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Discrimination Against the Jewish Population in Medieval Castile and León

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ABSTRACT

The quest for the Jewish and Islamic legacy in the Hispanic cultural tradition has given rise to a historiography more interested in the positive than the negative issues related to the relationships between Christians, Jews and Muslims in the different kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. This has promoted the development of an idealised image and the arbitrary use of the word 'convivencia', and the concept of tolerance, the present meanings of which cannot be applied to that epoch.

In this contribution, I have orientated my study towards two of the Hispanic kingdoms, Castile and León, united in 1230. I have tried to show the degree of discrimination suffered by the Jewish community in these two kingdoms in the Middle Ages through a deep analysis of the legal sources, lay as much as ecclesiastical, and also through documentary collections reflecting their practical application. It can be seen in matters of practice such as religion, marriage and sexual relationships, clothes and bathing, feeding and nourishment, housing, employment, lawsuits and transfer of heritage.

Discriminatory measures promoted the separation of the different religious communities, cut out Jewish power and influence, and prevented the integration of the Jews into the society of Castile and León. This reality is far from that idealised image of the relationships between Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula during Middle Ages.

La búsqueda de la herencia judía e islámica en la tradición cultural hispánica ha generado una corriente historiográfica más interesada en resaltar los aspectos positivos que los negativos con respecto a las relaciones entre cristianos, judíos y musulmanes en los diferentes reinos de la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media. Y esto está contribuyendo a crear una imagen idealizada, con la utilización arbitraria del término 'convivencia' y del concepto 'tolerancia', cuyos significados actuales no son aplicables a dicha época.

En la presente contribución hemos centrado nuestro estudio en dos de los reinos hispánicos, Castilla y León, unidos en 1230. A través de un análisis exhaustivo de sus fuentes jurídicas, tanto laicas como eclesiásticas, así como de documentos que demuestran su aplicación práctica, hemos intentado poner de manifiesto el grado de discriminación del que fue objeto la comunidad

judía de Castilla y León durante la Edad Media, el cual resulta evidente en cuestiones como la práctica de la religión, el matrimonio y las relaciones sexuales, la vestimenta y el baño, la alimentación, la vivienda, el trabajo, los procesos judiciales y la transferencia de patrimonio.

Las medidas discriminatorias fomentaron la separación entre las diferentes comunidades religiosas, y recortaron el poder y la influencia de los judíos. Judíos y cristianos coexistieron en Castilla y León durante la Edad Media, pero no se puede afirmar que existiese una convivencia perfecta, en la medida en que las disposiciones discriminatorias impidieron la integración de la población judía. Queda lejos, por tanto, esa imagen idealizada de las relaciones entre cristianos, judíos y musulmanes en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media.

INTRODUCTION

The historiography concerning the role of the Dominican friars in the treatment given to Jews and *conversos* [Jews converted to Christianity] in the Castile and León kingdoms was one of the issues briefly mentioned in my contribution to the previous volume of our CLIOHRES Thematic Work Group. The Dominican friars took part in the imposition of discriminatory measures against them, but of course they were not the only ones. For a better understanding of the situation, it is necessary to know the general context, which is what I will attempt in the case of Jewish people in this chapter, while María Dolores Cabañas will present the situation of the converted Jews in her contribution to this volume.

It is usually affirmed that one of the characteristics of medieval Spain was the *convivencia* between Christians, Jews and Muslims. This word is derived from the Latin *convivere*, which means “live together in company with others”, each group with its own way of life, independent of the politically dominant one. Jews under Christian rule provided the monarchy with a significant income. Apart from that, they were a demographic group to consider during the colonisation of the lands conquered by Christians from Muslims. As a result, the Jewish population became a religious minority in the different Christian kingdoms of medieval Spain, although the treatment they received was not always the same. The situation was difficult from the Visigoth conversion to Catholicism in 589 to the Muslims’ arrival in 711. Later it was better, but it was again quite restrictive from the middle of the 13th century to the end of the 15th century, when the expulsion finally took place – from Aragón, Castile and León in 1492, and from Navarre in 1498. In any case, living together did not imply equal rights. Consequently, it is better to use the word co-existence, because *convivencia* implies that the two parts are in the same position, which was not the case for the Jews in medieval Castile and León¹.

According to medieval sources, the Jews were “tolerated and supported”. This use of the word “tolerated” was different from the modern concept of tolerance. It appeared in John Locke’s works, particularly his *Essay Concerning Toleration* (1667) and *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), and was later developed by other authors such as Voltaire. This is examined more fully by Iwan D’Aprile in his contribution to this volume.

But as Luis Suárez said, “The prestige of this word [tolerance] can deceive us nowadays, and very much, in this regard. So what is not considered good nor desirable enough to be loved is tolerated”². As Iwan D’Aprile explains, concepts could not be separated from the historical situation where they were formulated, and the use of the word in the Middle Ages was completely different to the modern concept. The sense of the word “tolerated” in the medieval sources was more related to that explained by Suárez, given that the Jews did not have the same rights as the Christian population, as the discriminatory laws of the Spanish ecclesiastical councils and legal codes show.

It is my intention to make these discriminatory measures known in what is a matter of high relevance to Spanish historiography concerning the relationships between Christians, Jews and Muslims. Scholars identified the Spanish tradition only with the Christian community until the middle of the 20th century, when there was an outstanding discussion about the three religions/cultures in Medieval Spain. In 1954, in *La realidad histórica de España* [The Historical Reality of Spain], Américo Castro defended the idea that the Spanish character arose from the confluence of the three religious groups living together in the Medieval Ages. Two years later, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz answered Castro in *España, un enigma histórico* [Spain: A Historical Enigma], presenting arguments against the influence of the Muslims and Jews. The search for the Muslim and Jewish legacy in Spanish tradition soon turned towards the positive aspects, and finally to the so-called “*el encuentro de las tres culturas*” [the meeting of the three cultures], using the title of two congresses celebrated in Toledo in 1982 and 1983. The real situation has not been denied, but as Mikel Epalza said,

The ethical reasons for the future abound in the issue of the relationships between Moors, Jews and Christians, praising the elements of peaceful *convivencia* in the past and refusing the intolerant facts and attitudes, those which are contrary to the ideal values of the human *convivencia*³.

There have been more works related to the privileges of the Jews and their collaboration in the cultural and economic tasks of the kings than to the discriminatory laws, and in a way, this has helped to create an idealised image of the topic for the medieval period. According to Luis Suárez, “Because of political reasons, the tendency to consider that the *convivencia* between the three religions was “exemplary” has arisen. However, that is not so as there was a reluctant co-existence with a tendency to disappear at best”⁴.

In order to clarify the situation, I have analysed different types of legal ecclesiastical and lay sources related to the Castile and León kingdoms (unified in 1230), through which their authors aimed to regulate and define the co-existence between the religious groups. Additionally, I have also studied various documentary collections in order to check, when it has been possible, their application. In the Castile and León sources, there were provisions related to both Jewish public and private life. These regulations were usually quite repetitive, and this is the main argument of those scholars who insist that they were not applied⁵. In fact, all medieval Spanish Law was quite reiterative given that there were a lot of people and institutions with authority to legislate, and each kingdom, territory and even city had its own laws. It is true that some measures were

sometimes applied with little vigour, but it was always due to exceptional circumstances, and not because the authors of the laws or the Christian population thought that they were unfair. There is not the slightest doubt that Jews were discriminated against in the medieval Castile and León kingdoms.

PRACTICE OF RELIGION AND CONVERSIONS

According to the Christian authorities of the medieval Spanish kingdoms, religion was the element that defined the identity of the Jews. As the *Siete Partidas* Code said, a Jew was not only one who believed in and practised Moses' Law, but also one who had been circumcised (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 1)⁶. The Christian population, who knew this fact, did not hesitate to use the word *circunciso* [circumcised] when they wanted to insult someone, even though they could be whipped with 150 lashes if they used it against a Christian, while there was no punishment if they said the same word to a Jew (*Fuero Juzgo*, book II, title III, law IV)⁷. So it was Judaism and circumcision that distinguished Jews from Christians, although this last aspect only applied to men.

But the fact that Spanish Jews were defined by their religion did not mean they could practise it without restrictions, because Christianity could come under attack. Jews were not allowed to swear about the Christian religion (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title II, law IV), and they had to live according to their own law, without criticising the Christian faith, if they did not want to expose themselves to the death penalty. Jews were also compelled to honour the *Corpus Christi* when they saw it in the streets (*Partida* I, title 4, law 63), and it was especially forbidden to insult God, the Virgin Mary or any saint, an offence that was punished with a fine of five *maravedies* and five lashes (*Fuero Real*, book IV, title 2, law 3; *Partida* VII, title 28, law 6)⁸. The Jews from Allariz were prohibited from attending Christian processions in 1289 to prevent them from laughing at Christ and the Virgin Mary, and a Jew called Abraham Harache from Aguilar was arrested in 1487 because he had blasphemed and insulted the Virgin Mary⁹. The death penalty against those Jews who played comic performances of Christ's Passion must be understood in the same way (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 2), even though it was unusual.

Jews were equally prevented from celebrating certain religious ceremonies together with Christians, not just to keep the members of both communities apart, but also to avoid the population equating Christianity and Judaism, or Jews influencing Christians. In 1322, the Council of Valladolid banned Castile and León Christians from attending Jewish weddings, funerals and other ceremonies. These provisions were also included in civil law, as cited in the 4th article of the Legislation of Valladolid in 1412, imposing a fine of 1.000 *maravedies* on those Christians who attended Jewish weddings and funerals¹⁰.

The Christian authorities also decided how Jewish holidays should be celebrated and how Jews had to behave during Christian holidays. They banned the celebration of the *Sabbath* and other Jewish holidays, including Passover. A punishment of 100 lashes, a haircut, expulsion and the confiscation of goods was meted out to those celebrating the Passover, and the same punishment, excluding the haircut, was given to those celebrat-

ing the *Sabbath* or any other Jewish holiday. At the same time, Jews were forbidden to work during Sundays and certain Christian holidays – Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Christmas, Christ's Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, Christ's Ascension and Whit Sunday – with a punishment of 100 lashes and haircut (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title III, laws IV-VI) for those who disobeyed. As if that was not enough, when Jews changed their address, they had to report it so that the local ecclesiastical authorities could check that Jews followed these laws (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title III, laws XX-XXI). Later, in 1312-1313, the Council of Zamora extended the prohibition against Jews working to all Christian holidays (law 13), even though from 1375-1377 the Council of Salamanca said they were only banned from working in public during those days. However, Juan I (1379-1390) reaffirmed the general prohibition later¹¹. The Catholic Monarchs said that Jews could work on Sundays and Christian holidays, but only inside their houses and without causing disturbances¹². However, the celebration of the *Sabbath* had been approved again in the 13th century (*Fuero Real*, book IV, title 2, law 7; *Partida* VII, title 24, law 5), so finally Jews could celebrate the *Sabbath*, although they were also compelled to respect Christian holidays.

The measures were especially burdensome with regard to Easter because of a tradition that had taken shape through different councils from the 6th century onwards¹³. Jewish people were not allowed to leave their quarter during Good Friday, and they did not have the right to be compensated for damages if they did not obey (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 2). Later, in 1312-1313, the Council of Zamora extended this measure, deciding that Jews could not appear in public from Wednesday to Saturday in Holy Week (law 6).

There were also some restrictions relating to synagogues as a way of limiting the practice of Judaism. According to the *Partidas*, the Jews from Castile and León could have synagogues and hold meetings in them for prayer, but while criminals could take refuge inside churches, synagogues did not have the same right. The restoration of old synagogues was only allowed if they were not increased in size or painted, and it was forbidden to erect new synagogues unless they had royal permission. In the case of non-compliance, the synagogue would become a Christian church (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 4), as happened with the synagogue of Valencia de don Juan when Queen Juana, the wife of Enrique II of Castile (1369-1379), expelled the Jews because they had enlarged and embellished it. The building was given to the bishop of Oviedo¹⁴. Another instance was the new synagogue in Bembibre, which a local priest changed into a Christian church because it had been built without permission. A royal judge ratified this in 1490¹⁵.

The Christian authorities also interfered in the religious learning of Jews. The *Fuero Juzgo* banned the reading, study or possession of books that were rejected by Christianity, on pain of 100 lashes, a haircut and the writing of a note in which the culprit had to promise not to do it again. In the event of a relapse, the punishment would be 100 more lashes, another haircut, expulsion and the loss of goods (book XII, title III, law XI). The *Fuero Real* put on record that Jews had the right to read books about their religion, except for those attacking the Christian religion. Those books would have to be burnt in front of the synagogue door, while the culprit would be thrown on the king's mercy

(book IV, title 2, law 1). The purpose of all this was not only to impede the religious learning of the Jews, but also a fear that their books could discredit Christian dogma, or that Judaism would overcome Christianity.

While the conversion of Christians to Judaism was banned from the days of the emperor Constantine the Great, and included in some Visigoth codes such as the *Liber Iudiciorum* and the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, as well as in the *Fuero Juzgo*, the *Siete Partidas* and the *Fuero Real*, the conversion of Jews to Christianity was widely promoted. The forced baptism of Jews appears in the *Fuero Juzgo*, condemning to death converted Jews reverting to Judaism (book XII, title II, law XI), with a punishment for those who resisted baptism of 100 lashes, a haircut, expulsion and the confiscation of goods (book XII, title III, law III). However, in 1234, the Decretals of Gregory IX advocated non-forced baptisms¹⁶, and the *Siete Partidas* reflected this by forbidding Jews to act against those who decided to become Christians. When a converted Jew was stoned or murdered, the culprits would be burnt (*Partida VII*, title 24, law 6). Neither were the Jews allowed to convert people back to Judaism. For example, in 1485, Abraham Bienveniste and his wife Oravida were compelled to pay a fine of 300,000 *maravedies* and exiled from Andalusia because they had encouraged some converted Jews to flee towards Muslim lands, where they could once again practise the Jewish religion¹⁷.

Jewish proselytism was banned, while Christian proselytism was favoured, although different councils such as Valladolid in 1322 and Toledo in 1323 rejected the participation of Jews in Christian rites. However, the authorities usually compelled Jews to attend sermons where they were encouraged to convert, a policy that was begun by the friars of the mendicant orders in the 13th century with the support of the kings¹⁸. It was in this same manner that Jews were forced to take part in theological disputes. An example of this was in Ávila, in 1375, where Christians debated with Jews which religion was better, indoctrinating the Jews into the Christian faith in the process¹⁹. The ideological background relating to this kind of policy can be found in Alexey Klemeshov's contribution to this volume. He describes the ways and methods of different medieval scholars of promoting the conversion of any kind of infidel, including Jews. He also explains Bacon's idea about the necessity not only to fight, but also to discuss and preach among Tartars. The Iberian friars had much the same idea regarding Jews.

Conversions were less frequent, although usually sincere, before the end of 14th century, following the pogrom in 1391, which began during the minority rule of Enrique III of Castile (1390-1406), when a lot of Jews decided to be baptised to protect their lives and goods. At the same time, the sermons intended to convert Jews increased, such as those of Vicente Ferrer, a Dominican friar from Valencia, who preached in Castile. While some converts decided to practise their Jewish rites in secret, others became the leaders of campaigns against Jews²⁰. More information relating to this matter can be found in the chapter by María Dolores Cabañas, who describes the problems of the converted Jews at the end of the Middle Ages, where it is evident that some of the discriminatory measures against Jews were later also applied to converts, mainly through the application of the "purity of blood" statutes.

MARRIAGE AND SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP

The prohibition of sexual relationships between Jews and Christians, before or after marriage, was constant in both Jewish and Christian laws, showing the desire of the authorities to keep a distance between the two communities. The intermarriage between Christian women and Jews was banned by the Council of Elvira at the beginning of the 4th century, while the intermarriage between Jewish women and Christian men was not included until the 13th century, probably due to the influence of the 68th canon of the 4th Lateran Council (1215)²¹. Consequently, the *Partidas* banned this last kind of marriage, unless the Jewish women converted to Christianity (*Partida* IV, title 2, law 15). This code also allowed a married converted Jew to annul his marriage and get married to a Christian woman (*Partida* IV, title 10, law 3).

While sexual relationships between members of the communities were penalised, this was especially so for Christian women with Jewish men. The *Partidas* banned these affairs with a punishment of the death penalty for the Jew. However, the Christian woman didn't escape punishment, not even if she was a prostitute. If the woman were a virgin or a widow, for a first offence, she would lose half of her goods, which would go to her parents or grandparents, or the king. For a second offence, she would lose all her goods and her life. If she was a married woman, she would be handed over to her husband, who could do what he wanted, even burn her. If she were a prostitute, she would be lashed the first time, and condemned to death the second time (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 9 and title 25, law 10). As a result of this, in 1433, the local regulations of Murcia banned Christian women from entering the Jewish quarter, with a punishment of a 100 *maravedies* fine for married women, the loss of clothes for single women and 100 lashes and expulsion for prostitutes. This was similar to the interdiction of the Moorish quarters for Christian women that Luísa Trindade mentions in her contribution to the present volume. The *fueros* [local laws of medieval Spanish cities] were even more radical. In Baeza, Soria or Alcalá de Henares, Jews and Christian women who were just discovered together were burnt at the stake²².

There are few references to the prohibition of sexual relationships between Christian men and Jewish women. Priests could not deal separately, or alone, with Jewish women (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title III, law XXI), it being argued that they had to be prevented from succumbing to lascivious temptation, which could also happen when dealing with Christian women, although this last situation was not banned. Sexual relationships between Christian men and Jewish women were not specially punished, but the authorities denied these women a lot of rights. If they had a child who was recognised as the Christian man's son or daughter, the child could only be in his or her father's care, as the *Fuero Real* (book III, title 8, law 3) and the *Fuero* of Soria said²³. For example, the *Fuero Juzgo* established that the children of Christian serfs and Jewish woman would be Christians (book XII, title II, law XIV). Even though there was no prohibition, relationships between Jewish women and Christian men were not well thought of. A case in point is that of a rich widow called Vellida, who was fined and exiled at the end of 15th century when authorities discovered that she had maintained a secret relationship

with Gonzalo de Herrera, a Christian bailiff from Trujillo. When she later tried to return to the city to recover some money, her goods were confiscated and she was hung²⁴, the usual punishment for a Jewish man dealing with a Christian woman.

Christian authorities also regulated the marriage and sexual relationships of their own Jews, sometimes creating laws contrary to Jewish rules. The *Fuero Juzgo* banned Jews from marrying their relatives until the 6th degree under punishment, for the married couple, of one hundred lashes, a haircut, expulsion and the loss of goods. This measure was clearly against the levirate marriage. Jews were also compelled to marry according to Christian customs, which meant with a document of dowry and the blessing of a Christian priest. If they didn't, they would have to pay a fine of 100 *maravedies* and they and their parents would receive 100 lashes each (book XII, title III, law VIII). However, following Juan II's decision in 1443, a Jew could not arrange Christian weddings²⁵. Spanish Jews had become more monogamous since the diffusion of a *taqqanah* by Rabbenu Gersöm ben Yehudah (960-1028) over the whole of Europe, and in the 13th century, Jews from the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were forbidden from being married to two or more women at the same time unless they paid a tax to the king. Christian authorities therefore compelled Jews to marry according to Christian customs, and they also promoted polygamy when Judaism refused it because it was a way of getting money.

CLOTHES AND BATHING

During the Middle Ages, it was difficult to distinguish Jews from the rest of the population. They used the title *Don* [Mister] just like Christians, although this was subsequently forbidden in 1412 by the Legislation of Valladolid on pain of 100 lashes (article 12). They also sometimes used Christian names, until the Assemblies of Valladolid in 1351 and Toro in 1371 banned that. Language was also the same as they only used Hebrew for the liturgy. For example, the *taqqanot* of 1432 for all the Jewish communities of Castile was written in Spanish, although it used the Hebrew alphabet or *alefbet*²⁶. Consequently, it was not easy to recognise Jews with the naked eye, although Christian authorities really wanted to. Therefore, they made some provisions regarding the kind of clothes Jews could wear.

In the 4th Lateran Council of 1215, it was decided that Jews had to wear different clothes to Christians (68th canon). Shortly afterwards, in 1228, the Council of Valladolid recommended that Jews should not wear the same capes as Christian clergymen. The Decretals of Gregory IX in 1234 said that Jews should wear different clothes to Christians (book V, title VI, chapter 15), and the *Partidas*, where it was admitted that Jewish women and men were in the habit of dressing like Christians, a custom that allegedly allowed them to have illicit sexual relationships, said that Jews had to wear a particular kind of marking on their heads in order to be recognised as Jews. Failure to do so resulted in a fine of 10 *maravedies* of gold with 10 lashes (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 11).

With regard to the markings, Gregory IX had a penchant for a badge, but there were places like Logroño or Calahorra where the Christian authorities preferred to compel Jews to pay a tax for not using it. It was not until 14th century that the use of the badge became frequent, perhaps because the Council of Zamora of 1312-1313, which included a measure relating to the use of a badge (law 7), urged compliance with the Pope's Decretals that were related to this²⁷. In 1313, the Assembly of Palencia compelled Jews to put on a yellow circle. This became red in 1405 at the Assembly of Valladolid²⁸. According to the iconography, men used to put the circle on the left breast and women on the forehead²⁹. By the middle of 15th century, the regulations of Toledo said that Jewish men and women had to wear a piece of red cloth, the men's sewn on the shoulder of their tabards, and women's on their cloaks, and they were banned from simply pinning it on. If they were seen walking at night without the mark, they would spend 30 days in prison. Similar measures were taken in Escalona in 1489. At that time, women and men placed the red mark on the right shoulder in accordance with the Catholic King and Queen's regulations of 1476³⁰.

There were other provisions concerning clothes apart from the badge. In the Spanish kingdoms during the 13th century, there were general laws to limit luxurious dresses for economic reasons, but mainly in order to avoid confusion of the different social classes. The custom was useful in recognising the social condition of each person, and the measures also concerned Jews, mainly women. The tendency was to restrict their use of coloured fabrics, especially red ones, a kind of silk called *celandal*, gold, silver and jewels, and they were compelled to use rough and dark-coloured clothes. In 1268, The Assembly of Jerez banned Jewish women from putting gold on the *sankas*, a kind of clog with a thick wooden sole that was used for keeping out the damp³¹. In 1348, the Legislation of Alcalá stipulated the kind of harnesses and saddles that Jews could use and own (law LXXV). The Assembly of Valladolid of 1351 repeated the prohibition relating to the use of certain types of clothes at the request of the representatives of the cities, and those who took part in the Assembly of Toro in 1371 claimed that Jews could not wear "good clothes", or ride on mules, which was considered to be very luxurious³². In 1412, the Legislation of Valladolid ordered Jewish men to wear tabards instead of shawls (article 13), and Jewish women to dress in full-length shawls and head-dresses without gold, and to cover their heads with double shawls (article 14). All Jews, men and women, were not allowed to wear clothes which were more expensive than 30 *maravedies* a *vara* [a unit of length equal to 0,8359 m] on pain of the loss of the clothes the first time, the loss of clothes and 50 lashes the second time and loss of goods and 100 lashes the third time (article 15). Even the Jewish authorities included some of these provisions in the regulations of their own communities because they did not want to stand out and they wanted to avoid the envy and the hostile reaction of the Christian population. Chapter V in the *taqqanot* of Valladolid of 1432 (Source 1) banned excessive luxury, especially in the case of women, who were compelled to dress in a simple way, without wearing clothes of gold, silk or camel hair, unless they were a maiden or a bride. Neither could they wear red clothes, brooches of gold or pearls, while the trains of their dresses could not trail on the ground more than about 13 *varas*. Men were not allowed to wear clothes of gold or silk. Finally, in 1476,

an order of the Catholic Monarchs established that Jews could not use gold or silver on their saddles, stirrups, spurs, swords and belts, while they were not allowed to wear scarlet cloths or silk, not even in their underclothes³³.

In addition to these clothing restrictions, some tried to impose a special appearance on Jews, who had to be different from Christians. In 1412, the Legislation of Valladolid ordered male Jews to grow beards and long hair, and not to cut them with a razor or scissors. Non-compliance was punishable with 100 lashes and a fine of 100 *maravedies* (article 18). It was said that “they must have the same appearance as in Antiquity”, and for the Christian authorities that meant uncut and primitive.

Finally, there were discriminatory measures applied to the personal hygiene of Jews. In the Middle Ages, all religious groups considered bathing as a way of ritual purification and an act of spiritual cleaning, so some distance between the three religious groups was necessary. Consequently, Jews and Christians were not allowed to bathe together (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 8; Legislation of Valladolid, 1412, article 10; Law by Juan II in 1443). That meant a timetabling system for the public baths had to be organised. For example, the *Fuero* of Teruel, although this city was in the kingdom of Aragón, said that men could go to the baths on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, women on Monday and Wednesday and Jews and Muslims on Friday. No mention was made of Jewish and Muslim women, even though some compulsory religious practices such as the *Tebilah* or monthly purification made bathing really important for the first group. In some cases, it was decided to build special baths for Jewish women, as happened in the communities of Toledo and Calahorra³⁴, although it is also possible that Jewish and Muslim women used the baths on the same days as men, but at different times.

FEEDING AND NOURISHMENT

There were also dietary laws for the Jewish population, drawn up with the objective of keeping a distance between Jews and Christians during meals, thereby avoiding any kind of social contact between the communities. As early as the 4th century, the 50th canon of the Council of Elvira banned Christians and Jews from eating together, and this ban was repeated in the Council of Coyanza in 1055³⁵. Christian men and women were not allowed to invite Jews to eat or drink in their own houses, and vice versa. Neither could they drink wine that had been manufactured by Jews (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 8). Jews were not allowed to drink wine manufactured by Christians, because the *Talmud* banned it³⁶. The Council of Zamora of 1312-1313 forbade Christians from taking part in Jewish meals (law 9), and, in 1412, the Legislation of Valladolid forbade Jews, Muslims and Christians from eating and drinking together, with a fine of 1,000 *maravedies* (article 4) for non-compliance. It also banned Jews from sending food and beverages to Christians at a risk of a fine of 300 *maravedies* (article 10). Juan II repeated the prohibition in 1443. This did not prevent certain improper situations. For example, in 1488, the Jews from Soria complained because the official servants of the city charged them for the food and beverages for a local feast even though Jews were not allowed to take part in it³⁷.

Restrictions were also applied when Jews wanted to buy or to sell certain food items. The regulations of Toledo in the middle of 14th century banned Jews from selling fresh fish in the Jewish quarter during the days of abstinence. This was probably so Christians, who were compelled not to eat meat during these days, would not be without supplies. Also in the regulation of Toledo in 1398, Jews and Christians were forbidden from buying meat to share, or suffer a fine of 72 *maravedies* each and the confiscation of the meat, which would be sent to prisoners. In 1480, Christians were forbidden from buying meat from Jewish butchers at the risk of a fine of 300 *maravedies* the first time, 600 *maravedies* the second time and 1.200 *maravedies* or a punishment of 50 lashes the third time. The same punishment applied to both buyer and seller³⁸. In 1412, the Legislation of Valladolid determined that Jews could not sell bread, butter, oil, honey, rice or any kind of food items to Christian people. Neither could they have shops for buying or selling food or beverages to Christians, risking a fine of 2,000 *maravedies* and physical punishment (articles 2, 4 and 21) for non-compliance.

Finally, in order to eradicate Jewish customs, there were some restrictive provisions against Jewish food rules. From the 7th century, the distinction between pure and impure food items was banned³⁹, a prohibition that was included in the *Fuero Juzgo* (book XII, title II, law VIII). This last one established a punishment of 100 lashes and a haircut for Jews who separated wines or meats (book XII, title III, law VII).

HOUSING

In accordance with the *Partida* VII, Jews had to live in captivity amongst Christians so they would not forget they came from those who had killed Christ (title 24, laws 1 and 2). Christian and Jewish people were banned from living in the same house as early as 1055, during the Council of Coyanza⁴⁰. Eventually, Jews were confined to “a compulsory, restricted and exclusive space”, such as that presented by Luísa Trindade for Portuguese cities in the previous volume of the TWG3⁴¹. This measure was also applied to the Muslim population, whose problems and effects on the urban map she describes in her contribution to the present volume, sometimes comparing Portuguese and Spanish cases.

The physical space where the Jewish population lived was called *judería*, *jueria* or *jubería* [Jewish quarter] in the Castile and León kingdoms. In accordance with the *Partida* VII, Jews had to live quietly in their own quarters, and they were not allowed out during Good Friday (title 24, laws 1 and 2). In 1348, the Legislation of Alcalá established the segregation of the Jewish community. Members of parliament claimed the law was sometimes not obeyed, as happened during the Assembly of Toro in 1371, and when Ferrán Martínez, the archdeacon of Écija who incited the pogrom of 1391, threatened the council of Alcalá de Guadaíra and other places in the diocese of Seville with excommunication because they allowed Jews to live amongst Christians⁴². However, the law had been clearly applied in other cities as early as in the 13th century. In Murcia, conquered by Christians to the Muslims in 1243, a Jewish quarter was established near the

gate of Orihuela in 1267, and in the case of Allariz in Galicia, Jews were banned from living outside the Jewish quarter and Christians from living inside as early as 1289⁴³.

Sometimes it was not deemed to be sufficient to live in the Jewish quarter, and other measures were added. The Council celebrated in Salamanca in 1355 forbade Jews to build their houses near churches or Christian cemeteries, and the Councils of Santiago of 1355 and Salamanca of 1375-1377 also quoted this provision. The measure was later included in the civil legislation of the Assembly of Toledo from 1480 onwards. In 1489, Catholic Monarchs compelled the official servants from Soria to act against some Jews whose houses had windows opening onto the Church of Saint Gil⁴⁴.

The existence of places inhabited only by Jews made them vulnerable to attack, especially after the bubonic plague of 1348. Such were the cases of the Jewish quarter in Seville in 1354, and the attack against Alcana, the smallest Jewish quarter in Toledo, in 1355, during which more than 1,200 Jews died according to the chronicler Pedro López de Ayala. The biggest quarter was saved because the aggressors could not cross the wall that protected it. It is therefore not strange that when the members of the Assembly of Toledo of 1366 asked Enrique Trastámara to demolish the wall, the Jews from Toledo hurried to pay one million *maravedies* to avoid the measure. During the civil war of 1366-1369, the Jewish quarters of Briviesca, Aguilar de Campoo, Segovia, Ávila and Valladolid, as well as some of the Burgos and Palencia areas, were stormed by troops that contained French and English mercenaries who helped in the conflict⁴⁵.

But it was mainly the pogrom of 1391 that brought about a change in the Jewish quarters. It began with the storming of the Jewish quarter in Seville, where the Jews who resisted were massacred – 4,000 Jews, according to the chronicler Pedro López de Ayala. The violence later spread through Castile - Córdoba, Andújar, Jaén, Úbeda, Baeza, Écija, Alcalá de Guadaíra, Ciudad Real, Toledo, Segovia, Burgos and Logroño, as well as some Aragón cities⁴⁶. The Jewish community of Seville disappeared, while that of Toledo was reduced to the size of a small city like Talavera or Maqueda. The survivors escaped to small cities and villages, where they founded new communities. But the Legislation of Valladolid of 1412 determined that they had to live separately in places with a wall and only one gate (Source 2). At the same time, Jews were banned from leaving the city at the risk of losing their goods. If they were discovered fleeing the kingdom, they would lose their goods and be captives for ever (articles 16 and 23). This gave rise to new local laws that insisted on the creation of new Jewish quarters, as happened in Olmedo in the third decade of the 15th century, in Toledo in the middle of the same century, in Soria in 1477, when the Jewish quarter was marked out, and in Cáceres in 1478. After the reiteration of the Assembly of Toledo in 1480, which imposed a deadline of two years for the public works in order to isolate the Jews, the Jewish quarters of Soria, Badajoz, Logroño, Ponferrada, Orense and Plasencia were established. The Christian authorities tried to limit the number of resident Jews in certain cities like Burgos in 1486, while the enclosure had to be enlarged in others because there was not enough space for all the Jews. This happened in León in 1488 and in Guadalajara in 1489. Improper situations were very frequent, particularly Christians with houses inside the Jewish quarters demanding high rents from Jews⁴⁷.

EMPLOYMENT

The first discriminatory measures relating to Jews' work had the objective of preventing their holding power over Christians. A provision that went back to the *Theodosian Code* said they were unable to hold a position from which they could oppress Christian people, and this was later included in different Visigoth codes and councils, as well as in some *fueros*, such as those enacted in Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1101⁴⁸.

This ban relating to public functions reappeared in the 13th century from the 69th canon of the IV Lateran Council and the Decretals of Gregory IX in 1234 (book V, title VI, chapters 16 and 18). The *Fuero Juzgo* forbade Jews from governing, punishing or having power over Christians on the pain of a punishment of 100 lashes or loss of goods, and a haircut (book XII, title III, law XVII). They were also not allowed to work as administrators for Christian families on pain of a punishment of 100 lashes and the confiscation of the half of their goods (book XII, title III, law XIX). Furthermore, they were banned from working as scribes (*Partida* III, title 19, law 2) or lawyers handling cases for Christian people (*Espéculo*, 4, 9, 2; *Partida* III, title 6, law 5)⁴⁹. The *Partida* VII (title 24, law 3), as much as the *Fuero* of Lorca in 1271, banned Jews from having any kind of authority over Christians. For example, the *Fuero* of Cordoba banned Jews from being *aportellados* [members of the local council], or from working in any kind of job that meant they had power over Christians. The Council of Zamora of 1312-1313 also asked the kings not to confer positions and offices on Jews (law 2), and the Jews were banned from working as lawyers for Christian people (law 8). The members of the Assembly of Toro of 1371 demanded that Jews should not hold any office, and still less that of a tax collector. In the Assembly of Burgos of 1377, Jews were banned from becoming *almojarife* [person in charge of collecting and managing the king's taxes and incomes]⁵⁰. Finally, in 1412, in the Legislation of Valladolid, Juan II repeated the ban on Jews holding the position on pain of a punishment of 2,000 *maravedies* for the Jew and the Christian who had given him the position (article 5).

These kinds of measures were not always obeyed, as during the 13th century, Jews could hold certain positions as long as they paid for the privilege. For example, they paid five *maravedies* to be a debt collector, 100 to be a tax collector in a big city (50 in a small one) and 100 to be an *adelantado* [civil servant chosen by the king for civil and military management of a certain area] in a big area (20 in the case of an *adelantado* of a Jewish community) (*Espéculo*, 4, 12, 55; *Partida* III, title 28, law 8).

Although Jewish doctors were usually better than their Christian counterparts, the 22nd canon of the IV Lateran Council banned Jews from working as doctors for Christians. Authorities were afraid of what Jews could do to Christians in such a position. This provision was not immediately included in the Spanish codes, but it increased the limits of the practice of medicine by Jews. The *Partidas* specified that Christians could not take medicines made by a Jewish doctor, who also were not allowed to treat Christian patients, although a Jewish doctor could recommend what to do to a Christian one (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 8). The Council of Zamora of Valladolid of 1322 not only

forbade the Jews from working as doctors for Christians, but also as surgeons and chemists, and the Council of Salamanca of 1335 banned Christians from availing themselves of Jewish doctors' services. From 1350, this rule was included in civil legislation such as the Legislation of Valladolid in 1412, when Jews were not allowed to work as spice sellers, chemists, surgeons or physicians for Christians, or to own pharmacies. The punishment was a fine of 2,000 *maravedies* and physical damage (article 2). Neither could Jews visit Christian patients or give them medicines unless they were prepared to pay a fine of 200 *maravedies* (article 10). There were no exceptions, not even the royal family, in accordance with the demands of the members of the Assembly of Burgos in 1367, who did not want any Jews in the house of the king, the queen or their children⁵¹.

One of the most usual Jewish women's jobs was the upbringing of Christian children. The Decretals of Gregory IX in 1234 banned Christian women from working as wet-nurses in charge of Jewish children, and the Councils of Zamora of 1312-1313 (law 5) and Salamanca in 1335 banned Christian women from breastfeeding Jewish children. However, the *Fuero Real* forbade not only the upbringing of Jewish children by Christian wet-nurses but also that of Christian children by Jewish wet-nurses, with a fine of 50 *maravedies* (book IV, title 2, law 4). The same legislation could be found in the proceedings of different assemblies of the Parliament of Castile and León (Seville, 1252; Valladolid, 1258; Jerez, 1268; Palencia, 1313; Valladolid, 1322; Valladolid, 1351; Soria, 1380; Valladolid, 1385)⁵². From 1443, Jewish women were banned from being midwives to Christian woman⁵³.

Limits were also imposed on other jobs in order to avoid disadvantages for Christians who had the same employment, mainly with regard to handicrafts and trade. Jews were not allowed to trade with Christians on pain of servitude for the Jew and a fine of 3 pounds of gold for the Christian, although they might trade with other Jews (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title II, law XVIII). Christians were also banned from employing Jewish men or women (book XII, title III, law XXII). Jews were not allowed to buy Christian liturgical items (*Fuero Real*, book I, title 5, law 5). The regulations of Toledo for the 14th and 15th centuries tried to regulate the commercial activities of Jews, who were not allowed to sell certain products outside the city (rabbit, lamb or leather), while Christians were free to do so. Neither were Jews allowed to buy wood at certain times in order to promote the acquisition by Christians. In 1377, the Logroño guild of shoemakers complained to the king about some Jews devoted to this trade, although it was not usual⁵⁴. The Legislation of Valladolid of 1412 banned Jews from selling food items to Christians (articles 2 and 6), as well as shoes and clothes (article 20). They were not allowed to work as carriers, veterinary surgeons, blacksmiths or tailors (articles 20 and 21). Furthermore, Juan II (1406-1454) said in 1443 that they were only allowed to work in "low and servile jobs" like ragmen, silversmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, basket-makers, tanners or clothes clippers⁵⁵. In short, Christian authorities limited Jewish access to the most lucrative jobs and compelled them to do all kinds of servile jobs. Some knights from Trujillo forced Jews to clean the stables and house the prostitutes and scoundrels of the city, and they complained about this to the king in 1477⁵⁶.

Usury was one of the few activities that Jews were allowed to develop, although not without problems. Despite the fact that it was quite unpopular, there were a lot of regulations, even though the measures were not the same for Jewish and Christian usurers. The *Fuero Real* banned Jews from lending money “over bodies of Christians” (book IV, title 2, law 5), while a Christian usurer could accept servants or even the body of the borrower, which meant his freedom, as a guarantee⁵⁷. The maximum profit a Jew could earn from a loan was also limited to three of four *maravedies* a year if he did not want to return twice the amount of the money lent. There was no similar law for Christian usurers. Jews were also not allowed to transfer the objects they had received as a guarantee (book IV, title 2, law 6), whereas Christian usurers could do so, if the borrower did not pay on time (book III, title 19, law 1).

The practice of usury became even more difficult for Jews during the 14th century. The bishops attending the Council of Zamora of 1312-1313 asked for the banning of usury in accordance with the provisions of the recent Council of Vienne. Later, Alfonso XI of Castile-León decided in the Legislation of Alcalá in 1348 to reduce Christian debts to a quarter of their value, while he banned the Jews from lending money and applying any rate of interest (law LVII). According to Julio Valdeón, these measures had little impact because the representatives of the cities continued to demand that the law be observed in the different assemblies of the Castile and León Parliament (Valladolid, in 1351; Toledo, in 1366; Burgos, in 1367; Toro, in 1371; and Burgos again, in 1377). They finally succeeded when the Jews were expelled from the domains of the Catholic Monarchs in 1492 when most Christians did not pay off their debts, while Jews were not allowed to breach their contracts⁵⁸.

Finally, Jews were discriminated against not only as employees but also as employers. They were not allowed to hire Christian employees for the household, but only for work in the fields or if they needed a guide when going to dangerous places (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 8). Later, according to the Legislation of Valladolid of 1412, Christian authorities prevented them from employing Christians to till fields, work on vines or look after animals or buildings, under the threat of a punishment of 100 lashes the first time, 100 lashes and a fine of 1,000 *maravedies* the second time, and 100 lashes and the loss of goods the third time. Christians were even banned from helping Jews during the *Sabbath*, performing such tasks as going to look for wine or lighting a fire, unless they were prepared to pay a fine of 1,000 *maravedies* (articles 4 and 19). This changed in 1443 when Juan II (1406-1454) allowed Christians to serve Jews as long as they received a proper wage. It was included in the regulations of Toledo in the middle of the 15th century, although those Christian workers were not allowed to sleep in the same house as their Jewish bosses⁵⁹.

LAWSUITS

The co-existence of Jews and Christians in Castile and León during Middle Ages was sometimes problematic, and a lot of conflicts had to be solved in the courts, which

usually treated Christians better than Jews. In the beginning, the *aljamas* [Jewish communities] enjoyed legal autonomy and they could use Jewish laws and their own judges. The situation was very similar to that of Portuguese Jews that Luísa Trindade has described⁶⁰. However, as the *Partida* VII (title 24, law 5) established, and the *fueros* of Córdoba and Sahagún showed, provided that Jews and Christians were implicated in the same lawsuit, Christian laws were applied and Christian judges mediated⁶¹. Later, Jews lost their right to have Jewish judges solving lawsuits relating only to Jews. In article 7 of the Legislation of Valladolid of 1412, it was specified that Jews would be under the jurisdiction of the usual judges in the places where they lived.

In accordance with the *Fuero Juzgo* (book XII, title II, law IX), while a Christian could accuse someone who had committed a crime, Jews were not allowed to accuse a Christian. Later, the *Fuero Real* altered this law a little bit when it was determined that a Jew could accuse a Christian if the same Jew was damaged or the crime concerned the king and his rights, or the Church (book IV, title 20, laws 1 and 2).

The *Fuero Juzgo* banned Jews from Castile and León from testifying against Christians on any occasion (book XII, title II, laws IX and X), as did the *Espéculo* (4, 7, 5). This measure was later altered in the *Siete Partidas*, where Jewish testimony in the case of treason against the king or kingdom was accepted (*Partida* III, title 16, law 8). Such measures could also be found in the proceedings of the Council of Zamora of 1312-1313 (laws 1 and 4), where it was established that Jews could not be heard, and in some local laws like the legislation of Enrique II (1369-1379) for Seville in 1371, where the value of Jewish testimony was not denied, but was considered to be less valid than Christian testimony⁶². In accordance with chapter III of the *taqqanot* of Valladolid of 1432, Jews could not ask Christians for their intercession before judges or civil servants, and the *Partida* III established (title 11, law 20) that during a trial, if a Jew was compelled to swear, he had to do it in the synagogue before a court of Christians and Jews.

All these provisions clearly tried to benefit Christians when they faced Jews at a trial. Even then, it was sometimes not considered to be enough. For example, Ferrán Martínez, the archdeacon of Écija who promoted the pogrom of 1391, did not hesitate to take legal proceedings against Jews although he was not right, and only wanted to bother them⁶³.

Despite the impediments, some trials went favourably for Jews, but they were also discriminated against when the punishments were applied. Sometimes, those who were found guilty of damaging Jews did not have to serve their sentence, as happened in 1127 when Alfonso VII absolved the populations of Saldaña, Cea and Carrión who had injured Jews⁶⁴. In accordance with some *fueros*, the fine for killing a Jew was usually higher than that for killing a free Christian. For example, in Nájera (1076), where the fine was the same for the murder of a Jew and the murder of a low nobility member⁶⁵. When a Jew was murdered and the guilty party was not discovered, the local council of the place where the corpse was found had to pay a collective fine. Although it seems just the opposite, these kinds of provisions were not favourable to Jews, because the money from

the fines was not for the family of the victim, but for the king. However, the Christian population only noticed that it was worse to kill a Jew than a Christian, and because of that the representatives of the cities lobbied for the derogation of the law relating to the collective fines. They finally got their way in the Assembly of Burgos of 1377⁶⁶.

TRANSFER OF HERITAGE

The discrimination against Spanish Jews during the Middle Ages is especially evident when the documentation relating to the transfer of goods and estates by sale and purchase is analysed. In the first place, business was not allowed to damage the interests of the Christian authorities. For example, the 67th canon of the IV Lateran Council (1215) compelled Jews to pay the tithe on the possessions they had received from Christians. The ecclesiastical authorities tried to avoid the fact that the Church had lost the tithe that the Christians usually paid. In 1219, Honorius III wrote to the archbishop of Toledo ordering him to collect the tithe also on the houses that Jews had bought from Christians⁶⁷. The measure was also included in the proceedings of the Council of Valladolid of 1228. Later the Decretals of Gregory IX of 1234 specified that Jews would have to pay the tithe on the lands and the goods they bought from Christians (book III, title III, chapter 16), and the Council of Zamora of 1312-1313 also approved it (law 10).

There were also some measures that tried to limit the goods that Jews could purchase. Some of them have been presented earlier when I wrote about the employment of Jews. Now I am going to analyse those related to the acquisition of Christian serfs. Jews were not allowed to buy or sell Christian serfs, or accept them as gifts. If they did, all their Christian serfs would be emancipated, while the Jew would lose half of his goods or receive 100 lashes (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title II, laws XII-XIII; and title III, law XII). The measure was applied even though the Jew did not know the serfs were Christian. If the Jew knew that the serf was Christian before the purchase, he could be sentenced to death (*Partida* VII, title 24, law 10). Interest in the fulfilment of this law can be seen in a document of 1353, when Pedro I (1350-1369) selected two representatives to check that the Muslim serfs of Toledo that had been converted to Christianity were not still in Jewish hands⁶⁸.

The laws relating to the transfer of goods and estates tended to benefit Christians over Jews. In accordance with the *Fuero Real*, clergymen and laymen were not allowed to choose a Jew as an heir (book III, title 6, law 16), and if they failed to fulfil the law, the entire heritage would go to the king. Neither could they adopt a Jew, because they could only adopt people who were allowed to inherit (book IV, title 22, law 1). Neither could a Jew be the executor of a Christian testament (book III, title 5, law 8). It is also remarkable that a Christian converted to Judaism could be disinherited by his or her parents (*Fuero Real*, book III, title 9, law 2). However, this rule was not applied in the opposite case. A Jew converted to Christianity had the right to inherit from his or her parents or other Jewish relatives (*Fuero Juzgo*, book XII, title II, law XIII; *Partida* VII, title 24, law 6).

The most extreme situations related to the transfer of heritage took place after the approval of the Decree of Expulsion in 1492. The Jews were compelled to sell their estates and the Catholic Monarchs did not allow them to take gold, silver or money, but only other kinds of goods. Most of the sales were disadvantageous to the Jewish population, given that in some places the Christian authorities lied about the royal permission in such a way that Jews could not find people who wanted to buy their belongings. Sometimes, Christians directly banned Jews from selling their estates. There were also some authorities that increased the duties that Jews had to pay for transporting their goods. But the most frequent situation was that buyers refused to pay the arranged price⁶⁹.

THE END OF THE "JEWISH PROBLEM"

In the different kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, Jews were always considered the property of the kings, and this usually restrained the violence of the Christian population against them. However, it was not sufficient to avoid the occasional storming of Jewish quarters, a more frequent occurrence from the middle of the 14th century, and especially serious during the pogrom of 1391. The main consequence was a remarkable decline of the Jewish population, not only due to conversions, as has been analysed, but also because a lot of Jews were murdered.

Another kind of "solution to the Jewish problem", that of slavery, predominated in certain periods. Pedro I (1350-1369) enslaved the 300 Jewish families from Jaén and later sold them. In 1369, his brother, Enrique II (1369-1379), demanded that the Jews from Toledo pay 20,000 *doblas*, about 880,000 *maravedies*, which the local authorities had to collect through the sale of the Jews themselves and their goods⁷⁰. And, according to a letter that Hasday Crescas wrote to the Jewish community of Avignon, after the pogrom of 1391, a lot of Seville Jews were sold to Muslims⁷¹.

However, another kind of "solution", that of expulsion, was preferred in the end. It became the only alternative to conversion. Some Visigoth kings like Sisebut or Chintila tried to apply it in the 7th century, but without success. The possibility reappeared in the 14th century when Gonzalo Martínez from Oviedo proposed it to King Alfonso XI (1312-1350). However, it was not until the 15th century that it was put into practice. The Jews from the bishoprics of Seville and Córdoba were the first to be expelled in 1483, and very soon after, those from Jaén and Cádiz followed. The war against the Muslim kingdom of Granada had just begun and the Catholic Monarchs wanted to remove the Jews from the border⁷².

The definitive Jewish deportation from Castile, León and Aragón, as long as they did not accept the Christian faith, was approved by the Decree of Expulsion, signed by the Catholic Monarchs on 31 March 1492. The Jews were given four months to leave their domains, a period they could employ to sell their goods and estates, because they were not allowed to take gold, silver, money or those items that could not usually be exported. They were threatened with the confiscation of their belongings and the death

penalty if they were discovered inside the kingdoms after the deadline. It was affirmed that they would have royal protection until they left, but some Jews were afraid of being injured or murdered, so those from Aranda de Duero, Cea and Saldaña informed the kings, and those of Illescas suffered. Other Jews did not receive the money for the sale of their belongings, as happened to Yehuda Bueno, a Jew from Grajal who had sold some houses to Christian people. Sometimes, Christians took possession of Jewish goods. This happened to a Jew from Villafranca del Bierzo, whose belongings were removed by the owner of the ship when he went to Naples⁷³. From 1492, only those Jews who had opted for conversion to Christianity were allowed to stay in the Spanish kingdoms. But they weren't allowed to live comfortably. The "Jewish problem" changed into the "problem of the converted Jews", a fact that was not new at that time. María Dolores Cabañas analyses this in her contribution to the present volume. The new objective was to make converted Jews into real Christians.

CONCLUSIONS

The words that we have used in this chapter – conversion, assimilation and discrimination – are deeply linked to the history of the Jewish people. Without their own land, and condemned to the Diaspora for centuries, most Jews lived in strange societies, where they were marginalised. There was co-existence between Christian and Jews in the medieval León and Castile kingdoms, but not a perfect *convivencia*. This chapter has shown how the discriminatory laws against Jews were not simply theoretical. They were really applied and impeded the integration of the Jewish population.

The provisions relating to the practice of religion tried to stop people mixing up Christianity and Judaism, and considering Judaism to be better than Christianity. The laws that regulated the use of public baths tried to avoid contact between Jews and Christians, as did those that did not allow them to eat together, or those that banned intermarriage and sexual relationships between the communities. The imposition of badges and special clothes for Jews, which was useful for distinguishing them, and the demarcation of Jewish quarters in the cities promoted that separation. Other measures also limited the power of Jews over Christians, such as those related to commercial activity, the application of justice, the transfer of heritage and the regulation of jobs for Jews, who were indeed relegated to the most unpleasant and unpopular tasks.

In short, these provisions separated the Jews from the Christians, something that interested the Christian authorities and the members of the Church, who believed in protecting the Christian faith. Unfortunately, the discriminatory laws existed and were applied, and therefore the idealised image of the relationships between Jews and Christians in the medieval Spain must be refuted.

NOTES

- ¹ D. Romano, *Coexistencia/convivenza tra ebrei e cristiani ispanici*, in "Sefarad", 1995, 55, 2, pp. 360-363. This scholar protests against the use of the words 'convivencia' and 'co-existence' as synonyms.
- ² L. Suárez, *Los judíos*, Barcelona 2005, pp. 13-14.
- ³ M. de Epalza, *Historia medieval de la Península: tres culturas o tres religiones*, *Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Actas del I Congreso Internacional (3-7 octubre 1982), Toledo 1983, p. 99. See also by the same author *Pluralismo y tolerancia: ¿un modelo toledano?*, in *Toledo siglos XII-XIII. Musulmanes, cristianos y judíos: la sabiduría y la tolerancia*, Madrid 1991, p. 258.
- ⁴ L. Suárez, *Judíos* cit., pp. 335-336.
- ⁵ For example, F. Díaz Esteban, *Aspectos de la convivencia jurídica desde el punto de vista judío en la España medieval*, *Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Actas del II Congreso Internacional (3-6 octubre 1983), Toledo 1985, p. 115. Related to non-application of ecclesiastical laws see J. Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo expiatorio. Judíos, revueltas y vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*, Valladolid 2000, p. 21.
- ⁶ All the references to the *Siete Partidas* in BOE (ed.), *Las siete partidas*, Madrid 1974.
- ⁷ All the references to the *Fuero Juzgo* in Real Academia Española (ed.), *Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano, cotejado con los más antiguos y preciosos códigos por la Real Academia Española*, Madrid 1815.
- ⁸ All the references to the *Fuero Real* in G. Martínez Díez (ed.), *Leyes de Alfonso X, II: Fuero Real*, Ávila 1988.
- ⁹ J.A. de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, Madrid 1875-1876, t. II, doc. III. L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, Valladolid 1964, doc. 104.
- ¹⁰ All the references about Castilian councils in D. Romano, *Marco jurídico de la minoría judía en la Corona de Castilla de 1214 a 1350 (síntesis y propuestas de trabajo)*, *Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Actas del II Congreso Internacional (3-6 octubre 1983), Toledo 1985, pp. 261-297. Also in A. García y García, *Judíos y moros en el ordenamiento canónico medieval*, *Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Actas del II Congreso Internacional (3-6 octubre 1983), Toledo 1985, pp. 167-181. See the Legislation of Valladolid (1412) in P. León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo. Tomo I: Estudio histórico y colección documental*, Madrid 1979, doc. 49, pp. 446-449.
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- ²⁰ Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo* cit., pp. 20, 84, 86 and 89.
- ²¹ Carpenter, *Alfonso X* cit., pp. 3 and 91-92. All the references to the Council of Elvira in A. Barcala Muñoz, *Biblioteca antijudaica de los escritores eclesiásticos hispanos. Volumen I: Siglos IV-V*, Madrid 2003, pp. 127-135.

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- ³⁰ León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo* cit., docs. 32 and 65. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos* cit., doc. 30.
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- ⁴² Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo* cit., pp. 24, 57 and 69. See the role of Ferrán Martínez in De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. II, doc. XI.
- ⁴³ About Murcia see J. R. Ayaso Martínez, *Tolerancia e intolerancia en los reinos cristianos de la España medieval: el caso de los judíos*, in “Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos”, 1994, 43, 2, p. 64, n. 25. About Allariz see De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. II, doc. III.
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- ⁵¹ Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo* cit., p. 41.
- ⁵² Cantera Montenegro, *La mujer judía* cit., pp. 53-54.
- ⁵³ De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. III, doc. II.
- ⁵⁴ León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo* cit., doc. 32. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos* cit., doc. 12.
- ⁵⁵ De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. III, doc. II.
- ⁵⁶ Suárez Fernández, *Documentos* cit., doc. 18.
- ⁵⁷ The *Fuero Real* did not directly say that a Christian usurer could lend money “over bodies of Christians”. But he was authorised to pawn everything that could be sold (book III, title 19, law 8), and the sale of people was allowed (book III, title 10, laws 8-13).
- ⁵⁸ Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo* cit., pp. 21, 24-25, 29, 39-40, 54, 56, 70-72 and 94.
- ⁵⁹ De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. III, doc. II. León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo* cit., doc. 32.
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- ⁶¹ Ratcliffe, *Judíos* cit., p. 430. Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías* cit., doc. 22.
- ⁶² See references to the Legislation of Seville (1371) in Romano, *Marco* cit., pp. 285-286.
- ⁶³ De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. II, doc. XI.
- ⁶⁴ Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías* cit., doc. 15.
- ⁶⁵ Montes Romero-Camacho, *Los judíos* cit., p. 70.
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- ⁶⁹ Valdeón Baroque, *El chivo* cit., p. 93-95. See the described situations in Suárez Fernández, *Documentos* cit., docs. 178, 188, 195, 197, 208 and 210.
- ⁷⁰ De los Ríos, *Historia social* cit., t. II, doc. VIII.
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SOURCES

Taqqanot of Valladolid (1432), chapter V (Y. Moreno Koch, *Las Taqqanot de Valladolid de 1432. Un estatuto comunal renovador*, Salamanca 1987, p. 93):

Ay reglas y costumbres desonestas e daniosas en razon delos trajes de las vestiduras delas mujeres y sus joyas, e exageran más de lo debido, e traen vestoduras de grandes cuantías e de gran muestra así de panios ricos e de grandes cuantías, como colas y joyas de oro e de plata e aljofar, e forraduras ricas, e otras cosas muchas, las cuales son motivo de mucho mal el se desgastar e se adebdar los cabezas de familia enello, como que recreçe porello la envidia y el odio entre los pueblos, e aun piensan que de parte de gran riqueza se les lebanta en lugar de su pobreza y miseria, y sale de ello que dictan decretos sobre nosotros de cuando en cuando por la dicha razon, e incluso nunca hemos sido considerados inocentes completamente; e sobre esto es razon de fazer grandes taqqanôt y ser severos acerca de este asunto.

There are indecent and harmful rules and customs relating to women's clothes and their jewels, and they exaggerate too much, and they put great value on apparel, not only rich

clothes of great value, but also trains and jewels of gold, and silver, and pearls, and rich linings, and a lot of other things that do a lot of harm to the head of the family due to expense and debt, and also because of it envy and hate between people grow, and they think that their riches become poverty and misery, and accordingly they approve decrees about us from time to time, and we have never been considered completely innocent, and because of that it is necessary to enact great *taqqanót* and be strict about this matter.

Legislation of Valladolid in 1432 (P. León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo. Tomo I: Estudio histórico y colección documental*, Madrid 1979, doc. 49, p. 446):

1. Todos los judíos y moros, vivan separados de los cristianos en un lugar aparte de la ciudad o villa donde habitaren, y que sean cercados y la cerca tenga una sola puerta, sin que puedan tener casa fuera de ella; han de apartarse en el plazo de 8 días a partir del momento en que les fueren asignados sus barrios, so pena de pérdida de bienes y castigo corporal.

1. All Jews and Moors must live separately from Christians in a place isolated from the rest of the city or the town where they live, and they must be enclosed, and the wall must have only one gate, and they are not allowed to have a house outside it; they have to leave within 8 days from the moment their quarters are assigned, on pain of loss of goods and physical punishment.