description of how Jews wrote debt letters. Its message transmitted implied that the Jewish moneylenders, and to a greater extent the Jews as a community, were deceptive, conniving, double-dealing, swindlers with bad

[371] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, p 27.
[372] See the appendix to Chapter 3 to read the *Epitaph of Asher aben Turiel*, Toledo, Spain, 1349 as an example.
[373] León Tello (1979), p 113.
[374] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 126.

intentions to the "unsuspecting" Christian borrowers. However, upon further inspection of the many articles of legislation from the Cortes of 1352, investigators can find in Article 3 [fol. 33][375], how the refusal of Christian rural laborers to farm land was officially considered as an *act of malice*. As such, the loaded term "malice" was not reserved only for Jewish moneylenders in particular, but for anyone who would harm the wellbeing of the kingdom and its subjects in general, including the actions of Christian peasants.

Portuguese historiography has not discussed in depth the consequences of the Bubonic Plague on the Jewish community, perhaps due to a lack of period documentation. There is no mention if the Jews were suspected of having poisoned the waters or not. Little is known of large social transformations due to the crises[376], and as such discussed, if there were any long-term societal consequences on the Jews in a paradigm shift in how the Jews were viewed or treated.[377] As previously discussed, there was an increase in religious fervor and piety, including a surge in the flagellant movement. Most likely, no suspicions of the Jews poisoning the waters were raised on a broad societal scale worth mentioning from people of the period.

Armindo de Sousa and Carsten Wilke speculated that after the assaults on the Jewish quarters in 1348 in the Crown of Aragon that most likely fleeing Jews arrived in Portugal and enlarged the numbers of the Portuguese Jewish communities. Due to the increase of Jewish communities in Portugal, Sousa argued that the Portuguese had a greater capacity of tolerance than their Castilian [Aragonese-Catalan] neighbors.[378] According to Mª José Ferro Tavares, what acted as a preventive mechanism to the atrocious persecutions in the rest of the

[375] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV* (1982), p 125-126.
[376] OLIVEIRA MARQUES (2010), p 188.
[377] The works of A.H. OLIVEIRA MARQUES, such as *História de Portugal, vol. I, Das Origens ao Renascimento,* 2010 and *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, 1987, limited their discussion of the Jews in terms of their internal communal organization, their economic activities and localities where there were substantial Jewish presence. The same would apply for Bernardo VASCONCELOS e SOUSA in writing for Part I "Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)" in *História de Portugal*, 8ª ed., 2009, p 84. For that same period around 1348, Vitorino Magalhães GODINHO in his *Portugal: A Emergência de uma Nação*, 2009, did not even mention the Jews and any consequences for them as a result of the plague. Armindo da Sousa writing in the second part of *História de Portugal, vol. II, A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480),* mentioned how the plague had led to the state of social and moral degradation that were reflected in the Cortes of 1352, p 284.
[378] SOUSA, Armindo de (1997). *História de Portugal, vol. II, A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480),* Editorial Estampa, p 294. WILKE, Carsten (2009). *História dos Judeus Portugueses*. Edições 70, p 20.

Iberian Peninsula was, not only the inexistence of real separation between the religious communities, but the relatively favorable attitude towards Christian-Jewish relations.[379]

Mª José Ferro Tavares and Alice Tavares would further sustain that religious polemic and controversy was practically unknown in Portugal in the 14th century. The reason being that there is no existing documentation to indicate that they ever took place. There would be no public diatribes conducted by fanatical mendicant friars against the Jews in Portugal, as was occurring in the Crown of Aragon in this period asking for the destruction of Jewish quarters. Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão would support Ferro Tavares' argument that the Jews along with Christians and Muslims dedicated themselves to artisanry, crafts, commerce, and agricultural production. The Jews, would also dedicate themselves to the lending of money with interest. As time developed, Christians of the emerging mercantile burgher class would begin to see the Jews as economic rivals and would request the restrictions in their economic activities, especially in the excessive interests of their money lending. Legislation from the period, however, forbade all religious communities from engaging in usury practices and from writing or accepting usury contracts and not just singling out the Jews.[380] This is an indicator that mentalities towards the Jews had not hardened to the point of using physical violence against the Jews but in the recognition that such odious and despised practices of usury were being committed by all three religious communities and would be forbidden.

Nonetheless, François Soyer in his work, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*, dampened these positive views by presenting a more sober assessment of the situation of the Jews in Portugal in the late Middle Ages:

> it would be simplistic either to present an overly positive picture of the situation of Jews and Muslims or to draw a sharp distinction between medieval Portugal and its neighbours in its treatment of its religious minorities. As the recurrent complaints made by Christian burghers in the parliaments [Cortes] demonstrate, popular suspicion and prejudice were widespread…. Many of the elements that characterised popular anti-Jewish resentment in the rest of the Peninsula also existed in Portugal.[381]

[379] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2000). *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XIV*, 2ª edição. Guimarães Editores, p 101.
[380] SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação (1085-1415)*, 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 340-342. SOYER, François (2007). *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-97).* BRILL, p 70. TAVARES, Alice (2020). Literatura de Controversia Religiosa Judío-Cristiana Medieval en Portugal (Siglos XIII-XV): Estado De La Cuestión. Discursos Y Motivaciones. In *Perichoresis*, vol. 18.4, p 63-79. TAVARES (2000), p 152-153.
[381] SOYER (2007), p 82.

As previously discussed, the level of tolerance cannot be interpreted as a harmonious state between the Jewish minority and the Christian majority society in either kingdom. By the mid-14th century, legislation towards the Jews were similar, although not identical, in the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. We will see in the next chapters, how this situation would change in Castile and a gap would widen between the two kingdoms in their approach to their respective Jewish communities. In Castile, anti-Jewish legislation would intensify and become more acrimonious, along with the fact that the contender to the Castilian throne, Enrique de Trastámara would actively use an anti-Jewish campaign, not only inciting Christian mobs to attack and assault Jewish quarters in 1355, 1360 and 1366-1369, but to hold entire Jewish communities of Burgos and Toledo hostage and demand heavy ransoms for a million maravedis each (around 30,000 gold doubloons) under the threat of selling Jews into slavery.[382]

3.D. *Cortes* of Castile (1351) and Portugal (1352)

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the Bubonic Plague presented a turning point and watershed in the social ties, economic and political systems of Western Christendom in general and on the Iberian Peninsula in particular. As per the thesis, the focus will be on the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. This subchapter is dedicated to the legislation of the aforementioned Iberian kingdoms. What will be presented is the vast amount of harsh anti-Jewish legislation proposed by the municipal procurators in the *Cortes* of Castile of 1351 compared to those proposed by their Portuguese counterparts at the *Cortes* of 1352.

3.D.1. Cortes of Castile of 1351

Upon arriving to the throne, Pedro I continued with his father's (Alfonso XI) policies of centralization and monarchic authoritarianism. In order to accomplish this, the king relied on an ever-growing bureaucracy and well-trained civil servants and lawyers educated in Roman

[382] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (1991). *Crónicas*. Edición, prólogo y notas de José-Luis Martín. Editorial Planeta, p 145-146, 237, 239-241, 319-322. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 224-225, 241-243, 249-254. BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I. VARDA Books, p 364-367. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 33-34, 39-50. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 130-135. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 369. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 286-287. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (2016). El Mito del Filojudaísmo de Pedro I. Leyenda y Realidad. In *El rey don Pedro I y su tiempo (1350-1369)*. Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 119-121.

law, which would include Jews. This would be exploited by the members of the nobility and council members opposing the king's centralizing efforts.[383]

The newly crowned king, Pedro I summoned the *Cortes* at Valladolid in 1351.[384] The first *cuaderno* or notebook gave a long and exhaustive description of the calamities afflicting the kingdom, including the infamous *malfeitores* (evildoers) committing *malfetrias* and malefiçios (evil deeds) causing much death, destruction and robberies. The king responded that royal justice officials, including adelantados[385] and merinos were to apply the full force of the law against these evil doers.[386]

3.D.1.a. Castilian Cortes and the Jews

The *Cortes* involved many petitions and requests to the new king dealing with the minority social group of the Jews. Important to note in this Court that took place in Valladolid in 1351, was the petition of the Castilian municipal procurators in Ordinance Nº 66[387] to revoke King Alfonso XI ordinances forbidding both Jews and Christians in money-lending involving usury and allowing the Jews to purchase, inherit and sell land. It would seem that the dominant Christian majority social group did not want to compete with a skilled and competent socio-economic group in the monopoly of land, which in the mid-14th century was still the major source of wealth, in spite of trade, commerce and finance playing larger roles in the economy. Other ordinances dealt with the daily relations and rapport between Christians and Jews, to enforce the separation of Jews into separate living quarters, forbid Jews from using Christian names and wear jewelry and clothes that showed luxury and wealth. Disobedience of such measures would result in public flogging. [See Appendices I Ch.3 D. 1. for detailed analysis of the acts of the *Cortes* of 1351 and II for the charts].

These measures reflect the harshness and severity that the municipal procurators wanted to unleash on the Jewish community and that these measures were assented by the Crown. These legal efforts to *ostracize and marginalize Jews and Muslims even further*, not only provided the *language* of using physical harm onto other individuals outside of the Christian

[383] PÉREZ, Joseph (2004), p 52.
[384] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v.2 (1863). Real Academia de la Historia, p 1.
[385] *Adelantado* (mayor) Regional governor with military powers as well as some administrative functions.
[386] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v.2, (1863), p 2. The detailed approach in eradicating criminality and applying the rule of law were recorded on p 2-6.
[387] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, v.2, (1863), p 39.

majority, but that it gave *legitimacy of physical violence* towards these same minorities. [See Appendix I, Ch. 3.D.1 for the analytical breakdown of the discriminatory and restrictive Jewish legislation and Appendix II, Ch. 3.D.1 for the charts based on that analysis].

3.D.2. *Corte*s of Portugal

Portuguese legislation was not only recorded from the plenary sessions of the *Cortes of 1352* but in the *Livro das Leis e Posturas*, especially from the year 1349. As in the case of Castile, the legislative proposals and responses from the Crown reflect the pending issues of the day. In terms of the period from 1348-1352, many of these issues had to do with the high number of deaths due to the Bubonic Plague, the fall in labor supply, the increase in labor costs, the abandonment of many plots of land, the fall in agricultural production, increase in food prices, indebtedness of landowners, including the nobility, and the recourse of many to borrowing money at excessive interest from moneylenders. Here the *Livro das Leis e Posturas* – with a focus on the laws passed in 1349 – and the acts from the *Cortes of 1352* are the main sources of legislation for this period. Prior to the analytical breakdown of the discriminatory legislation towards the Jews, the precarious financial situation of the knights and lower nobility must be emphasized and how that linked to Jewish moneylending.

Through the *Cortes* of Lisbon of 1352, investigators can read further about the negative effects of the Bubonic Plague on the labor force and the abandonment of land. Many people had been reduced to begging and the major grievance is that purportedly the laborers preferred to beg than to work.[388] Jews are indirectly blamed for the hardships. It was argued that if they would cultivate their own land and abandon their onerous contracts with Christians, then things would be much better. Only the Crown did not see it that way, for if the Jews focused on cultivating land, instead of collecting taxes and rents, then the Crown's revenues would also decrease.[389]

3.D.2.a. *Portuguese Cortes and the Jews*

It must be reminded that the ecclesiastical construction of *otherness* or *alterity* of the infidel, especially in the case of the Jews, provided a useful ideological instrument that would be

[388] MARTÍN, José-Luis (1988).Cortes de Castilla y León y Cortes de Portugal. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. II. Cortes de Castilla y León. Ediciones Simancas, p 400-401.
[389] Ibid., p 402-403.

continuously used by municipal procurators in circumscribing the social, economic and political influence of the Jews. The purpose was to diminish or eliminate altogether, the socio-economic competition with the Jewish minority. The use of the term "infidel" was an effective psychological weapon and, as such, was often used by the municipal procurators within the institutional framework of Portuguese medieval courts.[390] Once again, the recurrent issue of Jewish moneylending and Christian indebtedness were among the many issues discussed at the *Cortes*. The king would ban moneylending as had been done in Castile in 1348. [See Appendices 3.D.2.a. for a detailed analysis of the discriminatory measures towards the Jews].

Once again, in dealing with a recurring issue of moneylending, the Portuguese monarch provided solutions to a complex problem. Not only by banning an economic or financial/credit activity that was despised, but by compensating those affected by royal court decisions through granting the right to conduct other economic activities so as to deal with any potential financial losses brought about by the decision to ban excessive debt contracts. Although Christian critics of such measures would accuse the monarchy in competing against and potentially pushing out Christian administrators and managers from running the royal estates and other domains, such official government decisions could have pushed back the image of the Jew as being solely a non-productive or unproductive individual who used and abused the financial weakness of indebted Christians in order to profiteer. This was an attempt at not only resolving the recurring problem and complaints of usury but in tearing down the negative image of a minority group of the king's subjects, who were positive assets for the king's finances. The attempt to break negative images of a marginalized minority group stalls or could even potentially stop the increase in intensity of such negative images in the collective mindset of the dominant majority Christian society. Perhaps these steps helped in reducing the overall dominant majority Christian society's animosity towards the Jewish minority and can help to explain why there were no violent outbursts against the Jews of Portugal in 1391.

The laws of 1349, as well as the entries into the Cortes of 1352 show that abuses were being committed by a number of different societal orders and not just by the Jews. The Crown

[390] BARROS, Mª Filomena Lopes de (2016). Judeus, cristãos e muçulmanos no Portugal Medieval. *Praça Velha: Revista Cultural da Cidade da Guarda*, Nº 26, p 41.

would order laws that corrected such abuses and that the appropriate measures be taken to enforce these laws by royal and municipal authorities. The language used by the Portuguese king, such as disobedience and malice, was applied to all subjects deemed as committing acts that were harmful and to the detriment of the wellbeing of the kingdom.

It is important to note the amount of fairness and equity mentioned in the Portuguese *Cortes* of how the Portuguese Crown was planning to punish members of the clergy that had committed crimes against people regardless of their faith. The legislation passed by Afonso IV was not solely concerned about restricting or marginalizing Jews, but rather in creating a system that was more equitable and accountable to its subjects, regardless of belonging to any particular social order or rank or religious community. In other words, the Portuguese Crown wanted to *equiparar* the religious minorities to the Christians in the rule of law and how those laws were to be applied through the appropriate official procedures. The king's concerns in addressing the abuses of the clergy, in spite of its privileged position in the medieval social order shows how he was willing to bring justice to his kingdom and reduce social injustice and tensions. Once again, some investigators and historians would argue that it was only due to political expedience of finding the opportune moment to reduce the amount of power and influence the Church had over society while increasing the centralizing drives of the king that motivated the Crown to take action. However, it was in the Crown's interest to maintain social order in light of living an era that was marked by socio-economic upheavals and political turmoil, including dynastic and civil wars throughout Western Christendom. Especially when one looks at the last date entries of 1352, which were four years after the outburst and spread of the Bubonic Plague and the years of famine and hunger due to bad harvests. It is not of little relevance that any sovereign would not make great efforts to maintain a balance in his kingdom by attempting to reduce social tensions.

3.E. Portuguese Chancelleries under Afonso IV

Unfortunately, there is a gap in the record of royal letters expedited by the king and recorded in the books of chancelleries from 1344-1356. Some historians have suggested that the Bubonic Plague ravaged the state apparatus and decimated the number of royal officials and that the notebooks were supposedly destroyed, perhaps burned, as it was believed back then

that they could have been possibly infected with the disease.[391] However, the claim only provides a partial explanation for the gap in official documentation, as the gap in documentation began prior to the outbreak of the Plague. Another hypothesis was the earthquake of 24 August 1356, in which the Castle of São Jorge and the Torre do Tombo, where the official royal documentation was kept, suffered heavy damage.[392]

However, from the period prior to 1345, the record showed a close rapport between prominent and wealthy Jews with the Portuguese Crown, as the king would dispense letters granting them favors, buildings or land to use. These documents helped transmit over time the types of professions that the mentioned Jews held. Some of these professions included: goldsmiths, cobblers or shoemakers, tailors, physicians and medics.[393] As an example from that period in which we have the chancelleries, there was the royal letter dispensed to Master Jacob of the City of Guarda on 5 August 1339 granting him dispensation from paying rent in the houses occupied on royal land for the services that Master Jacob rendered to the king. The sum amounted to fourteen and a quarter pounds.[394]

As such, one cannot simply dismiss the possibility that many letters were continued to be dispensed to all subjects of the Portuguese Crown, including the Jewish subjects, irrespective of the impact of the Bubonic Plague on the royal administration and subsequent deaths or the possible destruction of those records.

3.F. Synods in the Kingdoms of Portugal and Castile (1348-1352)

During the period from 1348 and 1352, there seems to be a silence in the documentary testimony of any synods having being held in the Kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. In fact,

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[391] HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1985) – *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Dissertação de Doutoramento em História da Idade Média, Apresentada a Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Porto, p 305-309. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1990) – *O Desembargo Régio (1320-1433)*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 218-221. OLIVEIRA da SILVA (2022), p 366.

[392] OLIVEIRA da SILVA (2021), p 367. PEREIRA, Gonçalo. "Crónicas do castelo de São Jorge" in *National Geographic Portugal 178* (janeiro de 2016), não paginado.

[393] SILVA, Manuel Santos (2016). Comunidades e Personalidades Judaicas ao serviço e sob proteção da Família Real: uma relação mantida desde os primórdios da monarquia portuguesa até finais do século XV. *Praça Velha. Revista Cultural da Cidade da Guarda*, Nº 36, p 56.

[394] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. Chancelaria de D. Afonso IV, vol. II* (1992). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 300.

many of the synods were held about 1346, two years prior to the outbreak of the first wave of the Bubonic Plague and would only reconvene in the 1350s or later. Perhaps there are several reasons for this gap in any recorded synods or any synods having taken place due to the deaths of clerics, their attention to their own congregations and not to travel to other localities where they would abandon their own congregations and even contract the disease and perish.

The chart in Appendices II, Ch. 3.F. will present the last synods prior to the outbreak of the pestilence in 1348 in the Iberian Peninsula and the first ones to convene after the first spread of the disease that *dealt with questions pertaining to the Jews*. However, there were synods prior to the outbreak of the plague and convened afterwards, but they did not deal directly with issues pertaining to the Jews. Rather they would deal with economic issues of unprepared clergy, concubinage and declining rents. They will be presented for the case of Portugal in the appendix of Chapter 3. Other synods were held decades prior to the Bubonic Plague or decades after the first wave of the Plague and will not be presented in this chart. The data presented below was based on the exhaustive and voluminous studies conducted by Antonio García y García and his team in over four decades of investigation.

3.G. Chronicles from Castile and Portugal on the Bubonic Plague

Both Portuguese and Castilian chronicles account of the year 1350, when the great pestilence spread over the areal and the people, where the siege of Gibraltar was taking place. It went on to say that people spoke of these spectacular deaths in Spain. It went on to explain how the king in his determination to continue with the siege became ill and without having the benefit of receiving medicine of many, died on Good Friday of 1350.[395]

However, these royal chronicles do not delve into any detail of the consequences of the plague across their kingdoms. Their main focus, as they were commended by the Crown, was to give an account on royalty only. However, they let us know the main actors and leaders in

[395] *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, 2ª edición (1787). Real Academia de la Historia, p 625. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 7-8. ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, liv. 99 [*Livro da Noa*], fl. 21v-22. SOUSA, António Caetano de (1986). *Provas da historia genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, I: Lisboa, 1739, p 383. RAU, Virgínia. *Estudos de História Medieval*, 1ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 159-160. RAU, Virgínia (1966) – Un document portugais sur la peste noire de 1348. *Annales du Midi : revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 78 :77-78, p. 331-334. BARCELOS, Dom Pedro, Conde de (2009). *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, ed. Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, vol. IV, 2ª ed. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 497.

a specific year (1350) and that the Plague had reached Castile two years prior or 1348. This allows historians to corroborate these same dates with other written accounts from the period.

In terms of giving a more focused view of the effects of the plague on a specific city, there are the *Annals of Seville* compiled by Ortiz de Zúñiga, in which the extent of sickness and death was caused by the lack of support, lack of cures, as well as by hunger and that it was not expected to be remedied as that year had been unproductive (sterile) and as such, there was no harvest to even feed one-third of the population. The weakness of the currency did not allow for the purchase and delivery of bread from afar.[396] See Appendix III, Ch. 3.G.

Portuguese documents from the city of Coimbra in 1348 consist of the *Livro da Noa* from the Monastery of Santa Cruz and the *Statutes* or *Constitutions* of the Collegiate of San Pedro de Almedina. According to the *Livro da Noa* from the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra the Bubonic Plague struck Portugal by September of 1348 and that two-thirds of the total population died from it.[397] The Statutes or Constitutions of the Collegiate of San Pedro de Almedina in Coimbra supported the arrival of the pestilence in Portugal in that same year. It claimed that only one-tenth of the population survived.[398]

Important from these entries is that both acknowledge, not only the year the plague reached (started/began in) Portugal (1348), but that they both recognized that the Plague caused much death throughout the world. Both seem to have exaggerated the amounts of deaths and survival rates. The former claiming that the Plague killed two-thirds of the population (perhaps that of Coimbra itself and not that of Portugal itself), whereas the latter claimed that not even a tenth of men and women survived. However, the second source presented that both the prelate and the cantor of the Collegiate succumbed to the Black Death.

However, manuscript P of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, that is believed to have been written around 1460, and is a summarized history of Portugal and Castile, neither mentioned the Bubonic Plague affecting either Portugal or Castile nor the cause of death of

[396] ORTIZ de ZÚÑIGA, D. (1988). *Anales de Sevilla*, t. 2. Sevilla. Imprenta Real, p 45.
[397] ANTT, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, liv. 99 [*Livro da Noa*], fl. 21v-22. SOUSA, António Caetano de. *Provas da historia genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, I: Lisboa, 1739, p 383. RAU, Virgínia (1986). *Estudos de História Medieval*, 1ª ed. Editorial Presença, p 159-160.
[398] RAU (1966), p. 331-334.

King Alfonso XI.[399] It limited to commenting that King Alfonso XI of Castile died in 1350 and that his eldest son had been acclaimed king.[400] See Appendix III, Ch. 3.G. for analysis.

Important from these entries is that both acknowledge, not only the year the plague reached in Portugal (1348), but that they both recognized that the Plague caused much death throughout the world. Both seem to have exaggerated the amounts of deaths and survival rates. The former claiming that the Plague killed two-thirds of the population (perhaps that of Coimbra itself and not that of Portugal itself), whereas the latter claimed that not even a tenth of men and women survived. However, the second source presented that both the prelate and the cantor of the Collegiate succumbed to the Black Death.

3. H. Jewish Chronicles from Castile on the Bubonic Plague

The Jewish or Hebrew chronicles presenting the events of the period from 1348-1352 provide a different interpretation of these events and who to lay blame on the assaults and massacres. The Hebrew chronicles, as established in the previous chapter, were not completely reliant on accurate historical information in terms of exact dates or numbers of victims, but rather provided moral lessons, exempla and novella to be drawn from these cataclysmic events that happened to the Jewish people.[401]

In the 16th century, the Sephardic chronicler, Yosef ha-Kohen, in his *Emeq ha-Bakha* or the *Valley of Tears,* narrated the events of the persecutions of 1348 in the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, as well as those of Germany, such as in Thuringia, Mainz, Münster and Vienna. In the particular case of Mainz, the burning of the Jewish quarters was so intense that supposedly the flames melted the bells of the cathedral.[402] Another Sephardic chronicler of the 16th century, Shelomo ben Verga, in his *Shebet Yehuda* or *The Staff of Yehuda*, strained to disprove these falsehoods lodged against the Jews in propagating the plague through the poisoning of waters. In Chapter 26 of his work, ben Verga presented the King of Aragon in

[399] BARCELOS, vol. IV (2009), p 497.
[400] Ibid, p 518.
[401] SHOAM-STEINER, Ephraim (2018). The Sources for Social and Institutional History. In *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Middles Ages-The Christian World* (The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 6), Cambridge University Press, p 307-310, 318-319, and 328-330. Shoam-Steiner's in-depth chapter is a well-researched and analytical text presenting the many different works and interpretations of medieval European Jewish intellectuals.
[402] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2013), p 167. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 111. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1998), p 295.

refuting such unfounded accusations by asking why the Jews would poison the same waters that they themselves drank. The king said that the river waters ran to the sea and that the waters that came later would not be poisoned. The king also pointed out that the affected victims showed no signs of having ulcers.[403]

From the two Hebrew chronicles available to us, the nature was more of high moral conduct and how, in the case of ha-Kohen's *Valley of Sorrow*, the cause of the events was the lack of faith in God that led to God's wrath. In the case of the Staff of Yehuda, although ibn Verga did write about the plague, where it ravaged Europe and about the false legends of the Jews poisoning the waters, he went astray in his narration of the common people appearing before the King of Aragon and discussing the plausibility or not of the Jews poisoning the waters, a situation, in which there is no other documentary evidence to support it.
See the appendices 3.I. for an analysis of the two Jewish chronicles.

Conclusion to Chapter 3

The Bubonic Plague would be an inflection point in Western Europe in general and the Iberian Peninsula in particular, after decades of socio-economic, demographic and production crises, caused in part by exhaustion of land, climatic change, fall in agricultural production, scarcity, which, in turn, would lead to famine and weakened immune systems. Hence paving the way for an epidemic to strike exhausted populations.

Once having struck, the wave of panic, fear, horror, terror and anguish struck the credulous and superstitious common people into believing the tales of Jews, lepers, sorcerers and astrologers, and sometimes all combined, into poisoning the waters into bringing down Christendom. The dangers with this new development of attacks on *others*, especially the Jews, was that it was no longer a theoretical or theological accusation of the Jews for being deicides and that had to be tolerated until conversion into the Christian fold or the accusation of a few individual Jews, who had been falsely accused of blood libel. Instead, the Jews were accused of trying to murder all Christians through the poisoning of the waters in order to destroy Christendom so that their Messiah could come and declare the Jews as rulers of the world. This most recent wild allegation had exaggerated and overinflated purported Jewish crimes into a magnanimous enterprise of gigantic proportions to exterminate all of

[403] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2013), p 167-168.

Christendom. This, in part, explained the fanaticism behind many of the Jewish persecutions and massacres throughout Central and Western Europe, including across the Pyrenees into Catalonia.

The spread of assaults and massacres in the Jewish quarters in Catalonia in 1348 was also a watershed in Iberian history, as it was the second time (Navarre the first in the 1320s) that such events occurred in such a mass scale and with such virulence and violence in the Iberian Peninsula. As seen, part of the reason for the spillover effect was the correspondence between royal officials, clerics, and doctors on both sides of the Pyrenees spreading the unfounded rumors of the disease being caused by the poisoning of the waters. Here, it seems that leadership played a fundamental role in the spread of falsehoods due to a lack of sufficient scientific and medical knowledge in an age where superstition and false information was easily believed.

In terms of the actual legislation from the *Cortes* of both kingdoms, not only is there mention of the social impact and economic hardships suffered by the subjects, but the demand by Castilian procurators for the new king, Pedro I, to revoke his father's ban on lending money, so as to finance economic endeavors to increase production of goods. Another petition from the municipal procurators was for the king to forgive all money lent from the Jews. The king, however, realizing that the plague had also weakened the Jewish community and not wanting to financially ruin them, rejected the petition and only forgave one-quarter of the debt. When the municipal procurators requested yet another moratorium on debt, the king rejected it, as it would only increase interest rates accrued. The legislation also dealt with many peasants refusing to work the land for certain amounts of salaries and wages. The Crown would establish wage controls for different professions. It seemed in that era of panic, confusion, horror and death, the Crown was an anchor of stability, caution and reason in trying to resolve the many issues afflicting the realm.

As in the case of Castile, the legislation in Portugal also reflected the dire social and economic situation in which the kingdom found itself. The legislation of 1349 discussed laws regulating labor and the debt issues. As in Castile, Portuguese land laborers refused to work under a certain amount of money. As a result, the land was left fallow and food production sank and food prices rose. Coupled with the economic situation, was the financial situation of outstanding debt, including that of the knights. In many instances, knights had pawned their

weapons, horses and armor. In the *Cortes* of 1352, the municipal procurators complained that the cities and towns were less populated than before. As a result, there was less economic activity, less rents and less taxes paid. As in the Laws of 1349, the *Cortes* presented to the king the issue of many rural laborers refusing to work for certain sums of money and as a result, the land was still left fallow and food production had plummeted and food prices soared. The king declared such actions committed by rural laborers as acts of "malice".

In terms of the Jews, the municipal procurators in 1349 and in 1352 had petitioned that the king put an end to Jews and Muslims demanding more money than actually written in the debt contracts. The king reminded the *Cortes* that not only the Jews but that there would always be men, who would abuse their situation through cunning and malice. The importance of this message cannot be downplayed, as the king equated the actions committed by Christian rural workers of refusing to work the land and the action of committing usury as both acts of malice. The king also recognized that usury was committed by men in general and not just the Jews and forbade all confessions from committing such reprehensible and illegal acts. This message would reinforce the more neutral collective mindset and imaginary in Portuguese society of the period and maintain a relative peaceful attitude and stance towards its Jews when compared to the other Iberian states at the time.

As has been seen from the previous chapter, there seems to have been no evidence of polemic disputes in Portugal between the religious communities, little to no anti-Jewish literature and Portuguese legislation dispensed by the Crown was relatively free from accusatory declarations and inflammatory rhetoric from the side of the monarch. Although Castile in the first half of the 14th century was free from physical violence, the intensity of the anti-Jewish legislation increased, in spite of the attempts of the Castilian king to dampen the excessive demands of the municipal procurators. The demand to allow Castilian Jews to practice the odious moneylending activity at the *Cortes* of 1351 would lead to further and continued stigmatization of the Jews as being exploitative agents of the Christian majority. It would lead to further tension and resentment of the Christian majority. This negative image would be exploited by the mid-1350s onwards by Enrique de Trastámara and his entourage for political gain in his quest for the throne. As explained by López de Meneses, Nirenberg and Aberth for Catalonia in 1348, the negative imagery and false narratives would be used to encourage the commoners to move to violence against the Jews. The second half of the 14th

century would develop differently in Castile than in Portugal and the fate of the Jews in the former would turn for the worst.

CHAPTER 4. TURMOIL IN CASTILE AND STABILITY IN PORTUGAL, 1352-1369

4.A. Castile and Portugal, 1352-1369

4.A.1. Castile: Dynastic War and massacre of the Jews

The political tensions between the Crown and nobility would continue during the reign of Pedro I (1350-1369). In fact, the dynastic wars of succession would reignite by the fifth year of his reign. As previously discussed, the conflict between the nobility and Crown had started during the last years of the reign of Alfonso X in the last quarter of the 13th century and would continue with some reprieves throughout the 14th century until the last quarter of the 15th century.[404]

Pedro I, known either as the *Cruel* or the *Executor*, depending on the bias of the chroniclers, had a complex and conflictive personality, which would lead to a contradictory form of governing, which would be filled with violence.[405] From the beginning of his reign, the young king Pedro I, who was not even 16 years old, was surrounded by resentful siblings, who were the offspring from a Sevillian noblewoman, Leonor de Guzmán. The former king, Alfonso XI, had showered his illegitimate children with many positions, domains and titles, as it was reputed that he preferred their mother over the legitimate queen, Maria of Portugal. Pedro I, in order to assuage his siblings' resentment, awarded them with more titles, which he was warned not to do. However, this did not suffice, as the relationship between Pedro I and his other siblings, especially the Trastámara twins, Enrique and Fadrique became more tense.[406] Compounding the situation would be the two outbreaks of the Bubonic Plague in

[404] GONZÁLEZ ALONSO, Benjamín (1988). Poder regio, Cortes y Régimen Político en la Castilla Bajomedieval (1252-1474). In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, v. II. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla y León, p 203-205.

[405] QUINTANILLA RASO, Mª Concepción (2016). La nobleza señorial en la Castilla Pretrastámara: Actitudes regias y reacciones nobiliarias en el reinado de Pedro I. In *El rey don Pedro I y su tiempo (1350-1369)*. Manuel García Fernández (coord.). Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 103-104. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ, César (2012). *Poder real y poder nobiliar en la Corona de Castilla (1252-1369)*. Universidad del País Vasco, p 167-168.

[406] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2005). *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV. Política y cultura*. Editorial Síntesis, p 31-32.

1363 and 1367, which, although would not cause as many deaths as in 1348-1350, would still create desperation and uncertainty in Castilian society during the political struggle.[407]

As one of his first official acts, the young king called for the convening of the Cortes in 1351. It seemed that the new king would go off to a good start, as he listened to the petitions of the three estates. Pedro I paid heed to the petitions of the municipal procurators to revoke the ordinance forbidding moneylending as many subjects needed financing for business projects as a means of getting out of the economic crisis.[408] However, the new king would also display his arbitrary and tyrannical tendencies that same year. Scheming with his mother, Pedro I had his siblings' mother, Leonor Guzmán, arrested and then murdered that same year. This caused further resentment from his siblings.[409] By 1353, he would marry Blanche de Bourbon, sister of the king of France, but the day after his wedding, King Pedro I went to his mistress, María de Padilla, which shocked the nobility, and increased his isolation.[410]

As will be seen, the violence developed by the young monarch towards the nobility, either through its disobedience, neglect of duties or the mere suspicion of such, was shaped by numerous and frequent arbitrary threats, persecutions and executions by the king. Through his efforts of centralizing the state and imposing his will over the nobility and its political role, Pedro I's tendencies became more absolutist in his obsession with neutralizing or even crushing the nobility as a political force. Even though there had been decades of violence between the Crown and competing rival noble families since the end of the 13th century, Pedro I created a culture of fear and terror during his reign that went beyond the measures

[407] MACKAY, Angus (1977). *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*. MacMillan Press, p 168.
[408] PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos en España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcial Pons: Ediciones de Historia, p 121.
[409] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2016). La Revolución Trastámara. In (Capítulo 30) *Historia de España de la Edad Media,* 6ª impresión. Coord. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela. Editorial Ariel, p 670.
[410] FORONDA, François (2013). *El espanto y el miedo. Golpismo, emociones políticas y constitucionalismo en la Edad Media*. Editorial Dykinson. The work is divided into three chapters: "Apoderarse del Rey (Un ritual de integración política en la Castilla trastámara)"; "El Miedo al Rey" (Fuentes y primeras reflexiones acerca de una emoción aristocrática en la Castilla del siglo XIV)"; y, "Emoción, contrato y constitución". According to Foronda [p 17-18], it had become habitual for the Castilian nobility since the end of the 13th century onward to "seize" the king as part of a historical development between two competing socio-political developments between the Crown and the nobility. On the one hand, there was the ambitious royal program under Alfonso X of an imperious and majestic sovereignty of the Crown, while, on the other hand, an increasing territorialization of aristocratic power. The two would compete for hegemony until the end of the 15th century. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2005), p 32.

taken by previous monarchs during those conflicts.[411] François Foronda argued that most likely Pedro I leaned on the legal foundation of some of the titles from the Alfonsine *Siete Partidas* in his application of fear and violence.[412]

In her approach to fear and horror, Quintanilla Raso, limited her study on Pedro I, but did not apply her analysis to the king's half-brother, Count Enrique de Trastámara, who would also weaponize the use of fear, terror and the application of violence in achieving his political objectives. González Mínguez and François Foronda, on the other hand, applied the use of fear, terror and violence by Enrique de Trastámara to the king and the Jews in their study of the period.[413]

However, when studying this period, one cannot merely view the Crown as the sole culprit to the outbreak of armed conflict. Benjamín González Alonso compared the nobility as birds of prey (*aves de rapiña*) with an insatiable appetite for wealth, land and power. They would develop their program over time that would articulate their hegemonic role in Castilian society. However, he reminded the reader that the social conflict by the mid-14th century was not only between the nobility and the Crown, but also amongst the different orders of medieval society in order to achieve estate primacy. The municipal procurators would become frustrated over time with the lack of convening of the Cortes and would also struggle to achieve its political objectives of a greater political role in the affairs of the state.[414]

4.A.2. Castilian Jews as Target of Enrique of Trastámara

In 1355, Count Enrique tried his first attempt at overthrowing his half-brother, King Pedro I by laying siege on Toledo. Pedro I came to lift the siege and Enrique had to flee Castile. As part of Enrique's campaign against his half-brother, he used anti-Jewish propaganda and

[411] QUINTANILLA RASO (2016), p 103-104. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 171-173.
[412] FORONDA (2013), p 21.
[413] Ibid., p 23: In the chapter called "Apoderarse del rey" (Seizing the king), Foronda discussed how chancellor and chronicler, López de Ayala in his *Rimado de Palacio*, preached to the noblemen in how to take power from the Crown – by seizing the king as if they were seizing a town. See: LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. Rimado de Palacio. Edición de Germán Orduna. Editorial Castalia: Madrid, 1991, p 246-256, verses [656-717]. The issue, according to Foronda, was that López de Ayala was attempting to normalize the practice of overthrowing kings. In the final chapter, on pages 147-148, Foronda would continue in his analysis of the difference between fear, horror and terror. He would argue that "temor" is a fear out of disrespect to someone you might respect or towards a deity. It is something positive. Whereas "miedo" is the type of fear in which humans live during complete uncertainty of what might come their way. Such emotions are associated with fear of torture or death. This Foronda considers as negative.
[414] GONZÁLEZ ALONSO (1988), p 204-205.

allowed the rabble to attack unprotected Jewish quarters of Alcana in Toledo, in which it was reported by the official court chronicler, Pero López de Ayala, that 1200 Jews were massacred.[415] This shows how the Trastámara camp was using fear, terror and violence as a political tool in order to achieve its political aims and that such methods were not just restricted to Pedro I.[416]

As Enrique de Trastámara could not dethrone his half-brother through his own merits, he recruited the military assistance from Bertrand Du Guesclin and his mercenaries in exchange for future Castilian assistance in the dynastic war of the Valois of France against the Plantagenet of England, especially in the use of the Castilian fleet. Pedro I, for his part, would recruit the support of the Black Prince, heir to the English throne, in his endeavors against his half-brother Enrique. Castile, as a result, would be dragged into the trans-Pyrenean dynastic conflict that would be known as the Hundred Years War.[417]

In 1360, Enrique tried once again in overthrowing his half-brother with the support of the French monarchy, that felt slighted that the French king's sister had been slighted with Pedro I's repudiation of his wife for this mistress. The French king sent one of his best generals' Bertrand Du Guesclin and an army of mercenaries to combat Pedro I. However, once again Enrique was defeated at the Battle of Nájera.[418] Once again, Enrique, in an attempt of gaining popular support, used anti-Jewish propaganda against the king, by claiming that he was supposedly a Jew, who had been swapped at birth and therefore had a predilection for the Jews. Enrique was simply capitalizing on the pre-existing animosity towards the Jews that had remained on the surface and wanted to exploit it to his advantage by allowing the rabble to release its resentment towards the Jews. The Jewish quarters that were sacked and Jews massacred under Enrique's auspices were Nájera and Miranda de Ebro.[419]

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[415] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (1991). *Crónica de Don Pedro* in *Crónicas*. Edición, prólogo y notas de José Luís Martín. Editorial Planeta, p 145-146.
[416] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 175-176. After the recapture of Toledo, Pedro I once again went on a rampage of further executions of the nobility. According to González Mínguez claimed that it was during this conflict that the major traditional noble families became extinguished between the battles and the executions. Such families included: Lara, Haro and Meneses.
[417] HOLMES, George (1975). *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt, 1329-1450*. The Harvester Press, p 61-62. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Enrique (1975). *Los Conflictos Sociales en el Reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Siglo XXI España editores, p 21. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2014). *Historia de la España Medieval*. Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, p 350. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ (2009), p 47-51.
[418] MONSALVO ANTÓN (2005), p 33.
[419] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 239-241. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2007). *Cristianos, Judíos y musulmanes*. Editorial Crítica, p 95. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2016), p 680-681.

In 1366, Enrique and his supporters re-entered Castile via Navarre and was acclaimed king on 16 March in Calahorra. He would then proceed to Burgos, where he was crowned king in April. In the meantime, King Pedro I left the realm and went via sea to Guyenne, English-occupied France, where he met with Prince Edward, the Black Prince, and made a pact to fight against Enrique de Trastámara and his French mercenary allies under Du Guesclin. Due to Pedro I's abandonment of the kingdom, many Castilian noblemen, including Pero López de Ayala and his father, defected to the Trastámara camp. However, the English participation with their longbowmen would determine the outcome of the major encounter at Nájera on 3 April 1367, in which the Trastámara forces were completely annihilated. Du Guesclin and Pero López de Ayala, amongst many other noblemen, were captured. Enrique, once again, would have to flee from Castile in order not to be taken prisoner and take refuge in France. Pedro, true to his contemptable behavior, fell into his habitual cruelty and began to execute all opponents. This was one reason that estranged the Black Prince from Pedro I.[420]

By the beginning of autumn 1367, Enrique de Trastámara would re-enter Castile and would regain support from most of Castile by the beginning of 1368. By April 1368, Enrique de Trastámara laid Toledo under siege. Pedro I received help from the Emir of Granada and a Moroccan prince besieged Córdoba and laid waste to Andalucía as part of their campaign against Enrique. However, the devastation caused by Pedro and his Muslim cohorts, fell into the propaganda campaign of Enrique that Pedro preferred infidels, such as the Jews and Muslims, over Christians. The final battle between the two rival kings occurred at Montiel on 14 March 1369. At the battle, Pedro I was defeated and withdrew to the fortress at Montiel. On the night of 22-23 March, lured into negotiations with Du Guesclin, an overconfident Pedro I was trapped between the French marshal and his half-brother and murdered. Castile had only one king, Enrique II of Trastámara and a new dynasty would begin.[421]

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[420] CABRERA SÁNCHEZ, Margarita (2016). Una Etapa de Autoritarismo. In Cap. 29, *Historia de España de la Edad Media,* 6ª impresión. Coord. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela. Editorial Ariel, p 663-664. MANZANO MORENO, Eduardo (2015). *Historia de España, vol. 2. Épocas Medievales*. Marcial Pons/Editorial Planeta, p 575-576.

[421] ROTH, Norman (2020). Jews and the Trastámara Civil War. *Iberia Judaica XII*, p 151-152. CABRERA SÁNCHEZ (2016), p 664-665. MANZANO MORENO (2015), p 576. MACKAY, Angus (1977). *Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire: 1000-1500.* MacMillan Press, p 174-175. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2017). *España a finales de la Edad Media. 1. Población. Economía.* Editorial Dykinson, p 46. The end of the conflict had seen the eclipse of the older aristocratic families, such as the Haro and Lara due to the many deaths on the battlefield and Pedro I's executions. In their stead, new aristocratic families would emerge that would be rewarded handsomely by Enrique II, such as the Velascos, Ayalas, Pachecos, Mendozas and Manriques.

What has been noticed in this analysis of Castile, is an increase in the amount of violence since the last quarter of the 13th century and would worsen by the second half of the 14th century. This *increase in the use of violence as a means of causing fear, horror and terror in achieving political gains* would *not be limited to the actual political actors involv*ed, such as the Crown and the nobility, but in *including unarmed commoners in villages*, as was the case during the minority rule of Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, but especially *selecting the Jews as a political target by the mid-14th century during the dynastic war between Pedro I and Enrique de Trastámara*.

Within a Western European context, the upheavals in Castile did not occur in a vacuum. During this period, there were social upheavals occurring throughout Western Europe, especially in France. The major social conflict of this period would be known as *la Jacquerie* of 1358. These outbursts of social protests consisted of armed peasants attacking the seignorial classes and their agents that were characterized by uncontrolled acts of violence.[422] They would form a tacit alliance with the prominent burghers of Paris led by Étienne Marcel, who wanted more accountability in governance and wanted to play a greater role in the administration of the kingdom. It was *political weakness, military disasters* of Crécy and Poitiers, *economic hardships* and *social instability and insecurity* had forced the peasants to form a movement that would try to deal with the kingdom's internal chaos and disorder. In fact, it was mostly a response to the *pillaging of armies* and the *lack of protection from their own leadership* that led the peasants to form these self-defense groups. In the eyes of the people, the *feudal lords had failed to protect the king, the Crown's subjects and the realm from foreign occupation*.[423] It would finally collapse from within due to dissension of the

[422] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José María (2016). *Los conflictos sociales en la edad media*. Editorial Síntesis, p 197. The Carmelite Jean de Venette pointed out that even before the rebellion the nobility would mock the peasantry and humble people by calling them Jacques Bonhomme. These men would wear doublets known as *Jacques*, from where the term *Jacques Bonhomme* derived. With the time, the nickname would oscillate between contempt and compassion. The term would become the archetype of the oppressed peasant, who would rise up in collective anger and transform it into a bloody struggle of accumulated rage based on past economic exploitation and humiliations. This is not limited particularly to France but is a universal human trait against tyranny, the abuse of power and oppressive domination that is timeless, irrespective of the Middle Ages or modern times. FREEDMAN (2008), p 97. HOLMES (1975), p 23-24, 128. CONTAMINE, Philippe. *La Guerre de Cent Ans*, 7e édition corrigée. Que sais-je. PUF : Paris, 1994, p 42-43. DEMURGER, Alain (1990). *Temps de crises, temps d'espoirs : XIVe-XVe siècle*. Éditions du Seuil, p 29-30.

[423] CONTAMINE (1994), p 19. DEMURGER (1990), p 20-21, 24-25, 30. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), pp 198-199. HOLMES (1975), p 127.

burghers of Paris, who wanted order and peace, as well as the nobility finding its unity and crushing the peasantry in open combat.[424]

Although under no circumstances were the two cases identical, there was a deeply rooted resentment towards privilege and any group that enjoyed entitlements. In contrast to the case of *La Jacquerie*, the contender to the Castilian throne, Enrique de Trastámara, would abuse the existence of popular discontent and direct it against the Jews. In his open conflict against the legitimate king, Pedro I, Enrique de Trastámara would unleash the mob's anger as both an *escape valve of social discontent*, as well as weakening the king's position by associating him with a despised social group – the Jews that was perceived as entitled and privileged. However, Enrique's policy of encouraging Christian mobs to sack and pillage Jewish quarters, while thinking that he could keep it under his control as if he were moving chess pieces on the chess board of dynastic war, would prove to be a gamble of high risks, as he would discover during the assembly of the municipal procurators of 1366 and at the Cortes of 1367, as well as after the conflict throughout his reign, that the intense anti-Jewish hostility had become irreversible.[425] A detailed study of it, however, would be beyond the focus and scope of this thesis.

4.B.1. Portugal: Stability for the Jewish community

The final years of Afonso IV saw the kingdom ravaged by a short-lived armed conflict with the Crown Prince, Dom Pedro, an earthquake and a second outbreak of the Plague (1355-1356) coupled with bad weather, which ruined harvests and caused widespread hunger.[426] However, the kingdom of Portugal throughout the reign of the new monarch, Pedro I (1357-1367), did not go through a dynastic war as in Castile, although it did have its issues with conflict, political intrigue and murder, and executions under the final years of the reign of Afonso IV and the reign of Pedro I, who was also known as either *Cruel* or *Executor*, depending on the historiographic interpretation. King Pedro I's reign was also a period, in

[424] MINOIS (2016), p 192-194. DEMURGER (1990), p 31-32. CONTAMINE (1994), p 42.
[425] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Estudios y Documentos. Departamento de Historia Medieval. Universidad de Valladolid, Nº 27, p 37-38, 46, 49, 58-60. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2004). Capítulo X: Judíos. El antijudaísmo violento: el siglo XIV. In *Economía y Sociedad en la España medieval, Historia de España IX*. Ediciones Istmo, p 396-397. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2019). Los judíos de Castilla ante el cambio de dinastía. *Memoria y Civilización: Anuario de Historia. Revista del Departamento de Historia*. Universidad de Navarra, 22, p 157-158.
[426] MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV, vol. IV da Nova História de Portugal*. Dirigido por Joel Serrão e A.H. de Oliveira Marques. Editorial PRESENÇA, p 505.

which there were no wars with Castile. He would also implement measures in the attempts to improve the agricultural situation in Portugal in response to the detrimental effects of the Bubonic Plague. King Pedro I would continue the development of the royal administration and the effectiveness of the tribunals. He also was responsible for an intense and varied legislation during his reign, including the regulation of pastures, protection of agriculture, the discrimination towards the Jews, persecution of witches and exaggerated and cruel punishments.[427]

Upon becoming king in May 1357, Pedro I would show his incalcitrant stance on justice, which would be considered by many as excessive to the point of being called cruel. He would not desist in his quest for justice until punishing those, who committed crimes, which often was through paying with their lives. Many Portuguese historians have considered Dom Pedro's pathological obsession with the application of harsh, crass, cruel and draconian methods in punishing people of their crimes as a sign of moral depravity, insanity, sadism, neurosis and being cyclothymic. It was this obsession of pursuing justice that made the king also the *executioner*.[428] In a case of incalcitrant justice sentencing, the king would order the slitting of the throats of two of his favorite courtesans for having murdered a Jewish merchant and then having denied their crime (1364?).[429] It must be reiterated that the Jews in Portugal, as in Castile, belonged to the king and were under the Crown's jurisdiction. Anyone harming a Jew, in principle would be harming the royal patrimony.

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[427] LOPES, Fernão (2007). *Crónica de D. Pedro*, 2ª edição. Edição de Giuliano Macchi. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 3-6, 24, 26, 41. SERRÃO, Joachim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal, v. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação [1080-1415]*, 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 279. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, Bernardo (2015). *História de Portugal, 1ª Parte – Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)*, 8ª edição. Rui Ramos (Coordenador). A Esfera dos Livros, p 128. MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira (2010). *História de Portugal, vol. 1. Das Origens ao Renascimento*, 14ª edição. Editorial Presença, p 206. SOUSA, Armindo de (1997). *História de Portugal, 2º vol. A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Editorial Estampa, p 409, 411. MARQUES (1987), p 505.

[428] MARQUES (2010), p 206. SOUSA (1997), p 409. SERRÃO (2001), p 279. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2015), p 126. LOPES (2007), p 23-26, 27-45. The Portuguese chronicler, Fernão Lopes, would state that no one, in spite of their money or power, would escape the king's justice. Pedro I banned lawyers and justices from accepting gifts from clients, so as to avoid cases of bribery and arbitrariness. In one instance, the case of Master Gonçalo das Degrataaes, the king banished him and degraded his sons from their original social status. Afterwards, the king ordered that anyone found guilty of accepting bribes would be sentenced to death and his belongings confiscated and given to the Crown. the torture of the Bishop of Porto, D. Afonso Pires, for having an affair with a married woman (1360 or 1363); castration of the squire, Afonso Madeira for also sleeping with a married woman; the burning at the stake of the adulterous wife of the merchant, Afonso André; the hanging of the husband of Maria Rouçada for continuously raping her; the beheading of the squire Álvaro Rodrigues de Grade (1360 or 1363); the hanging of the treasury squire for receiving eleven pounds in the absence of the treasurer; the slitting of the throat of a squire, nephew of João Lourenço Bubal; the persecution and near execution of admiral Lançarote Pessanho; and finally the execution of, Pedro Coelho and Álvaro Gonçalves, the murderers of Ines de Castro.

[429] SOUSA (1997), p 409-410. SERRÃO (2001), p 280. LOPES (2007), p, 27-30. MARQUES (2010), p 206.

Notwithstanding, Pedro I of Portugal was popular among the masses, perhaps due to his "democratic" application of justice, in which the powerful and the rich were not immune to the Crown's justice and its execution. The people preferred a king that was harsh but blind in the uniform application of the law. The king was not only above the people but also above the nobility and the clergy. As such, like Pedro I of Castile, much of his rule was based on fear and coercion.[430] However, unlike Pedro I of Castile, who was focused on one group of people in his efforts to neutralize, if not eliminate, certain aristocratic families, Pedro I of Portugal applied the rule of law, justice and its execution on a more even and equal basis.

4.B.2 Royal Policy towards the Jews in Portugal

In terms of the Jews, Pedro I of Portugal did not use them as a target of his campaigns against his rivals as did Enrique de Trastámara. Even though Pedro I would rise up against his father, Afonso IV, after the murder of Inés de Castro, he did not use the Jews as a political target against his father to rally support from the lower rungs of society. In fact, he would apply his draconian sense of justice on the murderers of a Jewish merchant. As will be analyzed in the subchapter dedicated to the chronicles, the king would have the throats of two of his favorite courtesans slit for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant. Once again, the king's harsh but swift justice would be applied to all criminals (evildoers), regardless of their social rank.[431]

As mentioned earlier, his rulings of breaches of the law could be harsh, if not excessive. If a Jew had made contracts or debt letters that involved usury, then the Jew would be put to death.[432] However, if the contracts or debt letters were correct, the indebted Christians still had to repay their debts, even if repayment required an extension.[433] As will be seen in the subchapter dedicated to the *Cortes*, in 1361 Pedro I of Portugal did require that Jews and Muslims (Moors) live in their specified quarters and not to leave them after sunset. In 1366, he imposed draconian restrictions on intimate relations between the religious confessions. Nonetheless, he would also respect their dietary rules and the need for their own butchers. That same year, King Pedro I told the municipal magistrates and authorities of several

[430] SOUSA (1997), p 409-410. SERRÃO (2001), p 280.
[431] LOPES (2007), p 27-30.
[432] *Cortes Portuguesas Reinado de D. Pedro I* (1986). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 36.
[433] Ibid., p 48.

Portuguese localities not to compel or force [constrain] the Jews in providing horses and weapons for military service and that they did not have to watch over prisoners. As per royal privileges granted in 1366, Jewish merchants, who travelled long distances, had the right to ride horses and bear arms.[434] This might have to do with the episode of the Jewish merchant, who was robbed and murdered by the king's own courtesans in 1364 as recorded by the royal chronicler Fernão Lopes.[435]

Pedro I of Portugal, as his Castilian nephew, followed established policies of former Portuguese and Castilian rulers and did not persecute the Jews like Enrique de Trastámara during the dynastic wars of 1355, 1360 and 1366-69. However, unlike in Castile, Portuguese Jews, as seen above, had the right to bear arms and ride horses when traveling long distances.

Enrique de Trastámara, on the other hand, succeeded in spreading fear and violence against the Jews through the many massacres and the holding of Jewish communities as hostage until heavy ransoms were paid. The use of anti-Jewish hate propaganda and the implementation of physical violence over the years had permeated deeply into the lower rungs of Castilian society. Once as king, Enrique II's attempted to dampen the hatred of the common people towards the Jews and place a lid on their potential violence towards the discriminated group. However, his fomenting of open physical violence to a despised religious community for years would prove to be a liability and a potential danger in the following decades of the 14th century. Pedro I of Portugal, on the other hand, did not use the Jews as scapegoats for societal ills or as a reason to weaken or undermine his political rivals and enemies. The official approach towards the religious minority would continue to differ as the 14th century progressed.

[434] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I* (1984), p 522-523, fol. 124-124vº, [1107-1108; p 541-542, fol. 125vº, [1142] for Beja; p 557 fol. 129, [1170] for Coimbra; and, fol. 129vº [1171] for Santiago de Cacém; restrictions on Christian women entering Jewish or Muslim quarters by themselves [1131, fls. 124-124vº], (p 535-536); on the right of Jewish merchants to ride horses and bear arms when travelling long distances [1108, fl. 121-121vº], (p 522-523). WILKE, Carsten L. (2009). *História dos Judeus Portuguesas*. Edições 70, p 37.
[435] LOPES (2007), p 27-30. TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (2000). *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XIV*, 2ª edição. Guimarães Editores. Colecção História & Ensaios, p 91-92. Professor Tavares classified the two courtisans as squires (escudeiros), Fernão Lopes classified them as servants (criados).

4.C. Jews in Castile and Portugal: 1352-1369

The events in Castile and Portugal would affect how the Jews were treated in these years. In Castile, in spite of Pedro I's pro-Jewish stance and policies, his half-brother's anti-Jewish propaganda and attitude would rile up the masses from the lower rungs of society, who would unleash their repressed anti-Jewish resentment and cause mass murder and havoc in many Jewish quarters. Portugal, on the other hand, under the last years of Afonso IV, the entire reign of Pedro I (1357-1367), and early years of Fernando I (1367-1383) would show a measure of restraint and relative fairness towards the Jews. Medieval texts supporting the events as they developed in this period will be analyzed in a separate subchapter.

4.C.1. Castile: 1352-1369

As discussed in the previous chapters, the many socio-economic and political difficulties that afflicted Castile since the end of the 13th century would become worse or intensified with the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague. The many decades of vilifying the Jews as the cause of many of societal ills, from being greedy moneylenders, heartless rent and tax collectors to committing blood libel and the poisoning of waters in collusion with lepers and sorcerers, would come to the fore and be exploited by Count Enrique de Trastámara a few years after the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague in his effort to tap into the masses frustration and anger and allow them to sack Jewish quarters and murder Jews. All of these false rumors and legends within the context of the severe socio-economic crises would be a breeding ground for outbursts of social protest with an anti-Jewish tone.[436]

The purported Philo-Judaism of King Pedro I was merely the continuation of the majority of Castilian monarchs' approach to their Jewish minority. There was no actual love but rather the practical need he had of their qualifications and skills in finance, tax and rent collection, commerce and trade. Hence, Pedro I's opposition to the excessive demands of the municipal

[436] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (2016). El Mito del Filojudaísmo de Pedro I. Leyenda y Realidad. In *El Rey don Pedro I y su tiempo (1350-1369)*. Manuel García Fernández (Coord). Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, p 119. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2004). Cap. X. Judíos: El antijudaísmo violento: el siglo XIV in *Historia de España IX, Historia Medieval. Economía y Sociedad en la España Medieval*. Director Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra. Ediciones Istmo, p 395. PÉREZ CASTAÑO, Gonzalo (2014). 'Sin pan que comer ni vestidos con los que cubrirse': Violencia y situación jurídica de los judíos de Castilla durante la guerra civil entre Pedro I y Enrique II de Trastámara (1366-1369). *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo*, Vol. 3, Nº 1-1, p 309. LACARRA, María Jesús y CACHO BLECUA, Juan Manuel (2012). *Historia de la literatura española. 1. Entre oralidade y escritura: La Edad Media*. Editorial Crítica, p 109.

procurators could have harmed the administration of the royal treasury.[437] As such, Pedro I was in a bind, as he needed the support of the nascent burgher class within the Third Estate and the financial abilities and commercial skills of the Jews in order to further his policies of royal centralization and bring Castile out of its severe economic situation.[438]

The reign of Pedro I proved to be quite favorable to the Jewish community and the use of prominent Jews in the royal court. The closest collaborator was Samuel ha-Leví and who occupied the highest rank in the treasury. Samuel ha-Leví, originally from Portugal, was promoted by Juan Alfonso Albuquerque, who he had served previously. For 10 years, Samuel ha-Leví played a prominent role in the Castilian court. His name appeared on all documents on public rents, but also directed the confiscations of the domains of rebel noblemen. He also reminded the bishops of their "fiscal obligations." It even got to the point that he played the role of judicial hearer "*oidor*" of the court. In 1355, ha-Leví began an investigation into the royal finances and rent collections. He discovered that many rent farmers had not delivered the money owed to the Crown. Supposedly, he was able to fill two fortresses (castles) with money and jewels. However, using Jewish officials, Don Samuel also confiscated the domains of rebellious noblemen, which sparked the anger of the nobility towards the Jews and their employment with Crown. In other instances, Samuel ha-Leví played the role of diplomat as was in the case of the Treaty of Évora of 1358 between Castile and Portugal. However, the most important aspect of his administration was the constant desire to increase the royal treasury assets. As such, he helped the king prop up his rule over the kingdom. Unfortunately, his fall from grace, arrest, torture and execution was due to the ambitious treasurer's desire to accrue great wealth at the same time that he served the king.[439]

However, the downfall of the ha-Leví and Bienveniste families did not bring about an end to the use of prominent Jews to manage the royal domains. Other prominent Jews, who played in the key royal financial administration were the treasurers Juce Abenhala in Seville,

[437] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ, César (2012). *Poder Real y Poder Nobiliar en la Corona de Castilla (1252-1369)*. Universidad del País Vasco, p 168-169. PÉREZ (2014), p 120-121. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, 2016, p 118-120.

[438] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 179.

[439] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 256: Samuel há-Leví had 160,000 doubloons in Toledo, 4,000 marks in silver and other goods as jewels, precious cloth, etc. AMADOR de los RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España e Portugal*, t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 218-246. BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, v. I. Varda Books, p 362-364. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio: Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media,* 2ª ed. Ámbito Ediciones, p 30-31. ROTH (2020), p 144-145. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 395. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 129.

nephew of Samuel ha-Leví; the almojarife of Toledo, Mayr Abenhamias; Yhuda Abentabeb was the almojarife of the crown prince. Prominent Jews also played a fundamental role in the finances of the upper nobility, such as Çag aben Bueno, treasurer of Pedro Núñez de Guzman.[440] As discussed in Chapter 4, prominent Jews did not completely control or monopolize royal or noble finances, although they did play a prominent role. The Jews were not only prosperous in finances, but also in the acquisition of lands. Castilian Jews had most of their agricultural property in the area of New Castile, in which they focused on olive groves and vineyards. However, as they belonged to a minority community in medieval society, their presence in state affairs was out of proportion to their percentage of the total population. However, what stuck out in the eyes of the majority Christian society was that Pedro I was the protector of the Jews, and as such an accomplice to those who were the exploiters of the Christians.[441]

It was also in the period that the Jews built the famous Tránsito synagogue of Toledo between 1357-58, as well as a synagogue in Seville. Aware of the protection and patronage of King Pedro I, the Jewish community of Toledo acknowledged the royal support provided by the monarch eulogizing him in a commemorative plaque.

> "*...el gran monarca, nuestro señor y nuestro dueño el rey don Pedro ¡sea Dios en su ayuda y acreciente su fuerza y su gloria y guárdelo cual un pastor su rebaño!*" [442]

The famous Castilian Rabbi Don Sem Tob de Carrión dedicated his *Moral Proverbs* (*Proverbios Morales*) to King Pedro I. Prior to the civil war, Castile had become, an oasis of stability and hub of Jewish cultural activity; such that the physician and astronomer Abraham ibn Çarça (also spelt Aben Zarzel, Zercer or Zarzal), left the Emirate of Granada and moved to Castile and would become one of Pedro I's main counselors.[443]

4.C.2. Tensions Mounting

[440] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 32.
[441] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 231-232. BAER, Fritz (1936). *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, II, p 177. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 32. PÉREZ (2014), p 121-122.
[442] Translation from Hebrew into Spanish by F. CANTERA BURGOS *Sinagogas…*, p. 113. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2019). Los judíos de Castilla ante el cambio de dinastía. *Memoria y Civilización: Anuario de Historia. Revista del Departamento de Historia*. Universidad de Navarra: Pamplona, 22, p 154. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2º ed., p 33. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 131. ROTH (2020), p 146.
[443] AMADOR de los RÍOS, op. cit., 1876, p232-234. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 2004, p 395. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 130, 133. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 169. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 33.

However, this flourishing of Jewish economic, cultural and intellectual activity, incurred the resentment of the Christian majority society. The confiscation of noble domains under Samuel ha-Leví, the predominant presence of Jewish financiers, the further acquisition of real estate by Jews, as well as the tolerance of Jewish moneylending, ignited the hatred of the lower strata of society. It was only a matter of time, before the different estates of the majority Christian society would rebel against the policies of Pedro I. They just needed a leader to coalesce the different societal forces against the Castilian monarch. A leader they found in Count Enrique de Trastámara, King Pedro I's half-brother.[444]

Part and parcel of the Trastámara revolution would be the anti-Jewish propaganda. Most likely, Enrique de Trastámara and his supporters were able to interpret the assault on the Jewish Quarters of Seville in 1354 as an indicator of the hostility felt by the common people towards the Jews. The Trastámara camp would seek to exploit the anti-Jewish sentiment to its benefit. According to Valdeón Baruque, Enrique de Trastámara naively used anti-Jewish propaganda to delegitimize his half-brother, Pedro I, in the eyes of his subjects. Isabel Montes Romero Camacho and Enrique Cantera Montenegro argued that Enrique de Trastámara thought that he could use the anti-Jewish propaganda merely for practical reasons in ousting his half-brother from the throne. They claimed that Enrique's anti-Jewish propaganda was based on three basic points: wealth, insertion into the fiscal structure of the monarchy, and renewed religious resistance. Part of the propaganda consisted in claiming that not only did Enrique have a Philo-Jewish stance, but that at birth, the real Crown Prince was supposedly swapped with a Jewish baby fathered by a Jew named Pero Gil and that the person wearing the crown was a Jewish impostor. Hence the term for the pro-Pedro camp: em*peregil*ados.[445]

In January 1355, Pedro I was excommunicated by Pope Innocence VI for the murder of his father's mistress, Leonor de Guzmán in 1351, the repudiation of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon in 1353 and his union with María de Padilla, his purported pro-Jewish and pro-

[444] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 232-234. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio,* 2ª ed., p 34. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 26.

[445] LÓPEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Santiago (2017). Persecución y expulsión de los judíos. Fuentes históricas y literarias en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIV-XV). *Vegueta. Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia*, 17, Universidad de Extremadura, p 180. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2019), p 155-156. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 396. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 119, 126-127. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio. 2ª ed., p 39. BAER, op. cit., 2001, p 364: Baer wrote that Pedro I was called, "King of the Jews" as part of the anti-Pedro and anti-Jewish campaigns conducted by Enrique de Trastámara and his supporters.

Muslim proclivities, and the arbitrary executions of many noblemen. In the spring of 1355, the coalition of noble forces under Enrique de Trastámara, used anti-Jewish propaganda to gain the support of the lower strata of Castilian society. Seeing the Jews as easy and defenseless prey, Enrique de Trastámara encouraged the common people to attack the Jews, sack and pillage Jewish quarters and massacre its inhabitants. This occurred to the minor or smaller Jewish quarter of Toledo, Alcana, that was outside the city's walls.[446] According to the Castilian chronicler of the time, Pero López de Ayala, 1200 people were killed, young and old, men and women.[447] The forces of Enrique de Trastámara could not enter the major or larger Jewish quarter due to its protective walls and the role of the local lower nobility of Toledo that remained faithful to King Pedro I and fought off the rebel forces until the royal forces could arrive in time and push back Enrique de Trastámara. King Pedro I punished all of those who had done harm to "his Jews" in the Jewish quarters of Toledo. It seems that anti-Jewish sacking and looting extended to Cuenca.[448]
This was a turning point in the reign of Pedro I and the quest for power by Enrique de Trastámara, as both actors would use fear as a political weapon in order to achieve their political objectives.[449]

In 1360, Enrique de Trastámara tried once again at his bid for the throne and used anti-Jewish propaganda to gain the support of the Christian masses. This time, he had the support of the Kingdom of Aragon under Pedro IV, *el Ceremonioso*. Enrique was able to sack the Jewish quarters of Nájera and Miranda. Castilian chronicler, Pero López de Ayala wrote that rebel Count Enrique de Trastámara was able to count on popular support in sacking and looting Jewish quarters, as the common people did it willingly.[450] Once Pedro I had defeated the forces of Enrique de Trastámara at Nájera, the king severely punished those who had ransacked the Jewish quarters.[451]

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[446] ROTH (2020), p 142-143. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 119. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed., p 34. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2005). *Historia de España. 3.er Milenio. La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV: Política y Cultura*. Editorial Síntesis, p 32-33.
[447] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 462. ROTH (2020), p 142-143. Roth stated, as many other historians, that the number of Jews slaughtered seems to be exaggerated. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 224. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 396. GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 176-177.
[448] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 224-225. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1985). *Historia de España: Los Trastámara y los Reyes Católicos*, vol. 7. Editorial Gredos, p 56. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed., p 34-35. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 120.
[449] QUINTANILLA RASO (2016), p 100-101.
[450] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 239 [See subchapter on chronicles]. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed., p 35. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 396. ROTH (2020), p 147.
[451] ROTH (2020), p 147. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 131-132. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 35.

4.C.3. Jews and the Trastámara Civil War, 1366-1369

Enrique's third attempt at the Castilian throne would finally be successful. Once again, the seditious count used anti-Jewish propaganda to win over the support of the common people. This time, not only were Jewish quarters sacked and looted and Jewish inhabitants slaughtered as in Briviesca, but the Jewish communities of Burgos and Toledo that fell to the rebel forces were obliged to pay ransoms at extortionist rates of one million maravedis each, which were used to pay the mercenary forces from France.[452]

Not only was the legitimate king presented as a cruel tyrant, but that he was an ally of the Muslim (Moorish) and Jewish infidels and had allowed them to enrich themselves at the expense of the Christian majority. In doing so, Enrique de Trastámara created a type of Crusade against his half-brother and thus justified in bringing in mercenary forces from France and to win over the nobility, Church and burghers of Castilian municipalities. Once having entered Castile from France via Calahorra, where he was acclaimed as king, he proceeded to Burgos in order to have the inhabitants of the city render homage to him and be crowned as King Enrique II. Pedro I fled abroad to seek help from the Black Prince in the south of France. This was viewed by some of the nobility, including Pero López de Ayala and his father, as the king's abandonment of his duties of keeping the safety of the realm and led to many noblemen, including Pedro López de Ayala and his father, to defect to Enrique de Trastámara (Enrique II).[453]

The aforementioned anti-Jewish campaign led to many assaults on Jewish quarters. Not only were they pillaged but extortionist ransom payments were demanded from them. The most documented cases were those of Toledo and Burgos. In March of 1366, the troops of Enrique de Trastámara demanded a million maravedis [one cuento] from the Jewish community of Burgos. The Jewish community, in fear of the French mercenary forces paid the huge ransom sum. Valdeón Baruque points out that Enrique de Trastámara clearly benefitted economically from the common people's assaults on Jewish quarters and the subsequent demands for

[452] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 320-322. BAER (2001), p 363-365. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed., p 36. PÉREZ (2005), p 122. ROTH (2020), p 49.
[453] GONZÁLEZ MÍNGUEZ (2012), p 186. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 134. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 37-38. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2019), p 155-156.

ransom payments. Once Enrique II entered Toledo, he demanded the same amount from the Jewish community there, which was paid in a record time of 15 days.[454]

Coupled with these financially and economically disastrous demands, the physical assaults, pillaging and massacres committed further weakened the Jewish communities of Castile. Here the anti-Jewish hatred of the common people was accompanied by the active participation of the foreign mercenaries. The first massacre occurred in the Spring of 1366, when Enrique de Trastámara entered Briviesca and in which the entire Jewish community perished. According to the Jewish account provided by the Jewish chronicler, Samuel Zarza, not a single household of two hundred was left and that the corpses were left for the birds of prey and beasts to feast upon. According to Valdeón Baruque, it was this attitude by the foreign mercenaries that was a signal for the anti-Jewish hostility of the populace, which had been beneath the surface for many years, to violently erupt. Another Jewish community that was assaulted was that of Aguilar de Campo, in which, the mercenary troops from beyond the Pyreneans under the Black Prince played a prominent role in their demise. According to the Jewish author, they killed the entire community of Aguilar.[455]

The first sign of municipal elites taking advantage of Enrique de Trastámara's anti-Jewish stances were the procurators of Toledo, who gathered in the Cortes of the city in May 1366 and demanded all Christian debts to Jews as null and void. The decision taken by the Toledo procurators was so bold that even Enrique de Trastámara had to decline their demand and call for a one-year moratorium on debt payments until the Castilian Cortes could reach a decision on how to find a convenient solution to the problem the following year in 1367.[456]

At the Cortes celebrated in Burgos in 1367, the Third Estate blamed the Jews for the damages and ills that afflicted Castile and demanded that not only Christian debts to Jews be reduced to half of their value, but that the root of the problem of having Jewish administrators manage the king's finances be solved by replacing them with Christian financial administrators.

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[454] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 320-322. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 42-43. BAER (2001), p 365. ROTH (2020), p 149.

[455] ZARZA (1927), p 277-278. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2016). La revolución Trastámara. In *Historia de España de la Edad Media*, 6ª impresión. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela (coord.) Editorial Ariel, p 680-681. PÉREZ (2014), p 122. ROTH (2020), p 149.

[456] *Papeles de Burriel, Mss. 13100. Ordenamiento otorgado a petición de los procuradores de Toledo*, 11 de mayo de 1366. Biblioteca Nacional de España, fol. 195. BAER (2001), p 365.

However, the newly crowned Enrique II, decided not to pay heed to the demands of the municipal procurators of the Third Estate and denied the allegations that the Jews were at the root of Castile's problems, as he needed the financial support of the Jews in his military campaign against his half-brother, and rejected their claims.[457]

Nonetheless, in spite of Enrique II trying to place brakes on the anti-Jewish propaganda, the message transmitted to the common people began to resonate and more demands were placed on the new monarch. The unleashed anti-Jewish sentiment via Enrique's propaganda had become an irreversible phenomenon. The Third Estate at the Cortes now demanded that no Jew be allowed to hold office in the king's court or that of the noble magnates. The demands also stated that no Jew be present in the king's house or that of the queen or the crown princes. The newly crowned king was shocked at how the Third Estate had for the first time tried to circumscribe the Crown's prerogatives with his Jews. Enrique II tried to dampen the hostility towards the Jews that he had unleashed but then realized that his anti-Jewish campaign had begun to backfire on him.[458]

Another Jewish community that suffered the consequences of intervening English mercenaries was that of Villadiego. However, assaults of the Jewish communities conducted by the common people were those of Segovia and Ávila that did not degenerate into pogroms. In the autumn of 1367, the inhabitants of Valladolid switched sides and joined the Trastámara camp. By doing so, the common people took advantage of the situation and sacked the Jewish quarters and destroyed eight synagogues. Similar excesses occurred in Paredes. In October 1367, Enrique II attacked Burgos and encountered fierce Jewish resistance and was only able to negotiate with the Jews another agreement, once it was known that Pedro I would not come to their rescue. Enrique II demanded another million maravedis from the Jewish community and was able to obtain the amount in record time, but which left the Jewish community financially ruined. In his advance towards the south, Enrique II demanded a heavy tribute from Palencia.[459]

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[457] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla,* t. 2, (1863). Real Academia de la Historia, p 150-151 [Nº 10 and Nº 11]. BAER (2001), p 365-366. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed., p 40-41. ROTH (2020), p 149.

[458] BAER (2001), p 365-366. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 397. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 41. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2016), p 681. ROTH (2020), p 149.

[459] BAER (2001), p 366. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 402 . VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 43-44. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ (1985), p 56. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 121. ROTH (2020), p 150.

However, the Jewish community that was hardest hit was that of Toledo, as by April 1368, Enrique de Trastámara laid Toledo under siege. During the year-long siege, it is estimated that around 8,000 Jews died. Once again, it was Toledo that had to pay a heavier toll in 1369, as it was the center of the anti-Trastámara resistance. After the murder of Pedro I by his half-brother at Montiel in March 1369, Enrique II demanded from the Jewish community 20,000 doubloons through the sale of their belongings as well as their bodies. If they could not pay that ransom, then the Jews of Toledo would become slaves.[460]

Even though Enrique de Trastámara might not originally have had the intention of the wonton assaults and massacres that occurred during the Civil War of 1366-69, his anti-Jewish campaigns had created the propitious climate that allowed for these excesses. Valdeón Baruque pointed out that though that King Pedro I in order to thank the Emirate of Granada for its help during the civil war, allowed the Emir of Granada to purchase 300 Jewish families of Jaén as a form of financial restitution. As such, the Jewish communities of Castile would suffer from both sides of the dynastic struggle.[461]

In conclusion, the downfall of Pedro I was due in part to many of his mistakes prior to the dynastic war, as well as during the conflict itself. The Trastámara victory was due to Enrique's persistence, the ability to rally the majority of nobility and urban patricians to his camp, the use of mercenaries, and finally, the use of intensely virulent anti-Jewish propaganda by linking the Jews as dominating and propping up the so-called "tyrannical regime" of Pedro I. The former king was also classified, not only as a Judeophile, but as King of the Jews. The Trastámara victory would mark the beginning of a new phase in the history of Hispanic Jewry. The calculated use of anti-Jewish propaganda by the Trastámara camp was to denigrate the image of the legitimate king. However, when Enrique II wanted to return to the pre-war era, he found that his strategy had backfired and that playing with collective human emotions and frustrations is not the same as playing with chess pieces on a board. Once put into place or into action, negative messages and/or images cannot be easily moved

[460] According to Josef ha-Kohen and Josef ben Zaddik de Arévalo, eight thousand Jews perished in Toledo. Abraham ben Salomón de Torrutiel spoke of twenty-eight thousand. BAER (2001), p 366-367. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 46-47. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2019), p 156. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (2016), p 120. ROTH (2020), p 152-153.
[461] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 42, 49, 60. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 47. ROTH (2020), p 151.

back to the original state. In fact, what the anti-Jewish propaganda did was to contribute in the fueling of anti-Jewish latent sentiments that had been festering for a long time amongst the lower rungs of the social ladder, and which were brought to the surface in the form of violent outbursts of rage, which until then had been very rare in the kingdom of Castile.[462]

What compounded the difficult situation for the Jews was how these visceral outbursts of violence went unpunished and that the king's holding of entire Jewish communities as hostages until they paid heavy ransoms set a precedent for the entirety of the Christian population, especially the masses of the lower social strata, that such acts could go without impunity. In short, these acts were the removal of the lid of the worst inclinations of human conduct and would be a green light for possible future anti-Jewish actions.[463]

4.C.4 The Jews in Portugal under Pedro I, 1357-1367

Fortunately for the Jewish community of Portugal, no similar cases of horrendous assaults or holding entire communities as hostages occurred. Unfortunately, traditional historiographic interpretation of King Pedro I's reign as anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic due to his strict and harsh legislation, is misconstrued, as it demands a more nuanced approach to be taken for the Jewish legislation of his reign. In fact, in her biography of King Pedro I, Cristina Pimentel claimed that, compared to the other Iberian kingdoms, the Jews in Portugal found a relatively safe haven to live.[464]

Although it is true that in 1361, he decreed the separation of religious minorities in their own quarters from the Christian majority in urban centers – either as a walled off neighborhood or a street, depending on the population size of those particular Jewish communities. Article 40 from the *Cortes* held at Elvas in 1361, the king ordered that Muslims and Jews had to live in separate neighborhoods due to the many complaints of scandalous intimate activities between Christians, Jews and Muslims.[465] However, these measures are not to be seen exclusively as discriminatory, as there were complaints from the Jewish community in Trancoso in 1364 that knights, inspectors, officials and scribes would accommodate themselves in Jewish dwellings and take their clothes. The petition asked that the Jews live in a new separate

[462] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2019), p 157-158. PÉREZ (2005), p 123. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 58.
[463] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2019), p 158. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 397. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 60.
[464] PIMENTA, Cristina (2015). *D. Pedro I*, reimpresso. Círculo de Leitores, p 138.
[465] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de Pedro I* (1986), p 52.

quarter, that others not enter it and dwell with the Jews and take their clothes. The Portuguese king's response was that no one, irrespective of their social condition or social order, neither princes nor counts, neither inspectors nor other officials nor scribes to force themselves into the dwellings of the Jews nor take their clothes nor seize their food or expect to be fed by the Jews. The Portuguese king also ordered that anyone, who should abuse the Jews and go against the king's orders, should be thrown out. If these abusers should have caused any losses or damages, then they would have to cover these losses.[466]

In this case, one can see that the king would not tolerate anyone, who would abuse their rank, position or social status. It further demonstrates Pedro I's attempt to impose a strict sense of justice amongst all of his subject, irrespective of religious confession. In 1365, another petition, however, was sent to the king but from the municipal procurators stating that no one had seized any property from the Jews and that these Jews were allegedly very rich. As such, the king reversed his previous order and allowed his royal officials to use Jewish accommodations, just as they would use Christian ones too.[467]

In another instance, in which it seemed that King Pedro I sought justice was the case when he had two of his favorite courtesans executed for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant in 1364. The royal chronicler, Fernão Lopes had written that in spite of the pleas from the courtesans, who reminded the monarch that they had been his favorites, the king had their throats slit.[468] Again, this was a case of the monarch's intransigency in terms of softening his commitment in the punishment for crimes and the extent of his ruthlessness.[469]

The Jews had three quarters in Lisbon. The Old or Large Jewish Quarters or *Judiaria Velha or Grande*, the Taracenas or Nova or Pequena that was to the West of the Old or Large Jewish Quarters and the Alfama Jewish Quarters. Although the latter would expand during the reign of Fernando I, the Jewish quarter in Alfama already existed in 1358 during the reign of Pedro I.[470]

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[466] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I: 1357-1367* (1984). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 433-434.
[467] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I* (1984), p 457-458.
[468] LOPES (2007), p 27-33.
[469] TAVARES (2000), p 91-92.
[470] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I* (1984), p 95. On fol. 21 vª, [278] King Pedro I merely confirmed the Jews of Alfama in Lisbon. Most likely, it meant the confirmation of their rights and privileges.

The Portuguese king also confirmed the rights and privileges of the following Jewish communities of: Coimbra (1357), Beja (1357), Setúbal (1357), Lisbon (1357), Tavira (1358), Atouguia (1358), Estremoz (1358), Alfama-Lisbon (1358); Guarda (1358), Loulé (1358), Faro (1359), Bragança (1359), Évora (1359 & 1360), Portalegre (1361), Trancoso (1364 & 1365), Serpa (1365), Santarém (1366), Silves (1366) and Santiago de Cacém (1366).[471]

In another instance, in which King Pedro I in 1361 acquiesced to the petitions of the leader of the Jewish communities, Rabi-mor Moisés Navarro, that the positions of Jewish officials of each community rotate every two years. The same was to be applied to that of the rabi-mor of the kingdom.[472] As a reward for his services, the king granted Moisés Navarro and his wife a "morgado".[473]

In his work, *Portugal na Crise nos Séculos XIV e XV*, Oliveira de Marques claimed that there were assaults on the Jewish quarters of Coimbra between 1364-77 and he referenced both Mª José Ferro Tavares and the Portuguese Chancelleries of Pedro I. However, upon careful investigation, neither Professors Mª José Ferro Tavares and Cristina Pimenta nor the Chancelleries mention these purported assaults on the Jewish quarters of Coimbra.[474] Nonetheless, even though such purported assaults were not recorded in the Portuguese chancelleries, Mª José Ferro Tavares claimed that through the documents, investigators notice a certain animosity towards the Jews from the popular sectors of 14th century Portuguese society.[475] Nonetheless, Professor Ferro Tavares emphasized that the anti-Judaic tendency of

[471] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I* (1984). Each entry corresponds to the same order as the Jewish communities mentioned above: p 58 fol. 14 [137]; p 59, fol. 14vº [139]; p 116, fol. 28 [312]; p 63, fol. 15 [162]; p 76, fol. 17vº [213]; p 88, fol. 20vº [257]; p 92, fol. [262]; p 95 fol. 21vº [278]; p 119, fol. 28vº [316]; p 148, fol. 36vº [373]; p 149, fol. 36vº [376]; p 150, fol. 37 [381]; p 151, fol. 37 [383] & p 168, fol. 41 [418]; p 433, fol. 100 [937] & p 457, fol. 106 [978]; p 457, fol. 105vº [977]; p 522-523, fol. 121 [1107]; p 556-557, fol. 129 [1169]; p 557, fol. 129vº [1171];

[472] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I* (1984), p 299-300, p 346-347. PIMENTA (2015), p 138.

[473] *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I,* op. cit, 1984, p 331-335. TAVARES (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio,* 2º ed., p 54. PIMENTA (2015), p 138.

[474] PIMENTA (2015), p 137-139. The *Dicionário do Judaismo Português* also did not mention any assaults in Coimbra in that period. It only mentioned that it was destroyed during the Fernandine wars of the 14th century (no dates provided) due to the invading Castilian troops and not by a popular uprising of Portuguese commoners. *Dicionário do Judaísmo Português* (2009). Coordenação: Lúcia Liba Mucznik, José Alberto Tavim, Esteher Mucznik e Elivra de Azevedo Mea. Editorial Presença, p 154. Other historians, such as Manuel Santos Silva, also mentioned the assault but provided no referencing of sources. See: SILVA, Manuel Santos (1996). As cidades (Séculos XII-XV). in *História de Portugal. Dos Tempos Pré-históricos aos Nossos Dias*. Dirigida por João Medina*. Volume III. Portugal Medieval.* Clube Internacional do Livro, p 284.

[475] TAVARES (2000), p 60-62.

blaming the Jews for poisoning the waters, abducting Christian children for blood libel, desecration of the Host and polemic controversies were non-existent in Portugal.[476]

Other than these apparent abuses committed by these knights, squires, officials and scribes, there were no assaults on the Jewish quarters. In spite of the Portuguese Crown reversing its original decision of forbidding such actions from being committed, the king did not call upon escalating the situation to sacking, pillaging and massacring as in Castile under Enrique de Trastámara during his fight for the Castilian throne (1355, 1360, 1366-69). The Jews were also not held for ransom by the Portuguese political leadership. Not even during the short civil war between Infante D. Pedro and his father, King Afonso IV, did either contender attack the Jews out of political expediency. The excessively violent developments in Castile during this period created a huge gap in the treatment of the Jews between the two kingdoms.

It is at this point that it seems that Jewish-Christian relations reached a threshold, as throughout Europe, and in the Iberian Peninsula, began to disintegrate and collapse altogether. The commonly misunderstood concept of Convivencia that has been linked to the interconfessional relations among Moors, Jews and Christians in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages must be discussed at this point in order to try to understand the decline in the rapport between the Christians and Jews by the mid-14th century. Some historians would argue that there never was a Convivencia but rather a precarious coexistence, while others, as Valdeón Baruque, would claim that Convivencia did exist until the mid-14th century, when it was replaced by coexistence.

4.C.5. Iberian Context: Case Study of Crown of Aragon – 1367

Even though the Crown of Aragon is not the focus of attention of this thesis, for the purposes of context within the Iberian Peninsula, a limited review of anti-Judaic events in the neighboring kingdom is required as its impact most likely had spillover effects in Castile, as news of the show trials in the mid and late 14th centuries would have reached Castile and have repercussions on the Jewish inhabitants of said kingdom. One of the case-studies was dedicated to the show trials of innocent Jews in the Crown of Aragon in 1367, 1377 and 1383. The show trials were based on the accusations of Eucharist desecration in the Crown of

[476] Ibid., p 151-152.

Aragon in Barcelona in 1367 and Huesca in 1377 that were instigated by the Crown Prince John (Infante Joan) and by the king's nephew, a count in Lleida (Lérida) in 1383.[477]

As a dynastic war with strong anti-Jewish overtones was raging in neighboring Castile, the Crown of Aragon had its own issues with anti-Jewish sentiment, but focused on a few individuals, who had been falsely accused of purchasing stolen Eucharists and desecrating them. In terms of the case in Barcelona of 1367, a thief was caught, Pere Fuster de Morella, who confessed to have stolen a silver pyx (custodia) with seven holy wafers in it. He supposedly sold five of them to a Jew. As the thief could not name the Jew, who had purchased the wafers, he was brought to S. Jaume's Square, where he could observe Jews passing by and supposedly identify the culprit. Fuster identified one Jew, Provençal de Piera as the purchaser. After his arrest and torture, Provençal de Piera admitted under duress to having purchased the hosts and pyx and then resold them to another Jew, Struch or Astruc Biona, who was related to Rabbi Vidal de Tolosa and to Maçot Avengena, one of the king's financiers. Astruc Biona first denied it but then under torture confessed to having bought the hosts and the pyx but that he then gave them to yet another Jew, Salamo Secalta or Sescaleta, the secretary or *neëmanim* of the Jewish community. Salamo Sescaleta was also arrested and tortured. However, he denied the accusations thrust upon him and died under torture. As a result of Sescaleta's refusal to admit to any wrongdoing, Astruc rescinded on his original claim. Unfortunately, both Astruc and Provençal were sentenced to death along with another Jew, Mosse Badroch Gallart. Furster and the two originally accused Jews were tortured and burned, whereas Mosse was only burned.[478]

The Infante wanted to make sure that there were no "loose ends" or anyone who could confess the truth. He had Fuster's accomplice, Guillem Terraça, arrested and tortured. Even though his confession did not agree with Fuster's, Terraça died in prison and his corpse was burned as well. Apparently, the Infante was able to fill his coffers due to the trial. Payments by the relatives of the accused were recorded in the royal treasury in June 1367.[479]

[477] RUBIN, Miri (1999). *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. Yale University Press, p 109. Rubin based her study on the treasury notes of Jewish property seized by the Infante Joan.
[478] BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, v. II. VARDA Books, p 38-39. PÉREZ (2014), p 115. RUBIN (1999), p 110-111.
[479] RUBIN (1999), p 111-112.

However, the supposed stolen hosts, of which so much tragic events ensured, were never found. The Crown Prince (Infante) purportedly entrusted the search for the Holy Hosts to two jurists and held the entire Jewish community of Barcelona as responsible. Upon writing to his father, King Pedro IV in July 1367, Infante Joan tried to justify his actions. However, for the king, there remained still too many open questions. In November King Pedro IV went to Barcelona and on the 30th of that same month, issued a royal order demanding that all Jews be arrested and held in the local synagogue for three days for further interrogation. As no confessions or new evidence were provided, all of the Jews of different ages and genders were released due to lack of evidence. The king withdrew all charges and royal protection of the Jews was granted again.[480]

It seems, without humiliating his son, the heir to the Crown of Aragón, who had acted too hastily, and even foolheartedly, King Pedro IV did not denounce Infante Joan in public. However, the entire process had caused tremendous damage to the Jewish community and worsened its reputation in the eyes of the common people that believed the falsehoods and urban legends of the Jews desecrating the Holy Host. The king ordered his bailiff to take measures to prevent assaults on the Jewish quarters by the fanatical mob that had been incited by the trial.[481] Further anti-Jewish accusations of the desecration of the Eucharist and public trials in the Crown of Aragon in the 1370s and 1380s would continue. They will provide context to the breakdown of Christian-Jewish relations in the Iberian Peninsula.

4.C.6. Convivencia or Coexistencia?

At this point in the development of Christian-Jewish relations, the Spanish and Portuguese concept needs to be reviewed. It cannot be translated into one simple word, as it implies a very complex condition that went through different phases in the different Iberian kingdoms during the Middle Ages. Angus MacKay stated that it consisted of the *combination of hostility and regretful tolerance that the Christians extended to the Jews*. According to MacKay, "Convivencia" literally means, living next to or with others. He went further to state that the term was used to denote the context of coexistence between the Christian majority and the Jewish and Muslim minorities. MacKay also noted that the *Convivencia*

[480] BAER (2001), p 39. RUBIN (1999), p 112.
[481] BAER (2001), p 89.

experienced its highest point between the 12th and 13th centuries and would then slowly erode over time from the late 13th to the late 14th century with the horrific massacres of 1391.[482]

The *convivencia* of the Jewish minority with the Christian majority population of the 12th and 13th centuries consisted of a certain normalcy in the different Iberian kingdoms that would continue into the 14th century, well after many anti-Jewish riots and disturbances had rocked Western Christendom.[483] As Enrique Torija Rodríguez claimed, the *continuous verbal and written attacks on the Jews were the preliminary steps before the actual physical attacks against the marginalized minority*. In fact, the theoretical violence could be used and manipulated by others to espouse and justify the actual physical attacks,[484] not only in terms of separating, segregating and stigmatizing marginalized groups but their demonization as dark, evil, blood-thirsty, satanic agents intent in harming the Christian community as well. Even though the *Corpus iuris canonici* or ecumenical councils had no legal binding in the Iberian kingdoms, it would be the national councils that had more direct application.[485]

Julio Valdeón Baruque explained that the *convivencia* or coexistence in a cordial and respectful manner under no circumstances was synonymous with tolerance. Valdeón however recognized that the different religious groups in the respective kingdoms practiced a certain amount of autonomy within their own communities. Valdeón discussed how, in spite of the support the Jewish and Muslim communities received from the Castilian and Aragonese monarchs and urban magnates, the hostility towards these same minorities, especially towards the Jews, grew as the 14th century progressed. This animosity was encouraged by the clergy that viewed the Jews as a rival religion and accused them of being "Christ killers" and usurers, even though it was the Church itself that forbade Christians from lending money at interest and encouraged the Jews to do so. This stood in contrast to the spirit of cooperation and collaboration in Toledo under Alfonso X and his school of translation in the 13th century,

[482] MACKAY (1992), p 27.
[483] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, Francisco J. (2004). *La España de los siglos XIII al XV: Transformaciones del feudalismo tardío,* 2ª edición. Editorial Nerea, p 114.
[484] TORIJA RODRÍGUEZ, Enrique (2013). La marginación sacralizada. Disposiciones conciliares y sinodales contra judíos y musulmanes en el arzobispado de Toledo durante la Baja Edad Media. *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo*, Volume 2, Número 1-1 (Número Especial), p 198.
[485] TORIJA RODRÍGUEZ (2013), p 198. Also see: MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1988). Cortes de Castilla y León y minorías. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, v. II. Cortes de Castilla y León, p 147-149. PÉREZ (2014), p 100-104.

in which he maintained very productive relations with both the Jewish and Muslim communities.[486]

It was in the 14th century, according to Valdeón that the relationship switched from one of *convivencia* to simply one of coexistence. Due to the many socio-economic and demographic crises, it was the minorities who were made into scapegoats, either by the Church or rival political factions in the dynastic wars in Castile. A pivotal event of the first quarter of the 14th century was the restrictive measures from the Church at the Synod of Zamora of 1312-1313 that would attempt to further marginalize the Jewish minority on the Iberian Peninsula that would be used by municipal procurators to petition anti-Jewish legislation.[487]

Thomas Glick would classify *Convivencia* as "coexistence, but [with] mutual interpenetration and creative influence, even as it also embraces the phenomenon of mutual friction, rivalry and suspicion."[488] Returning to the premise of David Nirenberg that *Convivencia* was *not predicated on peace and harmony but on violence: legal, symbolic and physical*,[489] investigators are reminded that the violence of *Convivencia* was directed at the people Christians conducted business transactions on an everyday basis and not on people they did not know. "Attacker and victim alike were tightly bound in a wide variety of relations that enmeshed moments of violence and gave them meaning."[490] As such, the misunderstood concept of Convivencia should not be reduced to the myth of peace and harmony.

In Castile, the violence would also begin in the aftermath of the Bubonic Plague and the precarious economic environment and subsistence anxieties as a consequence of the many decades of diminishing returns, declining productivity, an increasing tax burden associated with Jewish tax officials and tax collection, hunger, and death. The assaults on Jews would

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[486] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). El Siglo XIV: la quiebra de la convivencia entre las tres religiones. In *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos: De la aceptación al rechazo*. Ámbito Ediciones, p 125-126.
[487] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 126-128
[488] GLICK, Thomas (1992). Convivencia: An Introductory Note. In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*. Edited by Vivian B. Mann, et. al. George Braziller & The Jewish Museum, p 1.
[489] NIRENBERG, David (2015). *Communities of Violence: Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press, p 8-10, 229-230, 245: "Convivencia was predicated upon violence; it was not its peaceful antithesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it. To call plague massacres (or Holy Week riots, miscegenation accusations, and the like) "intolerant" is therefore fundamentally to misconstrue the terms in which coexistence was articulated in medieval Iberia."
[490] NIRENBERG (2015), p 40. SOIFER IRISH, Maya (2009). Beyond convivencia: critical reflections on the historiography of interfaith relations in Christian Spain. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1, January 2009. Soifer Irish presented a concise summary of the definitions and debates over the concept of Convivencia since the publication of Américo Castro's work in 1948.

start in 1355 during the dynastic war between the legitimate king, Pedro I, backed by the Jews, and his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, who would rally the support of the common people by inciting their resentment, anger, frustration, fears and economic anxieties by targeting the Jews as a "despicable" and entitled minority that supported the tyrant king, who allegedly was a Jew himself, and unleashing their virulent hatred and violence on that targeted minority. In spite of Enrique de Trastámara believing that he could manage and control the anti-Jewish sentiment as an escape valve for the people, it would get out of control and it would not be able to be easily placed back under control, once the war had ended and he would want to return to the situation prior to the armed conflict.[491]

In Portugal, contrary to what was occurring in Castile, a slightly different development was taking place. Alexandre Herculano, Mª José Ferro Tavares and Armindo de Sousa would praise Portuguese public officials, their laws and royal acts towards the Jews, and even though there would be legislation that would segregate the Jews and reaffirm their inferior legal status, they would not be as rigorously applied as in other kingdoms in Western Europe and in the Iberian Peninsula. This was, in part as they proposed, due to the Portuguese capacity to tolerate others compared to the Castilians.[492] However, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão provided a sobering view that the *convívio* or "living together" between the different communities was often difficult.[493] François Soyer claimed that it would be naïve to present an overly positive view of Portugal and its attitude to its Jewish minorities, as the same type of complaints by the municipal procurators had been raised as in Castile,[494] they differed in terms of the *number of times* these complaints were presented to the Crown, the *virulence and vitriol* in which they were presented, the *word choice selected* and the *terminology* used in describing the Jews, at least in terms in how they were recorded and later on transmitted to the common people or public. Examples, as we have seen, is decrying the practice of usury and not focusing on how Jews were malicious and deceitful in nature or that the Jews were responsible for the ills of society.

[491] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 33-43.
[492] HERCULANO, Alexandre (2017). *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, t. I. Bertrand Editora, p 80. SOUSA, Armindo de (2017). *História de Portugal, 2º vol., A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Editorial ESTAMPA, p 294. TAVARES (2000), p 101.
[493] SERRÃO, Joachim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação,* 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 341.
[494] SOYER, François (2007). *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-97).* BRILL, p 82.

It is here that the official record is of importance, as it demonstrates how the Crown's *interpretation of the legal status* of the Jewish minority and its "toleration" was transmitted by the leadership to the target audience through public readings in open spaces and then nailed to the doors of townhalls and/or churches. The public transmission of laws concerning the Jews, plays a fundamental role in how they were portrayed. This same portrayal of the Jews would be important in creating, shaping and reshaping of the image of the Jews in the collective mindset, not only of the elites, but of the common people. It will be this period, after the spread of the Bubonic Plague, in which the legislation and how the leadership allowed the public's expression towards Jews, would begin to differ greatly between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile (and Aragon). This gap in attitude and approach towards the Jewish minorities by the leadership and their legislation in the aforementioned kingdoms would continue to broaden as time went on.

4.D. Normative Laws: The *Fuero Viejo de Castilla*

Prior to analyzing royal diplomas, letters and acts of the Cortes, the normative legislation under Pedro I must be presented. It is the normative legislation that presents what should be followed, rather than what must be obeyed. An integral part of understanding Pedro I's rule was the compilation of old Castilian charter rights by 1356, one year after his half-brother's attempt to remove the king from his throne. Perhaps the timing was coincidental in terms of the completion of the gathering and synthesizing of the traditional charter rights or it was on purpose to assuage the nobility's reservations and even resentment of the Crown's encroaching endeavors to curtail the former privileges of the magnates.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Castilian nobility in the second half of the 13th century rejected King Alfonso X's initiatives to centralize jurisprudence under one legal authority, namely that of the Crown. The magnates saw as an affront the king's legislative works, *El Fuero Real*, el *Espéculo* and the *Siete Partidas*, to their rights that they held as sacrosanct. Instead, the nobility preferred Fernando III's translation of old Visigoth laws, el *Fuero Juzgo*. It wasn't until 1348, as it has been analyzed in Chapter 3 that Alfonso XI, Alfonso X's great-grandson made the *Siete Partidas* law of the realm, in which it would replace any charter laws that had become antiquated or not renewed.

After Alfonso XI's death in 1350 and his young son's rule was placed under scrutiny with the first attempt to dethrone him 1355 by his half-brother Enrique, Pedro I presented in 1356 the

Fuero Viejo de Castilla, which was a compilation of old Castilian charter rights (fueros). The codes were classified as "territorial rights" of the different regions of Old Castile north of the Duero River prior to the legal reforms of Alfonso X. What has been ascertained with the *Fuero Viejo de Castilla*, is its archaic or traditionalist nature of reasserting seigneurial rights. The *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* was to be considered as a small accommodation in certain areas. Most likely in the seigneurial rights of precedence, which would be considered as a kind of subsidiary right of the system itself. Nonetheless, it was a reflection of the retrograde mentality of the nobility, which looked back into a feudal world of the past that was in decline. It was a world of a nobility that was incapable of looking long-term of the advantages it could achieve through a strong monarchy that it could form a part of.[495]
The *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* is divided into five books, each subdivided into titles, of which there are a total of thirty-three titles. However, this thesis will not delve into *El Fuero Viejo de Castilla* in terms of each and every law, but rather focus on its approach to the Jewish minority and their interactions with the Christian majority. Some of the laws dealt with loans and debts, pawning, buying on credit, which are found in Titles IV-VII of Book III of the legal compendium.[496] [See Appendix I to Chapter 4.D. for an analysis of the *Fuero Viejo*].

4.E. Portuguese and Castilian Jewish Legislation 1352-1369

It would be during this period that the attitudes and approaches towards the Jewish minority in the two kingdoms would begin to diverge. Even though King Pedro I of Castile would be considered as Judeophile during his reign, in reality, he was merely following the traditional policies of his forefathers, with exception to the reigns of Sancho IV and the minority of Fernando IV, of providing a balancing act between the demands of the municipal procurators and the Jewish community leaders, of whom the Crown depended on so many services. The active anti-Judaic policy of Pedro I's half-brother and rival to the throne, Enrique de Trastámara, during the dynastic war (1355, 1360, 1366-1369) would mark a harsh turn in official Castilian Jewish policy by advocating for the sacking and pillaging of Jewish quarters by the Christian mobs and the holding of entire Jewish communities as hostage in exchange

[495] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2019). *La construcción del poder real en la Monarquía castellana (siglos XI-XV).* Marcial Pons Historia, p 196-200, 249. ASSO y del RÍO, Ignacio Jordan de, y Miguel de MANUEL y RODRIGUEZ Discurso Preliminar. In *El Fuero Viejo de Castilla* (1771). Sacado y comprobado con el ejemplar de la misma Obra, que existe en la Real Biblioteca de esta Corte, y con otros MSS: Madrid, 1771, p I-II.
[496] *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* (1771), p 87. GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (1998). *Historia de la Prosa Medieval Castellana I, La Creación del discurso prosístico: el entramado cortesano*. Ediciones Cátedra, p 299.

for extortive ransom fees. In spite of attempting to hold at bay the anti-Judaic demands of the municipal procurators at the Cortes in 1366 and 1367, he could no longer contain the anti-Jewish sentiments that he had helped to unleash during the fratricidal conflict.

In Portugal, one would see a different development. Even though historians such as Mª José Ferro Tavares, would declare Pedro I as anti-Jewish in nature, he only continued certain policies that had already begun under previous monarchs. Upon closer observation, his strict observance of the law and his draconian methods, could be seen as a fair application of the law irrespective of the religious confession or social status of the accused. Pedro I's approach to the law and the Jews could be interpreted as part of the policy of *equiparar* the religious minorities in the application of royal laws.[497]

When comparing the legislation of the two kingdoms, one could start with the diploma expedited by King Pedro I of Castile of 30 April 1350 in which the king banned the men and women from Córdoba and Jaén, who were involved in the murder of Jews for four months and the men to be stationed at a military outpost by the frontier to the kingdom of Granada for four months.[498] This punishment signaled a very weak response by the king and transmitted the message to those involved and to those who were aware of such crimes that they would not be thoroughly punished by the authorities.

In contrast, King Pedro I of Portugal punished two of his courtesans with the death penalty for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant. Even though it was not registered in any of the chancelleries, it was recorded by the royal chronicler, Fernão Lopes.[499] Here, the message is completely different from that of the Castilian leadership in that anyone caught committing crimes, would be punished through the thorough application of the law. Although it could be argued that King Pedro I of Portugal punished the two courtesans with their lives for having killed the member of a community that was considered part of the royal patrimony – both the kings of Castile and Portugal called the Jews "my Jews" – the Portuguese monarch did not let the culprits off easy, as his Castilian counterpart had.

[497] *Equiparar* does not mean to be placed on an equal social judicial status, but to equate the different religious minorities with the same legal procedures and processes.
[498] DÍAZ MARTÍN, Luis Vicente (1997). *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369),* t. I. Junta de Castilla y León, p 61-63.
[499] LOPES, Fernão (2007). *Crónica de D. Pedro*. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 27-30.

4.E.1. Castilian Cortes

The majority of the Castilian legislation after the Cortes of 1351 and prior to the Cortes of 1367 under Enrique de Trastámara consisted of diplomas dispensed by King Pedro I throughout the 1350s and 1360s. [See Appendix I to Chapter 4.E.1.]. In terms of the focus of this thesis, many of the diplomas or letters dealt with matters concerning the Jews of the realm – either in confiscating the property of those who went against the king and or his Jews in Toledo in 1355.[500] In other cases, such as in 1358, that the culprits, who had murdered three Jews, pay 18,000 maravedis to the king.[501] Other letters confirmed the support of the royal treasurer Samuel Leví or in acknowledging his downfall, the seizure and selling of his property in 1360.[502] In the letter dated 1362 dealing with the culprits involved in the murder of the Jews in the town of Miranda, when it was under the control of Enrique de Trastámara, Pedro I ordered the confiscation of their property and that they could not leave the town until final sentencing.[503] Once again, the Castilian monarch seemed to be more lenient than his Portuguese counterpart in the application of the law in regards to the murder of Jews, and as such, would transmit completely different messages to the subjects of their respective realms.

During the third phase of the dynastic war between the legitimate king Pedro I and his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, the latter besieged the city of Toledo in 1366 and held the Jews hostage until they paid a huge ransom. Afterwards, the pretender to the Castilian throne held an assembly with the municipal procurators of Ávila, Cuenca, Madrid, Segovia, Villa Real, along with many other towns and localities met up with those of Toledo. In Item 18 of the manuscript that recorded the session, the procurators petitioned that all Jewish debts be cancelled. The king responded that he could only postpone (moratorium) repayment of Christian debts to Jewish moneylenders by one year and not cancel them altogether. The king agreed to convene a *Cortes* the following year, in which the topic would be addressed.[504]

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[500] DÍAZ MARTÍN, t. III (1999), p 272; from: A. Mon. S. Clemente. Toledo, carpeta 16, n.º 11. En el acta de ejecución del 7 de noviembre de 1355, p 273; from: A. Mon. S. Clemente. Toledo, carpeta 16. n.º 9. Noticia inserta en la ejecución de la sentencia; and, p 280; from: A. Cae. Toledo, A.l.B.1.4. Traslado en pergamino.
[501] Ibid., p 373; from: A. Mon. S. Clemente. Toledo, carpeta 17, n.º 2. Noticia inserta en el acta de la incautación de los bienes para proceder al pago.
[502] DÍAZ MARTÍN, Luis Vicente (1999). *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369),* t. IV. Junta de Castilla Y León, p 44; from: A. Cat. Toledo. Obra y Fábrica. Copia en papel hecha en Toledo el 5 de enero de 1361.
[503] Ibid., p 101-102; from: A.M. Miranda de Ebro, libro 39, doc. 40. Original pergamino.
[504] *Papeles de Burriel, Mss. 13100*. Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid, fol. 195. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones. Estudios y Documentos. Departamento de Historia, Nº 27, p 40-41.

Continuing with the royal diplomas expedited by King Pedro I was that of 1367, in which the king condemned those, who propagated lies about his person, and ordered for their arrest.[505] This, most likely, deals with the rumors invented by the Trastámara camp that Pedro I had been born to Jewish parents and had been swapped at birth in a further attempt to delegitimize the king.

At the *Cortes* of Burgos in 1367, the municipal procurators blamed the negative situation in the kingdom on Pedro I and his heavy taxation. He was accused of being a tyrant, which implied in the Middle Ages a betrayal of the expectations of a ruler, which is the well-being of his subjects. Here ones can see the transmission of the message why certain members of the nobility, clergy and municipal procurators decided to acclaim the illegitimate [bastard] half-brother of Pedro I and how they tried to legitimize their action by portraying the king as unworthy. Enrique of Trastámara acknowledged at the Cortes that the mercenaries at his service had held entire Jewish populations ransom and had extracted huge quantities of money. See Appendices I to Chapter 4.E.1. for more details.

4.E.1.a. Castilian Legislation outside of the Cortes

In the four-volume work, *Colección documental de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369)*, Luis Vicente Díaz Martín assembled a vast number of secular and ecclesiastical texts from the reign of King Pedro I of Castile and organized them chronologically. The sources are annotated in the footnotes after each entry. There were entries of royal letters and charters providing privileges, services or obligations for the king's subjects, some of them pertaining to the Jewish community. However, not all of the minor issues, such as acknowledgment of charter rights or payments of tributes will be mentioned below. Instead, the most extraordinary issues will be presented, especially the king's responses to the assaults on the Jewish quarters and massacre of Jews under the auspices of Enrique de Trastámara, as well as the Crown's response to those actions in the application of royal justice. [See Appendix I, Chapter 4.E.1.for a detailed analysis].

4.E.2. Portuguese Cortes of Elvas of 1361

[505] DÍAZ MARTÍN, t. IV, (1999), p p 263; from: A.M. Murcia, Cart. Real. Eras 1405-1418, f. 5. Copia coetánea.

In terms of the Portuguese *Cortes* of Elvas of 1361, there were similar complaints presented by the municipal procurators in terms of debt contracts, debt payments and excessive usury interests. As in previous legislation under D. Afonso IV, Portuguese legislation dealing with usury would differ in how it was defined and who practiced it. The terms "malice" and "evil doers" would also be used generically and not solely pinpointed on the Jews. The *Cortes* also dealt with setting Jews and Moors apart from Christians. [See Appendices I, Chapter 4.E.2.].

One can interpret through these legal measures that religious minorities should be set apart to impede human contact, especially intimate relations, until these same religious minorities converted to Christianity. Notwithstanding, their separate quarters would have all of the necessary amenities, such as, butcher shops, bakeries, taverns, cobblers, blacksmiths, tailor shops, etc., to function on a daily basis. The law shows the Portuguese Crown's interest in maintaining its Jewish subjects satisfied in the fulfillment of their dietary laws and practices. It demonstrates the Crown's respect for the customs of its minority groups, irrespective of the Church's stance that the Jews were purportedly a perfidious people that refused to recognize Jesus Christ as the Messiah. In spite of the argument that it was in the king's interest to satisfy the needs of the Jews in order to obtain financial support from the Jews and use their expertise in collecting royal taxes and rents, the kings of Portugal did not follow the same path as the monarchs of France and England, who had repeatedly expelled the Jews.

An important difference worth noting in the approach towards debts and debt payments between Castile and Portugal, was the Portuguese municipal procurators did not demand the forgiving of all Jewish debts, as their Castilian counterparts, nor did the Portuguese king impose a moratorium on debt payments or forgive a portion of them. What the Portuguese municipal procurators demanded was that debt payments not be made in kind and that indebted Christians not be left without any means to sustain themselves or that the nobility and knights be forced to sell off or pawn their arms, armor and horses. The Portuguese monarch, realizing that debt forgiveness would have financially ruined the Jews and that a debt moratorium would have placed the Jews in a financially difficult position to make their own payments, allowed the debts be paid off over a longer period of time and that those Christians, who could not pay, would have to ask for permission and explain, within reason, why they could not pay. The Portuguese king would try to help within his power. This was a more conciliatory and compromising approach than the one in Castile.

In terms of the use of the term *evildoers* and *evil deeds*, it is worth noting that King Pedro I of Portugal would not hesitate to arrest prelates and other members of the clergy if they had transgressed the law. This was seen in Article Nº 49 from the General Chapters of the People, in which bishops and the archbishop would excommunicate or threaten to excommunicate royal officials, who needed to apprehend clergymen accused of abuses and hand them over to the vicars. King Pedro I called these ecclesiastical leaders as *evil clergymen* (*clerigos malfectores*) if they were found committing acts of evil (*malefiçios*). This, once again, falls within the parameters of King Pedro I's sense of justice and how justice would not escape anyone, regardless of social order or rank. One needs to remember how the king tortured the archbishop of Porto, for having had intimate relations with the wife of a prominent burgher. Also, to note is that the terms evildoer (*malfector*) and evil acts (*malefiçios*) were not reserved exclusively for the Jews. Instead, the king used it for anyone, regardless of religious confession. The concept of evil was not simply pinned onto the Jew but to any individual of any social rank or religion committing evil acts. This would play a fundamental role in the projection of the image of the Jew in the collective mindset of late medieval Portugal. Contrary to Castile (or for that matter the Crown of Aragon) that was increasingly hostile towards the Jews in both word and action, the kingdom of Portugal had a more sedate and balanced approach to its Jewish communities. There was no riling up the masses to attack Jews and sack their quarters. There were no registered polemic disputes between Christian authorities and Jewish scholars or attacks of Jewish quarters in this period.

Here the investigator must recur to the analyses conducted by Bourdieu in his *Language and Symbolic Power*, Searle in his *Mind, Language and Society,* Gómez Redondo and his epistemological approach to the role of literature and the transmission of propaganda in *Historia de la Prosa Castellana I*, and Nieto Soria in his *Comunicación y Conflicto en la Cultura Política Peninsular*. Searle's argument that language helps create an objective social and institutional reality through literature,[506] which, according to Gómez Redondo, the means to transmit the message to target audiences.[507] As discussed in the conceptual framework, Bourdieu saw *language as an instrument of action and power of the elites.*[508] Part of the goal in linguistic exchange, besides transmitting ideas or information, was *the transmission of*

[506] SEARLE, John. R. (1999). *Mind, Language and Society. Philosophy in the Real World*. Basic Books, p 74-76.
[507] GÓMEZ REDONDO (1998), p 10-13; and, GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (2020). *Historia de la Poesía Medieval Castellana, Tomo I, La Trama de las Materias*. Ediciones Cátedra, p 11-13.
[508] BOURDIEU, Pierre (1991). *Language & Symbolic Power*. Harvard University Press, p 37.

emotions through the awakening and reviving of socially marked experiences. Bourdieu went further to claim that religious leaders and politicians achieve their greatest ideological successes through the use of particular words that have many definitions and that are employed in their discourse and can be used to manipulate their target audience or public.[509] As such, the loaded terms of *evildoers* and *evil* acts not only associated with the Jews, but to the high ranking members of the clergy would play a fundamental role in the shaping, transmission and reception of such messages and images in Portugal.

The same could be applied to the loaded language used in the Castilian *Cortes* of 1367, in which Pedro I was classified as an *evil tyrant* and, which to an extent, could be applied to all of his associates, including the Jews. As mentioned above, the purpose of the transmission of messages and images of emotions marked by experience, and if they happened to have been negative, such as indebtedness in times of economic crises, then these messages would simply reawaken them. As such, society as a whole, would be affected by the proclamation of laws in the public squares of towns and cities.

Here is when Nieto Soria's discussion of communication and conflict in the political culture of the Iberian Peninsula comes into play. Nieto Soria explained how *space* acquired a relevant position in the political communication processes in respect to power that encompass *organization, mobilization, message selection*, all within the *location* in which political interaction took place. As there is a relationship between power and space, political communication of the elites, as a necessary component to the practice of their power, needs and claims the *availability of public space as a requirement as a means of transmission of the elites' messages*. Nieto Soria acknowledged that the study of the *public space in the successful transmission and reception of the elites' messages* is part of the many forms of *political communication*. He went further to assert that in the late medieval period, the public sphere was a well-structured space for the expression of power relations under strict ritualization conditions that would only allow the transmission of messages and their acclaim by the crowd. The *public space* was reduced basically to an *instrument of political pedagogy*, in which an image of the sublimation of royal power was accompanied by another

[509] BOURDIEU (1991), p 39.

complementary image of hierarchical structuring of political society with the presence of ecclesiastical, noble and urban power.[510]

Unfortunately, there is no documentation for the first *Cortes* held by the new king Fernando I of Portugal. There is only mention of them in Article 6 of the Special Chapters of Santarém for the Lisbon *Cortes* of 1371. Following the royal itinerary of Fernando I, the first *Cortes* under Fernando I could have been the *Cortes* at Coimbra either in June-July 1367 or December 1369. The content of the *Cortes* remains unknown.[511]

4.E.3. Portuguese Chancelleries of D. Pedro I

Not all of the royal legislation were limited to acts of the *Cortes*, but also letters, charters and diplomas dispensed by the king and recorded by the chancellery. The Book of chancelleries of Portuguese King Dom Pedro I, also presents many entries about the Portuguese Jews. Some of these entries were about the granting or confirmation of charter rights of the Jewish communities in many Portuguese towns and cities; some being the possession of homes or shops. Other entries discussed the ways in which loans/credit had to be contractually made without excessive interests. An important royal letter[512] of 1358 was the king stating that notary publics could not deny Jews from making timely contracts with Christians as long as there was no evidence of deceit. Notary publics could also not deny that Jews from making purchase agreements with Christians. The same applied to the purchase, leasing and renting of real estate. There had to be two notary publics or a judge present to confirm that there was no intent of deceit. The king ordered that the aforementioned be considered as valid and respected.[513]

4.E.4. Ordenações Afonsinas

In the *Afonsine Ordinances*, there were laws that apparently were dated from the reign of D. Afonso IV that are not found in the *Qadernos das Cortes* or in the *Book of Chancelleries*.

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[510] NIETO SORIA, José Manuel (2018). "Comunicación y Conflicto Político: Algunas Perspectivas de Análisis" in *Comunicación y Conflicto en la Cultura Política Peninsular (Siglos XIII al XV)*. José Manuel Nieto Soria y Óscar Villarroel González (coords.). Silex Ediciones, p 35-38.

[511] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I, 1367-1383* (1990). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 11. To see Art. 6 of the Special Chapters of Santarém of the Cortes of 1371, p 75.

[512] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. Pedro I*, (1984), [289, fl. 22vº-23].

[513] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. Pedro I*, (1984), p 98-99.

Perhaps, these are the laws from those lost books of chancelleries that was pointed out in the previous chapter.

Title LXIIII[514] dates from 1352 and dealt with how the Jewish communities were to pay their royal services or tributes. Unlike the typical complaints presented either by the municipal procurators about the Jews or the Jewish leaders presenting their complaints about Christians abusing their positions or not paying their debts, the items in this title paint a picture of everyday life of the Jewish community in Portugal as they discuss, not only the amount of personal poll tax to be paid for each gender and age group, but the tributes to be paid on the things that the Jews produced or merchandise they purchased or sold, ranging from grapes and wine, olives, olive oil and cattle they produced off of their own estates to other daily products, such as grain, flour, bread, honey, beeswax, cloth, iron, copper, silver and gold.

4.E.5. Synods of Castile and Portugal, 1352-1369

4.E.5.a. Synods in Castile

In this period, there were few synods held in Castile. What were held instead were provincial councils. According to the extensive work conducted by Antonio García y García, in volume XI, *there were no synods held in Seville in the 13th and 14th centuries, but only one held in the city in the 15th century*. In fact, there were no synods held in the cities of volume XI: Cádiz, Cartagena, Córdoba, Granada (still in Muslim hands), Málaga (still in Muslim hands) and Seville. The city with the most synods was Cartagena (20 in the 14th century, 5 in the 15th century and 2 until the mid-16th century), according to Antonio García y García, has been subject to many recent studies, which have been partial and disperse. Following Cartagena, is Córdoba with a total of four synods – none in the 13th, one in the 14th, one in the 15th and one in the 16th centuries. Synodal conferences in Málaga and Seville were scarce – especially Seville, as it was such an important diocese. *What was celebrated in 1352 and 1412 were not synodal diocese synods but provincial councils.*[515]

[514] *Ordenações Afonsinas, Livro 2* (1984). Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, p 445-450.
[515] *Synodicon Hispanum v. XI Cádiz, Canarias, Cartagena, Córdoba, Granada, Málaga y Sevilla* (2013). Antonio GARCÍA y GARCÍA (ED. DIRIGIDA). Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid, 2013. Prologue, p XIII-XIV, XVI.

In terms of the two late medieval diocese synods of 1352 and 1412, there is no mentioning of the Jews. According to García y García, it was well known that a *provincial council* was celebrated in Seville from 21-23 May 1352. Unfortunately, *none of the acts from this council were kept*. However, the sparse information about them, indicate that the topics were the usual ones of how many godparents were allowed during a baptism and that no one dispense of matrimonial amonestations.[516]

However, there was a synod held in Toledo on 3 May 1356. *Toledo Synod 12* led by Archbishop Blas de Fernández. [41-42] written in Latin, forbade once again Muslims and Jews from attending mass, irrespective of being male or female.[517] Here is a clear case of the foundation of confessional inferiority, which corresponds to nº 4 according to Monsalvo Antón's classification of discriminatory laws.

4.E.5.b. Synods in Portugal

Unfortunately, the in-depth compendium of Iberian synods, *Synodicon Hispanum* led by Antonio García y García[518] did not find any Portuguese synods that registered any complaints about the Jews in the period 1352-1369. Once again, the emphasis was the issue with the lack of preparation, training or education of the clergy in Latin, giving mass, baptizing, living with women, etc. [See Appendices I, Ch. 4.E.5. for explanations on the lack of documentation].

4.F. Chronicles of Castile and Portugal, 1352-1369

In terms of the particular chroniclers for Castile and Portugal, two outstanding representatives of the respective kingdoms come to light: Count Pero López de Ayala in Castile and Fernão

[516] *Synodicon Hispanum v. XI*, p 633. The first synod mentioned is classified under "The Constitution of Nuño de Fuentes, who was nominated as Bishop of Astorga 7 April 1346 and was transferred to Seville 28 January 1349, where he died in 1361.

[517] *Synodicon Hispanum X Cuenca y Toledo* (2011). Dir. Antonio García y García. Biblioteca de Autores Critianos. As part of the collection of the medieval synods of the Iberian Peninsula, Part 10 is dedicated to those synods that took place in Toledo and Cuenca. The focus of the analysis of this volume will be on the ecclesiastical legislation passed concerning the Jews. There was a total of 39 synods held; 18 in Cuenca and 21 in Toledo. The majority of them were held in the 14th and 15th centuries. 16 were held in the 14th century – 3 in Cuenca and 13 in Toledo; whereas there were 18 held in the 15th century – 14 in Cuenca and 4 in Toledo. In the 13th century, there was only one synod held in Toledo. In the time period in which *Synodicon Hispanum* is focused – from the 4th Lateran Council of 1215 to the mid-16th century (1563), there was a synod held in Alcalá de Henares in 1291 (p xiii). (p 581-582). Manuscript: G fol. 1r-8v (base code); N fol. 7r 27v apparently a copy of Codex G.

[518] *Synodicon Hispanum, v. 2 – Portugal* (1982). Edición Crítica dirigida por Antonio García y García. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.

Lopes in Portugal. Although Fernão Lopes was younger than the Castilian chronicler, the two were contemporaries and wrote different interpretations of events in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Not only were their interpretations different, the two had different narrative styles: Lopes having a more vivid, colorful, and descriptive style that brought the reader into the narrated scenarios, whereas López de Ayala had a more dry, succinct, detailed and objective style of relating events.[519] [For a detailed comparative analysis of the two chroniclers, see Appendix III, Chapter 4.F.].

4.F.1. Castilian Chronicles and the Jews

What is key in terms of the narrative of Pero López de Ayala and the Jews, was the detail in his description of the anti-Jewish policies of the pretender to the Castilian throne, Count Enrique de Trastámara, as a means of rallying popular support by exploiting anti-Jewish sentiment from the lower strata of society and their most basic instincts.

Most important in the portrayal of Castilian Jews in the *Crónica de Don Pedro Primero*, besides the role played by prominent Jews, such as Simuel el Leví,[520] was the active anti-Jewish propaganda conducted by Count Enrique de Trastámara in coopting the support of the commoners and rabble in his bid for the throne against his half-brother, Pedro I. Part of the propaganda of the Enrique de Trastámara camp, besides calling Pedro I a tyrant, was to claim that he was Judeophile and purportedly born of Jewish parents and that he was exchanged at birth. All of these tactics and strategies were to delegitimize Pedro I in the eyes of his subjects and legitimize Enrique de Trastámara's claim for the throne. Count Enrique de Trastámara and his aristocratic supporters would try three times (1355, 1360, 1366-69) in his attempt to snatch the crown from his half-brother before succeeding in 1369. In those three attempts, Enrique de Trastámara would allow the rabble to unleash its frustration and anger on the Jews and allowed them to pillage, sack and plunder, while the pretender to the Castilian throne would hold entire Jewish communities as hostage (Burgos and Toledo) in demands for heavy ransoms to be paid. This would legitimize in the eyes of the common

[519] For a more detailed account of the stylistic differences between the two medieval historians, read: LOZOYA, Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala, Marqués de. "El Cronista don Pedro López de Ayala y la historiografía portuguesa" in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Tomo 102, 1933, p 115-157.
[520] AMRAN, Rica (2009). Los Judíos en las Crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: Los acontecimientos de 1391. In *Autour de Pedro López de Ayala*. Coordination de Rica Amran. Unviersité de Picardie. INDIGO & Côté-femmes éditions, p 207.

people, the use of entire religious communities as objects of exchange besides being targets of popular hatred and resentment.[521] [See Appendices III, Chapter 4.F.1. for more analysis].

What is astonishing about this admission by López de Ayala about Count Enrique's responsibility of the massacres, was that there were absolutely no qualms about condoning mass murder of a group of people, regardless of their minority religious status, in order to achieve a specific political goal. The negative image projected of Enrique de Trastámara for posterity was damning. It leads readers to conclude that Enrique de Trastámara was a completely amoral character, in spite of the count classifying his own half-brother as a tyrant. Perhaps López de Ayala, as the chronicler commissioned to ennoble the Trastámara dynasty, believed that Count Enrique's actions were supported by the common people and that future generations would side with his interpretation of the wonton destruction of the outcast and marginalized minority group by the usurper of the Castilian throne, and had no second thoughts about the consequences of such actions and the consequences for Castilian Jews in the years and decades to come.

In Enrique of Trastámara's first attempt in seizing power in 1355, his forces assaulted the Jewish quarters of Toledo. The larger enclosed area survived the onslaught, whereas the Alcana, which did not have any protective walls, suffered a horrific massacre. Pedro I was able to come to the rescue of the fortified Jewish quarters and force Enrique to retreat and go into exile. In 1360, Enrique of Trastámara and his forces entered Castile once again and attacked Nájera, allowing the mob to slaughter the Jewish community. Unfortunately, Count Enrique's attacks on Jews and assaults on Jewish quarters would not stop at Nájara. His forces would sack the Jewish quarters of Miranda de Ebro. However, López de Ayala did not write in his chronicle if Jews were slaughtered or not during the pillaging.[522]

Once again, Enrique de Trastámara would be forced to flee from Castile and would only return six years later in 1366 for his third and final successful attempt to seize the Castilian throne that would last until 1369. Once again, Enrique de Trastámara would use his anti-Jewish campaign as a means of rallying up popular support and unleashing mob violence

[521] AMRAN (2009), p 205-206, 208-209. According to Amran, Enrique de Trastámara organized the assaults of the Jewish quarters. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (2009). Don Pedro López de Ayala. Un alavés clave de tres reinados in *Autour de Pedro López de Ayala*. Coordination de Rica Amrán. Université de Picardie. INDIGO & Côté-femmes éditions, p 39-40.
[522] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 145-146, 239-241.

against the Jewish minority. However, this time, he would hold the Jewish communities as hostages to extract heavy ransoms under the threat of selling the Jews off into captivity.

The difference between the pogroms of Navarre in the 1320s and Catalonia in 1348 was that these assaults were not simply condoned but led by a rival secular political elite. The Trastámara camp encouraged mass murder of a minority group that in principle was supposedly protected by both the Church and the Crown. In other words, the pretender to the throne was officially espousing the wonton murder of those, whom he was expected to protect. Enrique de Trastámara would condemn his half-brother's rule as arbitrary and tyrannical, use it as part of his propaganda campaign, but in turn, was an arbitrary tyrant himself.

During the final phase of the dynastic war (1366-1369), Enrique II would besiege Jewish quarters and demand exorbitant ransoms of one *cuento* or one million maravedis from the Jewish communities of Toledo and Burgos in 1367 under the threat of selling them off into slavery if they did not pay in full. The rival king would repeat the same act in 1369.[523]

López de Ayala did not write in his chronicle about how Enrique de Trastámara, after the assassination of Pedro I, dispatched a royal decree (albalá) on 6 June 1369 demanding twenty thousand gold doubloons from the Jewish community of Toledo. If the Jewish community could not come up with the sum, then they would be sold off into slavery. This albalá is found in archives of the Cathedral of Toledo.[524] Perhaps, López de Ayala was told by the king not to present such a negative narrative of holding once again a defenseless group of loyal subjects as hostage after the king had been murdered and the war was winding down?

What is horrific about holding an entire religious community under ransom, in which supposedly a sovereign is to protect it according to both canon and secular law, is the message conveyed that Christians can extort huge amounts of money from a minority religious group without any consequences. The message is also that the Castilian Crown has no moral obligation to protect its defenseless subjects nor follow any law, as long as it can achieve its objectives, and in the case of extracting a huge ransom from a religious

[523] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991, p 321-322, 402.
[524] This albalá is recorded in AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 571-573.

community that had faithfully followed the murdered sovereign, the rival sovereign could blackmail anyone it pleased.

López de Ayala, as most chroniclers of the period, transmitted certain specific images of his mentor's enemies and rivals in a negative light, while presenting his mentor, the new rulers of the Trastámara dynasty, in a very positive one. The chronicle was the frontispiece genre par excellence of the elaboration of the official royal discourse. The new Castilian king, Enrique II, who had usurped the throne from his half-brother, Pedro I, after the third and successful attempt in a bloody civil war from 1366-1369, hired Count Pero López de Ayala to construct or better yet, "craft" a historical memory of Pedro I, as "the Cruel", while presenting his half-brother as the legitimate ruler of Castile. Pero López de Ayala had to compete with different competing images and narratives supported by specific political positions.[525] Hired by Enrique II, López de Ayala was tasked to construct a lasting image of his mentor as the legitimate ruler. In order to do so, López de Ayala had to create a narrative that would delegitimize the former king, Pedro I, by focusing on events in a certain light, through exaggeration of acts committed by Pedro I or embellishment of acts committed by Enrique de Trastámara. In certain cases, there were passages, in which historians could not certify if they had occurred or not. The most important aspect is that Pero López de Ayala was successful in establishing the lasting image of a delegitimized and cruel monarch.[526]

Literary writers in the late medieval period dedicated much of their writing in the support of their sponsors and wrote to the detriment of their sponsors' rivals and enemies. During the Castilian Civil War of 1366-1369, poets, writers and jugglers from both sides of the conflict composed ballads known as *romances noticieros*, which were basically the news of the latest

[525] RODRIGUEZ, Bretton (May 2015). Competing Images of Pedro I: López de Ayala and the Formation of Historical Memory. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 7(2), p 79. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2015), p 431, 434-435. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1778.

[526] RODRIGUEZ (2015), p 80. On p 90: Part of the way that López de Ayala was able to convince contemporary and posthumous audiences over many different competing views, including those of Geoffrey Chaucer, who wrote in favor or Pedro I, was his direct writing style, based on his actual presence during events, and his use of certain literary devices. One of them was the use of the "semblanza" or short biographical sketches embedded into the chronicles of the major figures. On p 103: Another aspect of the "semblanza" was the ability to speak to the audience in the first person singular and plural in order to establish a direct link to his readers. Through the use of "we" he was to include the reader into the Trastámara camp in a more subtle way than through outright propaganda. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1783, 1786.

events. Their purpose was to serve as political propaganda to shape public opinion and define for the audience, which attitude to take towards the events of the war.[527]

As commented by Rica Amran, Nuria Corral Sánchez and Valdeón Baruque, López de Ayala[528] did not criticize Enrique of Trastámara's role and his anti-Jewish propaganda in the assaults of many Jewish quarters. Rica Amran classified Pero López de Ayala as an indisputable follower of the Trastámara dynasty, whose work was dedicated in legitimizing the regime, hardly made any allusion to the entire propagandistic apparatus used by the newly installed monarch during his power grab in 1355, 1360 and 1366-69.[529] However, there is an issue with this allegation, as López de Ayala did narrate how Enrique of Trastámara and his knights arrived in Nájera in 1360, how they ordered the murder of Jews because people gladly committed these murders.

> Cómo el conde don Enrique… e los otros caballeros… llegaron a Nájara, e ficieron matar a los judíos. E esta muerte de los judíos fizo facer el conde don Enrique, porque las gentes lo facian de buena voluntad….[530]

In other words, López de Ayala in a subtle and indirect manner stated that Enrique de Trastámara acquiesced in the slaughter of Jews and did not intervene to stop it. The role of leadership is fundamental in this case, as by not stopping the mass murder of a maligned and marginalized minority group, that same leadership demonstrated its tacit agreement to the murderous acts. The wonton mass murder would convey the message to the recipient audience or public that unleashing built up resentment, frustration and hatred towards a group of socially ostracized people was not only tolerated, but outright encouraged.

[527] RODRIGUEZ (2015), p 82. GÓMEZ REDONDO (1999), p 1776-1782.
[528] CORRAL SÁNCHEZ, Nuria (2014). El Pogromo de 1391 en las *Crónicas* de Pero López de Ayala. *Ab Initio,* Núm. 10, p 61-75. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio, 2ª ed.* AMRAN, Rica (2009). *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla: Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (Siglos XIV-XVI)*, Junta de Castilla y León.
[529] AMRÁN (2009), p 65.
[530] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 239.

4.F.2. Portuguese Chronicles and the Jews

Unlike Castile, Portugal in this period did not suffer a horrific civil and dynastic war with foreign participation wreaking havoc across the countryside with pillage and plunder and targeting one of its religious minorities for political and economic/financial benefit. There were no assaults of the Jewish quarters and the slaughter of Jews in Portugal. Nor were there any Portuguese leaders observing violent mobs attacking Jews and remaining immobile. There were no Portuguese monarchs or members of the Portuguese nobility holding entire Jewish communities as hostage for exorbitant ransoms. Here leadership played a completely different role as in Castile. As such, the message towards the common people would be different in Castile than in Portugal and of what would be tolerated or not from their respective leadership.

Nonetheless, there is an account that is of most interest for this thesis. It is when King Pedro I ordered to slit the throats of two of his squires for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant on his way back home from his business travels of selling spices. Fernão Lopes wrote that the king in his quest for justice would even whip evildoers (*malfeitores*) with his own hand. Upon the arrest of the two squires, the king asked them what had happened and the partners in crime denied having anything to do with it and denied it ever happening. The king, not convinced, told them to tell the truth or that they would be tortured until they had confessed the truth. The king then told them how he was to execute them and with tears in their eyes they beseeched him that men of such standing should not die because of a Jew. Not touched by their pleas, the king had their throats slit.[531] [See Appendices III, chapter 4.F.2. for an analysis of Fernão Lopes' work].

Important from these moralizing stories narrated by Fernão Lopes, was not only the image of a sovereign who sought justice throughout his kingdom, but the image portrayed of one who did not discriminate against any subject regardless of social status and rank or religious confession. Also important is how the Portuguese texts use the term *malfeitores* and *maleficio* to classify subjects and their actions that harmed the realm.

[531] LOPES (2007), p 27-30.

4.F.3. Comparison between Portuguese and Castilian Chronicles on Samuel Levi

Here a comparison-contrast of Portuguese and Castilian chronicles is analyzed to see how the same incidents with a prominent court Jew, Don Simuel Leví, were created or re-created in order to transmit different messages, albeit minor on the surface, could slightly change the image portrayed of the Jews in the collective mindset and imaginary of each kingdom. Such interpretations are necessary in order to understand the mindsets of the elites that produce such works on how the image of the Jews are shaped and transmitted to target audiences. [See the Appendix III, Ch. 4.F.3 for a detailed comparative analysis of the work].

4.F.4. Hebrew Chronicles

Fortunately, there exists Jewish narratives on the Dynastic War in Castile between Pedro I and his half-brother Enrique of Trastámara. However, as previously discussed, the Jewish chronicles were less of an accurate historical record than a testament to moral and ethical conduct. The Hebrew chronicle written by Samuel Çarça or Zarza is *Makor Hayyim* or *Fountain/Source of Life*. It is found in Francisco Cantera Burgos' edition of Salomón ben Verga's *Chébet Jehuda (La Vara de Judá)* from 1927.[532] Zarza's work presents a different interpretation of events by narrating the reprehensible behavior of both parties and their approach to the Jews. Not only would Pedro I demand huge sums of money from the Jews from Zamora to Madrid in order to finance his campaigns, but he would sell of the Jews of Jaén to the Emir of Granada in order to rally the emir's support in the waning days of the Civil War. Zarza's chronicle would present a different image of Pedro I and his opportunistic and treacherous stance towards his once loyal and faithful Jewish subjects and how they were expendable in his eyes. [See Appendices III, chapter 4.F.4. for a detailed discussion of the Castilian civil war from a Jewish perspective].

4.F.5. Sem Tob de Carrión: Proverbios Morales

The revered mid-14th century Castilian Jewish scholar, Sem Tob of Carrión, played an important role, not only in Jewish intellectual circles, but in gentile ones as well. His full name was Rabbi Shem Tov ben Yitzhak Ardutiel.[533] The author himself wrote in his work

[532] ZARZA, Salomón in ben VERGA, Salomón. *Chébet Jehuda (La Vara de Judá).* Traducción española con un estudio preliminar por Francisco Cantera Burgos. Librería López-Guevara: Granada, 1927, p 277-279.
[533] GÓMEZ REDONDO (2020), p 644. Gómez Redondo explains that if Sem Tob was a rabbi from Carrión, then most likely, he was Sem Tob ibn Ardutiel ben Isaac, member of the Ardot family. SHEPARD, Sanford (1985). editor of *Proverbios Morales* de Sem Tob de Carrión. Editorial Castalia, p 9-10. According to Shepard, Sem Tob

that he was saint or santo, which many believe is the adaptation or deformation of the Hebrew name of Sem Ton, which means "good name".[534] He was friends, or at least knew very well the Castilian kings Alfonso XI and his son, Pedro I, to whom he would dedicate his *Proverbios Morales* (Moral Proverbs) around 1355 to 1360.[535] Remarkable in the writing of his *Proverbios Morales* was that it was redacted not in Hebrew but in Castilian, which shows the extent of cultural assimilation by Jewish intellectuals in Castile by the mid-14th century. Also noticeable is during the decline in the coexistence between the religious confessions and the increasing hostility felt by the common people and expressed either through anti-Jewish legislation in the *Cortes* or the outbursts of violence towards the Jewish communities by the rabble during the conflict between the king and his half-brother for the throne, Sem Tob's work would be an oasis of wisdom shared amongst the elites of both Jewish and Christian confessions for at least a century. [See Appendices III, Ch. 4.F.5. for an analysis of the work].

Sem Tob's work overall, represents to an extent, the direct link that many prominent Jews of the elite had to the monarchs and of the many services rendered to the Crown, either pecuniary or intellectually. It is a historical landmark of how Castilian monarchs listened or feigned to listen to the advice and council of court Jews or those associated with prominent Jewish families. It is a gem of sapiential work from the mid-14th century. As the historical record will show, neither Pedro I nor his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, would follow the normative and sapiential advice of the Jewish sage or that of any wiseman or woman. Both monarchs were more concerned with either keeping or seizing power at any cost, including the murder of relatives and many noblemen, the incitement of physical violence and massacre of religious minorities and outright war. They would clearly display the lack of balance and measure that Sem Tob called upon. They showed unlimited greed, envy, deception and self-indulgence. One could argue that ironically King Pedro I would fall from power and grace for not following the basic precepts of a balanced life as clearly defined by Sem Tob and for having been driven by his own hubris, pride, cruelty and arbitrary rule.

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was related to the logician and medic Rabbi Eleazar Cohen ben Ardot of Mallorca. He also raised cattle. PERRY, Theodore (1986). *Proverbios Morales* by Santob de Carrión. Spanish Series, 21. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, p I.

[534] DÍAZ-MAS, Paloma y MOTA, Carlos (1988). *Proverbios Morales* de Sem Tob de Carrión. Ediciones Cátedra, p 26.

[535] Ibid., p 11, 27. What indicates the aforementioned dates of writing was the reference in verses 724 of war and much uproar (*e aparte guerra d'ella, e mal bolliçio*), p 243. This could refer to the holding the king hostage at Toro by his half-brothers in 1354 and the beginning of the armed conflict between King Pedro I and his half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara as of 1355. What may indicate that it was written prior to 1360, was that the work did not mention or make reference to the fall of the king's treasurer, Semuel ha Leví in 1360, p 27-28.

Conclusion to Chapter 4

The developments in both Castile and Portugal in the approach to their Jewish minorities, not only began to differ in terms of how they were described in legislation, but how they were actually treated. As seen, the challenger to the Castilian throne, Enrique de Trastámara, weaponized anti-Jewish sentiment to weaken the position of his half-brother, the legitimate king, Pedro I. Death and destruction were unleashed against the Jewish minority group. The angry Christian mobs would sack, pillage and plunder the Jewish quarters, whereas the pretender to the Castilian throne would hold entire Jewish communities, such as Burgos and Toledo, hostage until they paid heavy ransoms under the threat of being sold off as slaves. The message conveyed could not be more than clear – Jews were expendable and could be used for political motives. The Jewish communities of Portugal went through a less hostile process of regulation of their activities – from debt contracts to living in determined separate quarters. The measure to set them apart is not to be completely viewed as merely marginalization. As seen from records, the Jews of Trancoso had complained to the Portuguese monarch that they wanted even more protection of their quarters as certain Christian officials, noblemen and knights would purportedly abuse their positions and temporarily settle into Jewish homes, take their food and clothes. In other words, the Portuguese Jews wanted more security from abuse. However, upon complaints from the municipal procurators that the Jews simply had to fulfill their obligations as the Christian town inhabitants, did the king reverse his original decision. In Castile, on the other hand, the pretender to the throne made it an official policy to allow angry Christian mobs to attack Jews in their quarters, as well as to hold entire Jewish communities as hostage for extortive ransoms.

In terms of legislation, expedited Castilian and Portuguese laws began to change as well. Even though the municipal procurators of both kingdoms would present similar types of complaints about the Jews, Enrique de Trastámara of Castile in 1366 and 1367 could only try to dampen or stifle the acute hostility of the commoners, whereas Pedro I of Portugal was more successful in taming the verbal attacks from Portuguese municipal procurators. The *Cortes* of Elvas of 1361 asserted how no single individual, regardless of their religion, could be pulled or forced out of a church, if they had sought refuge there. The law distinctly stated Christians, Jews and Muslims. In 1364, Pedro I of Portugal granted the Jews of Torres Novas

the right to have their own butchers to treat their meats, which demonstrated the Portuguese Crown's tolerance towards the religious and dietary mandates of his minority groups. Even though such measures were a tradition amongst Iberian kings, the horrific events in Castile showed a complete shift in attitudes and approaches to its Jewish minority, whereas that of Portugal seemed to have remained in the parameters of previous practice.

Title LXIIII in the second book of the Portuguese *Ordenações Afonsinas*, also gave historians and other investigators, a glimpse into everyday life of the Portuguese Jewish community in 1352, as it not only stated how much poll taxes the Jews had to pay according to age and gender, but the tributes to be paid on the things that the Jews produced or merchandise they purchased or sold, ranging from grapes and wine, olives, olive oil and cattle they produced off of their own estates to other daily products, such as grain, flour, bread, honey, beeswax, cloth, iron, copper, silver and gold. It shows that the Jewish community did not depend solely on commerce and finance, but agricultural production as well.

Perhaps most telling was language used in the legislation in both kingdoms. Portuguese sources used terms to describe the *financial activities* of Jews as: excessive, exorbitant, harmful, usury, suffer damages and damaged, whereas Castilian sources used terms to *describe the Jews* such as: selfishness, egoism, greed, duplicity and mendacity. Only twice did the word malice and once the word deceit appear in Portuguese sources, such as the *Actas das Cortes, Reinado de D. Afonso IV (1325-1357)*, Pragmática de 1340, fl. 4, p 114, with a copy in the *Livro das Leis e Posturas* – both sources used *the ways that men would use* – which is generic and open-ended if not vague language usage, instead of claiming that malice was an inherent trait of the Jews. The Portuguese chancellery book during the reign of Pedro I, *Chancelaria de Pedro I (1357-1367)*, fl.63, p 258, mentioned only *if Jews were found using malice and deceit* and not that the Jews were inherently malicious and deceitful. This came into complete contrast when compared to the numerous times words like mendacity and greed appeared in Castilian sources to describe the Jews per se.

One might argue that there is little to no difference in the effects of the nuanced or differentiated language use in the projection of an image or images of an individual or societal group. However, the common people after having been fed a continuously negative narrative over centuries about the Jews as actually being Christ killers, desecrating the Holy Host in order to re-enact the Passion of Christ, committing acts of blood libel and as being

deceitful business people, the difference in the use of classifying terms made a difference in the two kingdoms. As has been seen, there has been no evidence found of public polemic controversies in Portugal, as in the Crown of Aragon, nor of Jews purportedly swapping the legitimate heir to the throne with a Jewish newborn, as in Castile. Contrary to Castile, which assigned purported negative traits to the Jews as inherent in their nature, Portuguese legislature stated if Jews were caught committing such acts, it was part of the many ways that men would use to deceive others. The projection of the image is different.

Also telling was the difference in approach to the murder of Jews by Christians under the reign of both Pedros. As had previously been noted, in 1350 Pedro I of Castile had banned Christian men, who had been involved in the murder of Jews in Córdoba and Jaén to four months service at the frontier of the Emirate of Granada. Hardly a punishment for a crime such as murder, especially when the Jewish subjects were considered as property of the Crown. On the other hand, Pedro I of Portugal had two of his courtesans executed by slitting their throats for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant. The Portuguese monarch seemed to be keener on the full application of the law in enforcing justice to murder.

The end of the dynastic conflict in Castile would not bring a lasting peace for the Jewish communities, as it was the Trastámara camp who won the contest for the throne. Enrique II would hold the Jewish communities of Burgos and Toledo hostage one last time to extort heavy ransom payments so as not to be sold off into slavery. As such, the legal situation of the Jews would remain uncertain, in spite of Enrique II's and his noblemen sudden reversal of their anti-Jewish stance and the hiring of prominent Jews to their courts to collect rents and taxes, as well as run the accounting, the atmosphere between the common people and the Jewish minority remained extremely strained, if not tenuous at best. As discussed in the role of language and symbolic power, the continuous use of hate propaganda and the unleashing of violence against the Jews to achieve Enrique de Trastámara's short-term political goals of usurping the Crown would prove to be a huge liability for the new monarch in the long-run.

Chapter 5. Castile and Portugal, 1369-1383

Ch. 5.A. Situation of Castile and Portugal

The period between 1369, with the advent of the Trastámara dynasty in Castile and the reign of Fernando I of Portugal, would be one of continued economic difficulties and reappearances of the Plague, along with legislation passed to deal with the problems of the lack of land use and low agricultural production, especially grain. In Portugal, the laws passed by Fernando I in 1375, would be called *Lei das Sesmarias* (Law of the Sesmarias). Whereas in Castile King Enrique II would spend most of his reign securing the crown that he had usurped from his half-brother, Pedro I. In contrast to Castile, Fernando I of Portugal, would promote trade and commerce, as well as improve on the fortifications of towns and cities, that would prove decisive during the future wars with Castile after the king's death. Nonetheless, taxation and currency devaluation between 1369-1372 would contribute to the increase in pre-exiting social tensions. His marriage to the Galician noblewoman, Leonor Teles, also did not alleviate socio-political tensions between the Crown and his subjects.[536]

5.A.1. Castile: Failure to return to normalcy

Enrique II began his reign by grating large estates and titles to those noblemen, who supported him during the many years of open conflict with King Pedro I (1355, 1360, 1366-69), as his hold on power was unsure and tenuous at best. At first, it seemed that Enrique II would be in the grips of the nobility and that his freedom of rule as a sovereign would be limited. The period also marked the rise of the lower nobility to higher ranks, as the older families were wiped out by the many years of conflict with the Crown throughout the 14th century.[537] It would take the founder of the new dynasty many years before he could consolidate his power, as supporters of the assassinated king would refuse to acknowledge Enrique II as their king, as well as opposition from the neighboring kingdoms of Portugal and

[536] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, *Livro IV*, (1984). Título LXXXI. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, p 281-304. RAU, Virgínia (1982). *Sesmarias medievais portuguesas. Prólogo e adenda documental por José Manuel Garcia.* Editorial Presença, p 89. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, Bernardo (2021). "I Parte – Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)" in *História de Portugal*, Rui Ramos, (coord), 1ª Edição. Publicações Dom Quixote, p 129-130.

[537] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1975). *Los Conflictos sociales en el Reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV. Historia de los Movimientos Sociales*. Siglo XXI Editores, p 96-99. RUIZ, Teofilo (2007). *Spain's Centuries of Crisis 1300-1474. A History of Spain*. Blackwell Publishing, p 81. Ruiz would argue that the older families did not disappear completely but would simply be replaced by those families from the lower ranks of the nobility that supported the Trastámara claim to the throne.

Aragon, as well as from the House of Lancaster in England and Gascogne, who would lay claims to the Castilian throne. Portuguese claims to the Castilian Crown under Fernando I would lead to the first of the three *Fernandine Wars*, known in Portuguese as the *Guerras Fernandinas*. The Portuguese forces invaded Galicia, while Enrique II invaded Portugal. The Portuguese king would have to abandon Galicia and return to Portugal to protect his land. Enrique II defeated Lancastrian forces and threatened to invade Gascony, whereas a combined Castilian-French fleet defeated the English naval forces in 1375.[538] A more detailed discussion of the *Fernandine Wars* will be provided in the section dedicated to Portugal.

The victory of Enrique de Trastámara would bring in a return of aristocratic influence in the Crown of Castile. The Trastámara revolution was actually a reactionary one and would be known as the crisis of reproduction of the feudal system. Instead of the more personalized and authoritarian rule of Pedro I, Enrique II based his support on the nobility that supported him throughout the many years of dynastic conflict. Even though, it would seem contradictory and conflictual of such a reliance of the Crown on the aristocracy, in reality the institutions relied on one another to maintain their power. The aristocracy interested in guarding, if not expanding its feudal interests, needed a strong monarchy to act as an arbiter in ruling in the nobility's favor. The monarchy, needed in turn, a strong and powerful aristocracy to maintain certain power structures that were of interest to the Crown. In other words, it was a marriage of convenience. Whereas the nobility increased its power and influence in the kingdom, the influence of Jews began to wane and enter in decline after the orchestrated massacres of Jews and the ransoming of entire Jewish communities by Enrique II and his camp during the dynastic war (1355, 1360, 1366-69).[539]

The new jurisdictional status of the Castilian señoríos included legal dependence of the peasants to the lord. This was a new and different type of seignories from previous ones. According to Ladero Quesada, this new type of seignory was a bad political step, as it would

[538]VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2002). *Los Trastámara: El Triunfo de una Dinastía Bastarda*, 3ª edición. Temas de hoy. Historia, p 42-44. RUIZ (2007), p 82.
[539] FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, Francisco (2004). *La España de los siglos XIII al XV: Transformaciones del feudalismo tardío,* 2ª revisión editada. EDITORIAL NEREA, p 127-128. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2016). Cap. 30: La Revolución Trastámara. In *Historia de España de la Edad Media*, 6ª impresión. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela (coord.). Editorial Ariel, p 678-681. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 94. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2002), p 31-33.

lead to resistance from municipal councils, who would complain to the Crown through legal channels at the *Cortes*. The municipal procurators would also complain about Jewish rent and tax collectors. However, these complaints fell on deaf ears, as the king would continue to rely on both aristocratic and Jewish rent and tax collectors, the latter who would also do the work for the former. Other forms of protest by the commoners were through armed conflict by the peasantry, as the nobility would abuse its new privileges, knowing that royal authority would be too far to dispense justice. The Castilian Crown, in turn, was only interested in the prompt delivery of taxes and rents.[540]

The restructuring of land under the consolidated control of the aristocracy would cause much resentment amongst the peasantry, which would lead to anti-seigneurial movements, such as in Soria y Molina and Paredes de Nava in 1371 under the reign of Enrique II. However, these anti-seigneurial uprisings were limited in scope and did not go beyond limited local areas. Anti-seigneurial stances would also be expressed through the complaints presented at the *Cortes*.[541] As the presence of the aristocracy would also be felt through their fiscal pressure in taxing and charging rents from the peasantry in the countryside and the urban centers, in which in many cases, those same tax and rent collectors were Jews, the association of the aristocrat and Jew in the financial burdens of the commoners would be made in Castile.

5.A.2. Protection of Jews in Portugal

At age 22, Fernando I (1367-1383) assumed the Portuguese throne after his father's death in 1367. Many of the issues that had affected the reigns of Afonso IV and Pedro I would reach their highest point under the new king, as both the plague would recur and a substantial number of plots of land were still not being cultivated. Even though both kings Afonso IV and Pedro I had passed measures to deal with this persistent issue in 1349 and 1361, the problem of a lack of agricultural production, especially grain, still had not been resolved by the time of Fernando I. However, other agricultural production in other areas continued to grow, such as grapes and olives, which, in turn, increased wine and olive oil production. As during the prior reigns, cattle raising, especially ovine, with wool production, continued to

[540] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 511. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE (2004), p 80. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 210.
[541] GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 208. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1975), p 101-103. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 211. RUIZ (2007), p 82.

expand in this period. Due to the scarcity of grain, prices continued to rise. There would be numerous subsistence crises during Fernando I's reign. The years of crises were: 1371-1372 and 1374-1376, as well as the recurrence of the Plague in 1374. In part, the problem was due to the scarcity of labor, as many land laborers fled to the urban centers in the search for higher paying jobs.[542]

Similar to his Castilian neighbor, Fernando I rewarded many members of the nobility, who were close to him with donations and creating new titles. The granting of many titles and privileges would go through his wife, the queen. His marriage with the noblewoman, Leonor Teles, in 1372, who was already married to another Portuguese nobleman, João Lourenço da Cunha, was reason for a scandal. The marriage also caused much tension amongst many members of the Portuguese nobility and prominent urban patricians, as she practiced nepotism by bringing in many relatives to key positions and persecuted those who were critical of her. This marriage also aggravated Portuguese relations with the neighboring kingdom of Castile, in which a peace treaty had been signed at Alcoutim in 1371 after the Portuguese defeat in the First Fernandine War (1369-1371) and would be one of the reasons for the Second Fernandine War (1372-1373). One of the terms stipulated in the treaty was that Fernando I would marry the daughter of the Castilian king, Enrique II of Trastámara so as to seal the peace between the kingdoms.[543]

The Second Fernandine War (1372-1373) would cause a collapse of the Portuguese currency and inflation, which led the municipal procurators at the *Cortes* of 1372 to sanction the king

[542] MARQUES, A. H. Oliveira de (1997). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Das Origens ao Renascimento*. Editorial Presença, p 183-184. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2021), p 129. RAU, Virgínia (1986). *Estudos de História Medieval.* Editorial Presença, p 54. MARQUES, A. H. Oliveira (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV. Nova História de Portuga, vol. IV*. Direcção de Joel Serrão e A.H. Oliveira Marques. Editorial Presença, p 514.

[543] The marriage would also bring into question the legitimacy of heirs to the throne of Portugal and which will be further developed in the following chapter. There is no evidence of any papal dispensation of a nullification of Dona Leonor Teles' marriage to João Lourenço da Cunha. Perhaps such papal dispensation was destroyed by the succeeding dynasty of Avis in order to delegitimize the offspring of the royal couple and promote the narrative that the Portuguese throne was vacant and allowed Master João de Avis, illegitimate son of Pedro I and half-brother to Fernando I to succeed to the throne. LOPES, Fernão (2004). *Crónica de D. Fernando*, 2ª edição. Edição crítica, introdução e índices de Giuliano MACCHI. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 158. CAETANO, Marcello (1981). *História de Direito Português (Sécs. XII-XVI)*. Editorial VERBO, p 434-438. ARNAUT, Salvador Dias (1960). *A crise nacional dos fins do século XIV. A Sucessão de D. Fernando*. FLUC, p 1-19, 33-34. SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal (1080-1415), vol. I Estado, Pátria e Nação,* 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 286, 289-290. MARQUES (1987), p 510-515. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2021), p 130. SÉRGIO, António (1976). *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal*, 5ª edição. Clássicos Sá da Costa, p 26. *Dicionário de História de Portugal, vol. II (Castanhoso-Fez)*, dirigido por SERRÃO, Joel. Livraria Figuerihnas, p 551.

for his actions without prior agreement from the *Cortes* during the war that led to economic crisis.[544] In spite of the intervention of the *Cortes* in the matters of the state, there were several popular uprisings against the lack of leadership from the Crown. These rebellions were drastically repressed in 1371, but would reappear after the Second Fernandine War in 1373 in Abrantes, Alenquer, Lisbon, Leiria, Tomar, Santarém, etc. These rebellions were based on unions or *uniões* of urban self-defense groups, which consisted of small property owners, artisans, middle and low-scale public employees and peons. In part, these urban uprisings had to do with the Fernandine Wars, inflation, collapse of the Portuguese currency, scarcity of grain, taxes, the king's marriage to Leonor Teles and the Crown's lack of sound leadership and apparent military incompetence in the two aforementioned wars. Rural rebellions would occur in Portel in 1374, Montemor-o-Velho in 1375 and Tomar in 1379.[545]

Once peace had been established after the Third Fernandine War (1381-1382), the Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos was signed in April 1383, in which Fernando I's daughter, Dona Beatriz, who was still a young girl, would marry the adult king of Castile, Juan I, instead of the Castilian Crown Prince Don Enrique (future Enrique III). As Fernando I had no legitimate male heir to the throne, upon his death the two would rule over Portugal together. If upon the death of Dona Beatriz, there was no male heir, then the Crown of Portugal would go the king of Castile. Even though the treaties stipulated that the *Cortes*, the minting of coin (currency) and royal officials of the two kingdoms would remain separate, these conditions would further upset many members of the lower nobility, as well as the prominent urban patricians and common people, which, in turn, would increase pre-existing social tensions and lead to a popular explosion against the possible absorption of Portugal into Castile.[546]

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[544] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I (1367-1383*), vol. I. (1990). Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 81-85. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2021), p 129. REIS, António Matos (2007). *História dos Municípios (1050-1383)*. Livros Horizonte, p 187-189. SOUSA (1997), p 413. As a consequence, the king would be forced to remedy the economic situation in conjunction with prior agreement from the Cortes.

[545] LOPES (2004), Cap. LX, LXI, LXIII & LXIV. TAVARES, Mª José Pimenta Ferro (1985). Conflitos sociais em Portugal no século XIV. In *1383-1385 e a Crise Geral dos Séculos XIV/XV. Actas da Jornada de História Medieval*. História & Crítica, p 316-318. COELHO, Maria Helena Cruz da (1990). *Homens, Espaços e Poderes. Séculos XI-XVI, I – Notas do Viver Social*. Livros Horizonte, p 23-24. MORENO, Humberto Baquero (1985). *Marginalidade e Conflitos Sociais em Portugal nos Séculos XIV e XV. Estudos de História*. Editorial Presença, p 20-21. GOMES, Rita Costa (2009). *D. Fernando. Reis de Portugal*. Círculo de Leitores. Temas & Debates, p 29-30. MARQUES (1987), p 516-519. SOUSA (1997), p 413. CAETANO (1981), p 436. SERRÃO, (2001), p 289. Unfortunately, due to the lack of sources, it is difficult to claim with certainty the exact causes for these peasant rebellions. It was the common people that rebelled the most, as they were the ones exposed to all of the physical harm of the wars, as well as the effects of hunger due to a lack of bread and inflationary prices.

[546] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I (1367-1383),* vol. II (1993). Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica. Centro de Estudos Históricos, p 77-82, p 167-172. LOPES (2004), cap. CLXXV-CLXXVII, p

In an attempt to remedy the exposure and relative weakness of Portuguese defenses, the king would improve and expand Portuguese fortifications, castles and the defensive walls of many towns and cities, which were either destroyed or their *extramuro* boroughs, including Jewish and Muslims quarters, were devastated.[547] This decision would prove to be decisive in the future war (1383-1385) between Castilian king Juan I and the Portuguese defender of the realm, Master João of Avis, who would be acclaimed king of Portugal in April 1385.In order to finance these measures, the Crown needed to increase its revenue. It was during the reign of Fernando I that the *sisas*, or tax on commercial transactions of provisional nature, became permanent. The royal *sisa* taxed all social orders that previously escaped taxation by claiming privilege as municipalities could not tax the landed nobility or clergy. As such, both efficiency and equity were interlinked. Another form of increasing royal revenues were through the customs' tithe, which taxed foreign products entering the kingdom.[548]

In 1375, King Fernando I, in an effort to counter the detrimental effects of the scarcity of grain, lack of manual rural labor, purported excessive demands of labor for higher wages and salaries, obliging rural laborers and farmers to return to the land if they did not have

601-610. SOUSA (1997), p 412-414. SÉRGIO, op. cit., 1976, p 26-27. MARQUES (1987), p 515. *Dicionário de História de Portugal, vol. II (Castanhoso-Fez)*, op. cit., p 550-553. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2021), p 129-131. RAU (1986), p 54. MARTINS, Armando (2008). *Guerras e Campanhas Militares da História de Portugal, Guerras Fernandinas: 1369-1381*. QuidNovi, p 41-66, 77-101. COELHO, António Borges (2010). Portugal Medievo, História de Portugal, vol. II. Editorial Caminho, p 259-261. REIS (2007), p 186-187, p 186-187, 189. CAETANO, op. cit., 1981, p 438-440. SERRÃO, op. cit., 2001, p 293-294.

[547] LOPES, op. cit., 2004, cap. LXXXVIII, p 307-310. MARTINS, op. cit., 2008, p 71. GOMES, op. cit., 2009, p 141. *Dicionário de História de Portugal, vol. II (Castanhoso-Fez)*, op. cit., p 552. SOUSA, op. cit., 1997, p 413. COELHO, op. cit., 2010, p 264-267. HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho. "Nótula sobre um levantamento popular nas vésperas do Interregno" – separara da Revista *Bracara Augusta*, tomo XXXII – Fasc. 73-74 (85-86): Braga, 1978, p 1-18. The improved or expanded fortifications and protective walls of towns and cities were: Lisbon, Porto, Almada, Sezimbra, Palmela, Setúbal, Benavente and along the entire Ribatejo, Sintra, Cascais, Torres Vedras, Lourinha and Mafra among many others.

[548] Municipal councils previously levied these taxes after petitions from the Crown dating back to D. Dinis and established how much could be levied and under what conditions. However, by the reign of Fernando I and João I, they would slowly become permanent in nature without the monarchs petitioning the municipalities for permission, as in the case of war. In 1372, Fernando I, without consultation with the municipalities, imposed a *sisa* that was to be collected as an *ad valorem* tax. GONÇALVES, Iria (1999). "Estado Moderno, Finanças Públicas e Fiscalidade Permanente" in *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medievo (séculos XIII-XV)*. Coordenação do volume: Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho e Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem. Universidade Autónoma, p 105-106. FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de. *O Estado em Portugal (séculos XIII-XVI)*. Alêthea Editores: Lisboa, 2011, p 191-193. HENRIQUES, António Castro (June 2014). The Rise of a Tax State: Portugal, 1371-1401. *e-JPH*, vol. 12, nº 1, p 53-57. "Collecting an *ad valorem* sales tax would leave the value of the revenue unscathed by the price rises caused by the debasement. Whilst clearly beneficial to the monarchy, the change to an *ad valorem* rate was deeply resented by the municipalities, who argued that it led to a "dearth" in the taxed products." - p 55. Also, the municipal authorities of Lisbon (1336) and Porto (1368) preferred the *sisa* over the *talha* – 55. CAETANO (1981), p 474, 487. *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I* (1990), p 126-127, 141-143. REIS (2007), p 190.

employment in shipbuilding or maritime commerce, use of oxen for tilling the soil, the emphasis of crop production versus cattle raising, passed the *Leis de Sesmarias*. The law obliged land owners to cultivate the land or suffer the consequences of having their land seized and given to those, who would actually cultivate it. Land laborers would also be forced to return to their places of origin to work the land. Vagrants, idlers and beggars were also compelled to work in the fields. However, those, who were in shipbuilding, commerce and trade, such as loading and unloading cargo, were exempt.[549]

In spite of the many mistakes committed by the king, the negative image projected of Fernando I, his reign was not as bad as once portrayed. In terms of legislation, his reign saw a surge in the number of laws dispensed. In fact, he was a notable legislator. It was during his reign that the organs of power matured. As seen, his legislation focused on defense and political-economy. From 1367 to 1380, there were almost 20 normative laws promulgated by the king. These ranged from the Laws of *Sesmarias* to foreign trade. They also included the construction of naval vessels to currency reforms and taxation (*sisas*). The king would also provide two laws on jurisdictions and one on process, as well as for superior education.[550]

Events in Portugal did not occur in isolation in this period. Social upheavals and rebellions occurred in England, France and Flanders as well. Although these uprisings did not have identical causes or unfolded in the same manner, they had certain commonalities, such as, increasing fiscal burden, scarcity, ravages of war, abuses of the nobility, military failures and political weaknesses. In the case of England, the Peasant Revolt of 1381 occurred in the context of political leadership weakness as an inexperienced and young king assumed the throne after many years of the rule of an old, senile king. Compounding the situation was the financial difficulties of the kingdom that were brought about in part by the Anglo-French war

[549] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, *Livro IV*, Título LXXXI (1984). Fundaçao Calouste Gulbenkian, p 281-304. LOPES (2004), p 311-316. CAETANO (1981), p 280-282. RAU (1982), p 89-92. *Dicionário de História de Portugal, vol. II (Castanhoso-Fez)*, p 552. Fernando I did many other positive things for the kingdom. In 1377, he ordered the transfer of the Portuguese University to Lisbon. Many foreign professors would come to give lectures in Lisbon. King Fernando I was also able to obtain a papal bull from Pope Gregory XI that allowed the university to expedite bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees. The king also created an entire neighborhood or borough to the student including housing between the gates: Porta do Sol, Porta de Alfama and Porta de Santo André. *Dicionário de História de Portugal, vol. II (Castanhoso-Fez)*, p 552.

[550] HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho (1999). Estado Moderno e Legislação Régia: Produção e Compilação Legislativa em Portugal (séc. XIII-XV). In *A Génese do Estado Moderno no Portugal Tardo-Medievo (séculos XIII-XV)*. Coordenação do volume: Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho e Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem. Universidade Autónoma, p 115-116. MARTINS (2008), p 71-73. COELHO (2010), p 269-274. SOUSA (1997), p 413.

that, in turn, undermined the traditional taxation system and had become intolerable. The rebellion of the peasantry demonstrated the strength of the different rural communities.[551] The Peasant revolt was triggered by the Crown's attempt to finance the prolonged war with France through a poll tax. The English government decided in 1380 to levy for the *third consecutive time* in four years (1377, 1378 and 1380) a *very unpopular poll tax*. Some of the leaders that emerged were Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball and Geoffrey Lister.[552]

These revolts would culminate in the brief occupation of London. Amongst the demands of the peasants were: the abolition of servitude and the increase of salaries. The beginning of the end of the revolt occurred at an encounter with the king's forces outside of London on 15 June 1381, where Wyler was killed. Other groups were suppressed within days and executions followed suit, including John Ball.[553] In spite of Richard II's political and military success from the rebellion, his authoritarian and megalomaniacal rule would eventually lead to his deposition.[554] Political and social instability would not be isolated to Portugal and Castile, but were part of a larger socio-political phenomenon throughout Western Europe.

[551] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2016). *Los conflictos sociales en la edad media*. Editorial Síntesis, p 187-188. BARKER, Juliet. (2014) *1381: The Year of the Peasants' War*. Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, p ix, 41-42, 60-66. HILTON, Rodney (2003). *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group, p 135. HOLMES, George (1975). *Europe, Hierarchy and Revolt, 1320-1450*. The Harvester Press, p 127.

[552] MINOIS, Georges (2016). *La Guerre de Cent Ans*. Tempus. Éditions Perrin, p 308. BARKER (2014), p 113-114, 183-184. HOLMES (1975), p 111. NICHOLAS, David (1992). *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and Thought in Europe: 500- 1500*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, p 416. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 220-221. DOBSON (1989), p 101-154. HILTON (2003), p 136, 159-161. Coupled with this new tax, the peasants had become drained with the nobility's attempt in maintaining its revenue by claiming seignorial rights over inhabitants of villages, whereas the tenants were very conscious of their new economic might with the decline in manpower and labor force and had become impatient and frustrated with the continued efforts of the nobility in maintaining its seigneurial privileges.

[553] MINOIS (2016), p 308-309. HOLMES (1975), p 203. BARKER (2014), p 232-233, 258-259, 262-263. DOBSON, (1989), p 161-, 190-191. HILTON (2003), p 137. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 222-223. The rebels captured Rochester and Canterbury, where they freed a priest, who preached about social justice and questioned the privileged role of the nobility. His name was John Ball and he quickly became the prophet of the movement. It was John Ball who gave the revolt its character of a social war.

[554] MINOIS (2016), p 310-311. DOBSON (1989), p 329. MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 227-228. According to Walsingham, Richard II was effeminate, whimsical, infantile, stubborn, tyrannical, wasteful and choleric. He would insult his counselors, threaten with a sword in his hand the archbishop of Canterbury, took pleasure in humiliating his entourage. The king would continuously take out loans and pawn royal jewelry to finance his lavish and ostentatious lifestyle. When his chancellor Richard Scrope tried to advise the king in how to control his spending but was dismissed. It was only a matter of time before he would be deposed.

Ch. 5.B. Jews in Portugal and Castile 1369-1383

5.B.1. Castile

Even though the open violence in Castile would end with assassination of King Pedro I and the end of dynastic war in 1369, the anti-Jewish legislation would only intensify. Even though Enrique II reversed his anti-Jewish stance after having won the Civil War against his half-brother, King Pedro I, his decades' long anti-Jewish propaganda campaigns dating back to 1355 had yielded their results in the responses of the common people and the prominent burghers in Castile. According to Enrique Cantera Montenegro, the *Cortes* would become the legal platform for anti-Jewish policies. Enrique II, was surprised at the anti-Jewish complaints and hostile positions presented to the *Cortes* in Toro in 1369 and 1371 and Burgos in 1377. In fact, as explained by Maya Soifer Irish, the new king could not understand how his "wartime propaganda had made anti-Jewish rhetoric a permanent part of the kingdom's political discourse."[555] In fact, the newly crowned Castilian monarch was taken aback when at the *Cortes* de Toro in 1371 the municipal procurators denigrated the Jews, classifying them as "an insolent, wicked people, enemies of God and of all Christendom."[556]

Enrique de Trastámara during the struggle for the Castilian crown between 1366 and 1369 fed on pre-existing anti-Jewish hostility from the popular sectors of society that had been more or less contained and brought them to surface. Anti-Judaic assaults came from the summit of power.[557] Henry Charles Lea would add that the "people were being educated to slaughter and pillage the defenseless Jew."[558] Once the conflict had ceased and in spite of the

[555] SOIFER IRISH, Maya (2018). Chapter 19: Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville. In *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, edited by Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Haß. Routledge, p 309-310. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (enero 1987). Notas para el estudio de la Judería Sevillana en la Baja Edad Media (1248-1391). In *En la España Medieval*, nº 10, p 270-271. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2004). El antijudaísmo violento: el siglo XIV. In *Economía y sociedad en la España Medieval, Historia de España IX*, Coordinadores, NIETO SORIA, José Manuel. Ediciones Istmo, p 397. AMADOR de los RÍOS, José (1876), p 315. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Estudios y Documentos, Departamento de Historia Medieval, Nº 27, Universidad de Valladolid, p 53-54. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1985). *Teoría y Evolución de un Conflicto Social: El Antijudaísmo en la Castilla en la Baja Edad Media*. Siglo XXI, p 240. BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. I. Varda Books, p 368-369.

[556] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II (1863). Real Academia de la Historia, p 203. SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 310. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 315-316. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). "El siglo XIV: la quiebra de la convivencia entre las tres religiones" in Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos en la España Medieval. ÁMBITO Ediciones, p 136. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 240.

[557] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 397. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 135.

[558] LEA, Charles Henry (Jan., 1896). Ferrand Martinez and the Massacres of 1391. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p 211.

new king employing prominent Jews to important positions to his court, it was virtually impossible to stop the wave of hostility against the Jewish community. With the new dynasty, the collapse of the relations between Christians and Jews became accentuated. The economic consequences of the civil war, exacerbated the hatred that the common people felt towards the Jewish money-lenders. In all of the *Cortes* celebrated during the reign of Enrique II, the question of acquitting all debts to Jewish money-lenders was continuously presented.[559]

Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho analyzed the role of prominent Sevillian Jews during the reign of the first Trastámara kings. By 1369, Enrique de Trastámara hired Don Yuçaf Pichón as his *contador mayor* or chief accountant (a position that had been created by mid-14th century), which consisted of farming taxes of the realm, allocating those same taxes, receiving financial reports from public officials and paying salaries and other costs. His appointment caused much uproar amongst the commoners and elites of Seville, which added further to the anti-Jewish sentiment amongst the ranks of the Christian majority population. However, it was not only the Christians, who found this appointment as abhorrent, but the more pious Orthodox and less affluent Jews as well, as they found Pichón as perfidious and unscrupulous.[560] Already by 1368, Enrique de Trastámara hired as municipal *almojarifes* (treasurers) for Seville, Don Mayr aben Pex and Don Çulemán aben Atahe. Years later in 1374 and 1376, Don Mayr appeared as *almojarife* next to Don Todrós, in the name of Don Çulemán and Don Abrahen aben Far.[561] Records show that in 1368, of the thirty-two *almojarifazgos* in the localities of Seville, fourteen were rented or farmed to the Jews.[562] It is this number of prominent Jews, even though less than half of the total number, in the farming of royal rents in Seville that would lead to further resentment and envy by the Christian populace and one of the many reasons for the massacres of 1391,[563] as the Jewish rent and tax collectors would be viewed as a despised privileged group that financially crushed the majority Christian populace.

[559] LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo*, tomo I. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p 156, 158. SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 203.
[560] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 263. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 333. BAER (2001), p 376. COLLANTES de TERÁN, Antonio (1984). *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La Ciudad y sus Hombres*. Servicios de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, p 89.
[561] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 263. Archivo Municipal de Sevilla (AMS) *Papeles de Mayordomazgo, 1310-1376*, Nº 8, Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla (ACS), C. 6, Nº 2/12.
[562] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, op. cit., 1987, p 263-264. Archivo Municipal de Sevilla (AMS) *Papeles de Mayordomazgo, 1310-1376*, Nº 4, 8.
[563] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 263.

Perhaps due to the financial ruin of the Jews due to the pillaging, sacking and huge ransoms that the Jews of both Burgos and Toledo had to pay twice, as well as the moratorium on debt repayment, there is no record of Jewish moneylenders during the reign of Enrique II according to Pilar León Tello. Instead, the majority of Jews were dedicated to the cultivation of land or in rent farming and rent collection. In terms of agricultural production, it was primarily vineyards and wine production. Some of the prominent Jews involved in viniculture were Yuçaf Cedrey, Yuçaf Atey, Mosé Alhamed, Israel Aben Hayon and Mosé Vedios. Some Jews would alternate the cultivation of wine for that of olives, such as Çague el Delicado (the Delicate) in the Alcabón region.[564] In an attempt to reduce tensions between Christians and Jews, as well as foment business contacts between the two communities, Enrique II's heir, Juan I (1379-1390) allowed Christian fieldhands to reside at the farms of Jews so as to work the land, as well as accompany Jews on journeys in order to provide protection from physical harm or dishonor.[565]

During the reign of Juan I, Don Samuel Abravanel would play a prominent role as chief royal accountant. His appointment arose the resentment and envy of many Christians. It has been suggested that this one of the reasons why he would convert to Christianity prior to the massacres of 1391 as Juan Sánchez de Sevilla.[566]

However, as in the Toledo and Burgos regions, not all Sevillian Jews were dedicated to rent and tax collection but to tending to their agricultural estates. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Andalucía was the only Castilian province that allowed Jews to hold large estates. Such was the case for Don Mossén Pichón, who in 1376 held the vineyards of Chillas that belonged to the Church. But not only did wealthy Jews own land, but Jews of more modest means had smaller plots, where they also tended their olive groves, vineyards and fields with their own hands. Not to be forgotten were the countless number of Jewish artisans and shopkeepers.[567] Last, but not least, Jewish physicians occupied municipal positions in Seville in this period. Almost all of them belonged to the Zemerro family.[568]

[564] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 161-162.
[565] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 165. *Cortes de los Anitguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II. (1863)., p 305.
[566] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 263.
[567] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 266. BAER (2001), p 313. ACS, C. 119, Nº 4; C. 134, Nº 24.
[568] MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 264.

According to Ladero Quesada, that in spite of the newly crowned king's attempts to reverse policy and follow the traditional royal policy towards the Jews, the seeds of hate had already been planted and was bearing fruit in Castile. Anti-Jewish hatred continued to grow, *intermeshing popular sentiment with doctrinal policies*. Recent converts, who with their zealous approach to their newly acquired faith, as well as prior knowledge with Judaic traditions and law, were the most prominent leaders in the attacks towards the Jews, led the intensified heckling. Some of these people were, amongst others, Semuel Abravanel of Seville and the former rabbi of Burgos, Slomo ha-Levi, who changed his name to Pablo de Santa María and became bishop of that same city after he had converted. These new Church leaders led the most vehement attacks on the Jews and kept the anti-Jewish fervor at a high level amongst their congregations. Ladero Quesada affirmed that such vitriolic attacks were worsened by the popular sermons of archdeacon Ferrán Martínez of Seville, that coupled with a chronic economic crisis and financial tax burden, exacerbated the anti-Jewish climate in Castile.[569]

By 1373-1375, the anti-Jewish sentiment was given a push by theological attacks by conversos, such as Juan de Valladolid, and would enter into polemic disputes with Rabbi Moíses ha-Cohen. There were several public polemic disputes organized throughout Castile, but the most famous dispute was held in the Cathedral of Ávila in April 1375. The impact of these public polemic disputes would further reinforce the preconceived negative images and notions of the Jews and the supposed errors of their beliefs in rejecting Christ as the Messiah and for having killed him.[570] Although, it is not known if many commoners, if at all were present, if the results of the polemic arguments were announced to the pubic in their summarized form, then they would have further heightened tensions between the two communities.

Joseph Pérez and Yitzhak Baer presented how the Jews themselves were well aware of how their precarious situation and livelihood depended on the political stability of the kingdoms they lived in. In response to the accusation that the Talmud was against the Christian kings, Moíses ha-Cohen de Tordesillas claimed in his work from 1375, *Ezer ha-Emunah,* "Our lives

[569] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2016). *Judíos y Conversos de Castilla en el siglo XV. Datos y Comentarios*. Editorial Dykinson, p 21. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2019). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 2. Sociedad*. Editorial Dykinson, p 169-170.
[570] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 72-73. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 370. BAER (2001), p 369. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 245.

and well-being depend on the prosperity of the State in which we live." Ha-Cohen was referring to King Enrique II of the newly established Trastámara dynasty that had installed itself into power after the third attempt between 1366-69. He also argued that the Talmudic wisemen encouraged Jews to pray for the welfare of the realm. Moíses ha-Cohen was not referring to royal privileges that had been granted to a limited amount of court Jews but rather to a strong and respected Crown that could guarantee safety and security, maintain public order and punish transgressors of all kinds. Whenever this authority would weaken or fail, it would be the Jewish minority, more than any other group that would suffer, due to its subordinate social condition. As such, the Jews were much more prone to extorsions and other types of social injustice, such as personal and collective attacks. Under such circumstances, the general anti-Judaic sentiment, latent amongst the popular classes, would express themselves in violent acts, which, in turn, were scape valves for the deeply embedded societal tensions that had been brewing for decades, if not centuries.[571]

In spite of the weakened financial position of Castilian Jews after the dynastic war and an attempt to revert to previous royal postures towards the Jews, anti-Jewish sentiment continued to effervesce in other societal orders and groups. This was evident in the lawsuit between the dean and council of the Cathedral of Seville and the Jewish community there between 1369-1375. The plaintiff's attorney had no qualms of insulting the Jewish community in his written depositions. The final sentencing went in favor of the dean and council of the Seville Cathedral, which reflected an increasingly antagonistic and hostile environment towards the Jews.[572]

By the end of the reign of Enrique II, a climate of uncertainty was felt in Jewish-Christian relations. Even though Juan I would also try to contain and control the anti-Jewish sentiment in his kingdom by impeding the most radical demands of the municipal procurators, these attempts would also be limited. According to Valdeón Baruque the new anti-Judaic avalanche was spread throughout the entire kingdom through the violent preaching of agitated preachers and zealot converts. He stated that through period documentation, the Jewish communities were burdened and at times, overwhelmed with the virulent attacks against them and they

[571] PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos en España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcial Pons Historia, p 112. BAER (2001), p 374-375.
[572] *Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla* (ACS). C. 6, Nº 2/12; SA. 1-7-180. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1987), p 20. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 137-138.

sought royal protection. Valdeón Baruque made mention of the incident in the Jewish Quarter of Belorado, in which the merinos or court bailiffs refused to execute court orders against Christians. Enrique II was forced to intervene, confirming all of the privileges the Jews had already been granted. The king also reminded the court bailiffs of executing the orders and protecting the Jews whenever they presented legal letters.[573]

Valdeón Baruque analyzed that if the Crown had conceded to Christian demands, then it would have given a green light to further Christian pressure on the Jewish community. However, by protecting the Jewish community, the king caused a huge resentment amongst the Christian population that could potentially degenerate to anti-Jewish disturbance "pogroms". That was the Crown's dilemma, which, according to the Spanish historian, was indeed the danger that confronted the first Trastámara monarchs.[574]

Compounding the anti-Jewish sentiment and hostility from the common people, the Jewish financial and economic situation had become precarious. An important note that Valdeón Baruque pointed out that it was not always the Christians who were in very delicate or difficult financial situation in the 14th century. Valdeón Baruque wrote that there were prominent Jews, who were in precarious financial situations. By 1379, according to official data, such as the *Cuaderno de Cuentas*, Jewish renters in the city of Toledo owed the royal treasurer almost one million maravedis, of which the amounts contributed by the Jewish communities to help out their fellow tenants. Already imprisoned were, amongst others, Samuel de Boviella, collector of services and cattle grazing in the treasury of Juan Núñez, Mosén Axaques, doubloons collector of the Archbishop of Toledo; Çag Aben Bueno, Samuel Abravalla del Castillo, among others. This demonstrates the difficult situation in which the Jewish community found itself and how Jewish rent collectors worked with little benefits. The notion of a possible source of healthy income, the rental or collection of rents had become a harder task, due to the brutal hostility of the people, the continuous lawsuits that were brought against the Jewish rents and tax collectors, as well as the same royal attitude of taking advantage of the critical situation in which the community found itself. It was exactly this legal and financial predicament that showed how fragile what had for centuries appeared

[573] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, p 73.
[574] Ibid., p 74. The term "pogrom" was used by Valdeón Baruque.

to be the untouchable bastion of privileged Jewish redoubt – the monopoly and control of royal finances.[575]

The new situation of fallen Jewish magnates, such as Yuçaf Pichón and Samuel Abravaniel, exposed to the majority Christian community the predicament in which the minority Jewish community had found itself by the second half of the 14th century. According to Valdeón Baruque, it was at this period that the Jewish community would be exposed to future dangers. For if the prominent Jews could not prove their efficacy in running state finances and other affairs (rents and tax collection), then they might lose their royal protection, and thus be at the mercy of the fury of the popular masses.[576] However, the Jewish communities were also threatened from within, as previously discussed, a more pious and orthodox current had gained ground amongst the less affluent Jews, who held reservations towards the "moral depravity" of Jewish elites at the royal, aristocratic and ecclesiastical courts. It was this current in the Jewish community that sentenced Yuçaf Pichón to death in 1379.[577] Pichón's execution without the king's knowledge would lead to the king's decision at the *Cortes* de Soria in 1380 to forbid the Jews in having jurisdiction over criminal cases. Instead, royal justices appointed to the municipalities would decide over criminal cases in the *aljamas*.[578]

As time proceeded, the anti-Jewish currents in Castilian society continued to strengthen amongst the popular masses, which became more indifferent to the Crown's and nobility's protection. Valdeón Baruque sustains that even though Enrique II would intercede strongly in the defense of the "hated" community, he could not push back or even stop the "general setback" of the Jews in Castile. The aforementioned cases of Belorado, Logroño and Madrid were among many other cases showing the extent and hold of the anti-Judaic sentiment throughout the kingdom. In spite of his attempt to pacify the angered dominant Christian society, Enrique II could not stop the growth of anti-Jewish sentiment in the final years of his reign. The Jews had become the target of an overtly aggressive campaign in the *Cortes*. The virulent speeches of fanatical preachers, like Ferrán Martínez, unleashed their anti-Jewish ire and in many cases, Jews were disposed of their synagogues. The role of recently converted Jews to Christianity did not help the tense climate, but rather worsened it. The Pope even

[575] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, p 77.
[576] Ibid., p 78.
[577] BAER (2001), p 369-374.
[578] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II, (1863), p 311-312.

asked for the total isolation of the Jewish community. Everywhere obstacles against Jewish activities were placed, regardless if it was for the debt collection or the fulfillment of their royal duties. This was the situation by the death of Enrique II in 1379.[579]

5.B.2. Mounting Tensions: The Preaching of Ferrán Martínez, 1378-1391

Nonetheless, the principal agent in the exacerbation of anti-Jewish sentiment amongst the radical and fanatical Castilian preachers was Archdeacon Ferrán Martínez of Écija, close to Seville, who began his hostile preaching against the Jewish community in 1378. During the final years of the reign of Enrique II, there had been multiple complaints from the Jewish community (*aljama*) of Seville. Not only did this radical preacher make horrific accusations towards the Jews, such as idol worshippers, but he also meddled in lawsuits involving them, would make deliberations against them, even if the Jews were in the right, such as demolishing synagogues without royal warrant. Ferrán Martínez had admonished the council of Alcalá de Guadaira and others from the archbishopric of Seville that they not consent that Jews live amongst Christians. In 1378 King Enrique II directly intervened against the impertinent cleric in order to put an end to his excesses. In a royal warrant (*albalá*), the king forbade that Ferrán Martínez take part in any litigation in which the Jews were involved, as well as continue to demolish synagogues. The king warned him that if he ignored the warrant that he would be admonished. It was all in vain as the fanatical preacher continued with his virulent attacks against the Jews, even during the reign of the next king, Juan I.[580]

As incorrectly assumed by Henry Charles Lea, Ferrán Martínez was not an ignorant commoner as contended by many of Martínez' contemporaries, such as the converso Pablo de Santa María, but a well-educated and wealthy member of the new Castilian elite that had begun to assert itself in Castilian politics and society in the 1370s and 1380s. He held the distinguished position in the great archiepiscopal See of Seville, where he was not only canon of the cathedral, but judicial representative and vicar-general to the archbishop, Pedro Gómez Barroso, who was completely at opposite ends with Martínez when it came to how to handle

[579] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, , p 75-76.
[580] *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y judíos de Castilla*. Mss. 13089. (ed. S. XVIII). Biblioteca Nacional de España, fol. 79-81. AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla: Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (siglos XIV-XV).* Junta de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 2009, p 59. BAER, op. cit., 2001, p 369. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 370. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 246. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, p 69. REID, Cecil (2021). *Jews and Converts in Late Medieval Castile: Breaking with the Past.* Routledge, p 117.

the Jews. Ferrán Martínez was well-versed and an excellent orator and master at rhetoric, who was able to captivate his audiences by stating what they wanted to hear in order to manipulate them into doing what he wanted them to do.[581]

The archdeacon's polemic speeches against the Jews had started in 1378 and already by 1382, Castilian King Juan I predicted in a letter that Ferrán Martínez' vicious verbal attacks of the Jews *would eventually lead to violence*.[582] Even though Soifer saw the crucial role in the archdeacon's part in the outbreak of the massacres, she *criticized the exclusive focus on him* and that *too many times the socio-political milieu* has been overlooked. Soifer argues that a pre-existing mindset or way of thinking allowed his anti-Jewish to spread and take root.[583] As such, one must *place the archdeacon within the religious, social and political context of late 14th century Seville*. Based on the evidence available, Ferrán Martínez belonged to the local society and new political elite that began to impose its authority in the city's reconfigured political situation of the 1370s and 1380s. Ladero Quesada and Soifer Irish argued that the archdeacon's anti-Jewish stance came from the specific context of religious and cultural life of late 14th century Seville. Martínez' new approach was to empower the lower clergy and the local population in the direct solution to the Jewish question.[584]

It is from this new social Trastámara milieu that Ferrán Martínez emerged. It is believed that his origins are from Carmona, a town northeast from Seville, as he inherited some houses from his grandparents there and then later retired to Carmona after the riots of 1391.[585] The fact that he inherited town houses, was able to purchase large tracts of farmland and administer important estates and execute wills for the nobility and prominent citizens of Seville, disproves the myth that he was a simple, base and uneducated member of the commoners. Ferrán Martínez was able to take advantage of the pre-existing mindset and

[581] *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (Burgis: Apud Philippum Iuntam, 1591), p 523-524, col. 2. LEA (1896), p 211. REID (2021), p 117, 119. SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 306. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 370.
[582] Archivo Historia Nacional, Toledo Catedral. Papeles, leg. 634, 3 Marzo de 1382. AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS, (1876), p 583-584. REID (2021), p 119.
[583] SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 308.
[584] SOIFER IRSIH (2018), p 308-309. LADERO QUESADA, (2019), p 370.
[585] SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 310-311, 317. In 1376, he purchased the "entire estate of Pulgar (2,000 acres of cereal lands) in La Campina – a fertile agricultural region south of Carmona." Soifer continued to explain how Ferrán Martínez had important administrative positions, such as *provisor* or diocesan judge involved in the running of capitular estates and the executor of wills for the Sevillian oligarchy, as well as being nominated archdeacon of Écija.

through his words, he brought preconceived notions, bias, hatred, resentment and scorn throughout these years to the fore, which would finally erupt in the summer months of 1391.

One could argue that his wealth and prestige translated to political power and influence and could explain why he was not removed prior to the massacres of 1391 or executed afterwards. Using his wealth and influence, as well as his rhetorical skills, he could impress the uneducated and credulous masses. He felt secure enough to ignore the king's warnings and those of the archbishop of Seville and continue with his virulent attacks against the religious, but also socio-economic rivals of the prominent Christians, the Jews. In fact, Ferrán Martínez even defied the established hierarchy of the Church by making the heretical claim that the pope had no authority to grant the Jews the right to build new synagogues.[586]

Soifer explained that through such outlandish rhetoric and defiant stances, Martínez was able to present himself as an outsider and champion of the ignored classes. In fact, the archdeacon was far from being an outsider but was rather a poser and simply manipulated the uneducated masses for his own purposes. As a member of the Andalusian elite, he most likely had powerful connections to protect him from legal troubles. Soifer further explained how the archdeacon's audience were people who were economically disenfranchised through the taxes they had to pay, the economic depressions and periodic famines, especially the most recent ones of 1355-56 and 1375, and the recurrent outbreaks of the plague, such as 1364, 1374 and 1383.[587] It is this point that the poor and disenfranchised people had to pay heavy taxes and that their financial burden was represented by the despised Jewish tax and rent collectors. Ferrán Martínez' incendiary anti-Jewish speeches only increased the hostility and resentment already felt by the common people.

By August 1378, Ferrán Martínez's rhetoric had begun to shock the Jewish leaders of the Sevilla *aljama*. They, in turn, protested to the king, who issued his first *albalá* admonishing the archdean and to desist from his evil ways. Unfortunately, the archdean ignored the royal order and, as an ecclesiastical judge, continued to pass anti-Jewish sentences, from forcing Jews into enclosed ghettos and forbidding any type of daily contact with Christians to the complete removal of the Jews from his diocese and destruction of their synagogues. The

[586] SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 311.
[587] Ibid., p 311-312.

Seville *aljama* took recourse to the Vatican, which provided papal bulls for protection of the Jews. Ferrán Martínez also disregarded these ecclesiastical documents.[588]

According to Cecil Reid, the significance of the *albalá* was two-fold. On the one hand, the warrant acknowledges the vitriolic, viciousness of the archdeacon's anti-Jewish sermons that had shocked the Jewish community and forced it to bring it to the attention of the Crown. On the other hand, it recognized the dangers that such speeches could bring upon the Jewish communities of the kingdom. The king ordered the archdeacon to desist from such harmful preaching.[589] [See Appendix III, Ch. 5.F.1. for a detailed analysis of the three *albalás*].

The *albalás* from King Enrique II in 1378 and King Juan I in 1382 and 1383,[590] which forbade the archdean Ferrán Martínez in involving himself in Jewish affairs, especially in judicial matters, did not deter the archdean from continuing his zealous and militant anti-Jewish campaign.[591] Juan I ordered that the archdeacon obey the pontifical bulls providing that the Jews be treated respectfully, as the archdeacon through his preaching excited the spirits of the Christians against the Jews, causing them great harm, as he would incite Christians to kill Jews with impunity. In another *albalá* to Ferrand Martínez, the king ordered

[588] GERBER, Jane (1994). *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. The Free Press (a division of Macmillan Press), p 113. RUIZ, (2007), p 157-158. CORRAL SÁNCHEZ, Nuria (2014). El Pogromo de 1391 en las Crónicas de Pero López de Ayala. *Ab Initio*, nº 10, p 68. BAER (2001), p 95. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 74. LEA (18969, p 212.

[589] REID (2021), p 117.

[590] A.H.N. Toledo. Catedral. Papeles, leg. 634. Cop. Por Burriel, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 13.089, f. 64 y sigs. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 944, RUIZ (2007), p 158. REID (2021), p 119-120.

[591] MONTE CAMACHO-ROMERO, Isabel (1984). Antisemitismo sevillano en la Baja Edad Media: El Pogrom de 1391 y sus consecuencias. In *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. La Sociedad Medieval Andaluza: Grupos no Privilegiados.* Sociedad Provincial de Artes Gráficas. Montes Camacho-Romero transcribed the text into her article but only referred to the aforementioned sources and not to any original albalás. The 18th century manuscript used by I. Montes Romero-Camacho, is based on an earlier manuscript and has the transcription of King Enrique II's *albalá* and King Juan I's *albalá* within the 18th century manuscript and is not the *albalá* itself. It is not known if this *albalá* was added in the 18th century manuscript or if it was in the original medieval transcription of the *albalá*. BNE, Ms. 13089, fl. 64vº and fl. 68. The only date is written at the beginning of the manuscript on fol. 64 and that is 11 February 1388. Fl. 64vº makes reference to both King Enrique and his son, Juan, and that it can be assumed Enrique II and Juan I, as well as mentioning the royal *albalás*. It is mentioned on fol. 65vº that the public scribe, Martin Sanches, would read aloud to Ferrán Martínez King Enrique's *albalá* and that the ones written by Juan I were transcribed into the manuscript. The date of King Enrique II's *albalá* was given at the bottom of fol. 67vº as 25 August 1416 (Caesarian era: 1416 - 38 = 1378 AD). King Juan I's albalá began on fol. 68 and would continue until the top of fol.70vº. However, no date was provided for this *albalá*. As such, it is not certain if it was King Juan I's first or second albalá. It is important to note that written on the margins of fol. 65vº in the manuscript are: *Albalá del Rey Don Juan 1º* and then written in pencil, as it was actually King Enrique II's *albalá*.

him not to treat the Jews in such a manner if he considered himself as a good Christian.[592] As such, the archdean was summoned by the Archbishop of Seville, Don Pedro Gómez Barroso, in February 1388 to an ecclesiastical hearing, in which other prelates and municipal notaries and scribes were present[593] and which will be further discussed in a subsequent chapter.

However, Ferrán Martínez was not alone in his attacks on the Jews. In Oviedo, the archbishop, Don Gutierre de Toledo, a rabid anti-Semite, began his anti-Jewish campaigns when he was awarded the ecclesiastical seat in 1377 and would dispense anti-Jewish provisions starting in 1377 and which would continue until his death in 1389 [See Appendix III, Ch. 5.B.2. for more details]. However, according to Monsalvo Antón, it would be the Leonese *aljamas* that would experience the severity of Don Gutierre's anti-Jewish provisions. One of the localities under his jurisdiction was that of Valencia de Alcántara (Province of Cáceres, Extremadura). The local synagogue had been embellished by the Jews of the town and Don Gutierre reported it to the queen in 1378, who ordered it to be demolished as it broke the law, which specifically stated that all enlargements and embellishments needed express permission from the Crown.[594]

According to Bollo-Panadero, it was this oral transmission of negative images of Jews that reinforced the written imagery portrayed by religious and secular sources, such as the Cantigas, Scripture and royal and municipal legislation. What made matters worse, was the deteriorating economic situation throughout the 14th century. The Crown, the Cortes and municipalities passed legislation restricting Jews in their professions, their freedom of movement, their contact with Christians and confining them to enclosed quarters.[595]

Bollo-Panadero further explained that the "Otherness" of the Jew within the Iberian imperial-theological ideology of the 13th to 15th centuries is to be considered as an abstract within the construct of a symbolic system, whose entire discourse was based on the exclusion and

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[592] AMRÁN, Rica (2009). *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla. Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (siglos XIV-XVI)*. Junta de Castilla y León, p 59. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 169. RUIZ (2007), p 158. REID (2021), p 119-120.

[593] MONTES CAMACHO-ROMERO (1984), p 59-60. AMRÁN (2009), p 60-61.

[594] RUIZ de la PEÑA, J.I. La política antijudaica del obispo don Gutierre de Toledo (1377-1389). *Archivos Leoneses*, nº 55-56, 1974, p 268. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ, Emilio (1994). *Los Judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III. El Pogrom de 1391*. Serie: Estudios de Historia Medieval, nº3. Secretariado de Publicaciones: Universidad de Valladolid, p 101. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 247, 248-249. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2002), p 81.

[595] BOLLO-PANADERO, María Dolores (Septiembre 2008). Textos de Persecución: Formación y Hegemonía Cristiana en la Literatura Castellana de los Siglos XIII-XV. *Hispanófila*, No. 54, p 23.

annihilation of societal elements that were considered as foreign and inadmissible to the majority Christian social group. She stressed that even though the hegemonic literature of the majority religious group of Christians was not responsible for the initial creation of the negative attitude towards religious minorities of Muslims and Jews, its authors were part of the process of projecting further negative images of these same minorities. The authors were merely products of their time and, as such, merely reflected the pre-existing thoughts and sentiments of the socio-cultural environment that received and projected them further. The "texts of persecution" became the *norm* from which what was to be considered as Castilian within an ideologically monolithic Christian society.[596]

During the second half of the 14th century, a common theme was nurtured in the hatred of the Jews: the role attributed to all Jews in the handling of money. Pérez claimed that only in Castile, was there a civil war that had broken out due to the crisis of the 14th century and in which the Jews of the kingdom would suffer. Even though there would be a dynastic war in Portugal later on that same century, no other Iberian kingdom had the same consequences for the Jewish community as the struggle between Pedro I and his half-brother Enrique of Trastámara in the claim for the Castilian throne. Enrique of Trastámara exploited the popular resentment of the image it had of the Jews and used it as a political weapon in seizing the throne from his half-brother King Pedro I. Pérez went further to claim that the fanaticism of certain sectors of the clergy that propped its support on the traditional anti-Judaic stances would eventually create the conditions for further future violence.[597]

What kept the hostile Christian mob in check during these years was the constant protection by the Crown, which was provided during the reigns of Enrique II and Juan I. This protection acted as a brake to any popular disturbances that could erupt and unleash its violence on the Jewish communities. Even though there appeared to be Jewish-Christian co-existence, in reality the tension between the Christian commoners and the Jews was much higher than prior to or during the dynastic war. Many of the concessions obtained by the municipal procurators at the *Cortes* had led many Jewish businessmen to financial ruin. The original active anti-Judaic postures of the Trastámara rebellion had transferred to the active anti-Jewish postures of radical and fanatical preachers and local/regional Converso clergymen.[598]

[596] BOLLO-PANADERO (2008), p 25.
[597] PÉREZ (2014), p 117.
[598] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), 81-83, 87-88.

5.B.3. Jews of Portugal

As per Professor Mª José Ferro Tavares, it was under the reign of Fernando I of Portugal that the Portuguese Jewish community received one of its strongest supporters and protectors based on the number of royal charters (foros) confirming their privileges.[599] This would stand in sharp contrast to events that would unfold in Castile during the same period under its secular and ecclesiastical leadership as we have previously seen.

Reverting to the Second Fernandine War (1372-1373), the Portuguese chronicler, Fernão Lopes described the panic that overwhelmed all of the inhabitants of Lisbon that lived outside of the city's walls as they rushed as quickly as possible once the Castilian forces under Enrique II had arrived at the outskirts of Lisbon in February 1373 before he would besiege the city. Amongst the common people rushing into the city's main gates were the Jews along with Christians.[600] The Jewish slaughter houses and butcheries that were in the Old Jewish Quarters outside of the city walls were destroyed by the Castilian troops when they besieged the city.[601] Great parts of the Jewish quarters of Coimbra and Lisbon were damaged by the Castilian forces during the Second Fernandine War.[602]

In terms of the role of prominent Jews in the kingdom, Fernando I nominated one of the wealthiest prominent Jew, Dom Yehuda b. Menir (Aben Menir), as chief Rabbi and *almoxarife* (royal treasurer) of the realm (1373-1383). A surviving charter from 1373, describes all of the responsibilities assigned to Dom Yehuda b. Menir. The chief rabbi had a broad jurisdiction over all criminal and civil cases amongst Jews and any appeals against the rulings of municipal rabbis. The chief rabbi confirmed the yearly election of the lower rabbis in the name of the Crown and could call representatives from each *comuna* (Jewish community) to discuss how royal taxes would be assessed amongst the different *comunas* of the realm according to their population size and wealth. Fernando I would also increase the considerable power of the chief rabbi by granting him the right to use a royal seal and arrest and imprison delinquent Jews in the same manner that Christian magistrates and bailiffs could do. The charter granted by Fernando I also allowed that the chief rabbi to conduct visitations of the Jewish *comunas* in Portugal and correct any injustices done to the *comunas*

[599] TAVARES, Mª José (2000). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XIV*. Colecção História & Ensaios. Guimarães Editores, p 22.
[600] LOPES (2004), p 259.
[601] A.N.T.T., *Estremadura*, Liv. X, fol. 201. TAVARES (2000), p 48.
[602] A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, Liv. 1, fols. 128 and 140. LOPES (2004), p 259.

and to hear any grievances of the population against their communal officials and prominent Jews, who would not obey communal officers.[603] [See Appendix I, Ch. 5.D. for an analysis].

King Fernando I ordered that everyone, including Muslims (Moors) and Jews, had to pay for the arms that protected their own towns and villages.[604] Also that the Jews, from the previous reign, had to provide the service of lodging noblemen and knights in their homes. One could interpret this legislation, as applied to all religious confessions, as trying to apply the law to all subjects in an equal manner, even though the Muslims and Jews did not stand on an equal legal or judicial basis. It would be part of the Portuguese Crown's policy to *equiparar* all subjects of the three confessions in the application of the laws of the kingdom.

According to Gabriel Pereira in his study of medieval Évora, it seemed that almost all of the blacksmiths in the last quarter of the 14th century in the city were either Jewish or Muslim (Moors). The year documented was 1380.[605] The two religious confessions were also dominant in the textile and cloth sectors, including such related professions as tailors and cobblers. The years provided in the documentation were 1380 and 1382.[606]

In 1381, Jewish official, Lopo Martins, the *almoxarife da portagem* (royal treasurer of tolls) purchased a wine cellar for 1000 *libras de dinheiros portugueses* (Portuguese pounds) through a royal warrant of almoxarife Dom Yuhda of a contract drawn up by Samuel Guedelha.[607] Another registered property-purchase that same year was by Lopo Martins

[603] A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. I, fol. 132-132 vº. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. III, fol. 6v. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. IV, fol. 22. TAVARES (2000), p 30-33. FERREIRA, Ana Pereira (2019). Transactions between Lisbon Jews and the Chelas Convent in the Late Middle Ages. Documental analysis. *Hispania Judaica*, vol. 14, p 45. SOYER, François (2007). *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal. D. Manuel and the end of Religious Tolerance (1496-1497)*. BRILL, p 34. For more detail of the responsibilities of the chief rabbi, see Ch.6 on *Chancelleries*.
[604] LOPES (2004), p 304.
[605] PEREIRA, Gabriel (1998). *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*, I. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 146-148. Pereira described how a master needed an entire day to work an iron yard in order to make eleven or twelve ploughs or eight hoes or sixteen horseshoes with their corresponding nails. Two men, the journeymen, hammered and shaped the iron, whereas the fourth man, the apprentice, kept the bellows going. There would be a lad, who carted the iron, the coal, water to cool down the iron, and finally stack up the horseshoes and nails. MARQUES, A.H. de Oliveira (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, vol. IV, *Nova História de Portugal.* Editorial Presença, p 117.
[606] PEREIRA (1998), p 145-146. MARQUES (1987), p 120.
[607] FERREIRA (2018), p 49.

again, who bought a vineyard in Aldeia Galega from another prominent Jewish family – Navarro for 200 *libras de dinheiros portugueses* (Portuguese pounds).[608]

In terms of commerce and trade, the Jews represented a social group that permeated formal boundaries[609] with their technical skills, mastery of different languages and a network of relations in the major port cities throughout Europe, Northern Africa and the Near East that began to show their predominance by the reign of D. Dinis and Afonso IV. Some were involved in viticulture, as the Jews of Tavira, as can be testified through the existing documentation.[610] The Jews were not a homogenous group within the Third Estate, due to the profusion of professions that the Jews mastered that remunerated them differently and the varied family lineages that existed. It is from these prominent families of privileged Jews that their leaders emerged. This elite consisted of the wealthy merchants and physicians, who were responsible for such tasks and posts as royal, noble and ecclesiastical treasurers, rent and tax collectors. They would also receive royal letters exempting them from taxes and other obligations. At times, they would receive the title of fidalgo and royal vassals. Beneath the elite was the category of artisans, who were also medium and small plot owners. Almost all of them lived in towns and cities. After this middle category were the marginalized and poor, who were few in numbers.[611]

In 1378, the Jewish community of Leiria received a royal letter of assurance to protect it after it had been confirmed that the majority Christian community had committed much damage to and harm to both the Jewish quarters and its inhabitants during Holy Thursday and Good Friday of the Holy Week. The king ordered that whosoever would commit such crimes would have to pay ten pounds to the royal coffers. The king also ordered as precautionary measure that the Jews not leave the protection of their quarters during those days.[612] It could be argued that social tensions between Christians and Jews surfaced as part of the socio-economic problems of the 14th century that had plagued the realm for decades and that the three Fernandine Wars fought on Portuguese territory had brought these tensions to the fore. However, the king suppressed them immediately and the heavy fine imposed was a financial

[608] TAVARES (2000), p 45-47.
[609] COELHO, António Borges (1998). *Cristãos Novos Judeus e os Novos Argonautas. Questionar a História – IV*. Editorial Caminho, p 28-34. MARQUES (1987), p 153.
[610] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. I, fls. 185, 200; and, liv. III, fl. 51vº.
[611] MARQUES (1987), p 277-278. TAVARES (2000), p 22, 47.
[612] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, Liv. II, fols. 26-26vº; Liv, IV, fol. 26. TAVARES (2000), p 91.

way to deter future attacks along with the physical constraint by using his troops to stop further physical harm to the Jews.[613]

Not to be overseen in the Kingdom of Portugal during this period was that there were no known or registered public polemic disputes. There was also no anti-Jewish polemic literature in this period either. This is important, as no official anti-Jewish messages were being transmitted to the common people or amongst ecclesiastical or secular elites outside of the legislation of the Cortes to either add or reinforce previously established notions or images of the Jews. As previously seen, this contrasted sharply with Castile at this time, which continued to reinforce such hostile and vicious anti-Jewish images.[614]

Even though there was legislation, such as the Ordinance Nº 128 of Évora of 1382, that stated that Jews and Muslims had to leave the Christian sectors of the city and remain in their respective quarters upon sunset and that any Jew or Muslim caught outside of their quarters after sunset would be arrested, the city council decided to make exceptions to such draconian measures. These exceptions would be for merchants, who travelled afar and could not make it in time or those shopkeepers, whose shops might be far away from the quarters to make it in time or those Jews, who were tending their fields. Other exceptions were physicians and pharmacists, whose services might be needed after sunset and had to be accompanied with Christian guards once they left and safely returned to their respective quarters.[615]

As per Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Mª José Ferro Tavares, the number of complaints presented by the municipal procurators demonstrate the extent of tight relations and contacts between the three confessions of Christians, Jews and Muslims (Moors) in terms of the exercise of professions, their "equality" and their commercial rivalry.[616]

Another difference between the two kingdoms was how Fernando I allowed one of his Jewish courtesans to be present as a witness to the signing of the treaty or nuptial arrangements

[613] COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz (31 April 2011). Le discours sur les minorités religieuses aux Cortès portugaises du Moyen Âge. In *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*. Routledge/Taylor, p 5.
[614] TAVARES, Mª José Pimenta Ferro (1982). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*, vo. I. Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, p 439-440. TAVARES, Alice (2010). La Literatura de la polémica religiosa judeocristiana en Portugal antes de la expulsión, en 1497, In *Iberia Judaica. Asociación Hispana de Estudios Hebraicos. La Polémica judeo-cristiana en Hispania, volumen II,* Alcobendas, p 177-192.
[615] PEREIRA (1998), p 153. TAVARES (1982), 409. TAVARES (2000), p 100.
[616] COELHO (2011), p 14. TAVARES (2000), p 152-153.

between Castile and Portugal in 1383, Lopo Martins. There is no evidence of a Castilian court Jew present at those ceremonies.

After the death of Fernando I on 22 October 1383, his wife, Queen Leonor became the regent of Portugal. As per Fernão Lopes, the prominent burghers (good men) of Lisbon appeared before Queen Leonor and presented their grievances. The good men reiterated both ecclesiastical and secular legislation that forbade Jews and Muslims (Moors) from holding offices and positions over Christians. They emphasized that especially the Jews were raised to hate and disbelieve Jesus Christ. This had caused much damage to the kingdom and its people. They requested that the queen reverse the deceased king's pro-Jewish policies and to correct these errors, as they would like to start with her a new "life" or turn a new page. However, the complaints of the prominent burghers were not limited to the Jews, but to the abuses of the nobility encroaching on the rights of burghers and entering their homes, seizing their property, using their clothes and eating their food.[617] [See Appendix III 5.F.2.].

The queen in response to the burghers' request pertaining to the Jews, promised that they would no longer be employed as officials in the kingdom. According to Fernão Lopes, the queen apparently claimed that upon the king's death, she dismissed the royal treasurer, the customs' caretaker and all other Jewish officials from their positions. She assured the prominent burghers that she had no intention of giving back their former positions or control over her rents and that she would only employ Christians.[618] Even though the queen purportedly dismissed the prominent Jews from positions of managing royal treasury and collecting taxes and rents, Queen Leonor would not remain in power for long, as the king's half-brother, Master João of Avis, would contest her regency and the final treaty signed with Castilian monarch, Juan I. The development of events will be discussed in the following chapter and the consequences and repercussions they would have on the Jews of Portugal.

As can be clearly seen, it was during the dynastic war and thereafter that the approach to Jews between the two neighboring kingdoms of Castile and Portugal began to differentiate immensely. Although the official policy under Pedro I of Castile followed the traditional policy of tolerance, it was his half-brother's active policy of attacking Jews by unleashing

[617] LOPES (2004), p 596.
[618] Ibid., p 599-600.

Christian mobs, assaulting their quarters and holding entire Jewish communities as hostages that would set the overtly hostile anti-Jewish tone during the dynastic war years and for the period thereafter. Even though Enrique II had called off any future violence, it would be impossible to revert to the situation prior to the dynastic war. All the new king could do would be to suppress any future potential outburst, stymie anti-Jewish legislation in the *Cortes* or try to repress the call for violence by ecclesiastical leaders, as would be the case with Ferrán Martínez.

No such events occurred in Portugal. Neither under king Pedro I nor under his son, Fernando I. On the contrary, the two monarchs actively defended their Jewish subjects. As discussed in the previous chapter, Pedro I had two of his courtesans executed for having robbed and murdered a Jewish merchant. Fernando I responded immediately to a Christian mob attacking the Jewish quarters of Leiria and had it crushed with the sending of troops. Unlike in Castile, there were no anti-Jewish rhetoric, public polemic disputes or open anti-Jewish preaching in Portugal. There was no official clergyman, with the power and influence of Ferrán Martínez, who was actively preaching for the complete isolation of the Jewish minority in walled-in ghettos without the possibility of leaving them at sunrise and returning to them at sunset, or the expulsion of Jews from his own diocese and the destruction of synagogues. There were no such clergymen, who openly defied royal orders or *albalás* of two kings and suffered no consequences in this period. The message sent out to the public by this open defiance was once again that the active, open, hostile verbal attacks of the Jews by an ecclesiastical leader had no consequences whatsoever and that this particular leader could continue to encourage and foment further anti-Jewish statements and actions.

5.B.4. Desecration of the Holy Host in the Crown of Aragon: 1377-78 and 1383

In order to provide an Iberian context to the collapse in the rapport between Christians and Jews, the harassment of the Jews in the Crown of Aragon, especially in Catalonia, will be briefly discussed. The public disputations and public trials of purported cases of desecration of the Holy Host by Jews would not only reinforce negative stereotypes already set in the collective mindset, but would have potential spillover effects into neighboring Castile.

There were recurrent assaults on the Jewish quarters of Barcelona, Mallorca and Perpignan in the mid 1370s, as there were reoccurrences of the Plague and famines afflicting the land. The toxic preaching of the mendicant friars did not help to reduce tensions, but on the contrary,

heated the pre-existing prejudices and animosities towards the Jews. However, there had not been until no systematic anti-Judaic propaganda in Aragon. It was only by the end of the 14th century that a Franciscan scholar, Francesc Eximeniç began to write and spread his polemical anti-Judaic views. There would also be Aragonese inquisitors, whose cruelty and ruthlessness would wreak havoc in the lives of both Jews and Christians alike. Its leader was Nicolaus Eimeric or Eymerich. Using the Talmud as the foundation of his attacks on the Jews, he claimed that it was a source of Black Magic. A Jewish notable of Barcelona, Astruc de Piera, was accused of practicing Black Magic by summoning demons and speaking to them. He was placed on trial in 1371. After much disagreement about religious and secular jurisdiction, the king deemed Eimreic and the Inquisitoreial teams as incompetent and the case finally appeared before the pope. Instead of being sentenced to death, Astruc de Piera was compelled to abjure in public at the cathedral of Barcelona and to serve a life sentence in prison.[619]

The second major anti-Jewish development would not occur in Catalonia, but in Aragon itself. In Huesca, Aragon, a similar accusation was thrown at the Jewish community a decade later. The Jewish community of Huesca had been going through decline due to heavy taxation and had begun to migrate to Castile. In November 1377, the Infante Joan (John) took the initiative by carrying the titles of Governor-General and arrived in Huesca. The presiding officer over the trial was B. de Ponte, one of the Infante's advisors. The accusation of the Host theft was based on the confession of a Christian thief, Ramon Rafart. He was an infamous ruffian, who had purportedly sold the Hosts to the Jew, Haim Andalet, who, under the duress of torture, confessed to have sold the Hosts to a Jewish couple, Jaffuda and Manases Abmabez. Upon release, Haim Andalet left Huesca with his family. An arrest order was given demanding their arrest on 1 December. On the same day, a woman of ill repute was also taken into custody, as she had purportedly received two of the three rings that the thief Rafart had received from Haim Andalet in exchange for the Hosts. Rubin claimed that there was confusion to the actual name and identity of the woman. Two names were reported, Constança and Johanela.[620]

[619] BAER (2001), p 86–87. In a diary fragment of one of the inquisitors, there are passages of Jews, who were accused of many purported crimes. PERARNAU i ESPELT, Josep (marzo de 2006). "El *Tractatus Brevis super iurisdictione Inquisitorum contra Infideles fidem Catholicam agitantes* de Nicolaus Eimeric" in Edició I Estudi Del Text». *Arxiu De Textos Catalans Antics*, Núm. 1, p 80, 82-83, 84. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2013). EL miedo al judío en la España de la Edad Media. In *Estudios de Historia de España*, 15, p 174.

[620] RUBIN, Miri (1999). *Gentile Tales. The Narrative Assault on Medieval Jews*. Yale University Press, p 112. For more detailed information, see: COROLEU, Josep (1899). *Documents historichs Catalans del sigle XIV*: *colecció*

In the midst of the anti-Judaic sentiment, the Infante on 3 December 1377 allowed a convert, Arnau d'Estadella, who was an expert in the Old and New Testaments, to organize public disputations against the Jews. Municipal bureaucrats forced Jews to congregate in all public spaces where Arnau d'Estadella preached and was supported by Dominican and Franciscan monks.[621] Once again, in contrast to Portugal, public polemic disputations were held in the Crown of Aragon in the attempts to discredit the Jews and denigrate Judaism in the eyes of the people. Instead of obtaining the desired results of convincing the Jews of any supposed errors in their faith and converting them to Christianity, all these disputations achieved was to increase the suspicion and animosity of the common people towards the Jewish minority.[622]

Before leaving to Zaragoza on 7 December 1377, the Infante wrote to his father not to intervene and to allow the trial of the thief and the Jewish couple to proceed. Under horrific torture, the couple confessed to selling the Hosts to Salomo de Quatorze, Mosse Ambinax and Abraha Abolbaça, who then proceeded to desecrate them. Afterwards, the Christian thief, Ramon Rafart was quartered and the Jewish couple were burned at the stake. Fortunately, Salomo de Quatorze was able to flee Huesca in time but the other two victims were captured and taken to Zaragoza, where the Infante presided over the trial on 11 December 1377, along with the Archbishop of Zaragoza, the Bishop of Taraçona, the Justiciar of Aragon, jurists and noblemen.[623]

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de cartas familiars corresponents als regnats de Pere del Punyalet y Johan I, p 61. MIRET Y SANS, J (1911-1912). El procès de les hosties contrals jueus d'Osca en 1377. *Anuari,* IV.

[621] RUBIN (1999), p 112. BAER (2001), p 90.

[622] VOSE, Robin (2009). *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*. Cambridge University Press, p 152.

[623] RUBIN (1999), p 113. BAER (2001), 89-90. The Crown Prince wrote to his father, the king, that the accused were allowed to defend themselves in this trial. The king showing great concern, reminded his son of the events in Barcelona, in which the victims were falsely accused of the stealing of the Hosts (trobam que non era vera). As tension developed, King Pedro IV wrote to his son, the Infante, to ensure that the Jews were not attacked and expressed his concerns that his son's advisors were not interested in finding out the truth or serving justice, but in the destruction of the Jews. The king reminded the prince to take caution and to follow the steps that the king had taken in 1367. He warned his son that if the Infante and his advisors continued with their hostility towards the Jews that the Jews would leave the royal domain and move to the jurisdiction of the nobility and the Church. The king then requested that the Jews of Huesca be assembled and asked to respond to the accusations in order that the guilty be duly punished and the innocent be released. In order to ensure that due process was followed, the king sent his own observer, the Procurator-Fiscal of Aragon, Bernat Planes. However, before the letter could arrive on 15 December 1377, the friends and relatives of Salomo de Quatorze, were arrested – his son, his father and five friends of Huesca.

Nonetheless, at the king's request the Crown Prince was required to bring in all of the documentary evidence, which the Crown Prince presented on 21 December. Instead of questioning the Jews, the king's council examined the Crown Prince's actions in Huesca. It was proven that Rafart and the Jewish couple confessed under torture and that Rafart's confession that the Jews were innocent was suppressed. The only truth in the entire matter was that the pyx with Hosts were actually stolen. The trial reached an impasse with the remaining Jews still in prison. Even though the king was angry with the entire fiasco, he could not disempower his son, so he allowed the trial to proceed so as to ensure a fair process. The king brought two of his own men to the court in the capacity of supervisors, Lope de Guerrera and Miguel de Capella, the Royal Auditor. Fortunately for all involved, The Crown Prince fell ill and the King freed the remaining prisoners. On 8 January 1378, the king dropped all charges as there was no evidence to prove the case, as it was purely based on "hatred and ill will" and enlisted the services of the prominent Aragonese nobleman Dom Lope de Guerrera to restrain the Crown Prince. The king was trying to mitigate the damage caused by his son and avoid a major migration of the Aragonese Jews to Castile.[624]

Finally, there was a third case of alleged Host desecration that involved the Crown Prince's cousin, Count of Urgel, who was the provincial governor. In the spring of 1383 in the city of Lérida (Lleida), the Jewish community, led once again by Jonah Desmaestre and Hasdai Crescas, was quick in its response to defend itself to the alleged accusation after the two previous horrific cases in the 1360s and 1370s. It was in 1383 that the monstrance or ostensory (ostensorium) had been stolen from a church in Castelló de Farfanya was reported and that two Jews, Sentou Levi and Moses Xicatella, had been accused of the crime of buying it. At once a royal missive on 26 September 1383 was issued ordering the charges to be dropped as the alleged crime was based on "false treatments and measures by people of ill will" and that those responsible for spreading such false rumors be found and punished.[625]

The Jewish community in its swift defense of the accused asserted that such claims were contrary to the Jewish faith and that a Jew would have no interest in the monstrance. Rubin states that the voice of a Jew in the trial was entered into the records, which according to the author, was a rare occurrence, as most court entries were extracted through torture. The

[624] BAER (2001), p 90. RUBIN (1999), p 113-114.
[625] BAER (2001), p 91. RUBIN (1999), p 114-115.

Jewish defense broke the *chronotopos* (how configurations of time and space are represented in language and discourse) as it broke the traditional representation of the Jew as a passive figure, waiting for his fate after arrest. The assertive defense played by the Jewish community broke that image of the Jew as a passive agent and actively requesting aid from the king and contesting the once untouchable uncontested authority of the accusers.[626]

Miri Rubin and Yitzhak Baer concluded that the three desecration trials of Aragon presented specific characteristics in that prominent personalities of the kingdom played major roles in them. These personalities initiated and nurtured by these trials that focused on the theft of the hosts by criminal Christians and their purported subsequent trade to the Jews. These trials did not dwell into the torture and abuses endured by the innocent and, fortunately, they did not develop into outbreaks of mass violence. Nonetheless, Baer insisted that the show trials encouraged and enabled the forces of darkness and evil to act. Rubin pointed out that they were highly controlled show trials. These cases lost their power once the king had forced them to withdraw. Also, what helped the Jews, according to Baer, were the anti-delation privileges granted by the king. Rubin ended the chapter by stating that the 15th century would have different outcomes, as the case of Segovia in 1411-12,[627] which will be further analyzed in a subsequent chapter. Perhaps, the worst part of these public trials and polemic disputes was the continuous transmission of the same negative messages of the purported inherent evil of the Jews and their supposed obsession in causing harm to Christians via desecration of the Holy Host and blood libel that was received by the gullible, ignorant and illiterate masses.

Another consequence of the public nature of such polemic disputes and open trials is the transmission of negative messages and images, not only on the local populace of the cities where they were held, but throughout the Crown of Aragon and the spreading of the news of such events into neighboring Castile: not only through letters of the royalty, nobility and clergy, but via oral transmission of merchants travelling between Castile and Aragon.

The chapter will now proceed to the documentation concerning the Jews and their consequences. An analytical breakdown of the documentation is found in the appendices under their appropriate classification and numbers.

[626] RUBIN (1999), p 115.
[627] BAER (2001), p 92. RUBIN (1999), p 115.

5.C. The Cortes of Castile and Portugal

5.C.1. Castilian Cortes and The Jews

The *Cortes* of Toro of 1371 described a completely different scenario of the social status of the Jews than that described by the Jewish chroniclers of the same period. According to the Christian municipal procurators, the Jews had too many privileges and freedoms in which they could freely move within the king's household and that of the nobility. Here the Jews had many positions of honor and were treated with reverence and respect and that supposedly all Christians had to obey them, including towns and cities had to submit to their authority, in which they suffered much harm and bribery.[628]

At the *Cortes* of Toro in 1371, the municipal procurators accused the Jews of being an evil and insolent people that were "enemies of God and Christianity" harmed the Christian population. As such, the municipal procurators once again requested that Jews be *obliged to live in separate quarters and that they wear distinctive signs on their clothes* as in other kingdoms of Western Christendom. It was also demanded that they did not wear clothes of fine cloth or *that they ride on mules* or that they use Christian names. The king acquiesced to the latter and the wearing of distinctive signs on their clothes. Even though the wearing of different clothes for Muslims and Jews had been suggested during the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, it had not been applied in Castile. In 1234, Pope Gregory IX suggested that the distinctive sign be a red circle. In local and national councils, the size and color of the circles would be determined. The convert Pablo de Santa María noted that Enrique II was the first Castilian monarch to force the Jews to wear the distinctive signs in his kingdom.[629]

In terms of the legal aspects of the *Cortes* of Burgos of 1377 some of the demands of the municipal procurators, reverting to past, established laws, such as forbidding the practice of usury and allowing debt letters to expire after six years, was not a new type of assault on Jewish privileges, but the respect for legal precedence. Forgiving debts, in part or in their entirety, was financially detrimental to Jewish moneylenders, as they were not able to recover their original principal lent to Christian debtors. It is this point that reinforces the purpose of

[628] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II (1863), p 203-204, 210-211, 214. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 316. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 136. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 159. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 241.
[629] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 316. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 159. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 136-137. ANTÓN MONSALVO (1985), p 240. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis, Juan Reglá Campistol y prólogo por Ramon D'Abadal i de Vinyals (1981). *España Cristiana: Crisis de la Reconquista – Luchas Civiles: 1350-1410, Historia de España*, Tomo XIV, 3ª ed., p 151.

the municipal procurators' desire to economically ruin Jewish competitors and remove them from credit lending and tax and rent farming. Most disturbing was the elimination of compensation for murdered Jews by Christians.[630]

In spite of the claims made by the municipal procurators that the Jews purportedly dominated royal, aristocratic and ecclesiastical finances, tax and rent collection as per the *Cortes* of 1377 and that they led to the harm of the realm, the in-depth and detailed study conducted by Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada demonstrates the opposite. From the available documentation, one can deduce that there were Jews in the royal treasury, there is no indication of how many were present. Even though there were prominent Jewish financiers as *almojarifes* (treasurers), that did not translate as the royal treasury being controlled by Jews. This could only be affirmed or denied when there are extensive lists of people related to fiscal activities. Whenever there is evidence of payrolls, the Jews hardly appear as collectors or treasurers, and never as accountants or public treasury officials as of the reign of Enrique II. Afterwards during his reign, the Jews would appear as collectors only. As such, it is only plausible or possible to speak of a Jewish monopoly as royal rent farmers during the reign of Enrique II, as long as there is no other data available.[631] [See Appendix I, Ch. 5.C.1. for an analysis].

5.C.2. *Cuaderno de Cuentas*

As discussed in a previous chapter, Ladero Quesada referred to the situation of Jewish tax and rent collectors of the 15th century and applied it to the 14th century. The Jews, at most, controlled one-fifth or one-sixth in the collection of royal taxes. However, it also cannot be interpreted that it was always that way. Nonetheless, these prominent Jews played a very featured role in the royal treasury in spite of their exiguous or small number than has been previously assumed.[632] In fact, Valdeón Baruque was able to show how many prominent Jews were in debt with the discovery of the *Cuaderno de Cuentas de Enrique II* (*Notebook of*

[630] *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II (1863), p 275-282. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, p 70-71. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1968), p 72-73, 77. AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS (1876), p 324. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 241-242. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ (1981), p 188.

[631] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2009). *La Hacienda Real de Castilla, 1369-1504*. Real Academia de la Historia, p 510-511. Ladero Quesada would investigate and study the need to know the numerical and economic importance of the Jewish rent farmers in relation to their own community. Afterwards, he would measure the number of people, their capital contribution, control of rents and other fiscal mechanisms, in order to understand the Jewish presence in its totality in the Castilian financial and fiscal system of this period. In terms of the number of Jews represented in the aforementioned system, Ladero Quesada also stated that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain precise numbers as the documentation is sparse and incoherent.

[632] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 519.

Accounts of Enrique II) of 1379,[633] which he classified as that of Enrique II, even though it was published a year after his death during the first year of the reign of Juan I. In it were all of the debts that went to the royal treasury until the end of 1378.[634] According to Cecil Reid, compared to earlier *libros de cuentas*, such as that of Sancho IV (1287-1294) the *Cuaderno de Cuentas* was not as precise and does not have the same amount of quantitative information. Nonetheless, it provides much valuable information suggesting the centralization of royal finances in a *Casa de Cuentas* (Office of Accounts), as well as the decline in tax revenue from the *aljamas* and the names of the prominent Jews, who played a fundamental role in the royal treasury.[635] [See Appendix III, Ch. 5.C.2 for further analysis].

Professor Valdeón Baruque stressed again that these seemingly lucrative positions *arrendadores* (lessors) were held by Jews, whereas the more stable and official positions were held by Christians. Valdeón pointed out, however, that such positions were not brilliant or appealing. The *Cuaderno* pointed out that the debts that the Jews owed were considerable. The names of some of the more prominent Jewish figures were mentioned: Samuel Abravaniel, Mayr Abenaex, Samuel Abravalla, etc. Many of them suffered prison sentences due to their debts. Valdeón Baruque explained that this fact counters the established myth of the financial stranglehold that the Jews purportedly had over the Christian majority population. Available documentation indicates that the Jewish financial situation was in fact precarious and weak. Nonetheless, the anti-Jewish propaganda unleashed by Enrique de Trastámara during the Civil War, would add to the already pre-existing anti-Jewish sentiment that would explode years later[636] in 1391.

In his work, Cecil Reid compared the royal revenues extracted from the Jews using the *libros de cuentas* from the reign of Sancho IV in the late 13th century and those of Enrique II in the last quarter of the 14th century. At times, calculations were difficult as the *Cuaderno de Cuentas* would include the total revenue received from both Muslims and Jews without differentiating the amounts, as was the case of Toledo. Nonetheless, the overall revenue from Toledo had also declined in that time frame. According to Reid's calculations, the

[633] VALDEON BARUQUE, Julio (1966). Un Cuaderno de Cuentas de Enrique II. *Hispania – Revista Española de Historia*, Tirada aparte del tomo XXVI, p 99-134.
[634] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1966), p 3.
[635] REID (2021), p 71. Reid provides a detailed breakdown analysis of the different types of taxes collected from the aljamas of the reigns of Sancho IV and Enrique II. See pages 71-75.
[636] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (1966), p 7.

contribution from three *aljamas* had fallen by 84% between 1292 and 1378. In some cases, there were no register of contribution from three *aljamas*. These were Olmedo, Coca and Pedrasa. Reid claims that either dispersion or total disappearance occurred of these *aljamas* due to the violence of the Tratámara war. Only in three cases, did royal tax contributions increase in that time frame. These *aljamas* were Trujillo, Alcalá de Henares and Murcia. Overall, the reduced number of Jewish tax revenues indicated, not only the numerical decline of the Jewish populations due to the massacres committed during the dynastic war, but the financial decline of the Jewish *aljamas* as well.[637]

Ch. 5.D. Portuguese Chancelleries

Many of the diplomas written were about the privileges or rights granted to the kingdom's Jews. An important diploma from the chancelleries of Fernando I and his fair treatment of the Jews dealt with the issue of the New Synagogue of the Alfama Jewish quarter in Lisbon. Apparently, there was an investigation that was conducted to resolve the issue if there had been written permission to build it. As there was no clarity in the issue, the Jews of the community did not have to pay the fine of 50 gold pounds.[638] According to Mª José Ferro Tavares, there is no evidence if the synagogue, which was located by Saint Peter's tower, was ever shut down.[639]

Cross-referencing the complaints presented at the *Cortes* of certain Jews exempted by royal charter or diploma of not wearing distinctive signs on their clothes, King Fernando I exempted four Lisbon Jews from wearing them as the other Jews were obliged to wear. These two Jews were: José Romão and "Çapateri"[640] and two other Jews who were rent collectors, Isaac Belamy and Adão Almilibi.[641] [See Appendices I and II Ch. 5.D for analysis of the chancelleries].

Ch. 5.E. Municipal Portuguese Legislature: Lisbon and Évora

Municipal legislation provides a mirror into the daily activities of Jews, their professions, such as blacksmiths and butchers, and their confinement in their quarters. [See Appendices I and II, Ch. 5.E. for a detailed breakdown of the municipal legislature of Lisbon and Évora].

[637] REID (2021), p 72-74, 81.
[638] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. II, fls. 53vº-54.
[639] TAVARES (2000), p 60.
[640] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. IV, fl. 4
[641] ANTT, *Gaveta 10*, maço doc. Nº 17, fls. 1-2vº.

5.F. Analysis of The Jews in Castilian and Portuguese Chronicles

5.F.1. Jews in the Chronicles of Castile

The royal Castilian chronicler Pero López de Ayala after the ransoming of the Jewish communities of Burgos and Toledo in the aftermath of the Trastámara dynastic war reported no events involving the Jews in the years 1369-1383. López de Ayala would report on the Jewish communities in the fateful year of 1391, when he would discuss the role of the fanatical archdeacon Ferrán Martínez and his prominent role in the massacres of that same year. Instead, historians have used manuscripts of the Book of *Aljamas*.[642] These manuscripts are summaries of past events dealing with the fanatical archdeacon prior to 1391 but only recorded in 1391. These events are the *albalás* (royal warrants) issued by kings Enrique II (1379) and Juan I (1382 and 1383), as well as the trial against Ferrán Martínez in 1388. [See Appendix III, Ch. 5.F.1 for further details].

5.F.2. Jews in the Chronicles of Portugal

The royal Portuguese chronicle of Fernando I written by Fernão Lopes[643] has several entries dealing with the Jews. The first entry dealing with Portuguese Jews in general was when they were fleeing from the Castilian troops into the safety of the old walls of Lisbon in 1373. The entry that dealt with a prominent court Jew was that of Lopo Martins, who was the toll collector for the city of Lisbon. He would also be present later on for the treaty between Castile and Portugal signed in Elvas, stating first that Crown Prince of Castile, Enrique would marry Crown Princess of Portugal, Dona Beatriz. Later, he would also be present at the re-negotiations for the new treaty that stated that Fernando I would offer his daughter, the Crown Princess to the King of Castile, Juan I. [See Appendix III 5.F.2 for a detailed account of the entries dealing with the Portuguese Jews during the reign of D. Fernando I].

[642] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (1991). *Crónica del Rey Don Juan Primero* in *Crónicas*. Editorial Planeta. AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos en las Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla (Siglos XIII al XV*). Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2014, p 66-67. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel. *Judíos y conversos de Castilla en el siglo XV. Datos y comentarios*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2016, p 21. *Juderías y aljamas Mss. 13877.* Biblioteca Nacional de España, manuscrito del s. XVIII, 1889. *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y judíos de Castilla, Mss. 13089. "Inmunidad" (0.8.4.2.)* [Manuscrito del s. XVIII], Biblioteca Nacional de España.

[643] LOPES, Fernão. *Crónica de D. Fernando*. 2ª edição. Edição crítica, introdução e índices de Giuliano MACCHI. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda: Lisboa, 2004.

5. G. *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío*

The Castilian *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío* (*Colloquium between a Christian and a Jew*) is an anonymous late medieval text written in 1370 within the tradition of religious disputes of Judeo-Christian controversy.[644] According to Professor García Moreno, the *Coloquio* is a fictional recreation of a religious polemic dispute between members of the Jewish and Christian communities. It followed along the patterns of those in Paris in 1240 and Barcelona of 1263. Its purpose was to convert the Jewish interlocutor to the Catholic faith through rational dialogue supported by the use of sacred texts.[645] However, unlike the aforementioned disputes, the *Colloquium* was not as virulent and acerbic, but rather amicable, as if the two men were good acquaintances or friends. Through the exchange, the historian finds the use of different scriptures from both Judaic and Christian sources.

The different types of texts used were biblical, primarily from the Old Testament, the Talmud and the Midras. The intention of using rabbinical sources was to persuade the Jews to convert to Christianity, by using those passages in the Old Testament that purportedly supported the deity of the Christ. This was quite common in the Judeo-Christian polemics that began in the mid-12th century.[646] According to Thomas Glick, not all polemic literature had to follow contemporary interpretations and understandings of what they should be. Not all interfaith relations were hostile and did not have to follow established patterns or presumptions; i.e., caustic and vitriolic diatribes. He argued instead that scholarly and academic relations were usually cordial and conflict-free. They were also a normal component of medieval social and intellectual life. Glick went as far to claim that polemic literature might and might not have provided a partial representation of group attitudes. He argued further how two continuous misperceptions continued to permeate in the literature of interfaith academic and scholarly

[644] *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío* (2003), edición crítica y estudio preliminar de Aitor GARCÍA MORENO. Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, p 6-7. The oldest copy at hand is the 15th century manuscript Ms. 1344 located in the Biblioteca de Palacio de Madrid (Palace Library of Madrid). Professor García Moreno, doctor in Hispanic Philology from the Complutense University of Madrid, is currently an Investigator at the Department of Hebraic and Sephardic Studies in the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Higher Council of Scientific Investigations), and is an expert in medieval Sephardic studies and has written extensively on the Colloquium, including the Critical Edition of the text, published in 2003 by the Department of Hispanic Studies at Queen Mary, University of London. In the Critical Edition of the *Colloquium*, García Moreno divided his analysis of the text into scriptural fact and textual fact; the former is the physical description of the manuscript, whereas the latter discusses the content in terms of its cohesion and textual coherence. The text consists of 112 folios that are numbered on the upper right-hand side of the pages.
[645] *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío* (2003), p 18.
[646] Ibid., p 19.

relations. The first misconception was that interfaith relations were defined by polemic literature and that positive relations were an anomaly. The second misconception was that intellectuals were in permanent polemic mode.[647] David Berger was able to document how Jewish and Christian scholars and commoners held informal conversations on religious themes, sometimes during or after business transactions and that they were friendly, not antagonistic, as well as frequent and not seldom or rare.[648]

Continuing this line of argument, García Moreno claimed that the historian through the text can also piece together bits of intra-history, in which the application of the respective dogmas of Jews and Christians were applied to their daily lives of Jews and Christians in the late 14th century.[649] The purpose of the article was to go beyond the theological and focus on the daily lives of the two religious groups. The article focused on three general sections, ranging from the general to the specific or concrete, from the social to the personal. These aspects cover: 1) the general aspects of social organization from the period, that is professional occupations of Christians and Jews and their relation to religion; 2) those that the presence of worship in the practice of their daily lives, that is to say in the precepts that affect clothing, food, work, and holidays; and, 3) other aspects of their lives that were more or less eschatological.[650]

The assumed date of the text, 1370, could be related in part to Enrique II's attempt to restore normalcy between Jewish-Christian relations after the years of bloodshed during the dynastic war (1355, 1360, 1366-1369). After the new monarch noticed at the convening of assemblies and *Cortes* in 1366 and 1367, it had become apparent that pent up anti-Judaic hostility had been released in the form of physical assaults conducted by the commoners on many Jewish quarters and in the number of legislative petitions from the municipal procurators and the vitriol in the depiction of the Jews. Perhaps it was the king's attempt to propagate this idealized image of an amicable discussion between two merchants at their stalls in the market or shopkeepers in an attempt to push aside the extremely negative and hostile images that were projected and widely received by the commoners for so many years. If it should have

[647] GLICK, Thomas (2004). 'My Master, The Jew': Observations on Interfaith Scholarly Interaction in the Middle Ages. In *Jews, Muslims, and Christians in and Around the Crown of Aragon. Essays in Honor of Elena Lourie*. *The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures*, vol. 52. Brill, p 158.
[648] BERGER, David (1986). Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages. *American Historical Review,* 91, 1986, p 582, 587-588.
[649] GARCÍA MORENO, Aitor (2002). "El Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío (1370): Estampas de un conflicto medieval" in *Judaísmo hispano. Estudios en memoria de José Luís Lacave Riaño*, p 163.
[650] GARCÍA MORENO (2002), p 164.

been the case, then the desired effects of calming passions and reducing tensions would be very limited as will be seen. Most likely, the text had little reception, as there would have been a limited audience within an erudite elite of readers. It seems very unlikely that it would have been read to a broader audience at public squares or gatherings and would have remained in the hands of a very few literate people. Nonetheless, *Coloquio* remains an excellent literary piece reflecting the ideas and thoughts shared in the second half of the 14th century, as well as an insight in how interfaith relations at times took place.

See Appendix III, Ch. 5.G. for a detailed analysis of *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío*.

Conclusion to Chapter 5

After having analyzed the available documentation from the period 1369 to 1383 in both kingdoms of Portugal and Castile, it is evident that events in the two kingdoms continued to develop differently from one and another. This was seen in the acts of the *Cortes* in both kingdoms, the polemic dispute in Castile in 1375 and absolutely no record of any polemic disputes in Portugal.

In spite of the attempts of the early Trastámara kings to return to the situation prior to the dynastic war (1355, 1360, 1366-69), the anti-Jewish sentiment released during that war would continue to develop amongst different social groups, especially certain ecclesiastical leaders, either old Christians or recent converts, would either lead polemic discussions against the Jews or in other cases cajole the common people to rise against the Jews. In the case of Archdeacon Ferrán Martínez, would even try to rile up the lower masses to hurt and murder Jews and that it would be smiled upon by the Crown.

In terms of the differences between the two kingdoms in their approach to the Jews, the acts of the *Cortes* reveal astonishing differences. These include: the number of petitions attacking, restricting and removing privileges; the length of each petition; and, the language and terms used to describe Jews. As seen in its respective sub-chapter, the Castilian petitions at the *Cortes* were more numerous than those of its Portuguese counterpart. The Castilian municipal procurators attempted more often to restrict the movement of Jews, their contacts with Christians, their dress code (and not only wearing a distinctive sign on their chests), but the banning of what was considered as luxury items; the banning of Jews from riding mules, let

alone not to ride horses. By 1377 and 1380, the Crown succumbed to the continuous anti-Jewish legislative assaults conducted by the municipal procurators.

In contrast, the Portuguese municipal procurators attempted to ban Jews from holding offices over Christians, which was denied by King Fernando I as it would have been against previous practice by former Portuguese kings. When asked to reinforce the wearing of distinctive signs, the municipal procurators only requested that certain prominent Jews be required to wear them as well, and that the king no longer grant letters dispensing of the use of distinctive signs. Also worth noting was the length of these petitions in both kingdoms and the language or terminology used. Whereas in Portugal, the petitions tended to be short and to the point, in Castile, they were long vitriolic diatribes decrying the abuses and destructive harm the Jews were committing to the people. Although the Portuguese municipal procurators would also decry abuses that were done maliciously, they were referring to abuses committed by prelates, noblemen and knights, who were not paying their fair share of the *sisas* or hoarding food and reselling it at higher prices to the common people. In contrast, the Castilian acts of the *Cortes* registered abusive terms heaped on the Jews, such as *enemies of God and Christianity* and *insolent and evil people,* at the *Cortes* of Toro in 1371. The constant anti-Jewish barrage in the Castilian legislative body, not only reflected the different approaches and views of the Jews in each kingdom, but also the message that would be transmitted to the common people, once the laws would be announced in public. As the Portuguese acts of the *Cortes* do not record such vitriolic diatribes denigrating Jews, then most likely, the transmission of a more neutral stance and posture was projected into the public sphere or domain by the town criers and heralds. As such, the Portuguese imaginary would have fewer negative images than that of its Castilian counterpart.

Also important in terms of the two kingdoms was the lack of any polemic disputes or written works in Portugal during this period. In Castile, there was the *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío* of 1370, that even though was neither an attack of Jews nor a theological dispute over the validity of one religion over the other, it is written documentation reflecting the preconceptions of Castilian Christians about Jews and Judaism at the time. This document is believed to have had limited circulation and most likely was reserved to ecclesiastical circles. In sharp contrast to this work was the polemic dispute held in the Cathedral of Ávila in 1375 led by the recent convert, Juan de Valladolid, against rabbi Moíses ha-Cohen, who represented the Jewish community in its defense. The significance of this polemic dispute is

that it was open to the public versus the *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un Judío*, which was limited in its scope. Most likely this was due to the fact that the latter was a written work for a limited audience that could read and write, whereas the former was a live dispute open to the public. Although not all inhabitants of Ávila and its surrounding countryside attended the official disputation, word of mouth could have transmitted the debates as they developed and the concluding statements made by the ecclesiastical leaders.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the kingdoms was the existence of a fanatical preacher in Castile, such as Archdeacon Ferrán Martínez of Écija, who led years of an anti-Jewish campaign inciting commoners to rise up against the Jews and by the early 1380s to wound and murder Jews. Not only did the aforementioned archdeacon preach in Écija but in Seville and in other localities of the archbishopric of Seville, but would threaten parishioners of different localities not to conduct their daily activities with Jews or else they would be excommunicated. The many complaints presented over the years 1378-1383 state that not only Ferrán Martínez preached anti-Jewish diatribes on a regular basis, but that the range of these messages was broad in its extent.

Not only were these developments extremely dangerous in erupting to open revolts against the Jews, but shows the complete failure in leadership from both the Church and Crown in dealing with such a destabilizing agent as Ferrán Martínez. In spite of the continuous admonishments from the Crown in their three *albalás*, the lack in any type of follow-up in the violations of these *albalás* simply showed the unwillingness of that leadership to hold the culprit accountable with legal measures, such as arrest, trial and imprisonment or execution. Although it has been argued that Ferrán Martínez belonged to the new Trastámara elite from which the new dynasty depended upon and had many powerful connections, his actions bordered on lèse-majesté, as he continuously attacked the "king's Jews" that belonged to the royal patrimony and openly lied about the Crown purportedly agreeing to the murder of Jews. This complete failure of leadership would allow Ferrán Martínez to continue unhindered with his incendiary preaching and attacks against the Jews and transmit the message to commoners that the Crown would not stop such activities. The Church failed in its leadership in not removing Ferrán Martínez from his positions of ecclesiastical responsibilities and excommunicating him. Such failures also allowed the archdeacon to continue unhindered in his attacks of the Jews.

Although Ferrán Martínez, along with other anti-Jewish ecclesiastical leaders, such as Juan de Valladolid, would play a crucial role in the rise of anti-Jewish animosity, they were not acting in a void. They simply were acting within a pre-existing socio-political milieu that had an anti-Jewish predisposition and mindset. The aforementioned anti-Jewish ecclesiastical leaders simply acted within this context and intensified the hostility and animosity towards the Jews of the misinformed and misled common people during a period that had been marked by many social upheavals, economic transformations, disease, scarcity, political instability and dynastic wars, which led to an atmosphere of uncertainty, anguish, mistrust and fear. The lack of secular and ecclesiastical leadership in halting such activities would exacerbate the situation, as these polemic figures would continue to incite the common people against the Jews.

CHAPTER 6. DYNASTIC WAR IN PORTUGAL AND INCREASING TENSIONS IN CASTILE, 1383-1391

The years between 1383 and 1391 would be marked by increasing tensions between Jews and Christians in Castile, as well as open conflict between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile over who would control the throne of Portugal. Although there would be a brief period from October 1383 to December 1383 that the Jewish community was under the threat of discrimination and assault of the Jewish quarters of Lisbon, it was the immediate intervention on the part of the Master of Avis, Count Dom João, who showed the necessary leadership to put an immediate halt to the intentions of the mob to sack Jewish shops and homes.

This chapter will be divided into two parts. The first will be focused on the short interim rule of Leonor Teles, her agreement with the prominent burghers to discriminate against the Jews, the declaration of Dom João, Master of Avis, as defender of the realm, the years of hostilities between Portugal and Castile, the acclamation of the Master of Avis as King João I and the crushing defeat of the Castilian forces in August 1385 and their retreat from Portugal by the end of that year. The second phase of the chapter will focus on the development of the two kingdoms until 1391, with a focus on the relative stability of the Jewish situation in Portugal and the degrading and final collapse of the Jewish rapport with Christians in neighboring Castile that would lead to the eruption of violence by June 1391.

Part I:

6.A. Dynastic War and Societal Transformations 1383-1385

The events in the last years of the reign of Fernando I of Portugal (1380-1383) would erupt into open conflict after his death in October 1383. As seen, there were several factors that would lead to the chain of events that would unfold into a dynastic and civil war in Portugal. One of them was the regency of the very unpopular Queen Leonor Teles, wife of the deceased king, who was accused of helping in the machination of the marriage between the young Portuguese Crown Princess, Beatriz, and the adult King of Castile, Juan I. The latter, in turn, committed the grave error of invading Portugal in December 1383 to claim the throne of Portugal, which was only stipulated in the treaties if the heiress to the throne of Portugal, Beatriz, should die without leaving a male heir to that same throne. These two factors infuriated many prominent burghers of the urban centers, lower and middle ranking members

of the clergy, minor nobility and the second sons of the upper aristocracy.[651] However, many members of the upper nobility, especially the first sons, sided with the Castilian cause, also known as the *legitimist party*, as they followed the legal treaties signed between the two Crowns. The former party of prominent burghers and minor noblemen, who rejected the dominance of the Castilian monarch over his child Portuguese spouse, Beatriz, preferred the claim to the throne by Dom João Master of Avis, half-brother of the deceased king. This group would be classified as the *nationalist* party that rejected the threat of Portugal being absorbed into Castile.[652]

Triggering the Castilian invasion of Portugal by King Juan I was the murder of the Galician nobleman and purported queen's lover, João Fernandes Andeiro, Count of Ourém, by the opponent to the union of the two crowns, Dom João, Master of Avis in December 1383. This would lead to the declaration of national emergency and the appointment of the Master of Avis, Dom João to be Regent and Protector of the Realm in face of the Castilian invasion of Portugal. Queen Regent Leonor Teles would first take refuge in Alenquer and then in Santarém, where she met with King Juan I of Castile. In the meantime, D. João of Avis reorganized the administration and formed a government of notables by giving important posts to members of the Third Estate. In terms of the defense of the realm, D. João handed the young nobleman, Nuno Álvarez Pereira, who would prove his military prowess many times on the battlefield.[653] In January 1384, there was a fallout between Leonor Teles and

[651] LOPES, Fernão (2004). *Crónica de D. Fernando*, 2ª edição revista. Edição crítica, introdução e índices de Giuliano Macchi. Imprensa Nacional-Casa de Moeda, cap. CLXXIII-CLXXVIII, p 593-612. SOUSA, Armindo de (1997). *História de Portugal, vol. II, A Monarquia Feudal*. Editorial Estampa, p 414-415. SÉRGIO, António (1976). Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal, 5ª edição. Livraria Clássicos Sá da Costa, p 27, 31-32. MARQUES, A.H. Oliveira (2010). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Das Origens ao Renascimento*, 14ª edição. Editorial Presença, p 210. MARQUES, A.H. Oliveira (1987). *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV, Nova História de Portugal*, vol. IV. Direcção de Joel Serrão e A.H. de Oliveira Marques. Editorial Presença, p 523, 525. SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação (1085-1415)*, 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 293-294. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA, Bernardo (2009). *História de Portugal, Iª Parte – Idade Média (Séculos XI-XV)*, 8ª edição. A Esfera dos Livros, p 135-136. COELHO, António Borges (2010). *Portugal Medievo (1128-1385), História de Portugal*, vol. II. Editorial Caminho, p 285-287.

[652] CAETANO, Marcelo (1981). *História do Direito Português (1140-1495), Fontes-Direito Público*, vol. I. Editorial VERBO, p 447. There would be another party, known as the legitimist-nationalist party that rejected the treaties between the Infanta Beatriz of Portugal and the Castilian king, Juan I, in favor of another son of Pedro I, also born out of wedlock with Inês de Castro, also named João. The master of Avis and his supporters would be able to outmaneuver the son of Inês de Castro through the fact that he lived in Castile and was deemed unfit to become king of Portugal. MARQUES (1987), p 523-525. For a Castilian interpretation of the events, see. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, L. (1987). La crisis de 1383: el punto de vista castellano. In *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, vol. I. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 59-68.

[653] LOPES, Fernão (2017). *Crónica de Dom João, Primeira Parte*. Edição Crítica e notas de Teresa Amado. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, cap. IX, p 35-37, cap. XXVI, p 64-65, cap. LVI, p 113-115, cap. LVIII, p 117-118, cap. LXI-LXII, p 121-123. LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (1991). *Crónica del Rey Don Juan, Primero de Castilla y*

King Juan I of Castile, who would have her arrested and sent to a monastery in Castile. As a consequence of this action, many more Portuguese municipal mayors, noblemen, clergy and commoners would join the forces of D. João, Master of Avis. The Castilians would then besiege Lisbon from February to September 1384, which would ultimately have to be lifted after the resurgence of the Bubonic Plague had decimated the Castilian siege forces. Fernando I's reinforcement of the city's walls had proven to be effective. The Castilian withdrawal was a positive event for Portuguese forces as it presented a spectacular triumph for the cause of the *nationalist* party. As a result, many more urban centers continued to abandon the *legitimist* party and join the ranks of the Master of Avis.[654]

By April 1385, Dom João, Master of Avis, the members of the nobility and clergy that had not joined the Castilian camp, knights, squires and urban patricians representing the Third Estate, gathered in Coimbra for the first *Cortes* to be held since the death of King Fernando I and the commencement of fighting. After much deliberation and intense debates, the *nationalist* party or faction led by the legal mastermind of João das Regras, declared Master of Avis as King João I of the Avis dynasty.[655] Here, as earlier in Castile, the new king was born out of wedlock and was not the official "legitimate" heir to the throne. Now two of the Iberian kingdoms were led by so-called "bastard" dynasties that had come to power by force against the "legitimate" heirs to the throne.

León in *Crónicas*. Editorial Planeta, cap. VII, p 549-550, cap. IX, p 551-553. According to Fernão Lopes and Pero López de Ayala, the royal council of Castile was against an invasion of Portugal, as it would have violated the signed treaties and have led to destruction, as well as incurred the hatred of the Portuguese towards the Castilian king and Castilians, LOPES (2017), p 113, / LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 551-552. SOUSA (1997), p 414-415. SÉRGIO, (1976), p 32. MARQUES (2010), p 210, 213. MARQUES (1987), p 524-526. Involved in the assassination plot of Count Andeiro were the Count of Barcelos, D. Álvero Perez de Castro (brother of Inês de Castro) and the chief justice of Lisbon, D. João Afonso Telo II (brother of Leonor Teles). Many of the municipalities would join the rebellion in part against a potential absorption of Portugal into Castile and in part due to a resentment of the mismanagement of the kingdom by the entitled aristocratic and clerical elites. SERRÃO (2001), p 294-295. VASCONCELOS e SOUSA (2009), p 136-137.

[654] LOPES (2017), caps. CXIV-CXV, p 206-211, cap. CL, p 284-287. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), cap. III, p 562-563, cap. XI, p 570-572. MARQUES (1987), p 526, 528-529.

[655] LOPES (2017), cap. CLXXXI, p 348-349, caps. CXCI-CXCII, p 373-377. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), cap. VII, p 583-584. CAETANO (1981), p 445-459. MARQUES (1987), p 529-530. SERRÃO (2001), p 305-309. Even though the dynastic question was not the original purpose of the Cortes, but rather the raising of funds for the war effort, the members of the "nationalist" camp saw it as imperative that it be resolved as soon as possible. Discussed were the issues of the pretenders to the Portuguese throne and how both King Juan I of Castile and Dona Beatriz were disqualified. The former for having invaded Portugal and claimed the Crown, the latter for her compromised position of standing by her husband, Juan I, and aligning herself with the invading forces.

A brief note should be made about the nature of the Avis ascendancy to the throne. To many historians, it was a multifaceted process and with many outcomes. It was a dynastic war, civil war and revolution with the presence of foreign troops from England and France. It involved the different societal orders, especially a prominent role in the wealthy burghers or patricians of the commercial urban centers.[656] It would be the urban patricians, as well as the guild masters, who would demand more clout in their dealings in the *Cortes*, such as the raising of taxes, especially the *sisas* (commercial or sales tax), and the representation of the guild masters in the Royal Council. D. João would also receive the support of the Church and Jews (whose support will be further discussed in the section dedicated to them). The dynastic aspect of the conflict, as already discussed, was about who should assume the throne; Dona Beatriz, the daughter of the deceased king Fernando I, who was bound by treaty to share the Crowns with the king of Castile, Juan I, or the Master of Avis, Dom João, half-brother of the deceased king and strong proponent of complete Portuguese sovereignty and independence. The military and commercial agreements between the urban mercantile burghers, represented by Dom João, Master of Avis, and the English, would be one of the factors that would help seal the fate of the conflict. The Castilian overstretch by Juan I and his overestimation of Castilian forces, would also be a factor in the final outcome of the conflict.[657]

Once the question of legitimacy amongst the *nationalist* party had been resolved at the Coimbra Cortes of April 1385, all attention could be focused on the Castilian invading forces and those Portuguese noblemen, who had chosen their fate with the so-called "legitimate" party. The decisive battle would be at Aljubarrota on 14 August 1385, where a smaller Portuguese force supported with English longbowmen confronted a larger Castilian army supported by the French. Due to excellent military strategy and tactics by king João I's army commander, Nuno Álvares Pereira, and the English longbowmen, the combined Castilian-French forces were annihilated and Juan I barely escaped capture or death. The *nationalist* cause of the Avis had been saved and Portuguese realm had been spared from a possible

[656] COELHO, António Borges (2017). *A Revolução de 1383*, 6ª edição. Editorial Caminho. According to Borges Coelho, it was the urban patricians of Lisbon (upper bourgeoisie in his terms), who initiated the rebellion against the legitimist camp by having tried to solicit the support of the Conde de Barcelos, who declined after much hesitation. It was then that the urban patricians opted for Dom João Master of Avis, King Pedro I's son born out of wedlock. It would be Álvaro Pais, an urban nobleman, who would instigate the common people to join the camp of D. João. SÉRGIO (1976). CAETANO (1981).

[657] CAETANO, Marcelo (1985). *A Crise Nacional de 1383-1385. Subsídios para o seu Estudo*. Editorial VERBO, p 171-175. MARQUES (1987), p 526-527. The Church would lend D. João 287 silver marks and the Jewish community of Lisbon 60 silver marks, p 526.

Castilian occupation. Afterwards, the Portuguese forces under the military leadership of Nuno Álvares Pereira began to recapture many of the Portuguese cities, towns and fortresses that had been in Castilian hands.[658]

Special note should also be made of those Portuguese aristocrats, who abandoned the realm between 1384-1385 to live in exile in Castile and remain faithful to the *legitimist* cause of Dona Beatriz and Juan I of Castile. Many would lose all of their landed property and belongings through confiscations that would be later rewarded to those minor noblemen and urban patricians who had remained faithful to the *nationalist* cause. It would be officially recorded in the diplomas expedited by the royal chancellery that they had abandoned and committed disservice to the realm.[659]

Important for the Jews of Portugal, as well as other subjects, was a law from the *Cortes* of Coimbra of 1385 that guaranteed all prior charters, uses and customs of the people to be respected. The king's response was deferment.[660] As the law stated all prior charters, uses and customs, then theoretically it would apply to all of the previous charters granting the rights, privileges and obligations to the Jewish communities of the kingdom. In a precarious situation, in which the future of the realm was uncertain, such laws brought a sense of stability and security to all subjects. In the case of the Jews, such a decision would give them a certain assurance, unlike during the Trastámara dynastic war in Castile, in which they were continuously assaulted and in Burgos and Toledo held hostage twice for heavy ransoms.

Another important aspect of the *Cortes* of Coimbra of 1385 was the approach towards political persecution. Detractors and denouncers have to provide evidence to their accusations in front of justices or judges at the place where they made their allegations. If they failed to do so or have been proven to be false, then they would incur physical punishment and the loss of their belongings. The falsely accused would be reintegrated into society and their land

[658] MARQUES (1987), p 530, 532.
[659] MORENO, Humberto Baquero (1987). Exiliados portugueses em Castela durante a crise dos finais do século XIV (1384-1388). In *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, vol. I. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, p 69-101. Also see as examples: *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I, v. I, t. 1, 1384-1385,* 1ª edição. Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2004, p 16. Also check fol. 171vº, fol. 99vº, fol. 32vº, 130vº-131, fol. 91vº, 30-30vº; liv. 2, fol. 3, fol. 14, fol. 105vº.
[660] SOUSA, Armindo de (1990). *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*, vol. II. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, p 225. Porto, AHM, *Livro B*, Doc. 76, fs. 302-308vº. Nº 5.

and belongings restituted. The king's response was partial deferment.[661] This law is important as it sets the legal framework of fairness and justice. It would not tolerate nor reward false accusations or false testimony from anyone irrespective of social order, rank or confession. Not only did it set the precedent of how the new dynasty would operate with its subjects, but it could be applied to the Jews, as many complaints from both Jews and Christians were in terms of loan documents. The Jews had complained that many times, Christians would agree upon making false allegations about the contracts being usury and fraudulent. As previous law required that all contracts be written up by official scribes, signed by both parties, signed by witnesses and sealed by the notary public, any lies trying to defame Jewish moneylenders would be punished by presenting the official signed and sealed evidence of the contract.

6.B. The Jews in Castile and Portugal, 1383-1385

6.B.1 The Jews in Castile (1383-1385)

As discussed in the previous chapter, the plight of the Jews in Castile worsened in many aspects. Not only in terms of the ever-increasing restrictive demands, but also in terms of polemic disputes held in Ávila (1375), the long and drawn-out court case between the dean of the Cathedral of Seville and Jewish rent collectors (1369-1377), and then the radical preaching of the archdeacon of Écija, Ferrán Martínez, throughout the diocese of Seville, who incited mobs to attack and even murder Jews from 1378 until 1391. The lack of leadership on the part of the first Trastámara monarchs, which was limited to only issuing *albalás* or royal warrants to Ferrán Martínez, only demonstrated a lack of initiative and firm action towards the fanatical preaching of the archdeacon. This official posture of inaction only enabled and emboldened the further actions of Ferrán Martínez and sent a message to the common people that there would be no consequences to the violation of three royal warrants.

In part, royal inaction could be explained with Juan I's fixation with the question of the Portuguese throne and his desires to influence, if not control, the neighboring Iberian kingdom. The many negotiations between the two kingdoms, including the marriage between the Portuguese Crown Princess, Dona Beatriz, and the Castilian king, occupied much of the time and endeavors of Juan I. As a result, Juan I neglected his duties to domestic issues,

[661] SOUSA (1990), p 226. Porto, AHM, *Livro B*, Doc. 76, fs. 302-308vº, Doc. Nº 13, Nº ordem 14.

which would have included the unresolved issues with Ferrán Martínez in the archdiocese of Seville. In the two-years period of 1383-1385, there was no recorded major incident involving anti- Jewish activities or incidents.

6.B.2. The Jews in Portugal, 1383-1385

Portugal, on the other hand, went through a different process. The aftermath of the pro-Jewish reign of Fernando I only went through a brief period of an anti-Jewish posture by the regent Queen Leonor Teles from the end of October to the beginning of December 1383. Afterwards, after the designation of Dom João, Master of Avis, as the protector of the realm in early December 1383, a more tolerant, if not more proactive Jewish policy was followed. Not only would the Master of Avis, help stave off a potential assault of the Old Jewish Quarter of Lisbon, but he also hired the prominent Jewish merchant, Lopo Martins, as *corregedor* of the realm. The king would also solicit the assistance of Jewish financiers to help provide the funds for the minting of coin for a stable currency.

When referring to leadership, Dom João, Master of Avis, took action by physically going to the gates of the Old Jewish Quarter to de-escalate the angry mob from assaulting the Jewish quarters. This hindered the city from falling into chaos, violence and anarchy after the Queen regent, Leonor Teles abandoned Lisbon. Most likely, Dom João realized that merely sending letters or warrants would not have sufficed in containing the potential outburst of violence and that the actual presence of a leader was required.

It is this difference in approach to anti-Jewish written, verbal and physical attacks that differentiated the two kingdoms as time developed. Reiterating from the last chapter, not only was this difference in the amount of restrictive Jewish legislation between Castile and Portugal apparent, but in the use of hostile and derogatory terms used to describe Jews as well. The length of each petition from the municipal procurators also varied between the two kingdoms. Whereas Portuguese petitions were usually one to two paragraphs, Castilian petitions were usually long, vitriolic diatribes that could go on for a folio and a half blaming the Jews for being enemies of God and responsible for all of the ills of the kingdom. It should not be forgotten that once the petitions had been accepted by the Crown, the laws would be announced to the people in public squares. As such, the negative image of the Jew would be reinforced in the collective mindset of the majority Christian population. Finally, the lack of political initiative and leadership beyond sending royal warrants, also made a difference, as

the actual physical presence of a leader admonishing possible physical violence acted as a strong deterrent for the common people in carrying out such nefarious deeds.

6.C. Castilian and Portuguese *Cortes* of 1385

The short period of intense open warfare between Castile and Portugal demonstrated the severe and acute crisis of the two kingdoms. In spite of this situation, the municipal procurators still found it necessary to insist upon discriminatory petitions in their respective *Cortes*.

6.C.1. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation at the Cortes of Castile

At the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1385 there were several anti-Judaic requests in the General Petitions from Nº 3, 9-16 presented by the municipal procurators that were no more than the reiteration of prior legislation wrapped in vitriolic diatribes in order to cajole or force the king to enforce previously obtained legislation. The petitions ranged from restricting Christian daily contact with Jews, such as eating and drinking with them, to banning Jews from rent and tax collection, as well as granting Christians debt relief and debt forgiveness. The *Cortes* would be marked with many petitions to circumscribe the rights of Jews.[662] [See appendices 6.C.1 for details].

In terms of Christian indebtedness to Jewish moneylenders, investigators can see how the king was trying to walk a fine balancing act between the representatives of the Third Estate, who purportedly claimed that they were being strangled by Jewish moneylenders, and the Crown's need of the expertise and knowhow provided by Jewish financiers in the royal treasury and in the farming of rent and tax collection. The Crown gave strict rules by stating that indebted Christians would not receive complete debt forgiveness but that only one-third of their debts would be forgiven and they would have only fifteen months in order to resolve their debts with Jewish moneylenders with no further extensions. It seemed as if the king did not want to delve deeper into resolving the long-term issues of persistent debt and wanted to move onto other pending issues.

It must be reiterated that one of the major complaints of the Jews, was the false testimony of Christians and their co-conspirators to deny the amount of money lent agreed upon in order

[662] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla,* t.2 (1863). Real Academia de la Historia, p 322-326.

not to pay the amount and that the word of a Christian should count more than that of a Jew. However, what needs to be pointed out, was the number of complaints over the decades about Christians denying the amount lent and to swindle their way out of repayment. Prior kings had ordered that all money lending had to be conducted in front of notary publics and official scribes that would write the necessary information, including the name of the place and date, counting the money lent in front of all witnesses, and have all parties sign the document that would be sealed by the notary public. It seems that many loans and lines of credit continued to be conducted without the presence of municipal officials, which led to these continuous issues between Jewish creditors and Christian debtors.

Another recurring issue was the very vague assertions that "in certain parts of the kingdom" and no specific or particular places were named or what the dates were. No lists of specific people were presented as well. It seems to be part of the typical generic attacks on Jewish moneylenders or debt collectors in order to denigrate them and place blame on the Jewish people as a whole every time that the municipal procurators would claim "the Jews" as an entire group or people involved in such activities.

6.C.2. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation at the Cortes of Portugal

In the *Cortes* of Coimbra in April 1385, there seems to be little evidence of any legislation dealing with the Jews, as the most pressing issues were the defense of the realm in light of the Castilian invasion and Juan I's claims to the Portuguese throne. Once the issue of the inheritance of the Portuguese Crown had been resolved with the acclaiming of Dom João Master of Avis, as João I of the Avis dynasty, the *Cortes* could deal with other issues, such as the levying of taxes, especially the *sisa* or commercial/sales tax, in covering the costs of raising and maintaining an army. It was agreed in petition nº 6 that the king would not levy such taxes without the prior consent of the Third Estate in the *Cortes*. The king would receive loans from both the Church and the Jewish community of Lisbon.[663] In Petition Nº 7, it was requested that no minting of new coin (currency), no declaration of war nor royal marriage contracts or treaties be made without the prior consent of the *Cortes*.[664]

[663] CAETANO (1985), p 171-175. MARQUES (1987), p 526-527. The Church would lend D. João 287 silver marks and the Jewish community of Lisbon 60 silver marks, p 526. COELHO. Maria Helena d Cruz (2008). *D. João I o que recolheu Boa Memória*. Reis de Portugal. Círculo de Leitores. Temas e Debates, p 89-91.
[664] SOUSA, Amrindo de (1985). O Discurso Político dos Concelhos nas Cortes de 1385. *Revista de Faculdade de Letras*. Universidade de Porto, p 15.

As previously mentioned, the newly acclaimed king declared that he would respect all previous charters, uses and customs s requested in petition nº 5.[665] It would seem that this recognition would include all previous charters granting the rights, privileges and obligations to the Jewish communities of the kingdom. In a precarious situation of dynastic change and war with a powerful neighbor, such acknowledgment brought a sense of stability and security to all of the realm's subjects. In the case of the Jews, such a decision would give them a certain assurance, unlike during the Trastámara dynastic war in Castile, in which they were continuously assaulted and in Burgos and Toledo held hostage twice for heavy ransoms.

However, in the *Livro dos Pregos* (*Book of Nails*), there appears two pieces of legislation in the Special Chapter of Lisbon that was restrictive towards the Jews in terms of the professions they could exercise (none above a Christian) and to wear distinctive signs on their clothes. The information is found in Document 129, fl. 134vº, Coimbra, 10 April 1385. [See Appendix I, chapter 6.C.2. for further analytical details].

6.C.3. Portuguese Royal Chancelleries 1383-1385

As per custom, the Portuguese royal diplomas expedited in terms of the Jews dealt with rights, privileges and concessions granted to prominent Jews, usually those who rendered services to the Crown, and under no circumstances to the average Jew, who was a small merchant, shopkeeper, artisan and tradesman. The interregnum period and early years of the reign of João consisted of many confiscations of property of those who sided with the Castilian cause and left the realm, irrespective of their religion, such as David Negro and Dom Yudá,[666] and donations of that same property to those subjects who remained in the kingdom and supported the cause of the Master of Avis, and as of April 1385, João I. This was reflected in petition Nº 14 in the general chapters presented at the *Cortes* of Coimbra of April 1385.[667] Most noticeable was the declaration of Lopo Martins as squire (escudeiro) of

[665] SOUSA, Armindo de (1990). *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*, vol. II. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, p 225. Porto, AHM, *Livro B*, Doc. 76, fs. 302-308vº. Nº in the document 5. SOUSA (1985), p 15.
[666] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I, v. I, t. 1, 1384-1385,* 1ª edição (2004), p 16 & 45 respectively.
[667] CAETANO (1981), p 443. SOUSA, Armindo de (1985). O Discurso Político dos Concelhos nas Cortes de 1385. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Porto*, p 15-16.

Trancoso in June 1385.[668] [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.C.3. for a detailed breakdown of the different types of diplomas expedited from the king].

As witnessed by the available documentation, the socio-political developments in Portugal during the dynastic conflict varied greatly from those of Castile during its own dynastic war and thereafter. Instead of attacking its Jews, sacking their quarters and holding them hostage for huge ransoms, the new Portuguese dynasty rewarded Jews for their efforts and services to the realm. Those Jews that sided with the Castilian cause and fled the realm along with Leonor Teles, were declared as having provided disservice to the kingdom and, as such, had all of their property and belongings confiscated and given to those, who remained in service of the realm. In other words, there was an equal application of the law to all subjects, irrespective of their confession. [See Appendix I, 6.C.3 for further detailed analysis].

6.C.4. Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora

Once again, the municipal legislation of late medieval Évora was presented in the re-edition of *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora* (Historical Documents of the City of Évora) in 1998 by Gabriel Pereira, an original work that was a compilation first published as a transcription of medieval (12th-15th century) and modern era (16th century) manuscripts in 1891. For the period of 1383-1385, there are entries dealing with the city's Jews from 1384 and 1385. They are not discriminatory in nature, but rather deal with who was the royal tax and rent collector for the Jewish community of Évora. There was no derogatory terminology used towards the Jews. [See appendix I, Ch. 6.C.4. for a detailed analysis of the legislation].

6.C.5. Jews in the Chronicles of Castile and Portugal

Jews in the chronicles of Castile

Crónica del Rey Don Juan in *Crónicas* by Pero López de Ayala (1991). Edición, prólogo y notas de José-Luis Martín. Editorial Planeta.

There is no evidence of chapters or entries dedicated to Castilian Jews in this time (1383-1385). However, that does not mean that no incidents would not have occurred, it is just that the official Castilian court chronicler, Pero López de Ayala chose not to include any incidents or occurrences. Most likely, the archdeacon of Écija, Ferrán Martínez was preaching against

[668] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I, v. I, t. 2, 1385*, 1a edição (2005). Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, p 248-249.

the Jews, as he had been doing so prior to the Portuguese-Castilian war over the Portuguese throne of 1383-1385, and as he would be after the conflict. Records of anti-Jewish atrocities were recorded in the book of *Aljamas* (Ms. 13089) that will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Jews in the chronicles of Portugal

Crónica de Dom João I: Primeira Parte by Fernão Lopes (2017) Edited by Teresa Amado, et al. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.

The above edition was posthumously published after Teresa Amado's untimely death in 2015. She had dedicated great part of her life to the works of the medieval Portuguese historian, Fernão Lopes, who wrote the chronicles of Portuguese kings, namely Pedro I, Fernando I and João I. Although younger than the Castilian chronicler, Pero López de Ayala, the two were contemporaries and wrote different interpretations of events in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Not only were their interpretations different, the two had different narrative styles: Lopes having a more vivid, detailed and descriptive style that brought the reader into the narrated scenarios, whereas López de Ayala had a more dry, succinct and objective style of relating events.[669] As previously discussed, Fernão Lopes has been known as being the first "modern" historiographer of Portuguese history, as well as a propagandist in justifying the emergence of the new dynasty of the House of Avis after the death of Fernando I, half-brother of Dom João, Master of Avis.[670] [See Appendices III, chapter 6.C.5 for a detailed analysis].

Comparison of the Portrayal of the Jews in the Portuguese Chronicles and in the Chancelleries

There are several points to be made on these chapters. On one level, those court Jews, who joined the Castilian camp in disservice to the realm were referred to as "that Jew" or "the Jew" and not by their proper names, as was the case of those Jews, who remained in the realm and provided their service to the *national* cause of Dom João, the Master of Avis. It could be argued that once Dom David had realized the plan was to commit regicide, he

[669] For a more detailed account of the stylistic differences between the two medieval historians, read Juan de Contreras y LÓPEZ de AYALA, Marqués de Lozoya (1933). El Cronista don Pedro López de Ayala y la historiografía portuguesa. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. 102, p 115-157.

[670] For a more detailed account of the propagandistic mastery of Fernão Lopes, read: COELHO, António Borges (2017). Fernão Lopes e a 1ª Revolução Burguesa Nacional: Prologo da 2ª edição, 1975. In *A Revolução de 1383*, Editorial Caminho, p 117-138.

realized that he had to make the moral choice of informing the king of Castile of the plot. On the other hand, it could also be argued that those same Jews, in order to gain favor in the changing political situation during the upheavals in the land, would switch their so-called allegiances when convenient and advantageous to their careers. This was inferred when the young queen, Dona Beatriz, claimed that she always had reservations towards Dom David. Queen Regent Leonor Teles called Dom David, who she professed that she cared about him, a treacherous dog in his face when confronted with the allegation of plotting to commit regicide.[671] The lesson received from such a narrative is that all of these characters were to be interpreted as opportunists, who were willing to use each other for personal gain and benefit, as well as willing to abandon each other at a whim, when the other was no longer convenient for their personal endeavors. This did not exclude anyone from their social condition, confession or kingdom. It disparaged aristocrats, like Leonor Teles and her brothers, the king of Castile, who were Christians, and Dom David, who was Jewish. No one was spared from Fernão Lopes' propagandistic critique of the opponents to the Portuguese *national* cause.

One could also argue that the Master of Avis' decision was not based on a sense of integrating the Jewish community into Christian society but most likely dictated by practical purposes. Dom João most likely was well aware of the economic benefits that the Jewish community could bring to his cause. These benefits included not only financial support, but also administrative purposes, including managing the royal treasury and the mints, collecting taxes, running warehouses, etc. Evidence of this is the naming of the prominent Jewish merchant, Lopo Martins, as a city magistrate of Lisbon in charge of tolls.[672]

Fernão Lopes, through his narration of the events of the Cortes of Coimbra in April 1385, reiterated what Martim Vasquez da Cunha purportedly had stated about how the Master of Avis, through his kindness and grace, had kept the Lisbon mob from attacking the Jews and doing whatever they felt like with them.[673]

As previously discussed in the sub-chapter on royal chancelleries, some of the events narrated by Fernão Lopes were corroborated by the royal diplomas expedited by the chancellery. Although the language employed by Fernão Lopes was more detailed, vivid and

[671] LOPES (2017), p 152-156.
[672] LOPES (2017), p 348. *Livro dos Pregos* (2016). Documento 98, fol. 110-110v, 112v.
[673] LOPES (2017), p 374.

colorful, the entries in the royal diplomas from the chancelleries also inform the reader that the regency under Dom João and the new dynasty of the Avis, did not denigrate the Jews and use pejorative terms to describe them. As already seen, those Jews, whose property was confiscated was due to abandonment and disservice to the realm. Fernão Lopes, in contrast to the official royal diplomas, would categorize those Jews, who had abandoned the realm and lost their property and belongings due to disservice to the kingdom, were simply classified as "the Jew" - losing their formal names and becoming a mere stereotype of negative attributes given to the minority religious group over centuries by the Church, secular legislation and popular legends. It seems that Fernão Lopes wanted to make a clear distinction between those individuals belonging to the Mosaic faith, who were true to the *national* cause, were spoken positively and retained their names, whereas, those who chose the *legitimist* or Castilian cause were denigrated and portrayed in not so positive terms or light. This point is important, as chronicles being propagandistic literary works were most likely read by the educated elites of the clergy, nobility and upper echelons of the urban patricians. Whereas the legislation from the Crown and the *Cortes* would be proclaimed to the commoners throughout the realm at public squares and nailed to the doors of city and town halls.

Part II: Rising of Tensions between Christians and Jews in Castile 1385-1391

The period after 1385 and up to 1391 saw an increase in tension between the two religious confessions of Christians and Jews in Castile, especially in the region between Sevilla and Écija. Not only did the amount of anti-Jewish legislation continue to increase with its invectives and vitriolic diatribes against the Jews, Ferrán Martínez would continue to propagate his hate speeches towards the Jews throughout that entire region. Unfortunately, through circumstance, he would become temporary head of the diocese of Seville after Archbishop Pedro Gómez Barroso's untimely death in July 1390. The situation would worsen for the Jews once the last protector of the Jews, King Juan I of Castile, died in a horse accident in October 1390 and succeeded by his young and inexperienced eleven-year-old son. Without any effective leaders to hinder his plans, Ferrán Martínez could incite the mob to attack the Jews and order the destruction of synagogues in December 1390. In Portugal, on the other hand, there is no evidence of any such activities, in spite of renewed initiatives from the Portuguese municipal procurators to restrict Jewish economic activities and constrain their physical whereabouts by compelling them to reside in walled-in Jewish quarters.

The chapter will end prior to the outbreak of violence on 6 June 1391 that would begin in Seville and spread throughout the Guadalquivir River valley, to then spread northward reaching Villa Real and Toledo. It would be halted by the time it hit Burgos, Valladolid and Ávila. However, the influence of Castilian sailors reaching the ports of the Crown of Aragon, including the Balearic Island of Mallorca, would play a role in propagating the news of assaults on the Jews and inciting the already anti-Jewish mobs of Barcelona, Gerona, Tarragona, Valencia and Palma de Mallorca to attack Jews. A high point of this chapter will be the trial of Ferrán Martínez led by Sevillian Archbishop Pedro Gómez Barroso.

6.D.1. Castile

Castile began this period after its crushing defeat at Aljubarrota in August 1385 in severe financial debt and inflationary pressure due to the extremely high costs of the Portuguese campaign. The king was forced to take refuge in the *Cortes* of Valladolid that same year in order to seek the political support and financial backing from the municipal procurators. The urban representatives were able to capitalize on the Crown's temporary weakness in order to prop up their demands for more representation and control of the purse.[674] A month after the *Cortes*, the Castilian municipalities guaranteed the Crown a loan of 10,000,000 maravedis.[675]

At the *Cortes* held at Briviesca in December 1387, the Castilian king, in order to gain support for his pretentions to the Portuguese throne, classified Portuguese King João I as the traitor Master de Avis.[676] In spite of these reversals and severe debts, these claims and statements reveal the Castilian king's wishful thinking, and perhaps even deluded hegemonic pretensions, as he had neither been able to defeat the actual crowned king of Portugal, João I,

[674] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1988). Las Cortes en Tiempos de Pedro I y Primeros Trastámaras. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. I. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla y León. Ediciones Simancas, p 201, 207-208. ÁLVAREZ PALEMZUELA, Vicente Ángel (2016). "Capítulo 31. La Internacionalización de los conflictos" in *Historia de España de la Edad Media*, 6ª impresión. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, (Coord.). Editorial Ariel, p 696-697. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (1988). Cortes de Castilla y León y Fiscalidad Regia. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. I. Cortes de Castilla y León. Ediciones Simancas, p 298.
[675] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2009). *La Hacienda Real de Castilla (1369-1504)*. Real Academia de Historia, p 414-415. MACKAY, Angus (1988). Las Cortes de Castilla y León y la Historia de Monetaria. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla y León. Simancas Ediciones, p 359-360. Due to the depreciation of the newly minted coin that had little metallic value, it would be worth six-ninths of a dinero and no longer one maravedi, as it originally was in 1386. The sharp depreciation of the new coin led to distrust amongst the population, especially for tradesmen, suppliers and customers receiving change after paying for goods, as they refused to accept any more payments in the aforementioned currency.
[676] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2 (1863), p 399-400.

conquer the country and depose that same king of Portugal, nor had Juan I been crowned king of Portugal in order to fulfil the Castilian monarch's claims.[677]

By the *Cortes* of Palencia in 1388, King Juan I was already planning to reignite the war with Portugal over who would sit on its throne and how he discussed with the municipal procurators how to raise more funds to finance the conflict for one year or two. Once again, the king would be in a financial predicament and the Third Estate imposed on the monarch a special commission integrated by six members, four of which were municipal procurators from towns and cities, to prepare the collection of new taxes and services and the prior approval of the accounts from the previous year.[678] It would be the truce of 1389 that gave the Castilian monarch some reprieve from the growing financial burden that he had imposed upon the kingdom.[679] [For more details see Appendices to Chapter 6.F.1].

The king also raised funds through taxation. Taxes were collected by the prominent burghers or good men (*hombres buenos*), who had to have a certain amount of wealth and through royal letters would pay out the amount of taxes prior to actual collection to the Crown. These taxes consisted of *alcabalas* and complementary *sisas* on meat and wine. In terms of the religious minorities, they also participated in paying direct tributes for the war efforts, although according Ladero Quesada, they were not supposed to. The Jews, who had suffered both physically and financially under the claim to the throne by the first Trastámara, paid 2,500,000 maravedis in 1386 and another 2,000,000 in 1387, whereas the Mudéjares (Muslims under Christian rule) paid 200,000 maravedis. Any revenue that was collected above the amount in the royal letters would go to the municipal councils.[680]

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[677]Ibid., p 336, 359, 362, 399, 412, 420, 424, 460. In the many preambles of the different Cortes after Aljubarrota in 1385, they would start with: "Don Johan por la graçia de Dios Rey de Castilla de Leon de Portogal…" It was only by the Cortes of Madrid in 1391 that Portugal was finally withdrawn from royal titles.
[678] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2 (1863), p 408-409. LADERO QUESADA (1988), p 299. Nonetheless, in spite of the truce of 1389, the raising of funds and the creation of a new currency of little precious metal in its content, *blanco de Agnus Dei*, in order to pay for his soldiers and supplies, brought more money into circulation, which in turn, brought about high inflation as prices soured. Already the king had raised from funds had received loans from the nobility. In one case, Pedro Fernández de Velasco had lent the Crown nine million maravedis and the royal silverware was used to raise funds for Juan I's hegemonic endeavors towards Portugal. What had become apparent was that the Crown no longer had any gold or silver to support its currency and that it had wasted all of the gold and silver accumulated under Pedro I in the many wars conducted by the Trastámara kings.
[679] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 649-650.
[680] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 416.

The collecting of taxes by prominent Christian burghers or good men, demonstrates the victory of the Third Estate over the Crown in its prerogatives of previously using Jews for tax collection and shows their awareness of their economic power and how to leverage it in their negotiations with the king for further financing of his war efforts against Portugal. This move also proves how the Jews did not have a monopoly or sheer dominance of tax and rent collections as once propagated by anti-Jewish circles during this period and afterwards.

The further levying of taxes also demonstrated the financial burden carried, not only by the religious minorities but by the common people as well, and the escalation of prices that made the value of money decline rapidly. This pressure would worsen economic hardships of the common people, increase social discontent and intensify pre-existing tensions between different societal groups, especially those between Christians and Jews.

Perhaps very important in the development of the relations between Portugal and Castile was at the *Cortes* of Guadalajara in 1390, that last one under Juan I, in which the Three Estates acknowledged that the various estates or social orders in the kingdom of Portugal did not and would not recognize Juan I of Trastámara as their king.[681] The Third Estate also asserted its political-economic weight by refusing to increase further economic subsidies that the king had requested.[682] The king's council also advised the king to desist from his failed campaigns in claiming the Portuguese throne, as they had led to much loss of life and funds, as well as to difficulties and hardships to the subjects in his own kingdom.[683]

At the *Cortes* of Madrid held from 22 January to 24 April 1391, the first one of the young king, Enrique III, there was yet another depreciation of the currency, *blancos* Agnus Dei. The new exchange rate between the old currency to the new was three of the old maravedis to eighteen of the *blancos* Agnus Dei or one silver *real* to thirteen *blancos* Agnus Dei.[684] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, in his study of the Castilian treasury from 1369 to 1504,

[681] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 651.
[682] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1988). Las Cortes en tiempos de Pedro I y Primeros Trastámaras. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 1988, p 209.
[683] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 652-653, 654-656, 657.
[684] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2. (1863), p 517-523. The fixed exchange rates were given on p 518-519. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 709-710. López de Ayala confirmed the devaluation of the *blancos* de Agnis Dei in Chapter 2 of the Chronicle of Enrique III. Pero López de Ayala was recorded as present at the Cortes of 1391 held in Madrid. See pages: 483, 486, 492, 498 & 501 of those same *Cortes* and on page 492, he became part of the royal council. Although as a chronicler, his narrative could reveal certain biases, it was not second-hand information.

claimed that this last depreciation brought about disorder in the debt markets, due to the rise in prices and the attempts to fix them, as well as in the ways in which rising taxes and rents were collected.[685] According to Angus MacKay in his study of the *Cortes* of Castile and León and monetary history, the Castilian currency or maravedi lost 98% of its value from 1300 to 1500, with the worst crashes occurring in the Trastámara years of 1369, 1386, 1429 and 1462-1470. The most important monetary reforms were conducted in the years 1370, 1373, 1387, 1391, 1442, 1462 and 1471-1473. All during the Trastámara dynasty.[686] These numbers demonstrate the effects of the many and incessant wars conducted by this dynasty and the huge debt incurred in providing funds either through moneylending, taxation or minting of more currency that would circulate in the economy, cause inflation and a further devaluation of that same currency, as well as worsen social relations between Christians and Jews.

6.D.2. Portugal

It was after the Battle of Aljubarrota of 1385, the situation in Portugal was also delicate, if not precarious. Its finances were in disarray and its society was still dealing with the open wounds of the recent civil war. England strengthened its ties with Portugal, by recognizing the new Avis dynasty of João I and, especially a military alliance through the Treaty of Windsor of 1386, which was reinforced through the marriage of the new Portuguese king with the royal princess, Philippa of Lancaster in 1387. As in Castile, the Portuguese Crown needed funds for its military campaigns and received them via taxes, credit and donations. By then, the conflict would be fought outside of the Portuguese borders, as the Castilians would suffer one defeat after another.[687] However, the intense struggle led to increased spending, the creation of new types of currency (coin), the circulation of more money in the economy, the increase in prices and the devaluation of the currency, as will be seen in the discussion carried out at the *Cortes*.

At the *Cortes* of Porto in 1387, King João I requested more funds for the defense of the realm and for the household of the new queen. The Crown was granted "general sisas" or sales tax

[685] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 774-776. LADERO QUESADA (1988), p 300-301. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 709-710. The municipal procurators presented all of the negative issues involved in the depreciation of the *blanco* and the dangers of its immediate and further devaluation for the common people.
[686] MACKAY (1988), p 398-399.
[687] COELHO (2008), p 155-156. FREITAS, Judite A. Gonçalves de (2011). *O Estado em Portugal (Séculos XII-XVI)*. Alétheia Editores, p 22. SOUSA, Armindo de (1997). *A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480), 2º vol. História de Portugal.* Direcção de José Mattoso. Editorial Estampa, p 438. MARQUES (2010), p 213. LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 415. ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (2016), p 697-698.

on all commercial transactions. The funds had to come from both the clergy and the Third Estate. However, the amount of taxes collected proved to be insufficient for the amount of debt incurred. As a result, new *Cortes* had to be summoned in September in order to raise more funds to help finance the conflict with Castile. These occurred in Braga in November 1387 without the presence of all estates. The Third Estate unanimously approved more *sisas* to be raised for the Crown. At the *Cortes* of Lisbon in 1389, not only did the Crown once again petition more funding and received *sisas, talhas*[688] and *pedidos*[689], but had to listen to the complaints of the Third Estate in terms of the rise in the costs of living, shortages and defects of the public administration. At the *Cortes* of Coimbra in 1390, the Crown had to listen to a number of grievances, before *sisas* were raised once again.[690]

Portuguese historian A.H. Oliveira Marques wrote that this period was marked by a heavy depreciation of the Portuguese currency. Not only was João I's reign characterized by the continued socio-economic transformations of the 14th century, but by the continuous strains of trying to finance defense costs in face of Castilian threats of another invasion of Portugal. From a financial and monetary perspective, this period was marked by a complete remodeling of the existing system to the adoption of a new monetary unit and unit of accounts. This process resulted in the devaluation of standards hitherto in force. Between the years of 1384 until the minting of the *Real* of 3.5 pounds in 1398, the Portuguese currency

[688] *Elucidário de Viterbo* (G-Z), t. 2., 2ª edição. Livraria Lopes: Lisboa, MCCCLXV, p 225-226; the *talha* was a tax or contribution based on the person's financial or material abilities to pay and not a poll tax.
[689] Ibid., p 141; *pedido* was a type of tribute paid, that landlords received from their vassals for the use of seignorial lands.
[690] Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, *Ms. 694*, fols. 139 e segs. CAETANO (1981), p 476. SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo (2001). *História de Portugal, vol. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação (1080-1415)*, 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO, p 325. SOUSA, Armindo de. *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*, vol. I. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto: Porto, 1990, p 295-308. SOUSA, op. cit., 1997, p 438. According to Veríssimo Serrão, doubt has been raised about the Cortes of Porto in February 1387 ever having taken place, but rather those of Coimbra in May 1387 did take place. Veríssimo Serrão also claimed that a Cortes of Braga in 1386 had taken place. However, Armindo de Sousa in his two-volume study of *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)* published in 1990, did not mention them. Armindo de Sousa declared that there was no summons letter for the *Cortes*, although Fernão Lopes wrote of these *Cortes* in Chapter 95 of the second volume of his *Chronicles of João I*. However, in Ch. 100, Fernão Lopes held counsel and not *Cortes* in Porto in those days. SOUSA, (1990), p 295. Documentation used to prove that the Cortes of Porto actually took place were: Two Chapters from Elvas, one Special Chapter from Santarém, one General Chapter of the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro V (1984), Título 24. SOUSA, (1990), p 296. Marcello Caetano also did not mention any Cortes of Braga in 1386. Caetano, however, affirmed that the first Cortes of 1387 were held in Coimbra in May of that year. Caetano wrote that the long list of grievances presented at the Coimbra Cortes with the king's responses were reproduced in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro II, (1984), Título 59, p 339-376.

depreciated between 1000 to 1200%. The Portuguese pound in 1383 was worth 10 to 12 Portuguese pounds in 1398.[691]

From the documentation available and studies conducted on this period, it seems that both kingdoms were undergoing similar, although not identical, financial/fiscal/monetary difficulties and crises due to the continued war efforts – on the Castilian side, to claim the Portuguese throne, and from the Portuguese side, to maintain its independence from the Castilian claims to the Portuguese Crown. The financial and fiscal strain of minting more currency, as well as raising more taxes, would be expressed differently in both kingdoms.

In Castile, one saw the increased animosity of the common people towards the privileged orders and societal groups, especially towards the marginalized Jewish community, whose financiers worked in the service of these elites. This was reflected in the *Rimado de Palacio* by royal chronicler López de Ayala, who blamed heartless, callous and cruel Jewish tax and rent collectors towards the plight of the common people. In Portugal, there seems to be little to no evidence of hostility by the new elites of the Avis dynasty towards the Jews. Perhaps, this is due to the abandonment of the realm by the larger landowning aristocratic magnates and their replacement by lower ranking members of the nobility and the prominent burghers, who fought for the independence of the Portuguese against the Castilians. There is also no literature indicating or reflecting a societal resentment towards the Jews, as the *Rimado de Palacio*. In spite of the increased efforts of the Portuguese municipal procurators at the *Cortes* in restricting the Jews in their daily personal and business activities with Christians, they were nowhere near the acrimonious, acerbic, vitriolic and toxic legislative proposals of the Castilian municipal procurators or the mendacious and insidious discourse of the Castilian preachers and polemic debates. As such, as will be discussed, the societies of both kingdoms had developed differently in their approaches to the Jews, in which the Portuguese social environment seemed to be less hostile and volatile than its Castilian counterpart.

[691] MARQUES, A.H. Oliveira (1980). *Ensaios da História Medieval Portuguesa*. *Documenta Histórica*. Editorial Vega, p 213-214. Oliveira Marques divided the time into three periods. This chapter focuses on the first three subperiods. These were: 1) 1384-1385: the silver mark that was valued at 22 Portuguese pounds at the beginning of the interagency period, would be valued at 37 and then at 66 Portuguese pounds. This entailed a depreciation of 300 %; 2) 1386-1387: the currency depreciated over 700%. The silver mark rose to the new parity of 155 Portuguese pounds; 3) 1387-1391: there was another depreciation of the currency of 500% in regards to 1383. One of the old Portuguese pounds was the equivalent of five of the new Portuguese Pounds.

6.E. Jews in Castile and Portugal Post-1385

The period between 1385 and 1391 would see an increase in restrictive legislation towards the Jews in both kingdoms. However, Portuguese anti-Jewish laws were not only less in number but also lacked the toxicity and invectives of Castilian legislation. It also seemed, due to a lack of evidence that Portugal lacked the presence of fanatical preachers calling for the destruction of the Jews, both in terms of their private and communal property, as well as their lives, but lacked public polemic disputes as in neighboring Castile. As such, the intensity of the anti-Jewish narrative in both kingdoms would continue to differ and develop separately. They would take different routes and have different outcomes by 1391.

6.E.1. The Jews in Castile Post-1385

It seems that Juan I with his obsession of the Portuguese throne and the raising of funds to finance new campaigns against the new Portuguese king, João I, ignored or paid less heed to growing dangers of the increasing hostility towards the Jews through the preaching and actions of Ferrán Martínez in the valley of the Guadalquivir.[692] Reflecting this anti-Jewish hostility amongst the common people, as will be analyzed in this chapter, was Pero López de Ayala's work*, Rimado de Palacio*, in which he portrayed the *perception* of the willing callousness, cold-heartedness and greed of the Jewish money lenders, tax and rent collectors ignoring the struggles and plight of the people.[693]

The popular anti-Jewish stance was expressed through two arguments, according to Ladero Quesada. On the one hand there was the hostility towards the perceived Jewish dominance of the royal treasury. On the other hand, the municipal procurators fought to completely drop all debts to Jewish moneylenders or to reduce them, as to weaken the financial viability of the

[692] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª. (1985). *Teoría y Evolución de un Conflicto Social: El Antijudaísmo en la Castilla en la Baja Edad Media*. Editorial Siglo XXI, p 253-254. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ, Emilio (1994). *Los Judíos de Castilla em Tiempo de Enrique III. El Pogrom de 1391*. Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Valladolid, p 36. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones, p 69, 73. LEA, Henry Charles. "Ferrand Martinez and the Massacres of 1391" in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 1, Nº 2 (Jan. 1896), p 211-212.

[693] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (1991). *Rimado de Palacio*. Edición de Germán Orduna. Editorial Castalia, p 133-135, 150, 166-169, 171-172, 193-194, 212-213. LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (2019). Libro Rimado de Palacio, 2ª edición. Edición de Kenneth Adams. Ediciones Cátedra, p 149-152, 176, 178-182, 200-201, 217-218. LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero (2019). *Libro del Canciller o Libro del Palacio*. Edición, introducción y notas de Michel Garcia. Universidad del País Vasco, p 124-126, 147-152, 181-182. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2019). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 2. Sociedad*. Editorial Dykinson, p 370. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (1998). La *imagen del judío* en la España Medieval. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, Hª Medieval, t. 11, p 33-34. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª edición, p 79. ÁLVAREZ PALENZUELA (2016), p 701-702.

Jews as a perceived economic rival.[694] However, as demonstrated by Ladero Quesada that Jewish rent and tax collectors only accounted for one-sixth to one-fifth of the total number of these officials,[695] it was the *perception* amongst the common people that the Jews monopolized these positions and convinced the elites to charge more taxes and raise rents to satisfy their greed and contempt for Christians through their subtle, sly and refined machinations.[696] This perception was coupled with the continuous verbal assaults by radical preachers and the lack of action by the secular and ecclesiastical leaders besides royal admonishments or ecclesiastical condemnations, in actually halting these anti-Jewish activities with the arrest and imprisonment of these actors, that would create a permissive environment that these reprehensible speeches and actions were condoned.[697]

As this apparent stand-off between the fanatical archdeacon and the archbishop was taking place, more and more anti-Jewish legislation was being petitioned at the Cortes. These ranged from not paying interests to Jewish loans (*Cortes* of Segovia in 1386), not having Muslims or Jews in Christian homes or vice-versa, that there should be no conversation between the three confessions except for the bare minimum for daily business transactions (*Cortes* of Briviesca in 1387), to hearsay complaints without evidence that the Jews were earning interest at usury rates (*Cortes* of Palencia in 1388). However, Juan I, in need of the financial support of his Jewish subjects, pushed back, in terms of only repaying the principal of Jewish loans and not the interest was rejected by the Crown. In terms of the hearsay accusations, indebted Christians would have to produce the official signed and sealed debt letters by notary publics and evidence that the Jewish moneylenders actually committed usury. If not, then the Christians had to repay the debts in full. However, if the debt letters proved the act of usury, then the Christians only had to repay the principal.

However, not all legislation was anti-Jewish in nature, as some of them would apply to all confessions, including the majority Christian community. These laws were banning all subjects from working in a public area or shop on Sundays (*Cortes* of Briviesca 1387).

[694] LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 365.
[695] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 519.
[696] LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 365.
[697] MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 253-254. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 36. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 69, 73. LEA (1896), p 211-212.

Unfortunately for the Jewish communities of Castile, the inopportune deaths of the archbishop of Seville, Pedro Gómez Barroso in July 1390 and King Juan I in October of that same year, would leave the Jews without the ecclesiastical and secular protection provided until then. The new king of eleven years of age would be under the tutorship of a highly divided council composed of rival noblemen, prelates and prominent burghers, whereas the archbishop's seat would be occupied by the archenemy of the Jewish communities, archdeacon Ferrán Martínez, until a new archbishop could be chosen. The open rivalry between the divided members of the council in the eyes of the public, made that same council seem weak, inept and incapable of resolving pending issues of the realm. The little authority that the municipal magistrates had weakened in the eyes of the masses, which encouraged acts of bad faith and petty acts of revenge amongst rivals. The lack of any ecclesiastical or secular brakes allowed the opportunistic archdeacon to implement his plans of harassing and openly attacking the Jews by ordering the destruction of synagogues in the diocese on 8 December 1390. In the *albalá* issued by Ferrán Martínez, he threatened the clergy beneath him with excommunication if they disobeyed his order.[698]

Even though not all of the clergymen obeyed the archdeacon's *albalá*, those clergymen, who did follow it, ensured the destruction of some synagogues. These acts alarmed the *aljama* of Seville, which contacted the council of regents of the threat that the Jewish community would emigrate if it did not receive protection from Ferrán Martínez. On 22 December 1390, the council of regents reacted with a missive sent to the dean and chapter (cabildo) of the Seville archdiocese. The missive was read aloud to them on 10 January 1391 and it accused the dean and the chapter for the events for having selected the Ferrán Martínez as provisor, in spite of being fully aware of the lack of moral character of the archdeacon. The missive also blamed the dean and the chapter for not having taken any action in preventing his illegal actions. Not

[698] AMADOR de los RÍOS, José (1876). *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. II. Real Academia de la Historia, p 347-348, 353-355, 613-614. The printed version of the albalá is found on pages 613-614 in the appendices of the book. AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos en el Reino de Castilla: Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (siglos XIV-XVI)*. Junta de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 2009, p 63-64. AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos en las Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla (Siglos XIII al XVI)*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2014, p 69. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2004). El antijudaísmo violento: el siglo XIV. In *Economía y Sociedad en la España medieval, Historia de España IX, Historia Medieval*. Editorial Istmo, p 390. PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos en España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcial Pons Historia, p 125-126. ROTH, Norman (2011). 1391 in the Kingdom of Castile. Attacks on the Jews. *Iberia Judaica III*, p 19. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 79-80. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 36. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 257. WOLLF, Philippe (Feb. 1971). The Pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not? *Past & Present*, Nº 50, p 8. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 213-214.

only did the missive order the dean and chapter to cover all costs to damages, to pay a fine of one thousand *doblas* (doubloons) each, to immediately remove Ferrán Martínez from the position as provisor and to oblige him under threat of excommunication to rebuild the synagogues.[699]

On 15 January 1391, assembled once again and only then was Ferrán Martínez deprived of the temporary position as provisor of the archbishopric. They banned him once again from preaching anything insidious or mendacious towards the Jews and obliged him to rebuild the synagogues within the year.[700] In typical dramatic style, the archdeacon defiantly stated that the secular sword of the Crown was to rule over lay people, but that the spiritual sword was in the hands of the prelates. Since the missive was sent from the council of regents, then they had no jurisdiction over him to compel him to rebuild the destroyed or damaged synagogues, as they were places of satanic worship, and, in which the king and Christ were cursed three times a day. Ferrán Martínez went on to invent that the synagogues had been built violating canon law. In his delusional rant, the archdeacon continued by saying that the recently deceased archbishop, Pedro Gómez Barros had ordered the destruction of those synagogues as he had given them to his squires to dispose of them as they pleased. He declared the hearing and the authority of the missive as null and void, that he felt that the king's ignorance was worth his mercy and that only Christ and the Catholic faith could judge him.[701]

The warped sense of reality through Martínez' diatribe was either a hoax to deceive and throw off the capitular tribunal or was an exposure of the archdeacon's delusional mindset. Regardless if the archdeacon's frame of mind was deception or delusion, no arrest warrant was issued after almost thirteen years of open defiance to secular and ecclesiastical authority, dismissing royal warrants and the condemnation *a divinis*. It was amazing how, once again, such a fanatical and delusional character would continue to shape the narrative according to his will. As Amador de los Ríos stated, this was a complete failure of leadership in assuming its responsibility in maintaining order, upholding the law and the protection of all of its

[699] *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y judíos de Castilla* (Ms. 13089), ed. S. XVIII. 0.8.4.2. Biblioteca Nacional de España, p 78-86. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 214.
[700] *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles pertenecientes a los moros y judíos de Castilla* (Ms. 13089), ed. S. XVIII. 0.8.4.2., op. cit., 78-86. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 214.
[701] *Aljamas, padrones, arrendamientos y otros papeles* (Ms. 13089), ed. s. XVIII. 0842, op. cit., 87-90. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 214-215. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 36.

subjects.[702] Perhaps, as analyzed by Maya Soifer Irish, Ferrán Martínez' social status of belonging to the new landed elite with its many connections impeded the new monarchs from the Trastámara dynasty and the ecclesiastical elite from arresting and imprisoning such a character as the archdeacon.[703] More investigation on this point needs to be conducted.

However, the fanatical preaching of the delusional archdeacon of Écija was not the only preacher to speak out against the Jews. In Jérez de la Frontera, the procurator of the Dominican convent, Pedro Sánchez, was known for his toxic proselytizing preaching against the Jews.[704] In other words, not only were the speeches given by Ferrán Martínez in the many different localities of the archdiocese of Seville, but other anti-Jewish clergymen were also adding to the flames of intolerance, hatred and the calls to violence in the Guadalquivir Valley.

Another factor that would come into play in the increasingly hostile anti-Jewish environment in Castile. The minting of weak currency to finance the hegemonic endeavors of Juan I in order to seize the Portuguese throne, threw the Castilian finances into disorder. The increase of the supply of money for military spending, raised prices and depreciated the currency in a vicious circle. The need for more funds, led to more taxation, which increased the fiscal burden on the common people, who, would associate tax and rent collections with the Jews. By 1391, there was yet another currency devaluation that was agreed upon at the *Cortes* of Madrid, held between 22 January and 24 April, which by then the exchange rate between the old currency to the new was three of the old *maravedis* to eighteen of the *blancos* Agnus Dei or one silver *real* to thirteen *blancos* Agnus Dei.[705] In other words, the new king recognized the real value of the *blanco* and readjusted its nominal value downwards in respect to gold and silver. According to Ladero Quesada, this readjustment through this last depreciation brought about *disorder in the debt markets*, due to the rise in prices and the attempts to fix them, as well as in the ways in which *rising taxes and rents* were collected. This worsened

[702] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 386-388.
[703] SOIFER IRISH, Maya (2018). Towards 1391: The Anti-Jewish Preaching of Ferrán Martínez in Seville. In *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Adams, Jonathan and Cordelia Haß. Routledge, p 306-319.
[704] SANCHO de SOPRANIS, H. (1951). Contribución a la historia de la judería de Jérez de la Frontera. *Sefarad* p 350. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 36-37.
[705] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2. (1863), p 517-523. The fixed exchange rates were given on p 518-519.

the precarious socio-economic situation and *further strained Jewish-Christian relations* and would be *one of the motives for the anti-Jewish uprisings later on in 1391*.[706]

On 15 March 1391, there was an anti-Jewish revolt in the Jewish quarter of Seville that was immediately quelched by local authorities, head bailiff, Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, and his cousin, Juan Alonso de Guzmán, Count de Niebla, adelantado of the province. Those responsible were arrested and sentenced to the gallows. The rabble rose up against the local authorities on the day of the executions and attacked the Guzmans, who were able to escape from the angry mob. Unfortunately, the enraged rabble turned against the Jews. After considerable death and damage, the local authorities were able to restore order. However, those local authorities and the other judges were removed by the regency council and replaced with new ones. As a result, Fernán Martínez felt further enabled in his actions.[707]

The hostile, mendacious and insidious invectives espoused by the preaching of fanatical preachers, who blamed all of societal ills on the Jews, coupled with the vitriolic attacks of the municipal procurators provided the volatile environment for the common people to unleash its frustration, resentment and fury against the easy target of the marginalized Jewish minority.

6.E.2. Jews in Portugal

Once the revolutionary impetus in Portugal had subsided after the Castilian defeat at Aljubarrota and the withdrawal of its army from Portuguese territory, the prominent burghers wanted to reign in the liberties of the Crown granted during the troubled years of 1383-1385 and begin to place restrictive measures on the Jews in their activities and place of residence. This, only reflected a general tendency throughout Europe that how, once the initial vindications of popular revolts had either been satisfied or quelched, restrictive measures were imposed in the economic activities of laborers, such as choice of profession and fixed salaries. This would also apply to the minority of group of the Jews.[708] Once again, there was the equal application of Portuguese law to all of its subjects irrespective of confession.

[706] LADERO QUESADA (1988), p 296, 299-300. LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 774-775.
[707] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 398. PÉREZ (2014), p 126. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 215.
[708] MARQUES (1987), p 538.

Starting as of 1389 in the *Cortes* of Lisbon, restrictive measures would be imposed on the once acquired freedoms from the years of 1383-1385. However, as in neighboring Castile, the prominent burghers also began to feel their once autonomous decisions being circumvented by royal decrees, as the elected judges by the municipal councils were being replaced by royal judges appointed by the Crown.[709]

However, after the Portuguese victory at Aljubarrota, King João I would concede to the growing pressure of the municipal procurators to impose physical restrictions on the Jewish community by ordering them to live in their own neighborhoods in order for financial support from the Third Estate. Nonetheless, the anti-Jewish legislation in the Portuguese *Cortes* in this period was only a *fraction* of the amount of anti-Jewish legislation in neighboring Castile, as well as lacked the intensity of invectives and vitriol of the Castilian legal petitions. In the two *Cortes*, in which anti-Jewish legislation were petitioned, these requests were limited to debt letters and separating Muslims and Jews from Christians.[710] Even though a royal ordinance of February 1391 responded to the municipal procurators' demands to enforce a previous law requiring Jews to wear the distinctive red sign with six legs on their clothes in the center of their chests above their stomachs, it was neither new legislation to further alienate or marginalize the Jews nor was the legislation full of invectives as Castilian legislation.[711] Also, the royal letters recorded in the Chancelleries registered no anti-Judaic stances. The majority of recorded letters were charter rights granted to towns, cities and individuals. They also registered grants or donations of property, including abandoned houses to build kosher butcheries. [See subchapter further down on the Chancelleries details].

In spite of the depreciations of the Portuguese currency and the subsequent hardships placed on the common people, there is no evidence of blaming the Jews as in Castile. Instead, the successful ascent of the House of Avis and the coronation of the Master of Avis, Dom João as João I, ensured that the Jewish community would be protected and maintain its rights and privileges. This was ensuring for the community after Dona Leonor Teles had agreed with the

[709] MARQUES (1987), p 538. SOUSA (1990), p 229-234, 239-244, 252-255, 262-266.
[710] SOUSA (1990), p 231, 236. Sousa in his study did not mention if the reason for the separation of the communities in Portugal was also to ensure that they did not talk to one another besides business as in Castile. The petition at the Castilian Cortes was against the three communities eating, drinking, working together, as well as talking to one another besides for business purposes.
[711] *Ordenações Afonsinas, Livro 2* (1984), p 499-501.

municipal representatives in October 1383 that she would revoke many privileges and force the Jews to live in segregated neighborhoods.

Based on the lack of evidence, such as the *Rimado de Palacio* by Pero López de Ayala, who reflected the sentiments of the common people and their perception of the Jews as soulless rent and tax collectors, there was no such literature in Portugal. It should also be emphasized that Portugal also lacked the radical and extreme preachers, such as Ferrán Martínez. As such, Portugal would lack the spreading of outright lies and falsehoods, not only of the Jews and their religious practices, but of the false claims that the king and queen would allow Christians to murder Jews.

Perhaps much has to do that in Portugal the creation of new currencies and the collection of more taxes was not viewed as maneuvers or manipulation by the Jews to extract more money from the mass of Christian commoners, but rather as for the defense of the realm from foreign invasion, in which the Portuguese Jews actively participated in the raising of funds for the new king, who, in turn, had defended them from an angry mob in December 1383. *Perception through language use* and *active leadership* most likely played fundamental roles in shaping the image the Portuguese common people had of its Jewish minority. Although, the Jews, along with the Muslims, did not have the same judicial or legal standing as the Christian majority, and they were obliged to live in separate quarters, they were not stigmatized to the same extent or demonized as their brethren in neighboring Castile. This lack of continuous oral and written attacks from the ecclesiastical and secular leaders helped shape the collective mindset of the Portuguese commoners and set it apart from their Castilian counterpart. The proactive role of Portuguese leadership, as exemplified by D. João as of December 1383 and thereafter, would set the tone for secular elites in their approach to the Jews and how they would protect the Jews in the eyes of the common people.

6.F. Cortes of Castile and Portugal 1385-1391

6.F.1. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation in Castilian Cortes

After Juan I's long and failed siege of Lisbon from May to September 1384, as well as his smashing defeat at Aljubarrota on 14 August 1385, the Castilian king seemed even more resolute to fulfil his claim to the Portuguese throne. This shows, to state the least, a certain

amount of cognitive dissonance and the refusal to accept reality instead of dealing with domestic issues that were more important for the realm after the costly campaign, such as the debt, inflation and the pressure on the currency. At the *Cortes* of 1385, there was a militarization of Castile as a consequence of the tremendous losses of men, horses and mules, and the king, bankrupt, had to recur to the representatives of the Third Estate to raise funds for arms and to encourage the purchase and maintenance of horses and mules.[712] Subsequent demands from the municipal procurators would be the further physical isolation of the Jews in their quarters and the refusal to concede tax and rent collection to this religious minority.[713] The many *Cortes* in this period were: Segovia in 1386, Briviesca in 1387, Palencia in 1388, Guadalajara in 1390 and Madrid in 1391. Throughout these *Cortes*, Juan I continued to call himself king of Portugal. [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.F.1. for further analysis].

6.F.2. Restrictive and discriminatory legislation in the Portuguese Cortes

After the initial focus on defeating the common enemy of the Castilian forces, the newly established Avis dynasty could focus more on domestic issues. Under no circumstances did this mean that it did not have domestic issues on its mind during the conflict, but once the Castilian threat had been diminished, although not completely resolved, the new monarch could concentrate more of his energies on internal aspects of his realm. Part of this concern was reflected in the number of *Cortes* held. These were Braga (1387), Lisbon (1389), Coimbra (1390), Évora (1390-1391) and Viseu (1391). With the available evidence, it seems that only two of these *Cortes* dealt with Jewish questions.[714] They were Lisbon in 1389 and Coimbra in 1390.[715]

6.F.3 ***Afonsine Ordinances: Jews to wear distinctive red signs on their clothes***

Title LXXXVI in Book 2 of the *Afonsine Ordinances* compelled Jews to wear round red distinctive signs on their chests. The introduction of the law made reference of it being

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[712] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2. (1863), p 316-319. MARTÍN, José-Luis (1988). Cortes de Castilla y León y Cortes de Portugal. In *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, vol. II. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla Y León, p 425-426.
[713] MARTÍN (1988), p 427.
[714] SOUSA (1990), p 228-244.
[715] Cortes of Lisbon in 1389, see: ANTT, Supl. Cortes, Maço 1, nº 11. SOUSA (1990), p 231; and Cortes of Coimbra in 1390, see: ACHM, Códice 5, fols. 66v-69. *Livro dos Pregos* (2016). Documento 164, fl. 150-151vº, Cortes of Coimbra, 4 March 1390 – King Dom João I. [Capítulos gerais apresentados nas *Cortes de Coimbra* de 1390].
SOUSA (1990), p 236.

purportedly in the book of chancelleries of King João I. However, upon further inspection, such legislation was not found in the many chancellery books from the reign of João I.[716] Perhaps, after having been transcribed to the Afonsine compendium, the original document was either filed away or misplaced or destroyed. Nonetheless, the law gives investigators insight into the measures taken to designate and marginalize Jews in the kingdom of Portugal. Although the law was not a newly crafted piece of legislation, it was a reminder or reiteration of a previous law of how the Jews had to wear a distinctive red sign with six legs and that it was not being respected.[717] Most likely, João I, in order to ensure the necessary financing for the defense of the realm through municipal contributions, decided to placate the anti-Jewish demands of the urban elites, who most likely saw the Jews as business rivals and wanted the Jews to be singled out. The dangers in such an approach are the potential of further marginalization and possible denigration of the members of this minority group, as they have become easily distinguishable from the majority group, which could have led to further stigmatization and leaving the Jews as potential targets for attacks. [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.F.3. for a brief discussion of the discriminatory law compelling Jews to wear a round red distinctive sign on their chests].

For the period of 1385-1391, the Castilian municipal procurators petitioned 17 separate pieces of legislation at their *Cortes* to either regulate the economic activities or discriminate them altogether. In contrast, the Portuguese municipal procurators petitioned only five separate petitions to regulate Jewish economic activities and discriminate them altogether. It must be emphasized that it was not only the number of anti-Jewish legislative petitions that marked the difference between Castile and Portugal, but also the language and terminology used to express concerns, biases and prejudices towards the Jews. The amount of vitriol and vague assertions in the accusations of the Castilian municipal procurators projected a hostile message in an already tense and volatile situation in Castile, when compared to Portugal. [See Appendix II, Ch. 6.F. Charts for a breakdown of each legislation per *Cortes*].

[716] *Ordenações Afonsinas, Livro 2* (1984), p 499.
[717] *Ordenações Afonsinas, Livro 2* (1984), 499-500.

6.F.4. Portuguese Chancelleries 1385-1391

The documentation from the Portuguese chancelleries shows a different development to the *Cortes* in both kingdoms. In spite of the legislation in both kingdoms to enforce the physical separation of the different religious communities, with municipal procurators of Castile even going as far to ban the everyday interaction of these communities in their convivial eating and drinking habits, the Portuguese royal letters not only acknowledged or reconfirmed charter rights to Jewish communities, but also granted Christians the right to have houses in the Jewish quarters and Jews to transform abandoned homes into kosher butcher shops. There was no documentation to indicate any anti-Jewish stances or activities.

Charter rights granted to the Jewish communities in the Portuguese towns and cities; such as Alcácer in 1386,[718] Leiria in 1386,[719] Faro in 1387,[720] the new Jewish quarters of Lisbon in 1388,[721] once again granting the rights for the Jewish community of Alcácer in 1387,[722] and Évora in 1388.[723]

Charter rights granted to the Jewish communities in the Portuguese towns and cities; such as Alcácer in 1386,[724] Leiria in 1386,[725] Faro in 1387,[726] the new Jewish quarters of Lisbon in 1388,[727] once again granting the rights for the Jewish community of Alcácer in 1387,[728] and Évora in 1388.[729]

In terms of granting the rights to houses on the Rua Pubrica in the New Jewish quarters in Lisbon was issued in April 1390.[730] On 3 June 1391, a royal letter granted a charter of half a mezzanine to Abrao Peco and two other people after his death for seventy Portuguese pounds

[718] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. I, t. 3, 1384-1388. 1ª edição (2005). Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Documento 1241 (fol. 181).
[719] Ibid., Documento 1265 (fol. 183).
[720] Ibid., Documento 1237 (fol. 180).
[721] Ibid., Documento 1320 (fol. 189).
[722] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. II, t. 1, 1385-1392. 1ª edição (2005). Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Documento [II-27] (fol.3).
[723] Ibid., Documento [II-312] (fol. 36).
[724] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. I, t. 3, (2005). Documento 1241 (fol. 181)
[725] Ibid., Documento 1265 (fol. 183).
[726] Ibid., Documento 1237 (fol. 180).
[727] Ibid., Documento 1320 (fol. 189).
[728] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. II, t. 1 (2005). Documento [II-27] (fol.3).
[729] Ibid., Documento [II-312] (fol. 36).
[730] Ibid., Documento [II-85] (fol. 9).

for each year.[731] On 10 March 1391, a royal letter in which the king granted a charter to three people of rustic and dilapidated houses in order to make them into butcher shops in the Jewish quarters of the city of Évora. These houses were adjacent to the house of Isaque Aberçarllom and the Azinhaga and the Rua Pubrica. The recipients were Abraao Abeacar and two other people for fifteen Portuguese pounds per year.[732]

The king also granted the rights to collects taxes and services from the Jewish communities to chosen prominent burghers and squires. Such cases were awarded to Rodrigo Afonso d'Avis to collect the services rendered from the Jewish community from that locality to the Crown on 24 January 1384.[733] Rent collection of the notary publics of the Jewish community of Lisbon was awarded to Dom Nuno Alvares Pireira on 29 April 1386. The Jews could only make their payments to him.[734] A royal letter of 4 September 1389 granting Afonso Gonçalvez the rights to collect rents from the houses, where Salamam Romaao and other houses where Mousem Rondim resided, as well as shops in the blacksmiths area of the Old Jewish Quarters, and the houses where Isaque Alfaqui dwels, as well as those where Jusepe de Torres lived. Also, the dwellings near the customs, where Samuel Faarom and Mousem Palaçano.[735] In other cases, there was the royal letter of 6 April 1390 granting the king's squire, Alvaro Gonçalvez Taborda rights of the *jantar*[736] do Couto (area) of the city of Viseu, as well as collect the services (taxes paid to the Crown) from the Jewish community of aforementioned city.[737]

On the 26 April 1391, a royal letter donated houses and vineyards of Covilhã to Ruy Vaasquez Refoyos. The king also granted to the aforementioned man and to his children the rights to houses and vineyards in Covilhã. He had the rights to collecting the rents of the Jews of the aforementioned town as well.[738] Other letters from 26 October 1391, indicate a charter granting the king's servant or footman and judge at the castle of Olivença the rights to collect the rents and services (royal taxes) paid by the Jewish community, as well as the tolls from the customs and taxes from the notary publics of the aforementioned town.[739]

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[731] Ibid., Documento [II-519] (fol. 59).
[732] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. II, t. 1 (2005), Documento [II-524] (fol. 59 vº).
[733] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. I, t. 3 (2005). Documento 1027 (fol. 152).
[734] Ibid., Documento 1176 (fol. 174).
[735] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. II, t. 1 (2005).
[736] *Elucidário de Viterbo (G-Z)*, t. II. (1865). Editor Lopes, p 28; *jantar* = certain contribution to the supplies and maintenance that cities, towns, monasteries had to contribute for the expenses of the Crown.
[737] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João*, vol. II, t. 1, 1385-1392, op. cit., 2005, Documento [II-86] (fol. 9 – 9vº).
[738] Ibid., Documento [II-216] (fol. 26).
[739] Ibid., Documento [II-404] (fol. 45).

As seen through the documentation, there were no diplomas expedited confiscating the property and belongings of Jews as during the dynastic war, in which the property of David Negro and Dom Juda were confiscated for having chosen the Trastámara party and abandoned the realm for the kingdom of Castile. Instead, the investigator can see how previous privileges were recognized and renewed, as well as conceding houses for business practices, such as kosher butcher shops and mezzanines. There is no indication of verbal abuse of physical harassment of the Jews or the orders to destroy the synagogues as was occurring in Castile. [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.F.4. for further analysis of the chancelleries].

6. G. Rimado de Palacio by Pero López de Ayala

The *Libro de Palacio* also known as the *Rimado de Palacio* (*Rhymes of the Court* or *Palace Verses*) was written by Pero López de Ayala, renowned Castilian nobleman, who was Royal Chancellor, diplomat and chronicler from the mid-14th century to early 15th century. It was after his capture by the Portuguese at the Battle of Aljubarrota on 14 August 1385 and kept in dungeons in Santarém, Leiria and finally Óbidos from 1385 until 1388 that he was able to reflect on his private and court life and wrote a biting commentary in verse of late 14th century Castilian society in general and on the aristocratic life of the Castilian court in particular. López de Ayala not only examined his life and its purpose, but also reflected on the frivolity, vanity and falseness of life at court. In this literary compendium of poems, one finds a more solemn, taciturn, and gloomy picture of society.[740] He also presented a harsh attack of the prominent and moneyed Jews, who performed the tasks of royal rent and tax collectors, as well as that of money-lenders. López de Ayala's attack of the Jewish money-lenders and his comparison of these royal officials can be seen from the previous analysis of the Castilian nobleman's aforementioned book. Count Pero López de Ayala contributed further to the denigration of the image of the Jew through his comparison of the Jewish

[740] ORDUNA, Germán (1991). Introduction to LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Rimado de Palacio*, p 23-24, 41-43, 51, 56, 88-89; according to Orduna, couplets 1-704 were composed were written prior to 1385. SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, H. (2000). Introducción a LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Rimado de Palacio*, edición, introducción y notas. Peter Lang Publishing, p L-LII. ADAMS, Kenneth (2019). Introduction to LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. *Libro Rimado de Palacio*, p 85-94. GARCIA, Michel (2019). Introduction to LÓPEZ DE AYALA, Pero. *Libro del Canciller o Libro del Palacio*, p 19-24. GÓMEZ REDONDO, Fernando (2020). *Historia de la Poesía Medieval Castellana, t. I., La Trama de las Materia*. Ediciones Cátedra, p 659, 663. LACARRA, María Jesús y CACHO BLECUA, Juan Manuel (2012). *Historia de la literatura española, 1. Entre oralidad y escritura*. Editorial Crítica, p 376-379. FERNÁNDEZ CONDE, (2004), p 143. López de Ayala clearly made reference to this in the couplets 720-727, 740, 748, 750, 755-769, 775, 777, 779-780, 786, 794-807 and 813-819.

money-lenders as merciless, bloodthirsty and blood-sucking vampires that took advantage of the defenseless common people.[741] [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.G. for a detailed analysis].

Count Pero López de Ayala's portrayal of Jews in three poems, not only reflects his biases, prejudices and views of the Jews, but also reinforces societal stereotypes of the time. The work reflects López de Ayala personal mindset that *all* Jews were wealthy tax collectors and moneylenders, without making any differentiation of socio-economic differences within the Jewish communities. The historian needs to distinguish between the author's mindset and to what extent were these verses a reflection of commonly held beliefs from that late 14th century and that the author simply put them to paper? What is important is that López de Ayala's use of metaphors, such as "drinking blood" or "bloodsuckers" disseminate the image of soulless creatures or leeches that solely exist to feed off of victims that simply reinforced such negative images of the Jews. As such, the Jews as a community were targeted as social parasites with no social value of producing in a positive manner. Jews only existed to take away from or "bleed" the common people in order satisfy their own greed and that of their political masters, the monarchs.

Nonetheless, the historian must remember that if the intentions of the author were to publish his reflections, the work would have reached a very limited audience, as very few people from society at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries knew how to read, afford books that were expensive luxury items and let alone appreciate literary works. This limited audience would have consisted of the royal court, nobility, clergy and upper echelons of the prominent bourgeoisie or townspeople of merchants and bankers, as they had access to higher education and could afford to buy books, which were costly luxury items.

Notwithstanding, the issue at hand is that such literary works contributed to the further demonization and dehumanization of a group of people in the collective mindset of Christian society. The association of the Jews with such negative images, such as Judas, Christ killers, greed, blood thirsty, heartless, soulless creatures would increase an already tense social environment in the mid and late 14th century due to the many wars, droughts, famines and

[741] AMRÁN, Rica (2019). La minoría judía en el Rimado de Palacio y en las Crónicas de Pedro López de Ayala: puntos de encuentro y diferencia. In *Releyendo Pero López de Ayala diez años después*. Coordination Rica AMRÁN. Éditions Orbis Tertius, p 96-100. GÓMEZ REDONDO, (2020), p 670. ORDUNA (1991), p 43, 91. SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, H. (2000), p LXXVI. ADAMS (2019), p 47, 48. LACARRA y CACHO BLECUA (2012), p 379. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (1998), p 33-34.

dynastic crises. Although López de Ayala did not create these images and stereotypes, his portrayal of the Jews, however, as callous inhuman beings, reinforced preconceived notions and established images. Knowingly or unwittingly, he continued the projection of the Jews as scapegoats for all of the socio-economic problems, such as scarcity and rise in prices (inflation). This highly volatile situation needed only rabble-rousers to exacerbate the highly tense situation and trigger popular or mob uprisings against the targeted scapegoats.

López de Ayala's completely failed to present a realistic view of the role of the Jewish rent and tax collectors, who were simply fulfilling the task assigned to them by the Crown. If the Jews would not do it, then Christian rent collectors would do so. This was evident in the *Cortes* of Briviesca of 1387, in which King Juan I assigned tax and service collection to the municipal councils, who would act through "good men" or prominent burghers of the cities and towns of the realm.[742] Reiterating Ladero Quesada's recent studies, that Jewish rent and tax collectors only represented one-sixth to one-fifth of the overall rent and tax collectors of the kingdom,[743] López de Ayala's poetic portrayal of the purported cruel, blood-thirsty and insatiable Jew, was merely a reconfirmation of societal biases and prejudices of the late Medieval Castilian imaginary of the Christian majority. His intent was not to clarify the role of Jewish tax and rent collectors as serving the Crown but to reflect and reinforce popular sentiments of the time of Jews being selfish, callous and insensitive creatures, who belonged to a despicable religious group of Christ killers. Most likely, as an integral member of the court as chancellor and royal chronicler, he realized that the Jews did not present a monolithic group that monopolized or even dominated rents and tax collection. Instead, his own anti-Jewish biases and prejudices were recorded to share with secular and ecclesiastical elites. The question remains, to what extent did the majority of the Castilian secular and ecclesiastical elites share the same views as Pero López de Ayala on the Jews? Did they have reservations towards the Jewish community for not being members of the Christian majority or did they abhor the Jews as these evil, malicious, "bloodsuckers" that took advantage of the plight of the common people? [See Appendix III, Ch. 6.G. for further analysis of the work].

Although the literary portrayal of the Jews is important in understanding the mindset of the period, the recording of real events is primordial in the actual development of tensions

[742] *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, t. 2. (1863), p 383-384. LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 416.
[743] LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 519.

between the two religious communities. The situation of the Jews in Castile would follow a further downturn with the court case of Ferrán Martínez, his open defiance to the court order and his continued calls for attacks on the Jews.

6.H. Court Case of 1388 against Ferrán Martínez

The origin of this source is an 18th century manuscript (Ms. 13089) based on an earlier one at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (National Library of Spain). As it is an official government document from the 14th century, its purpose was to maintain an official record of the religious communities, rents and other relevant documents concerning the Moors and Jews of Castile. The content of this source that concerns us is "Inmunidad" (0.8.4.2.) starting on page 78 of the book, as it gives us the annotated date of 10 January 1391. In spite of the date of 1391, the text transcribes prior events and *albalás* (royal warrants) presented to the archdeacon, Ferrand Martínez, as well as the complaints of Archbishop of Seville, Pedro Gómez Barroso, who died in August 1390. The text presents the original complaints presented to King Enrique II and develops into a summary of the trial of Ferrand Martínez brought by Archbishop Gómez Barroso in 1388 bringing out the main points of contention. [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.H. for a detailed analysis of the court case].

The text presents historians with a broader picture of the events prior to 1391, especially when compared and contrasted with other sources. It also presented the archdeacon's ignorance and fanaticism towards members of a different faith and how he felt that they had to be annihilated. The text presents a more in-depth sociological approach towards the archdeacon and towards the mob uprisings of 1391 than the short and limited accounts of the official chronicles of Pero López de Ayala. Interesting to point out that regardless of being an official state document, it did not try to hide or eliminate events as they occurred, as is the case of the official chronicle written by López de Ayala. The sources' limitations, in spite of giving detailed accounts of the positions of all parties concerned, is that the public scribe, Alfonso Gonzalez, might have selected material that placed royal, municipal and ecclesiastical authorities in a positive light and deleted or left out material that was not as flattering to his superiors. The fact remains that regardless of their intervention, the authorities could not stop Ferrand Martínez from agitating the masses into a frenzy that led to the massacres of 1391. Notwithstanding, the official record has left a public account of the intensity of the conflict that grew between the two sides in Seville before the anti-Jewish riots broke out.

Unfortunately, Archbishop Pedro Gómez Barroso would pass away a year later in 1390, which allowed the censored archdeacon, who was second in line, to assume the empty position of archbishop until a new archbishop was selected. Ferrán Martínez would take advantage of this power vacuum within the diocese of Seville and immediately begin his anti-Jewish tirades. Further aggravating the situation was the premature death of King Juan I after he fell from his horse and his eleven-year-old son, Enrique III, entered minority rule under another council of regents of a divided nobility. Emboldened by the lack of ecclesiastical and secular leadership and no one of authority to stop him, Ferrán Martínez by 8 December 1390 issued orders to begin with the destruction of synagogues.[744] [See Appendix I, Ch. 6.H. for further analysis of the trial registered in *Aljamas*].

6. I. *Albalá* issued by Ferrán Martínez: 8 December 1390

After the death of Archbishop Pedro Gómez Barros in July 1390, the vacant seat went automatically to the archdeacon of Écija, Ferrán Martínez, until another archbishop could be chosen. In October of that same year, King Juan I was crushed to death by his own horse and a very young Crown Prince, Enrique III, of eleven years of age, became the next king under the tutelage and regency of a divided council. This council spent most of its time bickering how the former king's last will and testimony was to be interpreted instead of occupying itself with the most pending affairs of the state. Unfettered in his achieving his goals, Archdeacon Ferrán Martínez set about implementing his goals in marginalizing further the Jews of the archdiocese by ordering the destruction of synagogues on 8 December 1390.[745] [See Appendix I, Ch. 6. I. for a breakdown of the *albalá*].

The consequences of such a draconian and drastic order were the archdeacon's further open defiance of royal and ecclesiastical mandates. It showed to the common people that there were no consequences of paper orders, as there were no real repercussions to either the archdeacon's incendiary speeches nor violent actions. This action further weakened both royal and ecclesiastical authority in the eyes of the public, as it was not just a single event,

[744] AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos em el Reino de Castilla. Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (siglos XIV-XV)*. Junta de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 2009, p 63. MARÁN, Rica. *Judíos y Conversos en la Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla (Siglos XIII al XVI)*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2014, p 69. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 2004, p 398.
[745] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 354-355.

but rather the continuous efforts and endeavors of the radical archdeacon to openly defy that same authority over a long time-span of thirteen years with no accountability, such as arrest, removal from his post, excommunication (and not just the repeated threat thereof) and imprisonment. It was this lack of resolute leadership throughout those thirteen years that enabled the further defiance of the archdeacon and allowed him to continue with his hate speech against the Jews and the orders to destroy their places of worship.

Conclusion to Chapter 6

In the brief period in the dynastic change in Portugal to the Avis dynasty of Dom João Master of Avis, there was a further distancing in the official and unofficial approach towards the Jews in the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal. Even though in Castile, the Crown attempted to return to the pre-Trastámara approach towards the Jews, the Third Estate had been instigated by Enrique de Trastámara to return to an ante-bellum situation and was solely dedicated in the elimination of the Jews as economic and administrative rivals to Christians. This was evident in the legislation during and after the Castilian dynastic war. Not so in the case of Portugal, in which there is relatively little evidence for anti-Jewish legislation in this short time frame. The documentation presented shows how the increase in anti-Jewish rhetoric through insidious polemic and vitriolic preaching, coupled with the municipal procurators in their attempts to physically isolate and financially neutralize, if not ruin, prominent Jewish financiers, emboldened the openly hostile actions against the Jewish communities of destroying synagogues in Castile and forcing their conversion to Christianity. It was the further projection of the "otherness" of the Jews that helped transmit the narrative of the inherent evil, maliciousness, conniving, callousness, cunning and cruelty of the marginalized community that would leave them as an easy target in times of a weakness of leadership to protect the exposed group.

As Ladero Quesada pointed out, it was the convergence of many different negative aspects that facilitated the sporadic manifestations of "structural violence" of diverse intensity in moments of crises. These manifestations consisted of anti-Jewish preaching and the forced attendance to polemic disputes, the failure to pay debts owed to Jewish moneylenders,

extortions false accusations of crimes and offenses, and, finally persecutions and forced baptisms.[746]

It must be strongly emphasized that these statements and actions were committed in the background of further economic and financial pressure on the common people through the heavy taxation by Juan I to fulfill his hegemonic delusions of trying to force his claims to the Portuguese throne. The minting of weak currency to meet the increasing demands of financing his military schemes, brought in inflationary pressures, which raised prices and caused the value of the currency to sink.[747] As a result, the common people's standard of living continued to decline, which led to further frustration, anguish, a sense of collective insecurity, anger, resentment and hostility towards the privileged societal groups, including Jewish elites. The fanatical preachers took advantage of this situation and solely blamed the Jews as an entire group for the plight of the common people. This was part of the radical preachers' plans to eradicate the Jews as a protected religious confessional group.

It is here that the role of leadership or the lack thereof, would play a fundamental role in the deterioration of Christian-Jewish relations to the point of collapse. The lack of concrete action in halting further anti-Jewish rhetoric, except for written admonishments and condemnations *a divinis*, only encouraged Ferrán Martínez and his acolytes to continue with their attacks on the Jews.[748] The open question still remains is why did both secular and ecclesiastical authorities not act with more rigor and halting the renegade archdeacon? Although Maya Soifer Irish study the socio-economic background and political ties of Ferrán Martínez,[749] further in-depth studies should be made to see if more evidence can corroborate any direct socio-political ties of prominent families that protected him from royal and/or ecclesiastical law.

In Portugal, to the contrary, the amount of anti-Jewish legislation was minimal in comparison to Castile, lacked the invectives as in its Castilian counterparts and, as in the case of the ordinance of February 1391, was only the demand of the enforcement of a previous law for

[746] LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 366.
[747] LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 372. LADERO QUESADA (2009), p 774-775. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), p 79. Although these historians mention the rise in prices, devaluation of the currency and the ever-increasing tax burden, they did not enter into details of how much this weight actually was.
[748] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 386-388.
[749] SOIFER IRISH (2018), p 306-319.

Jews to correctly wear the distinctive sign on their clothes.[750] Although such a measure encouraged the stigmatization and marginalization of the Jews, it was not part of any new measures created under João I to further alienate them from the Christian majority, but rather the enforcement of a pre-existing law. In other words, João I did not take steps on his own initiative to impose new measures that had not previously existed or laws that had been previously established. It was to maintain and enforce the status quo, whereas in Castile, the situation had become more radicalized through legislation using anti-Jewish invectives, public polemic disputes demonizing the Jews and fanatical preaching calling for the destruction of the Jews.

Such disparate developments between the two kingdoms in their approach to their respective Jewish communities, not only led to the different messaging of images to the collective mindset and imaginary, but would eventually lead to different outcomes after many decades of social tension due to economic difficulties. In Castile and Aragon, it would lead to anti-Jewish uprisings of the common people that were manipulated and led by fanatical preachers and that would spread like brushfire until the divided authorities reacted and put a halt to them before they could do further death and destruction.

[750] *Ordenações Afonsinas,* Livro 2 (1984), p 499-501.

CHAPTER 7. THE MASSACRES OF 1391 AND AFTERMATH IN CASTILE AND PORTUGAL UNTIL 1412

7.A. The Massacres in Castile and Aragon 1391

Even though the focus of the thesis is on Portugal and Castile, the massacres in the Crown of Aragon will also be described in order to provide a geographical context to the extent of the bloodshed, sacking, pillaging, forced conversions and mass flight of surviving Jews and/or converts to Portugal, Navarre and Granada. It does not provide an exhaustive and detailed day-to-day narrative or list of all localities that were assaulted. Also, the late medieval texts from the Crown of Aragon will not be analyzed, as they fall out of the focus and scope of the thesis. [See Appendix III, Ch. 7.A. for an in-depth analysis of Castilian and Portuguese Christian and Jewish sources].

7.A.1. Crown of Castile

After the original assaults on the Jewish quarter in Seville had been quelched by local authorities in March 1391, that was not the end of the visceral hatred felt by the resentful common people towards the Jews. Still taunted by archdeacon Ferrán Martínez and his acolytes, bands of the archdeacon's followers, known as "matadores de judíos" (Jew killers), roamed the streets of Seville, riling up the mob to attack the Jews. These activities were successful in increasing the animosity towards the Jews over the months until a new anti-Jewish assault erupted on 6 June 1391.[751] Unfortunately, the local authorities were not able to stop or even contain this assault, which degenerated into a bloodbath of pillaging, sacking, forced conversions under duress of murder and the hundreds, if not thousands, of deaths in Seville, which would spread throughout the Valley of the Guadalquivir in Andalucía, as a transmission path to Villa Real in La Mancha and Toledo, Madrid, Cuenca and Huete in the southern Meseta of Castile. However, the towns and cities in the northern Meseta of Castile and in the kingdom of Aragón suffered little to no assaults of their Jewish quarters.[752] Reasons for this will be discussed further in this chapter.

[751] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio. (2004). El siglo XIV: la quiebra de la convivencia entre las tres religiones. In Julio Valdeón Baruque (Ed.) *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos en la España Medieval. De la aceptación al rechazo*. Ámbito Ediciones, p 141.

[752] LÓPEZ de AYALA, Pero. (1991). *Crónica de Don Enrique III* in *Crónicas*, edición de José-Luis Martín. Editorial Planeta, p 713, 738-739. Ibn VERGA, Selomoh (1991). *La Vara de Yehudah*. Introducción, traducción y notas por María José Cano. Biblioteca Nueva Sefarad, vol. XVI. Riopiedras Ediciones, p 124, 210-212. AMADOR de los RÍOS, Pedro (1876). *Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*. Real Academia de la Historia, p 357-359, 361-364, 369-370, 372-377. BAER, Yitzhak (2001). *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*,

On 6 June 1391, the Christian rabble erupted into the Jewish quarters of Seville, where they sacked, pillaged, plundered, murdered and forced Jews to convert in order to save their lives. As previously mentioned, the local authorities, the mayor of the city, Count Niebla, Don Juan Alonso de Guzmán and the sheriff, his cousin, Pedro de Guzmán, had originally tried to stop the mob in March, but were overrun by the angered rabble and had to take refuge in the palace. The quarter was left in ruins and two synagogues were converted into churches. The mob also attacked Genovese merchants in the city in what most likely they perceived as an attack on the riches and wealth of privileged groups. Afterwards, the violence spread up the Guadalquivir Valley from Alcalá de Guadaira, Carmona, Écija, Santa Olella, Cazalla, Fregenal, among other localities. Córdoba would also be reached by the scourge of violence and death. The incensed mob burst through the gates of the Jewish quarters and sacked the homes of many Jews. The Cordovan Jewish community had recently built a sumptuous synagogue that was destroyed by the Christian mob. Within hours the streets would be strewn with dead bodies of men, women and children. From Córdoba, the wave of death and destruction spread to Montero, Andújar, Jaén, Úbeda and Baeza.[753] Even though municipal representatives from Sevilla and Córdoba reached the young king and his royal counsel in Segovia on 16 June to inform them of the assaults and the young monarch dispensed royal letters to stop the attacks, they were of little to no avail to bring the fanatical preachers or the enraged mob from coming to reason and stopping their violent frenzy of pillage, plunder and wonton murder.[754]

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vol. 2. Varda Books, p 96-102. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique (2004). El antijudaísmo violento: el siglo XIV. *Economía y Sociedad en la España medieval, Historia de España IX, Historia medieval*. Editorial Istmo, p 398-399. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ, Emilio (1994). *Los Judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III. El Pogrom de 1391*. Secretariado de Publicaciones. Universidad de Valladolid, p 20-22. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2019). *España a finales de la Edad Media, 2. Sociedad*. Editorial Dykinson, p 371-372. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (2016). *Judíos y Conversos de Castilla en el siglo XV. Datos y comentarios*. Editorial Dykinson, p 21-23. WOLFF, Philippe (Feb., 1971). The 1391 Pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not? *Past & Present*, Nº. 50, p 8-11. SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1991). *La expulsión de los judíos de España*. Editorial MAPFRE, p 191-192. VIÑUALES FERREIRO, Gonzalo (2012). El Pogrom de 1391 en la diócesis de Toledo. ¿Legitimidad, identidad y violencia en la Castilla de la Baja Edad Media? *De las Navas de Tolosa a la Constitución de Cádiz. El Ejército y la Guerra en la Construcción del Estado*, coord. por Leandro Martínez Peñas, p 97.

[753] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), Ch. V, p 713 and ch. XX, p 738-739. It must be noted that López de Ayala did not give any dates whatsoever in his narration of events. However, the date for chapter XX could be corroborated or cross-referenced with the king's letters of 16 June 1391 to stymie the wave of anti-Jewish assaults. ZÚÑIGA, Annales de Sevilla, año 1390, nº 1, 2, 3. LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1979). *Los Judíos de Toledo*, p 174-175. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 358-361. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos*, p 142. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (2016). *Los conflictos sociales en la Edad Media*. Editorial Síntesis, p 287-288. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 399-400. BAER (2001), p 96-97. Some of the Jewish sources, especially Hasday Crescas claimed that it was 4 June 1391.

[754] *Archivo Municipal de Burgos*, doc. 2959. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 20, 114. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 362-363. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, (2004), *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos*, p 142-143.

Afterwards, the anti-Jewish riots moved up into La Mancha and the southern Meseta of Castile, hitting Villa Nueva (today's Ciudad Nueva), Cuenca, Huete and Escalona, in which there were purportedly no single Jewish survivors in the latter locality. It is believed that the Jewish quarter of Guadalajara was saved from assault due to the direct intervention of the local noble family Mendoza that sent its own guards to protect the Jews.[755] The Jewish community in Cuenca never recovered from the massacres and that of Huete also suffered. It is in the castle of Huete that Yosef ha-Kohen's forefathers had to flee during the anti-Jewish riots and settle after the violence.[756]

From there, it would reach Toledo by 18 June and Madrid by 20 June. In Toledo, Rabbi Judah, a grandson of Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, his family and students were massacred, Rabbi Isaac ben Susan (Shushan), as well as many prominent members of the Toledano Jewish community. Those murdered were beaten, stoned to death, set on fire or committed suicide. However, there were also many *conversos*. The synagogues were either destroyed or converted into churches. Torahs were desecrated and libraries destroyed. In Madrid the majority of the Jews either converted or were murdered. Worst of all was how the municipal authorities did little to stop the looting that continued into 1392.[757]

However, in the northern Meseta, the assaults were not as successful in their objectives. In Burgos, the Jews took refuge in the homes of Christians. Some converted, whereas those who remained true to their faith, received written letters from the Crown guaranteeing their political and economic rights.[758] Soria seemed to have been spared much of the destruction

[755] MONSALVO ANTÓN (2016), p 287-289. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 20. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 362. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 399-400.
[756] LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1989). Introducción, traducción y notas in *El Valle del Llanto ('Emeq ha-Bakha). Crónica hebrea del siglo XVI*. Ha-KOHEN, Yosef. Biblioteca Nueva Sefarad, vol. XIII. Riopiedras Ediciones, p 11-12; It is in Huete where the family would stay until the edict of expulsion in 1492.
[757] Ibn ALBANEH, Jacob (October 1948). A Hebrew Elegy on the martyrs of Toledo, 1391. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, v. 39, No.2, p 125-126**.** The article was based on De Rossi di Parma *Ms. 74:* "Many were slain - saintly men and pious women (vv. 10-13). The first victims included the eminent Rabbi Isaac and R. Judah (who previously slew his wife and children) and Samuel the Less, all slain together (vv. 14-19). Other martyrs were R. Israel the Singer and a certain Hazan named Saul, who committed suicide, as did his brother Solomon. They were followed by Moses ben Asher (vv. 20-26). The youth Abraham ben Ophrit was stoned and his body flung into the river, mourned by his aged parents (vv. 27-31). LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991). *Crónicas*, p 739. BAER (2001), p 97. WOLFF (1971), p 9. There is still controversy on the exact dates of the assault on the Jewish quarters of Toledo. Wolff claims that it was 18 June, whereas Baer contends that it was 20 June. According to the *Elegy of the martyrs of Toledo, 1391*, the date was 20 June.
[758] BAER (2001), p 98. MONSAVLO ANTÓN (1985), p 260.

and death as the other localities in the southern Castilian Meseta, as the Jews were able to take refuge in the city. However, the fate of the Jewish quarter of Logroño, which was located between the La Cadena Gate, the San Gil quarter and the Ebro River, was not as fortunate as Soria's. It was able to be rebuilt after the anti-Jewish turmoil. The authorities in Burgos ordered that no one attempt to attack the Jews inside the city's walls or in its surroundings. Even though the rabble would try to destroy the Jewish quarters, they were unable to do so. It seems that according to period documents in the municipal archives, the attacks were limited to the theft of belongings and not to deaths.[759] The same appeared to be the case for the Jewish quarters of Zamora and Valladolid that did not register much damage. The province of Palencia seemed to have been hit hard and the majority of the Jews of Palencia converted, whereas it seems that the Jewish community of the town of Carrión seemed to have converted in its entirety. As for the province of León, there were hardly any references to any turmoil in the Leonese localities.[760]

7.A.2. Crown of Aragon

The wave of anti-Jewish assaults would then spread to the Crown of Aragon by early July to the port cities of Orihuela, Alicante, Valencia, Tarragona, Barcelona and Girona in the Crown of Aragon, including Mallorca by early August. On 9 July, the wave of violent assaults hit the port city of Valencia via Orihuela and Alicante. It was reported that Castilian agitators provoked the local population to attack the Jews. The local authorities tried to protect the walled-in Jewish quarters by placing watch guards on the walls' ramparts. Around 40 to 50 rowdy Christian youths went to the open gates of the Jewish quarter shouting threats. They were joined by an angry mob. As the Jews closed the gates, some of the youths were caught inside the Jewish quarters. The municipal authorities begged the Jews to open the gates to let the excited Christian youths out of the Jewish quarter. However, the Jews were terrified of the angry mob outside of their gates and feared that they would erupt into the quarter once the gates were opened. Unfortunately, the walls of the Jewish quarter were breached and the massacres began. Some Jews were able to seek refuge in churches and ask for baptism. Purportedly the Dominican friar, Vicente Ferrer, was able to placate the ire of the Christian mob and stop them from massacring more Jews by demanding that they convert to

[759] MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 21-22. CANTERA, Francisco (1976). *Alvar García de Santa María. Historia de la Judería de Valladolid. Estudio histórico de una minoría influyente.*, p 74. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 16.
[760] LEÓN TELLO, Pilar (1967). *Los Judíos de Palencia*. Archivo Histórico Nacional, p 17-19. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 22-23. Ibn VERGA (1991), p 211. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 378. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 16. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 260.

Christianity. Baer claims that around 250 Jews were killed. This seems to be a realistic number of victims to the proportion of Jews of a large aljama and not the thousands claimed in the Castilian aljamas of the major cities. One of the prominent Jewish leaders who was able to flee from Valencia was Rabbi Isaac b. Sheshet Perfet. It was not until 11 July that the Valencia municipal authorities began to crack down on the rioters, who had in their possession stolen goods, including money, jewels and clothes. Around one hundred people were arrested, of which ten belonged to knightly orders. The rest of those arrested belonged to the common people.[761]

In terms of Mallorca, tension had been rising between the local Jews and the villagers to the point that the island's officials had the Jews transported from the villages to Palma on 10 July. Despite these measures, the anti-Jewish riots broke out and the fanatical mob attacked the Jewish quarters and killed 300 Jews. Supposedly 800 Jews were able to escape to the fortress. Among those who perished were Rabbi Vidal Ephraim Gerondi. Many Jews escaped Mallorca by sea to North Africa. By the end of September, the demands of the crowd were the cancellation of Jewish debts, whereas by the beginning of October, the mob insisted that the Jews in the fortress either convert of face death. It was then that the mass conversions to Christianity started.[762]

Unfortunately for Barcelona, in spite of the city having troops, they were sent to Sicily, which formed part of the Crown of Aragon. As a result, the city was undermanned in defending the port. Around 50 Castilian sailors, arriving from Valencia and who had ransacked the Jewish community of Seville, arrived in Barcelona and these rioters planned to do the same there. The wave of violence exploded in Barcelona on 5 August, in which the mob initially killed 100 Jews in the *Call* (Jewish quarter) and then another 100 were murdered in the *Castrum Novum* or New Castle days later on 8 August, after they refused to convert. Not only did the enraged mob burn the gates to the *Call*, but also set fire to the notarial archives, where the debt letters were registered and kept. The mob then sacked and pillaged the *Call* on a 24-hour looting frenzy. Even though the local authorities arrested 100 of those people involved in the looting and were to be executed by hanging, the rabble

[761] LEA, Henry Charles (Jan. 1896). Ferrand Martinez and the Massacres of 1391. *The American Historical Review,* vol. I, Nº 2, p 217-219. LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991). *Crónicas*, p 739. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 364-367. BAER (2001), p 99-100. WOLFF (Feb 1971), p 9. EMITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 24. Some of these Castilian provocateurs were Rodrigo de Zamora, Alfonso Gallego and Johan de Murcia.
[762] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 379. BAER (2001)., 102-103.

stormed the prison and set the perpetrators free. In the meantime, peasants from the surrounding countryside joined in the chaos and destruction. They set fire to the bailiff's records and assaulted the castle of the royal vicar and forced the Jews, who had taken refuge there, to either convert or die. It is calculated that around 400 Jews died in Barcelona. The king in Zaragoza would only receive news of the assaults on 8 August after the *Castrum Novum* had fallen.[763]

Following Barcelona, the Jewish community of Gerona was next. On 6 August, the city officials were informed of the attacks in Barcelona. They tried to prevent an assault of the *Call* by blocking off a street to it. However, the *Call* was attacked on 10 August 1391, when both townspeople and peasants led the assault on the Jewish community in the *Call* by burning down the main gate to it, sacking the quarters and murdering 40 Jews. 11 August 1391 the peasant mob tried to assault the *Call* once again but were repelled by the authorities. By 13 August, Gerona officials informed the king of the continued tense situation. Those, who were able to save themselves, fled to the tower known as the *Gironella*, where they remained in security until the end of September in spite of the persistent attacks of the peasants and the common people. During the violence, besides demanding that the Jews convert or die, the mob demanded that tolls collected at the city gates and instead be replaced with a tax on wealth.[764]

Fortunately, order was kept in Zaragoza and Huesca. Many historians believe that Zaragoza remained safe due to the king's presence in the city. The Crown ordered troops and guards to defend the Jews. In part, it was to protect the Jews, who were patrimony of the Crown, as well as to maintain public order in the realm, which was part of the king's responsibility as his *raison d'être*.[765] In Lleida, the Jews were able to seek refuge in the city's castle after tensions began to mount on 9 August. Unfortunately, the castle's defenses were breached on 13 August and 78 Jews, who refused to convert, were brutally murdered, whereas the several hundred Jews, who converted, survived.[766]

[763] BAER, (2001), p 104-106. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 12. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 372-377.
[764] WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 14-15. BAER (2001), p 106-107.
[765] BAER (2001), p 111. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 15.
[766] BAER (2001), p 108. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 17.

7.A.3. Consequences of the massacres of 1391

For Pilar León Tello, as well as many other historians, the events of 1391 was an inflection point for the Jews of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, as the Jewish communities would be decimated as a result of death, forced conversions and flight.[767] Valdeón Baruque calculated that there must have been between 180,000 to 250,000 Jews in the Kingdom of Castile.[768] The claim that 50,000 Castilian and Aragonese Jews were killed, was found by Henry Charles Lea to be a gross exaggeration.[769] These numbers seem highly unlikely, as the Jewish communities could not continuously lose such high numbers during the Civil War and then later in 1391, as well as have the elevated number of forced converts, and thousands who fled to other localities[770] and neighboring kingdoms, such as the Emirate of Granada, Portugal and Navarre[771], as well as the number of Jewish survivors who remained in the reduced *aljamas*.

Ladero Quesada criticized the claim by Haim Beinart that supposedly 200,000 had been massacred and another 200,000 had converted to Christianity.[772] Other historians, as Cantera Montenegro and Guinot Rodríguez, would criticize the number of 200,000 Jews converting to Christianity as grossly exaggerated. Some historians speak of 5% of the overall Jewish population was murdered. The most affected area by the anti-Jewish disturbances was Andalucía. Enric Guinot Rodríguez calculated that there were 100,000 Jews who converted, whereas 75,000 remained faithful to Judaism. Henry Charles Lea would even claim that 100,000 *Conversos* applied to Aragon alone and that in Castile there were as many more.[773] Valdeón Baruque stated that perhaps the total number of victims might have amounted to 4,000 but that there was no existing data to support this number.[774] According to Ladero Quesada, there were more Jews who fled and emigrated than those who were massacred.

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[767] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 175.
[768] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Universidad de Valladolid, p
[769] LEA (1896), p 216.
[770] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (2004). *El Chivo Expiatorio: judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones, p 84-85. COLLANTES Antonio (1984). *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La Ciudad y sus Hombres*. Servicios de Publicaciones del. Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, p 89, 206-210. LEA (1896), p 218. LADERO QUESADA, (2016), p 23. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, (2004), p 399. BAER (2001), p 117. According to the aforementioned historians, the amount of data for Castile is very scant and difficult to ascertain with any certitude the exact number of deaths, conversions and those who fled.
[771] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 413-414. GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 263. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 399. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 262. Monsalvo Antón only mentioned the Emirate of Granada. COLLANTES (1984), p 209.
[772] LADERO QUESADA (2016), p 33. BEINART, Haim (31 de marzo 1992). *ABC*.
[773] GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 262-263. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 399. LEA (1896), p 218.
[774] VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004). *Cristianos, musulmanes y judíos*, p 143.

According to his calculations, the number of Jews in Castile between 1391 and the beginning of the 15th century would be between 50,000 to 60,000.[775] In terms of Seville and Córdoba, Amador de los Ríos would claim that around 4,000 Jews perished in Seville and 2,000 in Córdoba.[776] However, Collantes de Teran calculated that around one-sixth of the Jewish population of Seville had either been killed or had fled.[777]

Many of the forced converts would take advantage of the new faith as a means to emigrate or flee Castilian lands in order to migrate freely to other Iberian kingdoms, such as Portugal and Granada, in order to reconvert to Judaism. Such cases reached a point, that King Enrique III signed an *albalá* of 29 July 1392, in which to reverse the process. The migration continued to the point that another *albalá* had to be issued on 9 May 1394 attempting to reverse the trend in apostasy. One of the most prominent re-conversions to Judaism was that of Yusaf Abravaniel, who had changed his name under duress to Pedro González, back to his original name when he emigrated to Granada and reconverted.[778]

Another demographic phenomenon after the wave of anti-Jewish assaults was the displacement of entire Jewish families or even communities to other smaller localities, where the Jews could receive local protection from ecclesiastical leaders and aristocratic families. Some of the communities that remained decimated or destroyed and never recuperated were: Burgos, Cuenca, Palencia, Seville and Toledo, whereas others would become important centers of Castilian Judaism after 1391, such as Alcalá de Henares, Almazán, Huete, Hita, Maqueda, Medina del Campo, Ocaña, Talavera and Villalón del Campo.[779]

Even though the Church officially did not recognize forced conversions, as such a move had to be based on the volition of the individual without being forced, the Castilian Crown and

[775] LADERO QUESADA (2016), p 22-23. Unfortunately, Ladero Quesada did not provide any sources as reference for his numbers in his book. However, Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho praised Ladero Quesada's thorough investigation on the demographic evolution of the Jewish communities in this period. See: MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (1993). Los judíos sevillanos en la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la Cuestión y Perspectivas de la Investigación. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, Hª Medieval, t. 6,, p 124. She made reference to his earlier work, LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel (1971). Las juderías de Castilla según algunos servicios fiscales el siglo XV. *Sefarad*, nº XXXI, p 249-264.
[776] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 358 & p 362 respectively.
[777] COLLANTES de TERAN (1984), p 209.
[778] MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 82. COLLANTES de TERAN, Antonio (1976). Un pleito sobre bienes de conversos sevillanos en 1396. *HID*, III, p 10-11, 15-16.
[779] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 400. VALDEÓN BARUQUE (2004), *El Chivo Expiatorio*, 2ª ed., p 86.

clergy saw the forced conversions of 1391 as the opportune moment to take advantage of the diminished number of Jews left in the kingdom and refused to allow them to reconvert to Judaism.[780] According to Lea, it was the element of religion that predominated in these fateful days, as the option between conversion to Christianity or death was offered.[781]

Ch. 7.A.3.a. Investigations into the Anti-Jewish riots

Once the violence had subsided, King Joan of Aragon began on 22 September 1391 an investigation into the violent events of that previous summer. Royal officials were placed in charge of gathering the information on Catalonia and Valencia about the communal property of the *aljamas* prior to the anti-Jewish disturbances and the property of the Jews, who had been murdered or committed suicide, and who had no heirs. If there were no heirs, then the Crown confiscated the property. The king was trying to re-establish the *aljamas* of Valencia and Barcelona after they had been violently decimated by the Christian mobs. On 2-3 October 1392, the Call of Barcelona was re-established but in a different area of the city and plans for a large community of up to 200 families were finalized. Tax exemptions were given to the Barcelona Jews, as well as moratoriums on any outstanding debts. which was stated in a royal letter from May 1393. This was to be achieved by sending up to sixty families from all over the Crown of Aragon to move to the two aforementioned cities. Deeply involved in these royal endeavors was Hasday Crescas.[782]

In terms of punishment of those involved in the massacres and pillaging of the Jewish quarters in the Crown of Aragon, twenty-five culprits were executed from 14 December 1391 to 22 January 1392. The inhabitants of Mallorca and Lleida each had to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand gold florins.[783]

In Castile, no official investigations were held after the massacres subsided. Only after King Enrique III had become of age and ended the minority rule under the regency council, were some actions of justice conducted. In 1395, archdeacon Ferrán Martínez was finally arrested "por alborotador del pueblo" (rabble rouser) and placed in jail, but unfortunately, only for a

[780] PÉREZ (2014), p 130. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 217.
[781] LEA (Jan. 1896), p 217.
[782] BAER (2001), p 110-111, 119-120.
[783] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 392-393. Amongst those executed were the Mallorquins Benviure and Nicolás Brou de Pella, as well as many merchants from Lleida. WOLFF (Feb. 1971), p 12-13. BAER (2001), p 115-116. According to Baer only 10 of the perpetrators were executed, the rest were acquitted.

few months, to be later banned to Carmona. This sentencing would not suffice for the level and extent of crimes espoused by the archdeacon and conducted by tens of thousands of radicalized Christian fanatics from the ranks of the common people. Most punishment consisted of fines imposed on those perpetrators involved in the pillaging, sacking and destruction of the quarters. It would seem that ruthless, implacable fanaticism had triumphed with little to no legal consequences.[784]

In terms of the confiscation of Jewish property after the assaults of 1391 in Seville, two former synagogues that became churches, Santa Cruz and Santa María la Blanca, were given properties by Ferrán Martínez that had belonged to those synagogues. These ranged from the former cantor's house and ritual baths to shoe shops, bookbinders, pharmacies, houses and other stores.[785] There were two cases of registered transfer of belongings to Christians. One refers to a royal certificate expedited by Enrique III in 1396 that granted the transfer to the royal steward, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, and Head Justice, Diego López de Estúñiga, of all of the belongings of the Jewish community, including synagogues, to sell, donate, exchange, pawn or whatever they saw fit to do. Later on, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza would sell his part to Diego López de Estúñiga.[786]

In terms of Toledo, there is documentation of the confiscation of Jewish property after their deaths or the appeals of property restitution by *Conversos*. Some houses that had belonged to Mayr Leví, son of Don Semuel, and had been seized by Abrahem Sevillano and his wife Paloma, were rented by Alonso Ferrández after 1391. The oven in the Jewish quarter that belonged to the baker Mosé and to his creditor, Abrahem, in 1390 would reappear in the possession of Pascual Martínez de Yébenes. Teresa de Ayala also had houses at the main gate of the Jewish quarter. Pedro López, inhabitant of the Jewish quarter, according to the census had one-third of the tanneries.[787]

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[784] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 388-389. BAER (2001), p 117-118. LEA (Jan. 1896), p 216.
[785] ROTH, Norman. (2011) 1391 in the Kingdom of Castile. The attack on the Jews. *Iberia Judaica III*, p 28. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO (1993), p 123: Another synagogue transformed into a church was San Bartolomé el Nuevo.
[786] *Archivo Histórico Nactional (AHN)*. (1976). Osuna, Leg. 311, nº 11. This was collected by SAEZ, Liciniano. *Demostración histórica del verdadero valor de todas las monedas que corrían en Castilla durante el reinado del Señor don Enrique III y su correspondencia con las del Señor Don Carlos IV*, p 311-312. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 389. MITRE FERNÁNDEZ, (1994), p 58. COLLANTES (1984), p 209.
[787] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 184.

In Hamanzeite, Mosé Abzaradiel and Clara had a house that went later to Don Mayr Alguadex. The houses in the Costal that belonged to Yudá, son of Aben Nomen, were taken by Juan Sánchez, squire, and the houses that belonged to Mosé Anzolero and Reina, his wife, appear after 1391 in the possession of Juan López, hook maker, and his wife, Sol. Jacob, tanner, the son of Mosé, Çuleman Ojano and Salamón, son of Baru del Campo lived in the houses in front of the Church of Santo Tomé.[788]

As a result of the assaults on the Jewish quarters, the massacres, forced conversions and the flight of those who refused to convert, many monasteries and particular noblemen were now deprived of rents that were once collected from the Jews. The same went for the Crown in Castile and Aragón – they both lost tributes paid by the communities as their population size had dwindled. León Tello wrote that up until 1391, the Chapel of New Kings (Reyes Nuevos) of the Cathedral of Toledo was able to pay the salaries of all of its chaplains until the Jewish quarter was ravaged and destroyed. Afterwards, the chapel's endowment was completely lost.[789]

In order to compensate for these tremendous financial losses in the order of 40,000 maravedis, the young monarch in 1392 made the tax collector of the archbishopric, the nun in Santo Domingo el Real, Juana de Espina, to find any other form of tax or rents from the archbishopric by taxing the recently converted Jews. The king conceded to Alfonso Tenorio 20,000 maravedis in the tax jurisdiction of Toledo and the salt mines of Espartinas in order to compensate for the losses of the poll taxes once collected from the Jews of maqueda.[790]

Ch. 7.A.3.b. Prominent Jews killed during the massacres of 1391

In Toledo, the important Jewish scholar, Israel b. Josef Alnaqawa, was murdered, whereas his son, Ephraim, was able to flee to Tlemecen. Another Jewish intellectual, who perished in the riots, was Samuel ibn Susan, as well as his relative, Isaac b. David ibn Susan. After the riots, the names of *conversos* appeared in the documentation; such as Don Çag Abzaradiel and Yuçaf Aben Sabad or Abenxabat, both belonging to prominent Toledo Jewish families.[791]

[788] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 184-185.
[789] Ibid., p 178.
[790] Ibid., p 179.
[791] ROTH (2011), p 30.

Crescas was the Rabbi of Zaragoza during the massacres of Barcelona 5 August 1391, where his only son resided with his female partner or companion (*companya*). After having survived the first assault of 5 August, the young couple had been successful in reaching the Castillo Nuevo (Castel Novo) where they perished along other Jews in the second assault of 7 August. It was not until weeks later that Hasday Crescas received the horrible news of his son's and that of his companion's death.[792]

However, not all prominent Jews were killed and chose to convert to save their lives. One of these conversos was Ferrand Álvarez de la Torre, who was the son-in-law of the king's physician, Don Meir Alguadex. A certain physician, Maestre Pedro, was appointed in 1395 by the archbishop of Toledo to be the chief justice of the Jews in the Toledan diocese.[793]

Don Juda Negro, son of former Portuguese courtesan, David Negro, under Fernando I who fled Portugal in 1384, returned to Portugal after the massacres in 1391. Don Juda would establish residence in Lisbon and come into the service of Queen Philippa of Lancaster, wife of King João I, where he would make a name for himself.[794] He was mentioned in *Ordenações Afonsinas* (*Afonsine Ordinances*) when in 1417 he came to the defense of the Jewish community of Lisbon of purportedly minting its own silver and gold coins.[795] Another son, Guedelha, also went to Castile, and asked King Enrique II for compensation after his

[792] VALLE RODRÍGUEZ, Carlos del (2000). *La Inconsistencia de los dogmas cristianos de Crescas. (Bittul 'Iqqarw ha-Nosrim le R. Hasday Crascas).* Edición Crítica, bilingüe. Colección España Judía. Serie II: Autores Judíos de Aragón y Cataluña. Polémica Judeocristiana. Aben Ezra Ediciones, p 61-63, 69. See: *Carta de Crescas a la comunidad judía de Aviñón sobre las persecuciones de 1391*, p 351-354. According to Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, Hasdai Crescas was one of the most complex and multifaceted personalities of the Iberian Lower Middle Ages. He was the spiritual leader of the Jewish communities of the Crown of Aragón. He was proactive in the restauration of the destroyed *aljamas* after the events of 1391. He was also a Talmudist, haggadist, diplomat, merchant of precious stones, physician and visionary. The last precise record of him was when he finished his work, *Or Adonay* (*Light of the Lord*). Afterwards, he was not mentioned as one of the leading Jewish figures in the Disputes of Tortosa in 1413-1414. Crescas was also not mentioned on 10 February 1413 when Prince Alfonso named Jucef Atruch and Nicim Ferrer to manage the charity created by Vidas Hasday of Gerona, p 27. Also see BAER (2001), p 110-130, in terms of Crescas' efforts to rebuild the *aljamas*.

[793] BAER (2001), p 118.

[794] ZURARA, Gomes Eanes (1915). *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por el El Rei D. João I publicada por orden da Academia das Sciências de Lisboa, segundo os manuscritos Nº 368 e 355 do Arquivo Nacional por Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira*. Lisboa: Academia das Sciências de Lisboa, p. 93. SILVA, Manuela Santos and TAVARES, Alice (Dezembro 2009). David Negro: un judío cortesano en la coyuntura portuguesa de 1383-1385. BUTIÑÁ JIMÉNEZ, Julia, e COSTA, Ricardo da (coord.). *Mirabilia 9*, p 149.

[795] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 2 (1984). Título LXXXII. Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, p 491-494. SILVA & TAVARES (Dezembro 2009), p 149.

father's untimely death after having abandoned the Kingdom of Portugal.[796] He was mentioned in the royal chancelleries when King João I granted Guedalha's former houses in Lisbon's Old Jewish Quarter to Joham Martinz and his wife for a rent of 16 doubloons per year.[797]

Another Negro family member mentioned in the same document of the royal chancelleries, is Benjamin Negro. He was classified as an inhabitant of the Old Jewish Quarter. His properties were also granted to Joham Martinz and his wife to purchase and to pay 3 *Coroas* (Crowns) per year.[798] The document did not state if Benjamin Negro had abandoned the realm for Castile in disservice to the Crown.

The fact that no records exist of any assaults of Jews or Jewish quarters in the Emirate of Granada, Navarre and Portugal is worth further investigation. This is not to say that there was no anti-Jewish legislation in the neighboring western Iberian kingdom of Portugal, as there was. As has been previously discussed, the lack of documentation demonstrating any known polemic disputes, fanatical preachers prodding and agitating the common people to attack Jews and sack their quarters, as well as the lack of vitriol and invectives in the legislation proscribing Jewish activities and obliging Jews to reside in their living quarters, which was read aloud by heralds in the many localities throughout the kingdom, most likely played fundamental roles in maintaining a modicum of civility amongst the Jewish-Christian rapport by 1391. Finally, the role of leadership or lack thereof, not only in 1391 and after, but also in the decades prior to the violent anti-Jewish riots played another fundamental role in the lack of assaults in the Kingdom of Portugal. A short synopsis of the current historiography of the events and outcomes of 1391 will be looked at in the next sub-chapter.

Ch.7.A.4. Historiography on Events of 1391

The information on the events of the summer of 1391 in Castile and Aragon is based on the many disparate documents available from both Christian and Jewish sources from Castile,

[796] AZEVEDO, Pedro de (2009). Culpas de David Negro. In *Archivo Histórico Portuguez*, vol. II (1993), p. 56. SILVA & TAVARES (2009), p 149. According to the authors, there is little information about Guedelha. He abandoned Portugal with his father's servant Isaac.
[797] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João*, v. III, t. 2, 1394-1427. 1ª edição (2006). Centro de Estudos Históricos: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, p 200.
[798] Ibid., 199.

Aragon and even Portugal: some from the chronicles, some from legislature, some selected pieces will be analyzed further in this chapter. Some historians would argue and debate the terms of the assaults ranging from "pogrom" to the "Final Solution." Joseph Pérez, Isabel Montes Camacho-Romero rejected the term "pogrom", as argued by Philippe Wolff, Emilio Mitre Fernández and Gonzalo Viñuales Ferreiro, as that term was applied to Czarist Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and were, in part, organized by state military and civilian actors along with the common people. The term "final solution," as used by Monsalvo Antón and Enric Guinot Rodríguez or "total solution," as used by Luis Suárez Fernández could only be applied to the mid-20th century Holocaust, as it called for the complete physical elimination of the Jews as a human species, as the Nazis viewed them as genetically inferior to the so-called "Aryan" race. This was not the case for 1391, as the fanatical preachers called for the forced conversion of the Jews to Christianity and the mobs wanted to sack and pillage Jewish quarters for their money, jewels, precious metals and personal belongings.[799]

Long-term Causes

According to José Amador de los Ríos, the anti-Jewish riots was a long-term conspiracy created in the light of day over many years by the Church, the municipal procurators and common people that were envious of the highly qualified and skilled Jewish merchants and financiers and their accumulated wealth. These qualities would lead to the intolerance and rage of the common people and the envious prominent urban patricians.[800] This posture seems to be very far-fetched and based more on wishful thinking than actual documentation. There seems to be no indication of any type of long-term conspiracy between ecclesiastical and secular leaders with the common people to assault the Jewish quarters and massacre the Jewish population of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon in 1391. On the contrary, these

[799] PÉREZ, Joseph (2014). *Los Judíos de España*, 5ª reimpresión. Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, p 128. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, Isabel (1993), p 125. For: SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis (1980). *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media*, Ediciones Rialp, it was the "total solution". For the "final solution", see: GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ, Enric (2003). *La Baja Edad Media en los Siglos XIV-XV. Economía y Sociedad, Historia de España 3er milenio*. Editorial Síntesis, p 260. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª (1985). *Teoría y Evolución de un Conflicto Social: El Antijudaísmo en la Castilla en la Baja Edad Media*. Editorial Siglo XXI, p 265-276: it was the "final solution" after the events of 1391 until 1419 presented in chapter 9. For other historians, 1391 was a pogrom, such as MITRE FERNÁNDEZ, Emilio (1994). *Los Judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III. El Pogrom de 1391*. Secretariado de Publicaciones. Universidad de Valladolid. Wolff, Philippe (Feb 1971). The 1391 Pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not? *Past & Present*, Nº 50, p 4-18; and, VIÑALES FERREIRO, Gonzalo (2012). El pogrom de 1391 en la Diócesis de Toledo. ¿Legitimidad, identidad y violencia en la Castilla de la Baja Edad Media? In *De las Navas de Tolosa a la Constitución de Cádiz. El Ejército y la Guerra en la Construcción del Estado*, coord. por Leandro Martínez Peñas, p 93-108.

[800] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 350-352.

horrific events seem to be the development of concurrent anti-Jewish tendencies for different reasons of canon law, secular legislation from the municipal procurators, lack of strong leadership to protect the Jews (or outright encouragement to attack them) during the Castilian Civil War and fanatical preachers that would culminate in 1391 due to a lack of strong, unified leadership of the Crown due to Enrique III youth and divided counsel of regents in Castile and an indecisive King in Aragon under Joan I.

According to Yitzhak Baer, it was religious hostility that was the determining motive for what he classified as the "pogrom" of 1391. It was religious fanaticism, according to the historian, that had permeated every social group that allowed their beastliness to be unleashed almost undeterred in many cases against the Jews. Baer justified his interpretation in that once the majority of Jews converted to Christianity, the wave of violence stopped.[801]

This claim did not look at the actual activities of the angry mob that would sack notarial offices and municipal archives, destroying debt letters, as well as looting thousands of Jewish homes and stealing their belongings, including money and clothes. Also, to be taken into account was the image projected that all Jews being involved in the collection of taxes and rents, as well as moneylending. All Jews were viewed as greedy, heartless, merciless and indifferent to the plight of the common people. As receiving royal protection, they were viewed as a privileged group, in spite of not belonging to the Christian majority. An assault on the Jews, was considered as an assault on privilege of a scorned, despised and marginalized minority. Even though religion played a role in demonizing and marginalizing the Jews by rendering them as an easy target for the Christian majority, greed and the desire to use the Jews as a scapegoat for their socio-economic ills were also factors involved in the anti-Jewish riots. Religion would bring an ideological justification of the attacks, but was not the only motivating force in unleashing the furor of the mob onto the unarmed Jews.

Pilar León Tello would also take into account the element of greed of the common people, which she based on López de Ayala's account, which laid blame, besides on the archdeacon, Ferrán Martínez, but on the greed of the common people to rob (*la codicia de robar del pueblo*) as well. The ill will of the common people towards the Jews had become secular for a longtime, as Jews were seen as the relentless tax collectors. What gave rise to further

[801] BAER (2001), p 110.

friction was the anti-Jewish religious ideology and the difference of races, according to León Tello. In order to escape the deadly consequences of holding true to their faith, many harassed Jews converted to Christianity.[802]

There was an element of social conflict in the assaults on the Jewish quarters in 1391.[803] In part this was reflected in Chapter XX in López de Ayala's chronicle of Enrique III, when he blamed the violent riots on the greed of the mob and the agitation of Ferrán Martínez than on acts of pure devotion.[804] Cantera Montenegro, Monsalvo Antón, Pilar León Tello and other historians have also made the links of social unrest to the outburst of the anti-Jewish riots of 1391. Monsalvo Antón explained that the situation in Seville was a confrontation between the underprivileged and the privileged, between the common people and lower clergy of Seville against the aristocracy and upper clergy. Valdeón Baruque stated that the different anti-Jewish riots were a form of scape valve for the decades-long frustrations of the common people with inflation and an increasingly heavier tax burden.[805] This increasing social tension was combined and guided by the ideological context of social marginalization of the Jews led by ecclesiastical and secular municipal leadership by reinforcing the image and perception of the Jews not belonging to the majority social community, but as belonging to an ostracized and unwanted minority.[806]

Luis Suárez Fernández would take on Amador de los Ríos' argument of a long-term *conspiracy* to that of a long-term *program* that did not suddenly erupt but had been gestating since the beginning of the 14th century, in which the final objective was the final or total solution of the Jewish problem through undesired outbreaks of violence.[807] Once again, like Amador de los Ríos' stance on the massacres of 1391, the interpretation of a long-term program or plan is not based on evidence, but rather on conjecture.

[802] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 175.
[803] MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 25.
[804] LÓPEZ de AYALA (1991), p 739.
[805] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª. *Los conflictos sociales en la Edad Media*. Editorial Síntesis: Madrid, 2016, p 287-289. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 258. VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio (1968). *Los Judíos de Castilla y la Revolución Trastámara*. Estudios y Documentos de Historia Medieval, Nº 27. Universidad de Valladolid, p 38. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 400. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 175.
[806] GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ (2003), p 261. PÉREZ (2014), 129.
[807] SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Luis. *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media*. Ediciones RIALP: Madrid, 1980, p 201.

Emilio Mitre Fernández would reject the long-term conspiracy or program theories and claim instead that the events were a historic bend or inflection point, in which Castilian Jewish-Christian relations would not be the same again. This rejection of the conspiracy or program theories does not toss out the long-term gestation of tension and hostility between the two groups. Instead, Mitre Fernández' posture is that was the logical, but horrific and cruel conclusion of contemporaneous developments.[808]

José Mª Monsalvo Antón would argue that there were three major factors for the massacres of 1391. These were: 1) economic; 2) political and 3) short-term: the preaching of Ferrán Martínez. According to Monsalvo Antón's reasoning the first cause was the disastrous economic situation, in which the Kingdom of Castile found itself; from inflation, heavy fiscal burden in sustaining so many different wars and viewing the Jews as the *perceived* cause for the common people's misery as the rent and tax collectors. The second cause was political anarchy and the lack of fear in the Crown's authority. This was due in part to the dynastic war conducted by Enrique de Trastámara and the subsequent regicide of the legitimate king, Pedro I, then to be followed by the openly divided regency council during the minority rule of Enrique III from 1390 until 1395. Finally, as the short-term cause, was the unabated radical preaching of the extremist archdeacon, Ferrán Martínez from 1378-1391.

Both Julio Valdeón Baruque and Gonzalo Viñuales Ferreiro have rejected the deterministic interpretation of the massacres and mass conversion of the Jews as the linear precursor to the ultimate expulsion of the Jews in 1492. The two historical events had their own intrinsic causes, with the latter event depending more on the social-political developments of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon uniting into a more unitary state.[809] Monsalvo Antón claimed that the anti-Jewish propaganda fed by Enrique II during the Civil War (1355, 1360, 1366-1369), irrespective of the reversal in policy after his victory in 1369, was one of the long-term secular factors for the anti-Jewish riots of 1391. This was followed by the anti-Jewish legislature after the Civil War by the Castilian municipal procurators at the *Cortes* and how their anti-Jewish campaign intensified after 1377. Amongst the many anti-Jewish provisions were the demands that the Jews could not be tax and rent collectors, the many moratoria on debt, debt reductions or debt forgiveness.[810]

[808] MITRE FERNÁNDEZ (1994), p 93.
[809] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, *El Chivo Expiatorio*, op. cit., 2004, p 83. VIÑUALES FERREIRO, op. cit., 2012, p 107.
[810] MONSAVLO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1985, p 236-243.

Ladero Quesada stated that the events of 1391 had their long-term sources in a complex set of factors, such as, the continuous socio-economic crises throughout the 14th century and the heavy fiscal burden imposed on the common people along with the successive wars that the kingdom suffered. Other factors included the relative leadership vacuum at the pinnacle of secular and local ecclesiastical power that facilitated the breakdown of social order, as well as the growth of doctrinal and popular anti-Jewish hostility. Ladero Quesada clarified this as a *change in social reality*, in which the common people no longer feared the threats and warnings of ecclesiastical and secular authorities of not assaulting the Jews after having seen for years how a preacher, such as Ferrán Martínez, remained untouched by those same authorities.[811]

Gonzalo Viñuales Ferreiro reassessed previous postulates and interpretations of the long-term, short-term and immediate causes to the outbreak of the anti-Jewish violence throughout the Crowns of Castile and Aragon. Besides the traditional interpretation of the ecclesiastical marginalization of the Jews and the socio-economic crises of the 14th century that were linked to an *overblown perception of the Jewish role* in the crises by the common people, it was the Trastámara Civil War that had the strongest impact on the rapport between Jews and the Christian common people. Nonetheless, in spite of Enrique II's reversal in his Jewish policy after his victory in the Civil War in 1369, as well as his successor's pro-Jewish stance, Juan I, it could only try to suppress the once unleashed violence through the threat of state repression. Due to further research and investigation, documentation has brought to light a different perception of the actual role of Jewish moneylenders, tax and rent collectors.[812]

Short-term causes

In terms of short-term causes, besides the hostile anti-Jewish preaching of the archdeacon Ferrán Martínez, it was the lack of leadership from both secular and ecclesiastical leaders. Unlike Nieto Soria, who claimed that the Trastámara monarchy had become well-established by 1391, Viñuales Ferreiro would state that it was most likely not the case. The same would

[811] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel. *Judíos y Conversos de Castilla en el siglo XV. Datos y comentarios*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2016, p 22.
[812] VIÑUALES FERREIRO, op. cit., 2012, p 104-105.

be for that of the local ecclesiastical leadership in Seville, which seemed discontinuous, poorly coordinated and with little to no homogeneity.[813]

Even though Amador de los Ríos interpreted the events of 1391 as a long-planned conspiracy, he pointed out that the assaults on the Jewish quarters and the massacres of Jews was not solely to be blamed on the preaching of the archdeacon Ferrán Martínez and the greed of the common people, but the lack of secular and ecclesiastical leadership over a long period of time. The years of agitating, provoking and prodding the mob to attack the Jews was not followed up by any proactive and resolute positions by the Crown except for written admonishments that went unheeded. As a result, moral responsibility fell on the shoulders of Enrique II, Juan I and the regency council of Enrique III.[814] However, this failure in leadership should not be interpreted as conspiratorial, as there is no documented evidence to sustain such a claim.

Rica Amrán would also support Amador de los Ríos' stance by criticizing the Castilian Chronicler's interpretation of events as solely on the shoulders of the archdeacon and the common people. Even though Pero López de Ayala did make the first Trastámara, Enrique II, complicit in the massacres of Jews during the Castilian Civil War, he did not explain nor even mention the weak royal or ecclesiastical responses over the many years to Ferrán Martínez' provocative preaching and public speeches.[815]

Overall, it can be concluded that based on the documentation available, that the riots of 1391 were neither a long-planned conspiracy or program and that there was no one single factor that led to them. Instead, they seem to be based on several contemporaneous factors that developed over time. Centuries of the Church portraying the Jews as Christ killers and as suspicious "Others" that needed to be ostracized and marginalized from the Christian majority would see the negative results of its official policy by the end of the 14th century. Other factors were the socio-economic crises of the 14th century and secular legislation reflecting the popular image and perception of the Jews as calculating, callous and heartless moneylenders, tax and rent collectors. The Trastámara dynastic war would also play a role in

[813] VIÑUALES FERREIRO, op. cit., 2012, p 105-106.
[814] AMADOR de los RÍOS, op. cit., 1876, p 387-388.
[815] AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y conversos en el Reino de Castilla. Propaganda y mensajes políticos, sociales y religiosos (Siglos XIV-XVI).* Junta de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 2009, p 64-65. AMRÁN, Rica. *Judíos y conversos en las Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla (Siglos XIII al XVI)*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2014, p 71-72.

fomenting violence against the Jews and the royal attempts to reverse the open hostility towards the Jews would fail. The public polemic disputes and legal actions taken against the Jews would also play a role after the Trastámara victory of 1369. The unhindered fanatical preaching of the archdeacon during thirteen years throughout the archdiocese of Seville would also help prod, provoke and agitate the mob to attack the Jews.

Ch. 7.B. Castile and Portugal 1391-1412

As per the previous chapter, the Kingdom of Castile went through many upheavals in terms of its finances and monetary policy in creating a new currency and finally stabilizing it under the reign of Enrique III. Most likely, the many truces between Castile and Portugal, as well as Enrique III's disinterest in the Portuguese throne, played a major role in this.[816]

7.B.1. Castile

Although monetary stability in Castile would begin with the *Cortes* of 1391, the kingdom would still be in a fragile and precarious situation. The king's tutors, the Queen Mother, Catarina of Lancaster and uncle, Fernando de Antequera, accepted a disadvantageous truce with Portugal in May 1393 due to the monetary and financial difficulties in which the Castilian kingdom found itself.[817] However, at the *Cortes* of Madrid in November of that same year, Enrique III declared himself of age and ended minority rule.[818] He immediately raised "services" (taxes) to pay off the remaining debt from the reign of his father, Juan I. The procurators petitioned that the king follow a policy of frugality in royal spending. Nonetheless, the Third Estate still granted the king another *alcabala* "veintena" of around

[816] LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel. *La Hacienda Real de Castilla, 1369-1504. Estudios y documentos*. Real Academia de la Historia: Madrid, 2009, p 420-428.

[817] LÓPEZ AYALA, Pero. *Crónica del Rey Don Enrique , Tercero de Castilla y León* in *Crónicas*. Edición, prólogo y notas de José-Luis Martín. Editorial Planeta: Barcelona,, 1991, p 796-799, 801-804, 809-811, 813-814, 820. According to López de Ayala, who was present at the truce negotiations of 1392-1393, the Portuguese representatives were aware of the economic and financial difficulties in which Castile found itself and let the Castilian emissaries know it and reminded them that Portugal had no issues with returning to war. The Castilians retorted that their kingdom was large and powerful and would recuperate and that it was in Portugal's interest to accept the truce. The Portuguese prolonged negotiations for four months. One of the conditions was that Enrique III lay no claims to the Portuguese throne and that the Castilians had to submit a certain number of noblemen and prominent burghers as hostages. A truce was signed in May 1393 for fifteen years.

[818] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. II. Real Academia de la Historia: Madrid, 1863, p 524. LÓPEZ de AYALA, op. cit., 1991, p 833. LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 420.

12,000,000 *maravedis*, and through the past rents, the king could raise 7,000,000 *maravedis*. All of these measures were to put the kingdom's finances in order.[819]

At the *Cortes* of November 1394 that gathered at Medina del Campo, the king was able to raise even more funds, including the *alcabala* "veintena". The previous obstacles from prior reigns vanished. The same would occur at the *Cortes* of Segovia in 1396, when the king received more funds during a crisis of the truce with Portugal that would last until 1399.[820]

The next *Cortes* registered were those held at Tordesillas in 1401, where the Third Estate granted the king 21 *monedas*.[821] By the time of his premature death in 1406, King Enrique III had been able to make the *alcabala* a regular source of income to the Crown.[822] The situation would continue to improve under the minority rule of Juan II under his tutors, the Queen Mother and his uncle, Fernando de Antequera, who were motivated in balancing out the finances of the realm, were committed to the rents and taxes being gathered efficiently and equitably. They summoned the *Cortes* at Segovia in 1407, where they both swore not to spend more than necessary for the renewed campaign against the Emirate of Granada.[823] At the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1411, the Third Estate granted the Crown another 45,000,000 *maravedis* in the war against Granada that ultimately led to the Castilian victory in Antequera and to the truce of 1412.[824]

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[819] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla,* op. cit., 1863, p 525-527. LÓPEZ de AYALA, op. cit., 1991, p 835-836. LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 420-421.

[820] LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 421. There is no register in the *Cortes de los antigous reinos de León y Castilla* of the Cortes of 1394. Ladero Quesada claimed that there is scant information on the reign of Enrique III. He recommended reading Emilio Mitre Fernández' works: *Evolución de la nobleza en Castilla bajo Enrique III. 1396-1406*, Valladolid, 1968; his articles: "Cortes y política económica de la Corona de Castilla bajo Enrique III" in *Cuadernos de Historia*, (Madrid), 6 (1975), p 391-415; "Los cuadernos de Cortes castellano-leonesas (1390-1407): perspectivas para su estudio en el ámbito de las relaciones sociales" in *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada a las Ciencias Históricas*, II. Santiago de Compostela, 1975, p 281-291.

[821] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla,* op. cit., 1863, p 539-541. LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 422.

[822] LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 422.

[823] GARCÍA, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II*. Compilada por Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Imprenta de Benito Monfort: Valencia, 1779, (ch. 12), p 30. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. III. Real Academia de la Historia: Madrid, 1866, p . *A.M.M. Cart. Real 1391-1412*, fol.20r-21r. "XXII. 1407-N-8, Segovia. Juan II al Concejo de Murcia pidiendo que se recogan las monedas foreras" and *A.M.M. Cart. Real 1391-1412*, fol.28v. "XXIII. 1407-N-11, Segovia. La reina doña Catalina al Concejo de Murcia agradeciendo la incursión que han realizado contra los moros y la imposibilidad de eximirles del pago de las monedas" in *Documentos de la minoría de Juan II. La regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*. Edición de María Victoria Vilaplana Gispert. Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia, XV. Murcia, 1993, p 32-35. LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, 423-425.

[824] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, t. III, op. cit., 1866, p 5-9. GARCÍA, op. cit., 1779, p 103.

The Crown of Castile was able to resolve much of its financial and treasury issues thanks to the endeavors of the Prince Fernando de Antequera, who was able to capitalize on the monetary reforms of Enrique III, which was to maintain a balanced relationship between gold and silver currency.[825] 1411 would mark a final peace settlement with Portugal in May after three months of negotiations to replace the ten-year truce of 1402.[826] By 1412, Castile had achieved peace with the Emirate of Granada as well, which meant, a resumption of uninterrupted trade, an increase in agricultural production dedicated to civilian consumption[827] and not that of supplying troops, as well as a reduction in military expenses and, as such, the Crown could focus on reducing the debt and balancing the budget. Monetary policy would be sanitized with new *blancas* that were the "old" ones. They were given new equivalencies to the gold and silver marks and even though the introduction of the new currency would increase the circulation of currency, the Crown was able to slow down the rate of inflation and reduce the amount of depreciation of the new currency.[828] The monetary policies first introduced by Enrique III and continued under his son, Juan II, would prove to be effective and attend to the needs of the realm until the mid-15th century.[829]

Here the investigation can point out how the mismanagement of finances and an irresponsible fiscal and monetary policy under Juan I led to a severe depreciation of the currency and soaring prices, which in turn, led to social discontent, frustration, anxiety, unrest and anger that was manipulated and harnessed by anti-Jewish preachers that fed on pre-existing biases and prejudices towards the Jews that were held by the masses of the Christian majority. The combination of economic distress and social anxieties with blaming the Jews for all of societal ills, along with a weak secular and ecclesiastical leadership unwilling to quelch the

[825] CAUNEDO del PORTO, Betsabé. "Algunos aspectos de política económica" *in Economía y Sociedad en la España Medieval* in *Historia de España IX*. Ediciones Istmo: Madrid, 2004, p 209. LADERA QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 428. GUINOT RODRÍGUEZ, Enric. *La Baja Edad Media en los siglos XIV-XV. Economía y Sociedad. Historia de España 3er milenio*, vol. 9. Editorial Síntesis: Madrid, 2003, p 219.
[826] *A.M.M. Cart. Real 1391-1412*, fols.145v-146r. "CLV. 1411-V-30. Valladolid. Juan II al Concejo de Murcia indicando los pactos que ha realizado con el rey de Portugal." *Documentos de la minoría de Juan II. La regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*, op. cit., 1993, p 302-304. Interesting was the language in the official peace document that repeatedly called Portugal the "adversary" that "condescended" towards Castile. However, it ignores the fact that Castilian king Juan I broke the treaty of 1383 by claiming the Portuguese throne and invading Portugal. ÁLVAERZ PALENZUELA, Vicente Ángel. "La Internacionalización de los Conflictos" in *Historia de España de la Edad Media*, 6ª impresión. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela. Editorial Ariel, sello de Editorial Planeta: Barcelona, 2016, p 703.
[827] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio. "León y Castilla" in *Feudalismo y consolidación de los Pueblos Hispánicos (Siglos XI-XV). Historia de España,* t. IV, 3ª edición, 8ª reimpresión. Editorial Labor: Barcelona, 1989, p 110.
[828] LADERO QUESADA, op. cit., 2009, p 777.
[829] CAUNEDO del PORTO, op. cit., 2004, p 209-210.

hate speech of the rabblerousers at an earlier phase, degenerated into the outbreak of violence targeted at the Jews. This falls into what Valdeón Baruque classified the attacks on Jews as a scape valve for social tensions. Once the violence had been unleashed and the divided royal tutors decided grudgingly to take action and stop the assaults, the rabble was kept in check. Once Enrique III assumed majority rule, he had Ferrán Martínez arrested and then later sent into exile to Carmona. The king's fiscal and monetary policies would also bring a certain amount of stability to the economy, and, to an extent, alleviate frustrations, relieve anxieties and bring down social tensions. This could be a plausible explanation for the lack of any further attacks on the Jews on a massive scale after1391.

7.B.2. Portugal

As discussed, the process for peace between Castile and Portugal was long and complicated. It was a continuous financial burden, as well as a gash in manpower for the kingdom. Even though there would be occasional cross-border raids and skirmishes, there would be no outright open war. The Portuguese Crown had to play a tactical game of chess with all of its orders: nobility, clergy, Third Estate, as well as between the three confessions, while conducting a fragile truce with Castile and trying to maintain the kingdom's defense up-to-date.[830] Until 1411, there would be an elevated monetary inflation that would not be equaled in Portuguese history. The complaints of the Third Estate against the privileges of the nobility and clergy would persist in the *Cortes*, as well as the excessive extraordinary taxes, *sisas* (sales tax), indirect municipal taxes and requests. In 1402 a ten-year peace accord or truce would be signed, which allowed both Castile and Portugal to sign a final peace treaty in 1411. João I remained as the uncontested monarch of Portugal and the realm's traditional borders of 1297 were reconfirmed.[831]

As part of the monarch's difficult balancing act of asserting its sovereignty and defense of the realm, King João I would also try to follow a stabilization policy after years of high inflation due to the continuous costs of sustaining war against Castilian aggression. The complicated truce with Castile allowed the kingdom in relaxing the excessive military spending in the

[830] COLEHO, Maria Helena da Cruz. *D. João I o que re-colheu Boa Memória. Reis de Portugal*. Temas e Debates, Círculos de Leitores: Rio de Mouro, 2008, p 147-148.
[831] SOUSA, Armindo de. *História de Portugal, 2º vol. A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*. Coordenador José Mattoso. Editorial Estampa: Lisboa, 1997, p 417. According to Sousa, King João I's reign was divided into two phases: 1385-1412 and 1412-1433. SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo. *História de Portugal, vol. I, Estado, Pátria e Nação (1080-1415*), 6ª edição. Editorial VERBO: Braga, 2001, p 326-327.

defense of the realm. Nonetheless, King João I would have to remain on guard and not completely relax defense spending in case hostilities should resume. The period under consideration in this chapter is 1391 until 1412 and begins with the fourth sub-period designed by Oliveira Marques: 1392 until 1397. It would be the final phase of minting currency to finance the war effort. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Portuguese currency devaluated somewhere between 1000% to 1200%. One Portuguese Pound in 1383 was worth ten to twelve Portuguese Pounds in 1398.[832]

The constant and continuous devaluations of the Portuguese currency led to much hardship on the common people, as prices skyrocketed and created an atmosphere of distrust amongst merchants in accepting the different changes in currency and their values that were reflected in the Coimbra *Cortes* of 1400.[833] By 1402, the evaluation of prices in their weight in gold and silver became common practice, in spite of the king threatening to stop this practice by law and force. The export of precious metals also became common practice to the point that the king was forced to ban under harsh punishment.[834]

[832] MARQUES, A.H. Oliveira. *Ensaios da História Medieval Portuguesa*. Editorial Veja: Lisboa, 1980, p 213-214. The fourth and final sub-period (1392-1397) of the first period consisted in the last minting of the last reais of 10 soldos. Depreciation was only 43% compared to the previous or third sub-period. The silver mark (marco de prata) most likely was worth 250 Portuguese Pounds. The second period began in 1398 with the minting of reais of 3.5 Pounds and had a relation of silver with other metals of 1 to 1.5:12. However, this would lead to a further depreciation of the currency to one silver mark to 315 Pounds or that of 15 times since the beginning of the interregnum period. As a result, it was difficult to maintain a legal parity of 1 to 5 between the old and new Portuguese Pounds, when they exceeded 1 to 14. ARAGÃO, A. H. Teixeira de. *Descrição geral e histórica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal*, t. I. Imprensa Nacional: Lisboa, 1875, p 216. SERRÃO, op. cit., 2001, p 326. The calculations of the old currency with the new currency of 1409, 1471 and 1422 were made by Teixeira de Aragão. By 1395, during the Cortes of Coimbra, the municipal procurators complained that the clergy and the nobility only accepted payments of 1 to 10 or even 1 to 12, which was excessive for the period, whereas the official parity was 1 to 5; see: *Documentos do Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, II, p 84. MARQUES, op., cit., 1980, p 214. *Livro dos Pregos. Documentos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, 2. Estudo introdutório, transcrição paleográfica, sumários e índices*. Lisboa, 2016, [doc. 206, fl. 171 vº], p 323. It would only be in 1399 that a royal letter officially established the parity pf 1 to 10, which was still below the real rate, as the silver mark was established at 330 Portuguese Pounds or a devaluation of 15 times. Only until the Cortes of Guimarães of 1401, did João I acknowledge this reality; see: SOUSA, Armindo de. *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490),* vol. I. Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. Centro de História da Universidade do Porto. 1990, p 321. Sousa claimed that Marques and Aragão confused the Cortes of 1401 as having taken place in Lisbon instead of Guimarães, as there was a special chapter of Lisbon dealing with *sisas*. Royal officials had been abusing the exchange of Portuguese Pounds by not following the official exchange rate of 1:15 instead of 1:20 or 1:30. Coimbra, BGUC, *Ms. 694*, p 188-191.

[833] SERRÃO, op. cit., 2001, p 327.

[834] MARQUES, op. cit., 1980, p 214-215. ARAGÃO, op. cit., 1875, 351-355.

By 1406, 3,000 Portuguese Pounds of the old currency (1383) were evaluated at 300,000 of the new currency, which amounted to a devaluation of 100 times when compared to the value the prior year. When calculated from 1399 to 1405, the Portuguese currency depreciated 85 times. The Law of 1409 fixed a new table of currency equivalencies, which acknowledged a depreciation of 80 times in relation to its value of 1385. In other words, when evaluated from 1408 to 1383, the Portuguese currency 83 times.[835]

It is important to emphasize that in spite of the economic distress, financial and monetary instability, including high inflation, the common people never unleashed its anxiety, frustration, rage or anger on the Jewish population of Portugal. There were no secular or ecclesiastical leaders abusing the tense social situation for their own purposes by calling for an attack of the Jews. There is no evidence of any verbal abuse, in spite of the demands for restrictive measures against the Jews in the *Cortes*, of calling for the physical harm of the Jews or the pillaging and sacking of their quarters. The only time that there was the potential for an assault of the Jewish Quarter of Lisbon was in December 1383, which was immediately quelched by the Portuguese leadership under Dom João, Master de Avis.

Ch. 7.C. The Jews of Castile and Portugal Post-1391

7.C.1. The Jews in Castile 1391-1412

In the *Cortes* following the massacres of 1391, such as Madrid in 1393, Segovia in 1396 or in Tordesillas in 1401, there were no condemnations of the massacres, destruction of the *aljamas*, forced conversions or continuous emigration of converts to Portugal, Navarre or Granada to revert to Judaism.[836] In fact, this long silence would also reflect in the lack of any anti-Jewish legislation in those years until 1405 and 1412.[837] According to Monsalvo Antón, the Jewish Question was placed on the backburner due to the many issues in foreign policy

[835] MARQUES, op. cit., 1980, p 215. ARAGÃO, op. cit., 1875, p 209-210, 351-359.
[836] AMADOR de los RÍOS, José. *Historia Social, Política y Religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, t. II. Real Academia de Historia: Madrid, 1876, p 418-419.
[837] SUÁREZ BILBAO, Fernando. *El Fuero Judiego en la España Cristiana. Las Fuentes Jurídicas siglos-XV*. Dykinson: Madrid, 2000, p 107. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, Enrique. "La legislación general acerca de los judíos en el reinado de Juan II de Castilla" in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, Hª Medieval, t. 25, 2012, p 121.

that needed to be resolved,[838] such as ending the dispute with Portugal and the renewed offensive against the Emirate of Granada.

The harshest anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Castilian *Cortes* in the period between 1367 and 1405. The *Cortes* of Valladolid of 1405 would be categorized for the harshness of its tone and broadness of anti-Jewish measures that would abolish many of the previous privileges enjoyed by the Jewish community. These included having their own judges, writing of debt letters and all court cases involving Jews and Christians, as well as not being allowed to have Jewish witnesses present in court cases, and finally having to wear distinctive red signs on their clothes. These dispositions would be followed by the draconian Ordinances of 1412.[839] [See Appendices I, II and III, Ch. 7.C.1. for an analysis of the Castilian *Cortes*].

At the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1405, the municipal procurators expressed their apparent frustration that the ban on usury contracts had been disregarded and that the practice continued. King Enrique III would ban moneylending again, allowing instead for Jews to buy land as compensation for the financial loss of no longer be allowed to lend money at high interest. In the meantime, debt letters would not be fulfilled or complied with under the assumption that they were all usury in nature, as purportedly the principal written in the debt letters was superior to the actual amount of money lent. Only half of the written principal would be repaid. As a result, Jews were no longer allowed to write debt letters but to only write receipts of repayment.[840] Also at the *Cortes* of Valladolid, the municipal procurators insisted that the Jews be forced to wear the distinctive sign of the red circle on their chests

[838] MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª. *Teoría y Evolución de un Conflicto Social: EL Antijudaísmo en la Castilla en la Baja Edad Media*. Editorial Siglo XXI: Madrid, 1985, p 266.
[839] VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Julio. *El Chivo Expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, 2ª edición. Ámbito Ediciones: Valladolid, 2004, p 86. MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Mª. "Cortes de Castilla y León y Minorías" in *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*. Editado por las Cortes de Castilla y León: Valladolid, 1988, p 189-190. LADERO QUESADA, Miguel Ángel. *Judíos y conversos en el siglo XV. Datos y comentarios*. Editorial Dykinson: Madrid, 2016, p 23. MONSALVO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1985, p 267. SUÁREZ BILBAO, op. cit., 2000, p 107-108.
[840] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla.* Real Academia de Historia: Madrid, 1863, p 547-551. "Ordenamiento de Madrid sobre Judíos de las Cortes de 1405" in *Ordenamientos y Cortes desde Enrique II a Enrique III, v.2, Mss. 9911*. Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid, siglo XVIII, fol. 151-160. In the manuscript, the title mentions Madrid and only in the text is Valladolid mentioned. This might lead to confusion of the investigator does not read the beginning of the text. LEÓN TELLO, Pilar. *Judíos de Toledo*, t. I. Estudio Histórico y Colección Documental. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Madrid, 1979, p 183. MONSALVO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1988, p 171, 173. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 2012, p 122-123.

that had until then been disregarded.[841] The *Cortes* of 1405 would be a milestone in anti-Jewish legislation in Castile and would be the last *Cortes* that would deal with the Jewish question in such a broad manner for the rest of the 15th century. Other *Cortes* would deal with the Jewish question in a very sporadic manner.[842] [See Appendix I, Ch. 7.C.1. for more analysis].

These harsh anti-Jewish measures were communicated to the cities, towns and localities throughout the Crown of Castile at the end of 1405. Once again, the role of the transmission of the message would be of extreme importance, as the consequences of the dispositions were more grievous and severe than previous ones, as Christians in the many localities interpreted the measures in an abusive manner. There would be anti-Jewish mutinies, especially in Córdoba. Many indebted Christians demanded from Jewish moneylenders the money they had already repaid. Such demands were supported by Christian judges. Unfortunately, King Enrique III would die in 1406. Although prior to his death, the king had written letters to be sent to the cities and towns of not making reimbursement of debt claims retroactive, they would be ignored. The passing of the "sickly" king in 1406 would play a substantial role in the further collapse of Jewish-Christian relations, as there would be once again a young king, Juan II, who would be declared a minor under the regency of his mother, Queen Catalina of Lancaster, his uncle, Fernando de Antequera of Aragon, and the converso, Bishop of Burgos and Grand Chancellor of Castile, Paulus de Santa Maria, formerly Solomon ha-Levi, all three being extremely hostile to the Jews and who would shape royal policy towards the disenfranchised, marginalized and ostracized community.[843]

The approach of the three regents would be reflected in the Ordinance of Valladolid on 25 October 1408, in which Jewish financiers were excluded from tax and rent farming, as well as other services to the Crown. The grievances presented in the royal letter were the same as in previous legislation and that the Jews in having jurisdiction over the Christians had committed great damage to the people, the realm and to God. The Jews could not deal with

[841] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, op. cit., 1863, p 552-553. AMADOR de los RÍOS, op. cit., 1876, p 422-423. SUÁREZ BILBAO, op. cit., 2000, p 108. Suárez Bilbao compared the severe measures of 1405 with the "final solution" of the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, p 110. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 2012, p 123. MONSALVO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1988, p 184. LEÓN TELLO, op. cit., 1979, p 184.
[842] CANTERA MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 2012, p 123. MONSALVO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1985, p 267. MONSALVO ANTÓN, op. cit., 1988, p 189. LEÓN TELLO, op. cit., 1979, p 183.
[843] BAER (2001), p 139, 166. SUÁREZ BILBAO (2000), p 109. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 373. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2012), p 123-124.

rents or taxes (including tithes) either in public nor in private for the Crown, the nobility or the clergy. The ordinance also forbade Jews extending any credit to Christians for tax and rent farming and that anyone, who disobeyed it, should receive 50 lashes. The ordinance also reinforced how the testimony of two Christians sufficed to denounce Jews.[844]

Afterwards, the most stringent set of Castilian anti-Jewish legislation in the early 15th century were the 24 dispositions of the Ordinance of 10 January 1412 that tried to thwart if not eliminate the physical presence of the Jews, short of expulsion or extermination. These laws were crafted by the aforementioned trio in the regency along with the anti-Jewish Valencian preacher Vicente Ferrer in 1411 and were based on those that had been previously crafted in Murcia in 1411. The Valencian preacher had met with the regents in the locality of Ayllón, close to Segovia, to emphasize on the need to further isolate the Jews from contact with Christians. Even though the laws were aimed at both Muslims and Jews, they were a further step in the radicalization of anti-Jewish legislation and would establish many prohibitions that made living conditions and existence almost impossible for the Castilian Jewish community. Some of these dispositions consisted of enclosing the Jews in their own quarters, as well as banning Jews from practicing many professions in the service of Christians, wearing drab clothes and using the distinctive red sign on their clothes, ending Jewish autonomy from collecting their own taxes, to forbidding Jewish judges (rabbis) to preside over matters concerning Jewish issues, forbidding Jews from hiring Christians to work on Jewish estates and forbidding Jews from moving to the lands of the nobility.[845]

None of these provisions were new, however, what was novel about the Ordinances of 1412, was the broad judicial and legislative compilation of previous anti-Jewish dispositions.[846] This compendium is important in the role of the creation, transmission and reception of negative images of the Jews by a target audience, which were the subjects throughout the Castilian realm. Queen Mother Catalina ordered that the dispositions be copied and read

[844] Ordenamiento de Juan II sobre Judíos en Valladolid en 1408 in *Ordenamientos y Cortes de Juan II de 1408 a 1435, Ms. 1220*. Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid, s. XVIII, fols. 1-3. BAER (2001), p 167. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 270-271

[845] SANTA MARÍA, Alvar García de (1953). *Crónica de Juan II*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 68, p 340. AMRÁN (2009), p 109. SUÁREZ BILBAO (2000), p 111-112. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2012), p 124-128. BAER (2001), p 167-169. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 489-490. LADERO QUESADA (2019), p 373-374. LADERO QUESADA (2016), p 23. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 195-196.

[846] CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2012), p 127. LADERO QUESADA (2016), p 23.

aloud in the public spaces of localities throughout the realm.[847] [See Appendix I, Ch. 7.C.1. for a detailed analysis of these dispositions and a comparison with Portuguese legislation of 1412].

However, after careful reflection, the regent Fernando de Antequera decided to soften some of the measures a few months after the ordinance was originally issued. In the areas of the Crown of Castile, Jews were allowed to deal with civil cases, as allowed in the *Cortes* of Soria of 1380. Jewish landowners could continue to purchase land, they could employ Christians to work on their estates. The Jews were also allowed relative freedom of movement and the right to move to the estates of the nobility, where they could serve under the jurisdiction of the aristocracy. However, as mentioned above, the uneven and unequal application of the dispositions would lead to confusion and their ultimate application would depend on the municipal authorities, who, in turn, were predisposed in their anti-Jewish stances.[848] Details of the ordinance will be analyzed separately in this chapter.

Coupled with the severe legislation were the intense anti-Jewish preaching led by Vicente Ferrer, who was allowed by the regents to enter Castile in the years of 1411 and 1412 to cajole the Jews into converting to Christianity. Ferrer already had a harsh and crass program that he implemented once he entered Castile from the Crown of Aragon. This consisted of attacking Judaism in synagogues, forcefully evicting Jews from their homes in their established quarters in the city and town centers and forced to re-establish their homes in the worst, unhealthy and insalubrious fringes of those same localities. The intense official harassment pushed many Jews to convert to Christianity. Ferrer's anti-Jewish campaign worked hand-in-hand with the official secular legislation of the Ordinances of Valladolid of 1412 in trying to eradicate Judaism in Castile short of massacres.[849]

In spite of the anti-Jewish riots and anti-Jewish legislation, there continued to be a group of Jews, who managed royal rents. The Head Treasurer of Toledo in 1394 was Yuçaf Aben Verga. In 1398, he still had the same position, as per royal letter informing the royal accountants that the king had rented to Yuçaf Aben Verga, his Head Treasurer, one-twelfth of

[847] AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 627.
[848] BAER (2001), p 168-169. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 271. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2012), p 128.
[849] AMRÁN (2014), p 76. CANTERA MONTENEGRO (2004), p 401. AMRÁN (2009), p 108-109. BAER (2001), p 167-169. AMADOR de los RÍOS (1876), p 488. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1985), p 272-273. LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 194-195.

the *albaquías* (remainder or residual amount of a debt or an account that still has not been paid) along with his son Abraham Aben Verga.[850]

In the *alcabalas* Çag Abenaynel appeared, who had received the order from the rent collector Don Rodrigo Ordóñez, the queen's Head Treasurer, to submit 2000 *maravedis* to the daughter of the counts of Carrión. In 1403 Don Çag el Maxel and Salamon Anacaua, rent farmers and *alcabala* collectors of the estates of the Toledo region, acknowledged the receipt of 1200 *maravedis* of *alcabala* from the prioress of Santo Domingo el Real from the sale of some houses to the queen worth 40,000 *maravedis*.[851]

In 1397, Archbishop Don Pedro Tenorio had as the collector of all his properties, David Aben Alfahar, who paid 4,600 *maravedis* to some masons, through the royal treasurers Don Yuçaf Aben Berga and his son, Abraham, for work on the Chapel of San Blas.[852] Doña Inés de Ayala, widow of the city mayor of Toledo, Diego Gómez, also entrusted her rents in the hands of Jews from 1397 to her death in 1403.[853]

Fortunately for the Jews of Castile, the severity and harshness of the anti-Jewish depositions were impractical and almost impossible to apply. Only a few of them were truly applied. These were forcing Jews to live in separate and walled-off quarters, as well as banning Jews from collecting rents and taxes.[854] Nonetheless, the events of 1391, the massacres, mass conversions and exodus of people of Jewish background to neighboring kingdoms, would have a serious impact on the remaining reduced Jewish community of Castile and the rapport between them and the Christian majority.

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[850] LEÓN TELLO (1979), p 189. The king ordered that Don Abraham should not be obliged to give credit and that they discount 166 and two-thirds of the gold doubloons that Don Yuçef had already given as down payment.
[851] Ibid., p 189. León Tello believed that the seller had to pay the tax as the purchaser was from such high social condition.
[852] Ibid., p 189, 632.
[853] Ibid., p 189-190. In the *alcabalas* of Casarrubios del Monte there appeared Yudá Alcaçay, who rented out to Yuçaf Halel, son of Don Çag, the half of the alcabala of the dyed cloth that was sold for 14,000 maravedis in Toledo in 1397. In 1398, Yudá Alcaçay rented out one-fourth of the *alcabalas* for 8,000 maravedis to Yuçaf Halel. In a separate alcabala, Doña Inés had to deliver a certain amount (not stated how much) of money to the bailiff, Pero Sánchez, and that the rent of linen was conducted by Simuel Anacahua. In 1403, as the executor of the last will of Doña Inés de Ayala, the prioress paid Don Yuçaf Halel 1000 maravedis that the Doña Inés owed him, as well as an extra 200 maravedis for repairs made to the cloth counter that he had rented from her.
[854] AMADOR de los RÍOS (2001), p 169. CANTERA MONTENEGRO, (2012), p 128. SUÁREZ BILBAO (2000), p 112.

7.C.2. The Jews in Portugal 1391-1412

The Jewish communities in Portugal grew in the late 14th century after the assaults of the Jewish quarters in Castile and Aragon in 1391 and the preaching of Vicente Ferrer afterwards in the years 1411-1412 and then the larger one later in the 15th century with the installation of the Inquisition in Spain and the final expulsion of the Jews in 1492. The first communities to register this demographic growth were Lisbon, Santarém, Évora and Guarda. The arrival was predominantly by land from east to west. One of the reasons why they chose these cities was mercantile and commercial, as well as the existence of established Jewish communities.[855] Lisbon witnessed a proliferation of Jewish quarters in the 14th century. The reasons for this fact was Lisbon being the first city of the kingdom, a main center of the court residence, and a major sea and river port that facilitated trade and finance. These points attracted the Jews to settle in the area behind the Rua Nova.[856] By 1408, the Jewish authorities of the city of Évora, which had the second largest Jewish community, had to negotiate with the municipal and royal authorities for the expansion of the surface area of the Jewish quarter in order to accommodate to the arrival of so many Castilian Jews and to ease the stress of tight living conditions and high rents.[857] [See Appendices I, II and III, Ch. 7.C.2. for an analysis of the Portuguese *Ordinances*].

The Jewish community of Porto would also petition in 1411 for the building of more houses and the expansion of the surface area of its Jewish quarters of Olival as the size of its population had also increased.[858] It was a royal decision since the end of the 14th century to make the Olival area of Porto to become the New Jewish Quarter (*Judiaria Nova*).[859] The majority of the Jews, who were either tailors or goldsmiths, had their shops in that same neighborhood. During the day Christians could visit the Jewish quarter, especially Christian

[855] TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (1982). *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*, vol. I. Universidade NOVA de Lisboa Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, p 43.
[856] TAVARES (1982)., p 46.
[857] *Chancelarias Portuguesas D. João*, V. III, Tomo 2, 1394-1427, 1ª edição (2006). Centro de Estudos Históricos. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, p 78-80. TAVARES (1982), p 55-56.
[858] Arquivo Municipal do Porto (AMP), *Livro de Vereações* de 1390-1395, Doc. 74, fl. 70v, & AMP, *Livro 3º de Pergaminhos*, Doc. 589, *Sobrado da vereaçom*. MELO, Arnaldo Rui Azevedo de Sousa (2009). *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: O Porto, c. 1320- c. 1415*. Vol. 2., p 181, 251, 253, 278.
[859] MELO, Arnaldo Ru Azevedo de Sousa (2009). *Trabalho e Produção em Portugal na Idade Média: O Porto, c. 1320- c. 1415*. vol. I., p 221.

women, as long as if they were accompanied by Christian men. Many Jewesses sold their wares, such as spices, at the apothecaries in the Rua S. Domingos.[860]

The arrival of many Castilian Jews in 1391 and thereafter would increase the role of prominent Jews and their financing of economic activities in the kingdom of Portugal. Prominent Castilian Jewish families were Abravanel, Palaçano, Latam and the return of Juda Negro and who would help transform the economic role of Jews in Portugal by participating with Christians in the rent farmers and tax collectors, as well as in many royal enterprises. Even though the origins of the Palaçano remain unknown, this family was well connected to the other prominent Jewish families in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, such as the Gualite and Pardo.[861]

Prominent Jews would actively compete with and surpass many Christians in finance and commerce in Lisbon and Porto. They would go beyond in the finances of the king, nobility and upper clergy to add members of the upper bourgeoisie into commercial companies led by Jews. Their aggressive business practices were able to compete with the Italian merchants, if and when they did not work with them. The Christian Portuguese merchants felt the intense competition from the Jews in finance and commerce, and wanted to either limit, ostracize, marginalize, eliminate or annihilate the Jewish economic threat. As a result, they would send their procurators to the *Cortes* in order to apply even more pressure on the Crown to implement more legislation that would proscribe the activities and forbid them from living among Christians by restricting them to live in their own quarters.[862]

Nonetheless, the arrival of Castilian Jews, helped either to establish or further strengthen existing commercial ties between the Jewish communities of Castile, Portugal and Granada, especially those families that resided in both Castile and Portugal. Many of these prominent Jewish merchants, usually from the Badajoz region, could travel freely between the two kingdoms and trade in both kingdoms as they had safe passage granted to them by the

[860] MELO (2009) vol. I, p 244. In terms of Jewesses working on Rua S. Domingos, see: AHMP, *Vereações Livro 3*, fl. 35 - 36vº of 10 September 1412.
[861] IAN/TT, *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 4, fls. 90r-vº. TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (julio-diciembre 2014). Judeus de Castela em Portugal no final da Idade Media: onomástica e fontes documentais. *Sefarad*, vol. 74:2, p 311. TAVARES, Mª José Ferro (1991). O crescimento económico e o antijudaísmo no Portugal medieval. In *La Península Ibérica en la Era de los Descubrimientos (1391-1492).* Actas de las III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval. Junta de Andalucía. Universidad de Sevilla, p 56. TAVARES (1982), p 280-282.
[862] TAVARES (1982), p 280-282. COELHO (2008), p 317-318.

kings.[863] In a written accord between King João I and the merchants of dyed cloth, the amount of *sisa* (business tax) paid to the Portuguese Crown in the period of 1405-1408 by the Jewish cloth merchants was 60,000 Portuguese pounds, whereas the Christian cloth merchants was only 35,000 Portuguese pounds, which indicates that the Jewish minority in all probability conducted the largest bulk of dyed cloth.[864]

In spite of the number of commercial transactions the Jewish mercantile and financial elites enjoyed, the social environment was far from tolerant or even safe. Due to the distinctive signs Jews were compelled to wear, they would stand out from the rest of the population and become easy targets for thieves and robbers, who would assault isolated Jewish on lonely country roads.[865]

Even though the situation in Portugal was inviting compared to the situation in Castile, that did not translate that there would be no overview or supervision of economic activities conducted by prominent Jews. A case in study would be the ruling by the Lisbon court on 18 September 1391 on Lopo Martins, in charge of the city's toll fees and his associate, Martim Lourenço, for not disclosing the exact amount of toll fees collected and for having two separate accounting books. They were fined seventy-nine thousand Portuguese pounds. The two indicted men pled to reduce the fine, but the city councilor, Alvaro Gonçalves, denied the request and along with the city prosecutor, armed with a power of wit compounded all of the goods, assets and cargo of the indicted men.[866] Important to note is that one of the indicted men, Lopo Martins, was Jewish, and at no point did the indictment bring up his Jewish heritage nor attack him for being inherently evil, wicked or that he was inclined to commit acts of malice due to his religion. Both indicted men were treated equally before the law.

Notwithstanding the issues for prominent Jews, not all members of the Jewish community of Portugal belonged to the wealthy elites. The reality, as prior to 1391, was that the majority

[863] TAVARES (1991), p 59. TAVARES (1982), p 293-294. Some of the Castilian Jewish families from the Badajoz region that Professor Ferro Tavares identified were: Moisés Amiz, Salomón del Furado and Jacob Almule. Even though they were granted royal security letters during the reign of Afonso V, most likely these were the same families that conducted business between the two kingdoms in the period of 1391-1412.
[864] ANTT, *Chancelarias de D. João*, Livro V, fls. 61-62vº. TAVARES (1982), p 296.
[865] ANTT, *Chancelarias de D. Afonso V,* liv. 6, fl. 31; liv. 19, fl. 29 vª; liv. 20, fl. 101; liv. 31, fols. 28, 138vº; liv. 34, fl. 79. TAVARES, op. cit., 1982, p 295.
[866] *Livro dos Pregos. Estudo introdutório, transcrição paleográfica, sumários e índices* (2016). Coordenação Inês Morais Viegas. Colecção Documentos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. 2ª Edição. Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, p 342-343.

were simple people dedicated to many crafts and trades like their Christian and Muslim counterparts. They had small to medium-sized workshops and many were dedicated to street vending or travelling to smaller localities to sell their wares. Such wares were iron tools, precious metals, spices and cloth sold in retail. From the countryside, Jewish merchants would purchase honey, beeswax, leather, furs, and other homemade wares that they would then resell in the larger towns and cities. Not only would these travelling merchants sell and purchase different types of wares, but they would also share the news from the larger urban centers that perhaps the villagers had not heard of yet.[867]

Very little documented evidence exists demonstrating how professional training of crafts and artisanry was conducted within the Jewish communities in this period. According to Professor Ferro Tavares, education and professional training was conducted within the family and community. Most likely, the training process was similar to that of Christian guilds. This would be that of masters, journeymen or skilled workers and apprentices. As in the Christian guilds, membership not only guaranteed years of training but quality of work as well. The title *master* continued to denote a person's profession or trade in the first half of the 15th century. Hence the term *mestre* given to certain prominent Jews mentioned in period documents. As in all trades, these socio-professional structures had created socio-economic differences within communities and perpetuated a social hierarchy seen from prior centuries and perpetuated into the 15th century. In terms of inter-religious contacts, there is no documentation to indicate that training between the different religious groups took place. In part, it was due to the legal restrictions in the daily conduct and transactions between the different confessions.[868]

In terms of moneylending, Professor Ferro Tavares asserted that the image portrayed through the documentation of the 14th century acts of the *Cortes* and other sources was a false one. They present the Jew as a usurer and loan shark but also ignoring the fact that there were also Christian and Muslim moneylenders as well mentioned in the legislation. An important development was that in the 15th century Portuguese legislation, the *issue of usury was almost never mentioned*. Professor Ferro Tavares sustains that this was due to the transformation of the socio-economic structures from an agrarian society to commercial capitalist one, in which

[867] TAVARES (1982), p 298.
[868] Ibid., p 300-301, 306-307.

new techniques of credit had been developed with moderate interest rates that would be justified and defended as licit gains and earnings from the authors of the financial contracts of the period.[869]

As per Ana Pereira Ferreira, who wrote about the *Transactions between Lisbon Jews and the Chelas Convent in the Late Middle Ages. Documental Analysis*[870] and was discussed in the previous chapter, the convent made contracts with its Jewish neighbors dealing with issued such as emplacement charters of leasing of houses from a limited amount of time up until three lifetimes or generations. There are three documented cases: 1392-1402,[871] 1396[872] and 1401.[873]

Historically, it was the official policy of Portuguese sovereigns to tie the Jews to the land, integrating them to the common mode of late medieval production of the Christian majority and Muslim minority. Many Jewish craftsmen and merchants had agricultural production as a necessary complimentary economic source, just as the Christian majority craftsmen and merchants were doing as well. This practice applied to the smaller communities in the interior of the kingdom to those in the larger urban areas. The majority of their properties consisted of olive groves, vineyards, orchards with a small proportion of their lands dedicated to cereal growth. According to Professor Ferro Tavares, the acquisition of rural property was the logical affirmation of a climate of social stability and economic vitality that the Jews enjoyed in Portugal. This development would continue throughout the 15th century.[874]

In terms of an ecclesiastical order granting rights to the Jews, there is the case of the Bishopric of Porto granting its Jewish community its own slaughterhouse and butcher of their

[869] TAVARES (1982), p 310.
[870] FERREIRA, Ana Pereira (2019). Transactions between Lisbon Jews and the Chelas Convent in the Late Middle Ages. Documental analysis. *Hispania Judaica*, vol. 14, p 39-55.
[871] ANTT, *Mosteiro de Chelas*, maço 31, doc. 616. (11 Nov.) Emplacement of some old houses in the Old Jewish quarter to the Jew, Entotor, the royal collections agent for the Jewish community, and to Alegria, Jewess and partner (concubine) for 200 Portuguese pounds and two capons per year.
[872] ANTT, *Mosteiro de Chelas*, maço 55, doc. 1090. (28 Dec.) Emplacement up to three lifetimes to Josepe Navarro, son of Moussem (Moses) Navarro, who had been Chief Rabbi, of some houses in the Large Jewish Quarter for 300 Portuguese Pounds per year.
[873] ANTT, *Mosteiro de Chelas*, maço 50, doc. 990. (11 Nov.) Emplacement up to three lifetimes to Entotor, the royal collections agent of the Jewish community, of some houses in the Old Jewish quarter where he lived, for 200 Portuguese Pounds and a couple of capons per year.
[874] TAVARES (1982), p 275.

choice of 17 July 1412.[875] In a legal battle between the Porto Jewish community and the bishopric council, the sentencing of 1412 allowed the Jewish community the privilege of having its own butcher and slaughterhouse within the Jewish quarter in exchange for an annual fee of a Castilian gold doubloon to the bishopric council. This compromise, at a nominal monetary price, indicated a relative tolerance and *Convivencia* between the Jewish community, the Porto bishopric and Porto municipal council.[876]

This legislation reminds investigators of a previous legislation in Évora believed to be from 1380-1382, in which both Muslim and Jewish butchers had to follow the same norms and procedures as Christian butchers in the keeping of meats, exposing horns and hides of the animals they slaughtered and the maintenance of their slaughterhouses. There was no discrimination against the two minority religions and their dietary customs were respected.[877]

In terms of further legislation that treated Jews on an equal foundation as Christians, is to be found in both Porto and Évora, when dealing with goldsmiths and the issue of unethical business practice. In Évora, there was an ordinance expedited 27 September 1395 regarding the city's goldsmiths, who were accused of selling gilded silver works, buttons and belt buckles, as gold. The ordinance stated Jewish goldsmiths and *others* who are goldsmiths, (in other words, Christian or Muslim goldsmiths), had been selling these gilded wares without going to the municipal quality controller to inspect their goods and receive the municipal seal of approval. As such, they were committing acts of malice. In order to avoid such future malicious acts, all goldsmiths had to present their work to the municipal quality controller and receiver the official stamp. Once again, these acts of malice were not assigned only to Jews, but to the *other* goldsmiths as well. The message conveyed to the public, once these

[875] ID. Doc 692 Arquivo Distrito do Porto (ADP), *Cabido – Originais*, Livro 19, perg. 9 Publicado In Coelho Dias, p. 195-198. Note-se que uns documentos de 1424 e 1479 continuam a contenda e fornecem mais informações. Publicados em Coelho Dias, p. 198- 206. MELO (2009), v. I., p 351.
[876] MELO (2009), v. I, p 294-295. There is also evidence of a Christian butcher, Afonso Peres de Alfena, who lived in the Jewish quarter and slaughtered animals in the Jewish slaughterhouse according to Jewish ritual at the petition of the Jewish Community. DIAS, Geraldo J. Amadeu Coelho, O.S.B. (2006). *As religiões da nossa vizinhança: História, Crença e Espiritualidade.* Departamento de História. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, p 184-190; according to Coelho Dias, the most important thing is that the butcher was able to slaughter animals according to Jewish ritual, as long as it was under rabbinical supervision. Perhaps there was no certified Jewish butcher available at the time or a Jewish butcher willing to exercise his profession.
[877] PEREIRA, Gabriel (1998). *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*. Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, p 127. In his explanation, Gabriel Pereira stated that even though some of the legal postures were undated, through reference to certain procurators or mentioning of the New Wall, historians could approximate certain periods or reigns. Hence, it is believed that the aforementioned law was from 1380-82.

laws would be announced by heralds, would be a more nuanced one blaming all sides and not just one particular party, even though the Jews were singled out by name.

Similar to the case in Évora, was a specific law in Porto from 1402 that mentioned that no goldsmith, either Christian or Jewish, produce any work, buttons, buckles, rings, earrings, without the quality control of the inspector or silver marker and sharpener, Gonçalo Stevez. Professor Arnaldo Azevedo de Sousa Melo highlighted the role of Jewish goldsmiths in Porto, as well as the role of the silver marker and sharpener in inspecting the workmanship and quality of precious metals.[878] Important to note in this law, was how Christian goldsmiths were specifically mentioned and they were placed before Jewish goldsmiths in the text. This can denote that perhaps more Christian goldsmiths were involved in the practice of selling gilded wares than Jews.

The town of Loulé presents an interesting rare case of *convivência* in late medieval Portugal in that all three confessions were represented in the municipal council. The Jews of Loulé were dedicated to fresh and dried fruit, especially figs, as well as cloth industry, including that of tailors and cobblers.[879] The representation of Jews and Muslims (Moors) in the municipal council was found in the acts of the council (*vereação*) of Loulé in 1403. There was an initiative to spur a migration of Jews and Muslims to help raise the low demographic density of the locality. One measure was the contracting of a Jewish blacksmith and farrier, Belhamin Cachado, as there were none in the town.[880] In the official town acts of 1403, Jews,

[878] The law in question was from 4 January 1402, Arquivo Municipal do Porto (AMP), *Livro de Vereações* de 1390-1395, Doc. 74, fl. 70v, DM, 40, 78-80, ID. Doc. 96. MELO (2009), vol. 2, p 173-174. Arnaldo Azevedo de Sousa Melo was able to interpret from the specific mentioning of the Jews among the Christians in this law, their importance in the goldsmith profession in Porto, p 175. On the same page, he provided an explanation for the "malicia", which was to gold paint silver objects (gilded) and claim them to be solid gold. He also explained how, if goldsmiths were to do this, they had to do it in front of the purchaser.

[879] TAVIM, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva and MUCZNIK, Lúcia Liba (2018). Joias da Documentação Judaica Medieval Portuguesa. In *Os Judeus na Península Ibérica a Idade Média. Análise das suas fontes*. Edição de José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, ... et al. Edições Almedina, p 85-86. BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2017). Judeus, Cristãos e Muçulmanos no Portugal Medieval. *Praça Velha. Revista Cultural da Cidade da Guarda*, Nº 36, 2017, p 49. SIMÕES, João Miguel (2012). *História económica, social e urbana de Loulé.* Arquivo Municipal de Loulé, p 31. DUARTE, Luís Miguel (2001/2002). Loulé há Quinhentos Anos. A Rua Nova e a Judiaria Velha. *Al'-Ulyã – Revista do Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé*, n.º 8. Manuel Pedro Serra (coord.). Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé, p 156-166.

[880] *Actas de Vereação de Loulé (Séculos XIV-XV),* revisão e estabelecimento definitivo do texto de DUARTE, Luís Miguel (1999/2000), separata de *Al-'Ulya* 7, p 136-137; and, *Al-'Ulya* 8, Loulé (2001/2002), p 117. BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2017). Ordenar o Povoamento e a Vizinhança: Muçulmanos, Cristãos e Judeus. *Loulé. Territórios, Memórias, Identidades.* Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, p 593. At the end of her article, Prof. Barros presented photo images from the manuscript *Book of Receipts and Expenses* of 1394 and the Acts of Council of Loulé of 1402. BARROS (2017), p 48. TAVIM, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, and MUCZNIK, Lúcia

along with Christians and Muslims, fought against the raising of municipal taxes in the use of windmills and watermills. Finally in that same year, the municipal council in an attempt to avoid the further decline in prices of fruit, would regulate those same prices and channel their export by paying the suppliers.[881]

In 1409, an interesting case occurred in the Jewish community of Loulé that involved the surviving daughters, Rica and Ester, of deceased rabbi Moom (Moisés?). On 12 March 1409, Rabbi Isaque Cofem designated as tutors Levi Gaguim (Gagim) and Faim Adida for the two surviving daughters of the aforementioned deceased rabbi. The ceremony took place in the synagogue and the tutors were sworn in using the Jewish Book of Laws (*em hum libro da sua lei*).[882] The importance of this decision is two-fold. On the one hand, Christian authorities that listened to Jewish plaintiffs about unfairness of judicial decision-making in terms of inheritance. On the other hand, it was Christian municipal authorities overruling and superseding Jewish judicial decision-making within the Jewish community.

These developments in Portugal come into sharp contrast to the situation in Castile that, in spite of a weary co-existence between Christians and Jews, would deteriorate over the years between 1391 and 1412, as anti-Judaic legislation and overt pressure to convert, would make the lives of Castilian Jews ever more so difficult. However, investigators should not consider the situation in Portugal as free from tension or the desire to curtail or circumscribe the privileges and activities of the Jews. In terms of the specificity of laws during the reign of João I, they would vary and change over time. As discussed in the previous chapter, João I enacted laws that reasserted prior laws that circumscribed Jewish activities, where they could live and the distinctive sign of the red circle to wear on their chests. In 1395, King João I ratified the Lisbon posture of forbidding Jews from living outside of the Jewish quarters.

Luba (2018). Joias da Documentação Judaica Medieval Portuguesa. In *Os Judeus na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média: Análise das suas Fontes.* Edições Almedina, p 86. Jews and Muslims would be represented in the municipal councils throughout the 15th century, as per documentation from 1487, p 86-87.

[881] Session of 20 July 1403 in Actas de Vereação de Loulé, séculos XIV-XV, pub. de Luís Miguel Duarte (1999), in separata de *Al-Úlyá*, nº 7, p 136-137; session of 10 July 1403, p 130-132; and, 6 October 1405, p 143-144. Also see: SIMÕES (2012), p 45. BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de (2007). *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no reino português (séculos XII a XV).* Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-FCT, p 328.

[882] Arquivo Municipal de Loulé (AML), *Livro dos Órfãos* (2016), 2 (PT/AMLLE/JUD/JOLLE/01/liv. 001), fl. 21. MACHADO, M. F. *Fundo dos órfãos de Loulé (Séculos XV e XVI)*. Arquivo Municipal de Loulé, p 70. TAVIM & MUCZNIK (2018), p 71. BARROS (2017), p 595. However, an unusual event took place in the disagreement in the property, two mattresses, an iron candelabra and bowl, that was disputed between the widow and the surviving daughters. The Christian judge, Afonso Nunes, took sides with the surviving daughters and ordered the council collections' agent to seize the belongings and to deliver them to the daughters' tutors.

Around 1397, the Lisbon council forbade Christian women from entering Jewish or Muslim Quarters. Any Christian woman, who dared to defy the law by entering the Muslim or Jewish quarters without her husband or other Christian man would be publicly flogged throughout the city or town where it occurred.[883] By 1400, the Crown passed one of the harshest set of laws proscribing Jewish activities and where they could live. This tendency, however, would eventually lead to softening of laws in 1402, 1405 and 1412.[884]

The ordinances of 1400 called for the forced separation, segregation and seclusion of the Jews into their own living quarters. Any Jew caught outside of their quarters was to be arrested, imprisoned and all of their property confiscated.[885] It is the severity of the application of previous discriminatory laws, which led to Jewish protest to petition the softening of such measures and to later introduce legislation that allowed Jews jurisdiction over their own community. However, not all legislation dealing with Jews was discriminatory. There were some laws, such as the royal letter of 1397 that merely confirmed the payment of royal services except for those few who had letters granted to them by the constable.[886]

By 1402, the king after having heard the many complaints of the Grand Rabbi, Dom Judá Cosem, of municipal authorities forcing Jews to resolve both civil and criminal cases under the jurisdiction of Christian judges. The Crown's response was to gather and unify previous privileges granted to the Jews and reassert that the Grand Rabbi was the *last resort or ultimate instance of jurisdiction over the Jewish communities of Portugal*. Jews were not to be constrained to appear in court in front of Christian judges. The *Grand Rabbi had the right to use the royal seal, always have an auditor accompany him and all letters expedited by the Grand Rabbi would be in the name of the king*.[887] This comes into sharp contrast with the legislation in Castile, which had banned criminal cases within the Jewish community from

[883] *Livro dos Pregos* (2016), p 229. The year could not be ascertained, as it was not given in the text. Historians have researched that King João I was in Santarém on 1 December in the years 1397, 1399, 1402, 1413, 1418, and 1423.
[884] MARQUES (1987), p 538.
[885] *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984). Livro 2, Título LXXVI, p 455-456. CAETANO (1981), p 508.
[886] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte (1433-1435)*, vol. I, t. I. Centro de Estudos Históricos. Universidade Nova de Lisboa. 1998, p 32.
[887] *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984). Livro 2, Título LXXV, p 451-455.

being judged by rabbis since the Cortes of Soria in 1380 and having their own Jewish judges since the Cortes of Valladolid in 1385.[888]

As per the law of 1405 (*Regiment of the Grand Rabbi of the Jews of all of Portugal*), public notaries of the Jewish communities could write their document in Hebrew, except for those documents that are appeals and grievances that are sent to royal judges and auditors and had to be written in Portuguese.[889] King João I would forbid the use of Hebrew in the writing of debt letters and other notarial documents and only allow that they be written in Portuguese. Anyone who disobeyed this ordinance would suffer the penalty of death. This stringent law and punishment would be viewed as too odious and would be corrected, as long as there were no falsehoods written in Hebrew in the document. In the case that there were issues or discrepancies in the document, the notary public would lose his position and would be flogged in public.[890] The possibility of writing in Hebrew and Arabic is found in the *Book of Distribution of Fruit* from Loulé, 11 February 1450.[891]

It should be noted that the demand that all notarial documents be written in the official language of the realm, Portuguese, was not only a strategy in avoiding any questionable issues involving debt letters and repayment of loans, but also as a part of the process to centralize authority under the Crown by using only one unifying language. With the issuance of this ordinance, the Crown could resolve two issues at once, and simply not be seen as an anti-Jewish law to hinder Jewish financial activities, including moneylending. The Jews could continue to lend money, but writing their debt letters in Portuguese, and any irregularities or inconsistencies in the documents would result in loss of profession and public flogging and not loss of life.

In 1408, both royal and municipal authorities agreed to the expansion of the Jewish Quarter of Évora (second largest in Portugal) to accommodate to the demographic increase of the Jewish population since the arrival of many Castilian Jews, who had fled the violence of 1391. The authorities had realized that if no urgent action had been taken due to the

[888] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla* (1863), p 311-312, 328-329, respectively. MONSALVO ANTÓN (1988), p 188-189.
[889] *Chancelarias Portuguesas de D. João I (1385-1419)*, liv. 3, t. I. (2006), p 197-199. TAVARES (1982), p 123.
[890] *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984). Liv. 2, tít. 93, p 513-514. CAETANO (1981), p 509. TAVARES (1982), p 123.
[891] AML, *Registo de documentos relativos ao abastecimento e tabelamento de géneros* [Livro da repartição da fruta] – PT/AMLLE/AL/CMLLE/F/C/027liv. 001. TAVIM & MUCZNIK (2018), p 86.

overcrowded quarter and overpriced housing, then the Castilian Jews would have returned to Castile.[892] Here one must note that at the same time in 1408 in Castile, the Jews were suffering from more legal restrictions through the Ordinances of Valladolid, which forbade the Jews from working as tax and rent farmers for the Crown, nobility and clergy.

By 1412, King João I had shown more flexibility towards the Jews after having received many complaints from Jewish leaders to the original laws of 1400, as well as the impracticality in the application of such laws, and would reverse the severity of those dispositions. Some of these softening of the provisions was not to force Jews to lose all of their property if caught outside of their quarters after Vespers, but to allow them to continue to their quarters from their shop if caught outside of their quarters after Vespers.[893] [See Appendix I, Ch. 7.C.3. for further details].

7.D. Municipal Legislation 1391-1412 Portugal

What is important about the municipal documents was the absence of any open hostility or animosity towards the Jews as in Castile indicating the desire for violence against them. There is also no indication that there was any anti-Jewish undercurrent that would explode into potential violence. There was no indication of the violence that had occurred in Castile either. [See Appendix I, Ch. 7.D. for the detailed analysis of the documents].

7.E. Anti-Jewish Ecclesiastical Laws (Synods) 1391-1412

In Castile, the many synods held dealt with the issues of the clergy, its corruption and lack of preparation to give mass, perform baptisms and even read basic texts in Latin. Other topics would be Holy days, celebrations, Corpus Christi, cult of the Virgin Mary, but rarely any issues with the Jews and Muslims.[894] The synods in Portugal did have articles that dealt with issues of the religious minorities, such as not attending weddings or living in their own respective quarters. Nonetheless, the Lisbon synod placed the onus on Christians for renting

[892] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I (1394-1427),* vol. III, t. 2, (2006), p 78-80.
[893] *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984). Liv. 2, tít. 80, p 471-476. CAETANO (1981), p 506.
[894] *Synodicon Hispanum*, IV, *Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca y Zamora* (1984). Dirigido por Antonio García y García. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: Madrid, 1987. *Salamanca 6*, Synod under Diego de Anaya y Maldonado 30 January 1396. This synod did not mention the Jews or Muslims. *Salamanca 7*, Synod of Bishop Gonzalo de Alba, 6 April 1410: The synod of 1410 made many references to the constitutions of past synods, p 49).

houses to Jews outside of their quarters and would be excommunicated.[895] [See Appendix I, Ch. 7.E. for a detailed analysis of the synods].

7.F. *Livro da Corte Imperial*

Last but not least, an anonymous piece of polemic literature was produced in Portugal in the late 14th and early 15th century. This work is known as the *Livro da Corte Imperial* (Book of Imperial Court), in which Christ, as celestial emperor holds court in a beautiful terrestrial garden, accompanied by the Church Militant and Church Triumphant, hold debates with scholars of the Jewish, Muslim and Greek Orthodox communities. Even though much of the arguments led by the Catholic fold at times lack logic, are not substantiated and are unconvincing to modern readers, the author presented Christ, the Church Militant and Church Triumphant as always having the last word and leaving the other religious scholars silent. The work is a piece of polemic propaganda that supported the views and biases held by many Catholics in that period. It is not vitriolic in nature and it did not call out for forced conversions of the other religious groups but sought to convince them through argument and debate that the Catholic Church held absolute truth in questions of faith. However, it is believed that the extent of the reception of the transmitted message would have been limited as books in this period were directed to a select elite that could afford such expensive hand-written works.[896] [See Appendix III, Ch. 7.F. for an analysis of the *Livro da Corte Imperial*].

As has been discussed in this subchapter and analyzed in the subchapter dealing with the sources concerning the events of 1391 and their immediate aftermath, they both attest to the different approaches towards the Jews, the difference in language use and interpretation of those same events and immediate aftermath. The aftermath of the events of 1391 and the subsequent hostile conversion campaign led by Vicente Ferrer in 1411-1412 left Castilian

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[895] *Synodicon Hispanum*, v. II, *Portugal* (1982). Dir. Antonio García y García. Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, p 328-329.

[896] *O Livro da Corte Imperial* (1910). *Collecção de Manuscriptos inéditos agora dados à Estampa.* Real Biblioteca Pública do Porto. Introduction by José Pereira de Sampaio, p 1-2. TAVARES, Alice (2020), Literatura de Controversia religiosa judío-cristiana medieval en Portugal (siglos XIII-XV): estado de la cuestión. Discursos y Motivaciones*. Perichoresis*, Vol. 18.4, p 63-79. SARAIVA, António José (1998). *O Crepúsculo da Idade Média em Portugal*, 5ª edição. Gradiva Publicações, p 141-147. GOMES, Saul António (2009). A Questão Judaica nos autores medievais portugueses. *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, nº 9, p 114-115. It is important to note that this text was believed to be part of the Royal Library of King D. Duarte and it is assumed that Princess Dona Beatriz had another exemplar. As a result, one could interpret that such polemic religious literary works would have had a limited scope in transmitting its message to other sectors of Portuguese society, as such expensive luxury items would have been out of the financial range of the majority of the population.

Jewish communities decimated, whereas the Jewish communities in Portugal began to grow and prosper. As has been highlighted, by 1412 there was a noted difference in the severity of the laws imposed by that date and the language employed in describing the Jews and continuously blaming them for the ills of kingdom and the damage they purportedly committed to the realm. The severity of the Castilian laws by banning Jews from practicing many professions outside of their quarters, made life in Castile for Jews almost impossible, whereas by that same date, the king of Portugal had reviewed and revised the severity of Portuguese legislation towards the Jews.

Conclusion to the thesis

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate if and how the secular and ecclesiastical Christian elites in the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile differed in their projection of the image of the Jews that they shaped and transmitted in the years between 1325-1412. It has analyzed the available secular and ecclesiastical literature produced by these same elites. It has attempted to produce a comprehensive, although not exhaustive, comparative study on the available literature of the two Iberian kingdoms in the shaping, transmitting and reception of the image of their respective Jews. Such a study does not exist in such an extensive manner. It was not to create a new theory or change paradigms towards the nature of anti-Jewish literature. It was also not to find lost or misplaced manuscripts, but to use existing literature. It was not to be considered as the end of all studies, but as the beginning of the process for future studies.

The comprehensive comparative analysis has helped indicate the differences, not only in the actual number of anti-Judaic secular and ecclesiastical literature available,[897] but in the semantic approach towards the Jews in the respective kingdoms. The thesis has argued the importance of semantics, as well as repetition of anti-Jewish laws, would have played a fundamental role in the shaping of the late medieval imaginary in Portugal and Castile through the transmission of those legal messages via official announcements at public squares. The repetition of the legislation, in terms of the sheer number of times it was proclaimed, as well as the role of semantics, reinforced the negative image of the Jews to the common people. As such, the theories on language and its role in shaping the human mind, communicating to society and reinforcing existing power structures has helped support the premise of the thesis in the role of the elites in projecting their image of the Jews to their target audience.

In terms of other forms of literature studied, the thesis discussed the role of narrative writing, such as chronicles, stories and polemic writing. In terms of chronicles, it was able to present how the role of leadership was important in establishing an official stance towards Jews.

[897] According to the number of restrictive and discriminatory Jewish legislation counted based on the available documentation, the number of secular discriminatory and restrictive Castilian legislation was 119 compared to Portuguese discriminatory and restrictive legislation, which was 49. This does not include legislation that was non-discriminatory in nature. In terms of ecclesiastical discriminatory and restrictive legislation from the synods, there were 13 from Castile and 12 from Portugal. Once again, this does not include non-discriminatory or restrictive legislation. See Appendices II, page 42 onwards to look at the detailed breakdown of the charts.

These stances would either be acquiescing to or halting mob attacks on Jews. In Portugal, there was a lack of polemic writing when compared to that of Castile. As a result, there would be fewer negative images projected into the majority Portuguese Christian imaginary and collective mindset than in Castile. The thesis also studied verse, poetry and lyrics from the period in order to establish the extent of anti-Jewish sentiment in the majority Christian society. In both cases of prose narrative writing, as in verse, the thesis was able to compare and contrast the shaping and transmission of the image of the Jews and demonstrate a stronger anti-Jewish sentiment in Castile than in Portugal in the study's time frame of 1325-1412.

The same would apply to the public disputations and hostile preaching that occurred in Castile but not in Portugal. Public disputations and vitriolic diatribes espoused by fanatical preachers in Castile only heightened the misgivings, suspicions, animosity and hatred towards the Jews, whereas the lack of these same public disputations and fanatical preaching in Portugal produced a different outcome. This was evidenced in the lack of any documentation mentioning any assaults of the Jewish quarters in Portugal in 1391. However, available Portuguese legal texts demonstrated João I's openness towards Castilian Jews and forced converts fleeing to Portugal. By the year 1412, the legislation demonstrated the differences between the two Iberian kingdoms. Whereas Castile showed an intense hostility and intolerance towards the Jews, the legislation in Portugal demonstrated a relaxation on restrictive and discriminatory laws and, as such, a *relative* tolerance towards its respective Jewish community.

The thesis also presented the historical development of the anti-Jewish legislation in both kingdoms. It indicated when the Castilian and Portuguese legislation towards the Jews approached each other and would separate and differ from one another. They approached one another in terms of their relative tolerance towards the Jews in the 1340s, then when they would begin to differentiate from one another in the second-half of the 1360s to early 1390s, as Castilian legislation would become increasingly more hostile towards the Jews than in Portugal. The two sets of legislatures would approach one another in the early 1400s when both kingdoms became more restrictive towards their respective Jewish communities, but then they would differentiate again by 1412 when King João I relaxed Portuguese discriminatory Jewish legislation and Castile intensified its discriminatory measures.

As previously mentioned, some of the limitations to the thesis was finding actual manuscripts claimed by certain historians to be kept in ecclesiastical and municipal archives, but upon careful inspection they were not there. This could partially explain why certain historians failed to provide code or call numbers for the purported manuscripts that they used. Inquiry with archivists at the ecclesiastical archives of Seville and municipal archives of Toledo demonstrated that certain texts claimed by established historians were not there. As COVID restrictions did not allow investigators into the shelves and cabinets, the archivists went to search and verify if those documents were there. Unfortunately, they were unable to find the texts that were supposedly there. As such, the thesis had to rely on 18th century manuscript copies. Nonetheless, this issue allowed for a deeper investigation and to travel to the actual archives in Seville and Toledo in order to further inquire into the gaps in documentation.

The gaps in the documentation of Portuguese and Castilian synods from the mid-14th century is another issue that needs further investigation. As previously discussed in the body of the thesis, most of the synods were more focused on the lack of training of the clergy. In part, this can be interpreted to the many deaths suffered by clergy members during the Bubonic Plague. Hopefully, once COVID restrictions are lifted and investigators are allowed once again into the cabinets and shelves of the archives, these gaps can be further investigated again.

Another issue was when historians would leave out important pieces of legislation in their studies. This potential limitation was overcome by cross-referencing with period texts. Hence the importance of not relying solely on studies but at studying the actual medieval texts.

Another issue that arose was the gap in the digitalization of manuscripts. It showed the importance of carefully reading the digitalized texts. It was through noticing a gap in the logic of the text, noticing that the folio numeration skipped a folio and through cross-referencing with the printed version of the text, it became apparent that a folio had been left out. Upon notifying the archivist at the Biblioteca Nacional de España and retrieving the original manuscript, a photo was allowed to be taken and complete the missing folio from the digitalized copy.

Other limitations were the page limit set by the program that would not permit a further extensive study of the subject. As such, a more concise study had to be conducted with the

analysis findings of the sources and the charts created from the documentation to be placed in the appendices. A more extensive study would have been preferable. Nonetheless, the concise study was able to produce the necessary findings to satisfy the research question in comparing the role of the ecclesiastical and secular elites in projecting the image of the Jews in Portugal and Castile. In spite of the page limit constraints, the previous in-depth investigation and analysis of sources from the 13th century, not only provided the necessary knowledge to comprehend the 14th and early 15th centuries, but provided an enrichment of personal knowledge. Even though the findings cannot be presented in this thesis, the analysis results can be used for future investigations.

Even though there were shortcomings in the lack of available documentation due to misplacement, loss or destruction, the thesis was able to gather enough information to sustain its argument of the role of secular and ecclesiastical literature in projecting the image of the Jews in Portugal and Castile. The amount of available legislation allowed the thesis to provide the number of anti-Jewish laws in both kingdoms and to quantify it to a certain extent for purposes of comparison-contrast. The use of Professor Monsalvo Antón's five categories to classify restrictive or discriminatory Jewish laws provided the methodological approach to qualify and then quantify these laws for both kingdoms. The thesis was able to apply it, not only to Castilian ecclesiastical legislation, but to Portuguese secular and ecclesiastical legislation as well. It was able to compare and contrast the legislation in terms of the sheer number of laws and in the type of language used. From this classification, comparative charts were able to be created to provide a basic and simple quantitative approach to the number of discriminatory laws either petitioned or passed in both kingdoms. This type of classification can be further developed in future studies by adding more categories to Monsalvo Antón's original five categories or applying it to other forms of late medieval literature.

Under no circumstances should this thesis be considered as the end product of research and investigation of the topic in the shaping and projection of the image of Jews in the period 1325-1412. Instead, it should be viewed merely as the initial process in conducting further investigation in clarifying any open questions in the approach of the secular and ecclesiastical elites in the projection of the image of the Portuguese and Castilian Jews. As such, the current thesis with its analyzed sources and its charts, should be considered as a comparative comprehensive study that can be used as a foundation to build future investigations.

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[903] The first translation of the work from Hebrew into Spanish was in 1964 by the Instituto Arias Montano in its collection *Biblioteca Hebraico Española*, volume VIII.
[904] The first known printed edition is from the priest José Pereira Bayão (1735) Lisbon based on manuscripts from the 15th and 16th centuries. See Premise and Introduction by Giuliano Macchi, p IX and XI.
[905] The first known printed edition is from the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa (1816) based on manuscripts from the late 15th and early 16th centuries. See Premise and Introduction, p VII-VIII and XI.
[906] The first known printed edition is from 1644 by Álvares based on the available manuscripts dating from the end of the 15th to the end of the 16th century. See the Introduction by Cristina Sobral, p 7-12.

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[908] The chronicle was completed in 1510 with subsequent editions in 1514, 1545, 1580, etc.

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[915] Kenneth Adams also used the edition printed by Florencio Janer in 1864. See: p 125.
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