

**TRAGÈDIA**

**AL CALL**

**TÀRREGA**

**1348**



10. ENGLISH VERSION

### A KEY DISCOVERY FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE

PAUL SALMONA  
DIRECTOR OF THE MUSÉE D'ART  
ET D'HISTOIRE DU JUDAÏSME, PARIS

The discovery by Anna Colet, Oriol Saula and their team of the Jewish necropolis in the site at Les Roquetes in Tàrrega in 2007, was a very important event for our knowledge of the European Middle Ages. Indeed, in that preventive archaeological dig, skeletons were exhumed of seventy individuals (children, adults and the old) murdered during a massacre that took place in the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega. The context is well known from numerous sources: in 1348, the spread of the Black Death provoked a series of extremely violent anti-Jewish reactions across medieval Europe, and which happened at the same rate as the spread of the epidemic, in a kind of criminal catharsis. In fact, the massacre de Tàrrega appears in the archives of the Catalan Royal Chancellery, in documents that wish to return the survivors their rights. And if the archaeological discovery of the evidence for a crime is exceptional, in this case, the combining of the historical sources and the archaeological data was crucial for characterising the remains.

Excavations of old mass graves are not very common. In this sense, the “fossar dels jueus” can be likened to the graves at Virée de Galerme, dug in 1793 in Mans in western France,<sup>1</sup> during the revolutionary wars; It can also be compared to the remains of mass murders, like those of the Spanish Civil War or the Pinochet coup in Chile in 1973, or the massacres of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994 (the *modus operandi* of which was similar to that of the massacre in Tàrrega with the use of knives and blunt objects), or the systematic executions of Bosnian civilians by the Serbian forces of Ratko Mladić in Srebrenica in 1995. Like the work of forensic scientists and archaeologists in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century graves,<sup>2</sup> the excavation in Tàrrega documented el crime with anthropological data analogous to the forensic evidence. Seven centuries after the events, it is evident that this evidence will not be used to seek those guilty of the crime, but it is true that they confer a tangible aspect to the massacre that can only be achieved through abstraction uniquely with the documentary proof. The traces of the blows visible on the bones of the victims (sometimes more than twenty on one individual) explain the violence of the criminal acts better than any description. Numerous medieval chronicles narrate the fury that was unleashed against the Jewish communities in France, Germany and the Iberian Peninsula, but this barbarity is still palpable in Tàrrega.

Another unique aspect of the graves at Les Roquetes is, like the burning clouds that swept over Pompeii, having preserved archaeological data that never appears in a medieval Jewish funerary context. One of the victims was wearing amulets, which does not fit very well with the vision of the norms of Judaism.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in the conventional funeral, this type of object is almost never used, as the Jewish ritual imposes a great austerity on burials, so the dead are stripped of all kinds of funeral furnishings. In Tàrrega, because of the context of extreme violence, the most likely is that the victims were hurriedly

buried, still dressed and in the state they were in when they were murdered. The excavation thus reveals a tragic moment, but also brings us closer to the magical practices in use in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Catalonia, which the Jewish texts make no mention of. This shows the breach between the religious norms and individual attitudes. This way, the archaeology enriches the history supplying material data that escape from the ideological or religious tendencies of the written sources.

From the historical point of view, the works by Anna Colet, Oriol Saula and their team are essentials. However, it should be remembered that previous studies of other tombs in the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes meant a confrontation with certain Jewish organisations that wielded strictly religious motives before the political and administrative authorities to halt the anthropological analyses that were being carried out on those remains. The archaeologists had to accept the reburial of the bones in Collserola cemetery in Barcelona before they were able to complete their studies. This was a great loss.

One can only lament these intromissions that endanger the progress of knowledge: with the interruption of the research, not only was part of the history of the Jewish presence in Tàrrega sacrificed, but also part of the history of the medieval Jewish world and European history.

In this sense, the claim by some groups of exclusive rights over the “ancient dead” raises legal, ethical and scientific questions. Can the norms that regulate the current funerary practices of a religious group prevail over the general law that regulates the scientific study of archaeological remains from seven centuries ago? Do the convictions of a community suffice to demand that knowledge be sacrificed against the general rights? Can a minority prohibit a whole nation access to its past? Nowadays, do the Catalan Jews, without any family links to the victims of 1348, have any “particular right” over these ancient deaths? In contrast, would it not be better for the “rights” of possible descendents of the converts who remained in Tàrrega after the edict of expulsion in 1492 to prevail, currently unaware of their Jewish origins but potentially linked, from the genealogical point of view, to the defunct in the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes?<sup>4</sup> Whatever, the case is that the political and administrative authorities paid attention to these particular claims, although they were not unique: in Europe, in many preventive excavations of graveyards affected by building works, these claims arise and interrupt the work of the researchers.

In 2009, in the congress “The archaeological excavations in historic cemeteries”, organised by the Museum of History of Barcelona,<sup>5</sup> the imperative need for research and cooperation between the parties involved was shown, including in this the Jewish communities today, to carry out scientific studies begun with the discovery of graveyards. This position was formulated solemnly in Barcelona Declaration on Old Jewish Cemeteries, which recalled the legal framework that is established for the modalities of archaeological intervention. This text confirmed the pre-eminence of the general law in a democratic state. I may then note that, from the point of

view of “rabbinic jurisprudence”, that the Talmud of Babylon admits the pre-eminence of national laws over the Halakha, the Jewish law. This principle is appears in the statement “Dina de malkhuta dina” (literally: “The law of the kingdom is the law”) and it reappears in Morocco in a saying preserved by Castilian Jews: “Donde fueres, has como veres” (Wherever you go, do as you see).<sup>6</sup> Thus, as Walter Laqueur explains, in the medieval epoch, this rule had become a general principle in the relations between Jews and the civil authorities: “The law of the country [where the Jews live] is the supreme law and respect for it is shown in the set of interpretations and comments made about it”.<sup>7</sup> Thus, from the viewpoint of the Jewish tradition, the application of the national law in questions of scientific research is perfectly acceptable. This does not mean that once the work by the researchers is completed, it is understandable that certain groups want to apply to human remains they believe belong to their community similar care to the funeral rites as given to Jews today.

The exhibition “Tragedy in the call. Tàrrega 1348”, presented in the Urgell District Museum, demonstrates unequivocally that the best way to respect the victims is to study their remains as scientifically as possible, know their fate accurately, elucidate their story to give them back their dignity with a symbolic burial, notwithstanding the material burial they would have desired.

<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.inrap.fr/archeologie-preventive/Actualites/Communiqués-de-presse/p-11883-Le-Mans-archeologie-de-la-viree-de-Galerme.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> See William HAGLUND (2008), “L'archéologie et l'anthropologie médico-légales dans un contexte international”, in Jean-Paul DEMOULE and Bernard STIEGLER (dir.), *L'avenir du passé: Modernité de l'archéologie*, Paris, La Découverte.

<sup>3</sup> See the exhibition “Angels & demons. Jewish magic through the ages”, presented in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, in 2011.

<sup>4</sup> In his works on the Jews in Provence, Danièle Iancu-Agou shows how the recently converted Provençal or Languedoc “neophytes” maintained certain links to the rest of the Jewish family in the County of Venaissin after the Jews were expelled from France in 1394. See Danièle IANCU-AGOU (1998), *Être Juif en Provence au temps du roi René*, Paris, Albin Michel.

<sup>5</sup> La intervenció arqueològica a les necròpolis històriques: Els cementiris jueus (2009), Barcelona, MUHBA and Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Reine AKRICHE and Christian NICAISE (2005), *Proverbes judéo-espagnols: Refranes y dichos de mi abuela Beida Lévy*, Rouen, L'Instant Perpétuel.

<sup>7</sup> Walter LAQUEUR (2006), *The changing face of anti-Semitism: From ancient times to the present day*, New York, Oxford University Press.

### 1.1. CONQUEST, COLONISATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ROAD NETWORK

JOAN E. GARCÍA BIOSCA

The displacement of the economic and political centre from Tarragona to Barcelona began during the Visigoth period and was confirmed when the former was abandoned under the Muslim conquest, and with the consolidation of the latter as the leading centre for the counties of the Carolingian March first and the Principality of Catalonia later.

Over time, this mutation had effects on the road network, and led to an important transformation, which is still reflected nowadays. In Roman times, the main route from the coastal areas to the Ebro valley was part of the way “de Italia in Hispanias”, described in the itinerary of Antonine, that linked Tàrraco with Ilerda through the *mansiones* of Ad Septimum Decimum (Vilaverd) and Ad Novas (Vimbodí).<sup>1</sup> In contrast, in the Muslim and Carolingian epochs, the main route moved north, towards the line that was then taking shape based on stretches of the old secondary Roman ways with other new ones: from the Barcelona of the Counties to Andalusian L rida and, then onwards to Saragusta.

Some of the earliest surviving documents from the times of the feudal conquest allow us to reconstruct a good part of its route. Thus, in 1058, the March of Berga<sup>2</sup> used this way to mark its southern border: the stretch described begins in La Rabassa (Sant Guim de Freixenet) and follows the ridge to a place called Quadrells<sup>3</sup> (possibly near Cervera) before turning towards La Curullada (Granyanella), continuing to La Corbella (north of Talladell), passing under the Tossal del Mor (Tàrrega) and ending in area known as Ferrugats (Vilagrassa).<sup>4</sup> Two parchments from 1077 and 1078 also refer to this way, designating it respectively a “caminum de villa Cervarie usque ad Angularia”<sup>5</sup> and “strata qua itur publice de Tàrrega ad Leridam”,<sup>6</sup> and extending the route not only to Anglesola, but also to the city of Lleida. These data are coherent with the interpretation of the images from the “American flight” series of aerial photos taken in 1956, in which one can still see the fossilised path as the boundary between the plots in the limits of Vilagrassa and Anglesola, then passing near Castellnou de Seana, El Palau d’Anglesola and Bell-lloc d’Urgell before continuing to the bridge in Lleida itself.<sup>7</sup> The absence of milestones or a significant concentration of old settlements around it has meant that the possibility of a Roman or earlier date for this part of the road network has generally been dismissed. However, it cannot be ruled out that the origins of at least the westernmost part of the road to Barcelona (precisely the one that leads from Lleida to Tàrrega or Cervera) lie in a Late-Imperial or Visigoth way that connected Cadis with Girona through the middle of the peninsula.<sup>8</sup> The nearby presence of *villae* from later dates, like the one of Vilagrassa (fig. 1), could be evidence of this.<sup>9</sup>

In the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century, this route became one of the key lines for the strategy of conquest and colonisation of the counts of Barcelona, given that controlling it not only allowed them to exert power along the main route for Andalusian expeditions advancing on their

territories, but it also blocked the southward expansion of the counts of Cerdanya through the March of Berga. When the frontier settlements of Cervera (1026) and Tàrrega (1056) were created, emphasis was given to the defence of the site, which meant seeking high isolated hills easy to fortify,<sup>10</sup> as well as proximity to the river Ondara to guarantee the economic viability of the settlements. These factors seem to have prevailed over proximity to the road, which they are slightly separate from.<sup>11</sup> This, however, did not mean relinquishing control: this is quite clear in the agreement signed in 1077 between Counts Ramon Berenguer II and Mahalta, on one hand, and Arnau and Guillem Guald, on the other, in which the latter received certain rights and franchises in Tàrrega in exchange for collaborating in the defence of the stretch of road between Cervera and Anglesola.<sup>12</sup>

As well as the mentioned conditions, the choice of the hill of the castle of Tàrrega as the point from which to organise this territory was also influenced by the proximity of an important crossroads where four routes came together: three old ones (the path that led towards Balaguer,<sup>13</sup> the one to Guissona<sup>14</sup> and the one to Montblanc and Tarragona),<sup>15</sup> and a fourth (between Tàrrega and Agramunt) that was perhaps medieval (fig. 2). Over the Ondara, all three tracks originally crossed in the Partida de la Canaleta, a little over a kilometre northeast of the Tossal del Mor (fig. 3),<sup>16</sup> which ensured both control of this crossroads and the way to Lleida, which passed just under the hill.

El Mor enjoyed greater proximity and control over this crossroads, while the castle in Tàrrega, further away, not only did not have direct visual control over it, the view being blocked by the Sant Eloi ridge. However, its proximity to the fertile lands of the flood plain of the Ondara<sup>17</sup> and its better connection to the route to Tarragona were advantage enough to swing the balance in its favour. A century later, it had not only managed to take over that crossroads<sup>18</sup> and moved it next to the castle<sup>19</sup> to make it the centre of the future growth of the town (fig. 4), but had also attracted enough people to be able to send the surplus population southwards in response to the call by Count Ramon Berenguer IV in 1151 to colonise the area of Vinaixa.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exact route has been the subject of debate, but, presently, there seems to be a degree of consensus about the location of its *mansiones*. The milestones that would correspond to this route are the one in Morell (253-256 AD), two in Vinaixa (97-98 and 238 AD), one in Grealó (317-337 AD) and the two in Lleida (55 and 96-98 AD) (SOTO, 2010: 78-86 and 123-125; ARRAYÁS MORALES, 2005: 253-255).

<sup>2</sup> “... et sic vadit ad ipsa villa subtus ipsa Rabaza, et inde vadit per ipsa serra usque ad ipsa villa erma qui est super ipsos Quadrells, et inde vadit usque ad ipsa strada et pergit per ipsa strada usque ad ipsa Corbela, et sic vadit per ipsa strada usque ad ipso pugio de Mor, qui est primus contra Tarraga, et inde vadit usque in plano de Fazrogad”. (ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer I, carp. 13, parchment num. 234; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: II, 989, doc. 538).

<sup>3</sup> The survey of the March of Berga does not refer to the stretch between La Rabassa and Els Quadrells (which must have been fairly close to the Tossal de Miralles, north-east of Cervera) as a *via*. However, between La Rabassa and Montpalau there is the spring called Font de la Via, and between the hill called Tossal de Miralles and La Cabana del Pont are the plains of El Via. All this gives the impression that there was either an omission in the 1058 text, or this was the later extension or consolidation of the path over the line of a ridgeway that linked Cervera with the Anoia through the Vilatés Gully. This valley, we must remember, runs into the Anoia River at Santa Maria del Camí, where there was a chapel in 1228 that served as a hospital. (JUNYENT and MAZCUÑÁN, 1992: 522).

<sup>4</sup> This place, that we find called “plano de Fazrogad” in 1058 and as “loco de Fauzrogat” in 1181, owes its name to the Arab term *faḥs rugad* (‘lush plain, abundant plain’). For the identification and placing of these medieval toponyms, see YEGUAS GASSÓ (2008: 12-15).

<sup>5</sup> ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer II, parchment num. 31; BAIGES *et al.* (2010: 248-251, doc. 75).

<sup>6</sup> In that time, the limits of the castles of Anglesola and Gólmés stretched towards the west “usque ad aliam stratum qua itur publice de Tàrrega ad Leridam et descendunt per eandem stratum per quam itur ad Leridam usque ad fossam Maurelli et per rivum qui dicitur Arenarum, et exeunt ab ipso rivo in directo et transeunt per rivum Curvum et pergunt usque ad ipsam Fontanellam et transeunt iuxta ipsam fontem contra meridiem per planum quod est super Mulieruciam usque ad Aquam Vivam, que est ultra Cidamundum”. (ACA, LFM I, doc. 165; BAIGES *et al.*, 2010: 273-275, doc. 89).

<sup>7</sup> BURÉS *et al.* (1988: 119-120) drew attention to their existence pointing out that, the fact of being “totally separate from the urban centres, could be that it was the way that linked Ad Fines [Martorell] and Ilerda”.

<sup>8</sup> Itinerary described in the *Chronicon Albeldense* (881 AD), which details the following route: “De Osca ad Eldra [Ilerda] ml. LXXX / De Eldra ad Gessona ml. L / De Gessona ad Ierunda ml. CXXX” (RODRIGO, 2005: 134).

<sup>9</sup> Both the iconography of the mosaics and the style of the architectural remains recovered in 1920 indicate around the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, while the presence of rough kitchenware pottery would indicate a possible continuance of this settlement until the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. (RODRIGO, 2005: 303-304).

<sup>10</sup> In 1026, Countess Ermessenda, her son, Berenguer Ramon I and Countess Sança granted three families of settlers “ipso puio et castellare quod ibidem est, dictum Cervaria, quod vos contra infestationem paganorum positi ante habitatores marchiarum omnes [per vestram] apprisionem et turris constructionem in vestro iure iam retinetis”. (ACA, Cancelleria, Berenguer Ramon I, carp. 8, parchment num. 52; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: I, 482-484, doc. 172). Cervera seems to have had a pre-existing

fortification (“castellare”) that was improved with the building of an additional tower. In Tàrrega, in 1058, there was also an initial tower that the new feifholder, Ricard Altemir, agreed to improve considerably following the count’s instructions: “ut adrescat ipsam turrem que modo est incoata in ipso castro de Tàrrega usque quo habeat centum palmos in altum, et faciat in predicto castro iam dictus Ricardus alteram turrem de petra el calc de centum palmos in altum et de alios centum in gros. Et insuper iam dictus Ricardus faciat ibi alias duos [bestu]rres de quinquaginta p[almo]s in altum unaqueque et de quinquaginta in gros; et inter predictas besturres faciat predictus Ricardus optimos muros de petra et de calc quales ibi conveniunt”. (ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer I, parchment num. 218; ACA, LFM, doc. 171, p. 180-181; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: II, 934-935, doc. 511; BAIGES *et al.*, 2010: III, 934-935, doc. 511). These works had to be carried out in two years, but the fact that in April 1061, Ricard Altemir agreed to another year shows that had yet to be done (ACA, Ramon Berenguer I, parchment num. 419; ACA, LFM I, doc. 174; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: II, 1025-1026, doc. 570). Judging from the results of the excavation of the castle (personal communication by Anna Colet and Oriol Saula), it seems that the planned extension was never built and, with the following feofment documented in 1068, the emphasis previously placed on the need to fortify the place was changed into a requirement to double the number of knights in the fortress, an indication of a switch towards a more offensive strategy. (ACA, Ramon Berenguer I, parchment num. 419; ACA, LFM I, doc. 174; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: III, 1260-1262, doc. 725).

<sup>11</sup> In 1187, there is mention of the presence of a “via veteri” near the cellar that the monastery of Santes Creus owned in the town of Tàrrega. This was on the northern edge of the space that was taking shape as a market place and, later, as the Plaça Major (PAPELL, 2005: 408-409, doc. 285; PAPELL, 2005: 214, note 79). It could be a segment of one of the *kardines* of the centuriation of Ilesso that crossed the town from north to south and is still well preserved between there and Verdú. On the right bank of the Ondara, the rectilinear layout and orientation this same axis has survived between the land of La Canaleta and near Altet, where it deviates towards Claravalls (RODRIGO, 2005: 85).

<sup>12</sup> “Ita ut non faciatis aliquid censum nobis nec nostris nisi ut adiuvetis ad defendere caminum de villa Cervarie usque ad Angularia” (ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer II, parchmnet num. 31; BAIGES *et al.*, 2010: III, 248-251, doc. 75).

<sup>13</sup> In 1078, this road constituted the northern border of the limits of the castle of Anglesola, which it faced “in medio strate per quam itur ad Urgello”, and that passed “sub ipso Mauro”, in other words, below the castle of El Mor (ACA, LFM II, doc. 165; BAIGES *et al.*, 2010: III, 273-275, doc. 89). This axis seems to have been one of the elements that structured a centuriation with *kardines* orientated north-east – south-west (24°) and a module of twenty *actus* that stretched especially to the north of Lleida, although the greatest density of

traces that remain are around the road between Balaguer and Tàrrega and the one made up of the municipalities of Miralcamp and Sidamon. The plots in question were studied by LANUZA (1991), but we only have indirect references through BURÉS *et al.* (1988: 119) and RODRIGO (2005: 25-26).

<sup>14</sup> Traces of segments of the old track from Tàrrega to Guissona are still visible in aerial photographs from the 1950s, where they appear to the west of, and parallel to, the road between the two towns. The orientation of this axis is at an angle of approximately 45° from the dominant centuriated layout of the area of Ilesso, which is, in turn, characterised by a dominant north–south orientation and the use of a module of twenty *actus* (Rodrigo, 2005: 130). This type of diagonal axis that crosses the *pertica* obliquely is described by the Roman surveyor, M. Iunius Nypsius as a “varationem in agris divisit” and characterised as a technique apt for both restoring the divisions of a centuriated plot that have disappeared and integrating a centuriation into another pre-existing one (Roth, 1996: 360-418; Roth, 2004). The latter hypothesis seems to fit the path that concerns us, the early dating of which seems likely not only for its geometric qualities, but also for the fact that there is a considerable number of sites around it, either from the late Iber or republican epochs. The dating of these settlements induced Cardona (2000: 93 and 98) to consider it a variant of the important proto-historic drove road that linked the Pre-Pyrenees of Solsona and the Urgell plain, starting in Sant Pere Sasserra and ending in the great Iber settlement of El Molí d’Espigol in Tornabous.

<sup>15</sup> The track between Tàrrega and Verdú, documented as a drove road in the modern epoch, follows the line of one of the *kardines* of the centuriation of Ilesso (RODRIGO, 2005: 85-86) until it crosses the depression of Les Roques. From here on, it deviates slightly to cross the river Corb at the boundary between Ciutadilla and Guimerà. A milestone has been found in the latter place above the course of the same river and near the Roman villa of Palaus. It dates from between 44 and 45 AD and corresponds to the road between Tàrraco and Ilesso (SOTO, 2010: 77).

<sup>16</sup> This site, possibly occupied continuously from the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman epoch (down to the 5<sup>th</sup> century), was again inhabited around the 11<sup>th</sup> century, continuing until the 16<sup>th</sup>. (SAULA, 1989; YEGUAS GASSÓ, 2008: 11).

<sup>17</sup> In 1116, at a time when Almoravid power seemed to be weakening, Count Ramon Berenguer III took two measures to encourage the colonisation of Tàrrega: freeing the inhabitants of all kinds of services and *censos* (except the tithes and the *primicias*) and the concession of two days of water from the Ondara to irrigate their lands (ACUR, FMT, LPT I, f. 65r-65v; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 1r; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 36-37, doc. 4).

<sup>18</sup> In 1181, the stretch of path between Mor and Anglesola through Ferrugats was qualified as a “carrera vetera que discurrit de Mor ad Angleolam”

(PAPELL, 2005: I, 349-351, doc. 240), which we can interpret as an indication that it was already then obsolescent.

<sup>19</sup> This crossroads is none other than the Plaça del Blat (nowadays the Plaça Major) in the town, a place that served as a market place and around which the parish church was built and then, centuries later, the council building. The earliest references to the parish date from 1145, when the bishop of Vic granted the church of Solsona the churches in the bishopric, among which was the one in Tàrrega (ADS, parchment num. 595; BACH, 2002: I, 378-380, doc. 305). However, we do not know if this refers to the church in the square or an earlier church that would have existed in the walled town that grew up in the shelter of the castle.

<sup>20</sup> The count of Barcelona entrusted the colonisation to “vobis omnibus hominibus de Tàrrega, qui eritis populores et statores in podio de Avuinaixa” (FONT, 1983: I, 138-139, doc. 86; ALTISENT, 1993: 128, doc. 141).

#### 1.2. THE MARKET TOWN

JOAN E. GARCÍA BIOSCA

The geographic position of Tàrrega and the control it exerted over the crossroads of the routes that linked the Ebro valley with the coastal cities of Barcelona and Tarragona, as well as the drove roads between the summer pastures in the Pyrenees and winter grazing in the Camp de Tarragona, where the great monasteries of Poblet and Santes Creus grew over time and which were also centres for livestock, gave Tàrrega a marked commercial character right from its founding. Thus, some of the first feofments (1068 and 1077), designed to favour the fortification of the place and consolidate the presence of a small squad of knights to defend it, granted the castellans or keepers of the castle three types of economic resources: the tithes on the crops and the seigniorial monopolies linked to these (mills), as well as the right to charge taxes on the goods being transported across their territory.<sup>1</sup>

The count’s desire to ensure control of the trade that used these important roads led to the creation or seizure of the key points on them. To ensure stable a domain over these key places, Piera, Cervera, Tàrrega and Montblanc became part of the nucleus of incomes that had to sustain the court of the countess and, later, that of the Catalan-Aragonese queens.<sup>2</sup>

Coming almost continuously under the same dominion and with the economic advantages and order derived from this must have positively influenced their evolution compared with other places. Although the earliest evidence of the existence of formal markets in these towns dates back to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>3</sup> it was not until the central decades of the next century when we find the granting of privileges to regulate, protect and encourage the holding of weekly markets and annual fairs as part of the process of configuring the municipal institutions. Thus, we find the first references to an eight-day fair to be held on the festivity of Saint Matthew in the uses and customs granted by James I in 1242, the veritable birth of the municipality of Tàrrega.<sup>4</sup>

One of the characteristic traits of the economic life of Tàrrega was the important role of the Jews, both those from the town and others from outside, in the fairs and markets. Especially interesting, by being well documented, is the figure of the *corredor* or agent who acted as a representative of the owners of the products put on sale and as a middle-man between these and the purchasers.<sup>5</sup> The municipal sources conserve the oath taken as such by a good number of members of the local aljama, while a prosopographic study of the people who appear as guarantors of their activity should shed new light on the evolution of the mechanisms for integrating the Jews into the economic and social life of the town.<sup>6</sup>

The agreements approved by the courts of Montblanc in 1333 offer an interesting image of the mercantile structure of royal domain in Catalonia. That year, the decision was taken to negotiate a joint *quèstia*-subsidy from all the crown possessions, instead of doing so place by place.

It was also decided to grant the towns that held markets the power to collect the amounts demanded through “impositions”, in other words, indirect taxes on commercial transactions. The figures demanded from each town give us a rough idea of their relative economic weight. Cervera stands out above the rest with a contribution of 50,000 *sous* followed by a group of medium sized places (Manresa, Montblanc, Vilafranca del Penedès and Tàrrega/Vilagrassa) that contributed 30,000 *sous* each. Behind these were the places that paid 10,000 *sous* (Vic, Piera and Camprodon), and then those that were required to pay lesser amounts (SÁNCHEZ, 2008: 83 and 88).

<sup>1</sup> In 1068, the counts granted Mir Riculf “ipsum alium decimum de molinis sive de cunctas alias laboraciones que erunt factae vel edificatae infra terminos iam dicti castrri Tarrage, et donant ad eum medietatem de ipsas ledidas” (ACA, Ramon Berenguer I, parchment num. 419; ACA, LFM I, doc. 174; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: III, 1260-1262, doc. 725). In 1077, it was Arnau and Guillem Guald who were the beneficiaries of “omnes firmamentos et iusticias de castro et de villa de Targa et de omnibus hominibus ibi intervenientes vel habitantes et medietatem de omni leuda de Tàrrega” (ACA, Ramon Berenguer II, Cancelleria, parchmnet num. 31; BAIGES *et al.*, 2010: I, 248-251, doc. 75).

<sup>2</sup> This trait, that we see outlined in the spousal allowance granted to the countess Almodis, in 1056, by the towns of Cervera, Tàrrega and Granyena (ACA, LFM, f. 481; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: II, 887-890, doc. 479), did not impede the counts-kings from pledging or enfearing these places at times of financial necessities. The most outstanding case was in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when Alfonso I had to pledge Cabrera d’Anoia and Piera to the Viscount Berenguer Reverter in 1168. Eight years later, the creditor would be Guerau de Jorba, who received Cervera, Tàrrega, Piera, Montblanc and La Riba as a guarantee for certain loans (BISSON, 1984: I, 83) so that he controlled and exploited these four key crossroads, although only for a brief time.

<sup>3</sup> From a date as early as 1129, we have news about the fact that Guillem Dalmau, the keeper of Cervera castle, had exceeded the tax levy (“excessus in exactionibus”) inherent to his position, while implanting uses that were not usual (and, we imagine, advantageous to him) in questions of the markets (“novellitates merchatii”) (ALTISENT, 1978: 47-48). In 1139, on the other hand, the measurement of cereals from the market in Cervera is mentioned as a reference. (TURULL, 1991: 19-20). The first references in this sense regarding Tàrrega seem to be no earlier than the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century. However, given that the town charter of Vilagrassa from 1185 established the weekly market on Thursdays (TURULL, 1986a: 30 and 32), we must suppose that Tàrrega, which was in some way previous and from where the colonisation of the new place was organised, must have had its own one by then.

<sup>4</sup> BC, Arxiu, parchment num. 4458; ACUR, FMT, LPT I, f. 1r-2v; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 1v-3r; GONZALVO *et al.*,

1997: 39-42, doc. 6. The competition and overlapping of the fairs in Cervera and Vilagrassa led to various changes to the calendar during the medieval period. (TURULL, 1991: 28-29).

<sup>5</sup>The accounts of the Paeria of Cervera from 1373 include certain quantities expended to convince some Jewish *corredors* representing Castilian and Lleida merchants who had come to the fair in Tàrrega to attend the fair in Cervera too. (TURULL, 1991: 34).

<sup>6</sup>The oaths taken by the *corredors* before the town’s councillors included, as well as the latter, two more people who guaranteed it: the main guarantor and the bondsman. It is interesting to note that a good proportion of the Jewish *corredors* had Christian guarantors and, especially, Christian bondsmen, although, as the 14<sup>th</sup> century went by, the proportion of Jewish guarantors also grew. Many of the references to these documents appear in MUNTANÉ (2006).

### 2.1. THE RISE OF CHURCH POWER

**MIQUEL ÀNGEL FARRÉ TARGA**

With the reconquest and repopulation, the Church took on a fundamental role in the structuring of the territory and as a spiritual umbrella for the people who settled the lands seized from the Muslims. The division of the territory into parishes and bishoprics helped the new population to put down roots and granted the parish its own personality, one that varied as a result of the rise of new necessities and functions. Over time, the parish become the point of reference for many aspects of everyday life, from popular manifestations and communal projects in the economic, social and religious fields.

In the modern district of the Urgell, ecclesiastical organisation reinforced all the systematic work by the Counts of Barcelona and Urgell to reconquer and repopulate the area throughout the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Ermengol IV’s conquests and a small sector seized by the county of Berga were added directly to the bishopric of Urgell, while the area conquered by the counts of Barcelona came under the mitre of Osona, so that the border between counties also corresponded to the division between dioceses. Thus, the line that divided the bishoprics ran through the southernmost part of the Urgell: through the parishes of Riudovelles, La Figuerosa, Altet, Claravalls and Tornabous. This way, the central part of the modern district of the Urgell came under the bishopric of Vic, while the northern part, conquered by the counts of Urgell, became part of the bishopric of the Urgell.

While the limits of the bishopric of the Urgell remained inalterable, part of the sector that depended on the bishopric of Vic was segregated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as the result of the restructuring and organisation of the metropolitan see in Tarragona in 1154, in the times of archbishop Bernat Tort. A direct consequence of that was the annexation to Tarragona of a series of parishes in the southern part of the Urgell. These were Guimerà, Ciutadilla, Nalec, Rocafort de Vallbona, Llorenç de Vallbona, Sant Martí de Riucorb and Belianes.

The process of reconquest and repopulation included Tàrrega in the county of Barcelona and, thus, the bishopric of Vic. The new lands were Christianised, and the Church played a decisive role in this task, especially in the creation of a network of parishes under the dioceses or bishopric. Lists of parishes belonging to the bishopric of Vic is known, and these show how the organisation and implantation of this parochial structure spread across the territory. The oldest date from the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century including the parishes of Montperler, El Talladell, Tàrrega, El Mor, Anglesola, Maldà, Verdú, Malpàs and Nalec in the Urgell (fig. 1).

The basis of the ecclesiastical structure was the parish, which could be defined as the fundamental nucleus of the ecclesiastical organisation of a populated place. The parochial institution lent support to the delegates of the counts, the keepers in charge of the defences, justice and repopulation of the new settlements and, with the figure of the rector heading it, these become the Christianising centre of the new communities. The parish had a sanctuary, an inviolable terrain around the church,

generally thirty paces from the building according to the prescriptions of the constitutions of peace and truce. It was also often a shelter for the defenceless and the meeting place for neighbours to deal with all kinds of questions. It was even used as the seat of the council in exceptional circumstances.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the rectors provided a notarial service for the community.

With time, the growing complexity of the administration of the dioceses made it necessary to create subdivisions of the ecclesiastical territories. These new divisions were the diaconates, with jurisdiction over various parishes. Each of these new entities was headed by a deacon, who was generally the rector of the best-equipped and most important parish in the area. The deacon carried out the administrative functions delegated by the bishop and basically had powers over ecclesiastical affairs.

At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Tàrrega came under the diaconate of Cervera, but the councillors of Tàrrega requested their own diaconate from James II, and this was granted by Berenguer, the bishop of Vic, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1325.<sup>2</sup> The diaconate of Tàrrega was granted in perpetuity and according to this concession, comprised the lower part of the Urgell, which would correspond nowadays to the centre of the Urgell district.

Tàrrega, as the capital of the diaconate, had the most important parish in the area, the church of Santa Maria, and, depending on this, the hermitage of Sant Eloi.

The church of Santa Maria appears as a parish in the bishopric of Vic in different lists between the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century and 1154. It is mentioned in 1175 in the will of Pere del Talladell, who ordered that the income he received from the town of Tàrrega be used to maintain a lamp lit day and night before the altar of Santa Maria. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the parish of Tàrrega depended on the canonry of Santa Maria of Solsona, which often meant jurisdictional conflicts. In 1269, the brotherhood of merchants was founded in the church of Santa Maria under a concession from Ramon d’Anglesola, bishop of Vic (fig. 2). In 1279 and 1280, the parish appears in the contribution of the papal title of the dioceses of Vic, in the diaconate of Urgell.

The hermitage of Sant Eloi is on a hill northwest of the town of Tàrrega (fig. 3). The chapel was founded in 1249 by the silversmith Simó Canet from Tàrrega under the terms of his will. The parish of Santa Maria in Tàrrega decided that a priest should take care of the hermitage, assigning it some *censals* from Seana and Montperler and an annual charitable stipend of 200 *sous*.

**THE TOWN’S CONVENTS AND MONASTERIES**

The founding of monasteries and convents favoured the great colonising and Christianising task begun by the Church. In this district, special note must be taken of the influence of the Cistercian order in Santa Maria de Vallbona and its subsidiaries (El Pedregal, Vallsanta and La Bovera), as well as the dominions of the Monastery of Poblet, such as Verdú (the most important).

A series of religious centres were founded in Tàrrega to further the aims of the Church.

**CONVENT OF SANTA MARIA DEL PEDREGAL**

Situated in El Talladell near the River Ondara, the Cistercian convent of Santa Maria del Pedregal was founded around 1176 as an initiative by the Anglesola lineage, with the support of the community of Vallbona, who sent a first group of founding nuns (fig. 4).

During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the convent received many donations and contributions (among these from Bernat de Granyena, his wife, Saurina, and son, Guerau), which allowed it to grow and build a hostel for pilgrims, walkers and visitors who arrived at the convent. Despite owning important properties and assets that came from different privileges from the Royal Household and the Anglesola and Cardona families among others, the community was never very big. The 13<sup>th</sup> century was the time of its greatest splendour and vitality, with a constant number of nuns (twelve plus the abbeß), until it started to decline in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

**MONASTERY OF SANT ANTONI ABAT**

A house of Anthonian Hospitallers in the old part of the town, between Carrer Major and Carrer de l’Hospital. Like the other Anthonian houses-hospitals in Catalonia, it belonged to the preceptors general in Olite (Navarre). The foundations were hospitals, where there was a chapel or church dedicated to Saint Anthony the Abbot. They were very austere and comprised a kitchen with refectory or place to prepare meals, a dormitory, a chapel and some service areas. They served to lodge pilgrims and also the sick.

At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with the consent of the counts of Barcelona, the Anthonians installed the house-hospital in the Agoders neighbourhood, where they only attended to the poor of the town. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1319, an agreement was reached between the town council and the commander of the Anthonian friars of Cervera and Tàrrega to resolve differences caused by this hospital (GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 126-129). Some months later, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, James II approved the chapters for the new brotherhood of Saint Anthony and the hospital of Sant Antoni de Jesucrist.<sup>3</sup> This was a great impetus for the works on the hospital and church of Sant Antoni (fig. 5), which went ahead thanks to the order from King James II to the brotherhoods that had not paid the contributions they had pledged (SARRET, 1982: 75).

**MONASTERY OF SANT FRANCESC**

This monastery, that no longer exists, was south of the town centre on the other bank of the Ondara (fig. 6).

The Franciscans settled in Tàrrega in 1318, thanks to King James II, the bishop of Vic, Berenguer de Guàrdia, and the town of Tàrrega, which requested the Friars Minor to come. As a result of this request, Pope John XXII published a bull authorising the founding of this house. In 1322, with the building under construction, James II ordered the transfer of the assets of those affected by leprosy to the Franciscan, allocating those funds to the construction of the monastery in exchange for the Friars caring for the patients.

Alfonso the Benign authorised the Franciscans to use the waters of the county irrigation ditch, which passed close to the monastery. In 1340, Peter

the Ceremonious commissioned the building of a bridge over the river Ondara to facilitate the access from the monastery to the town centre. However, the bridge was not finished until September 1342.

The works on the church and monastery moved ahead very slowly and were not finished until over twenty years later. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1364, the council appointed Joan de Montrós and Ponç de Concabella to request the community of Friars Minor of Vilafranca to held their chapter in the new convent in Tàrrega.<sup>4</sup> Conditioned by this commitment, the council, with Joan de Montrós, a worker on the monastery, at the head, did everything necessary to finish the works for the event.

**CONVENT OF SANTA CLARA**

The convent of Santa Clara, no longer in existence, was founded outside the walls to the west, near the path to Anglesola. One of its leading protectors was the notary Pere Amenós, who, in 1346, drew up a will in favour of the rule of Saint Clare. This will included the founding of the monastery of the nuns of the habit and rule of Saint Clare, with thirteen nuns who had to live according to the canonical rules (SEGARRA I MALLA, 1984: 143).

In 1350, as a result of the many debts he had to bear, Peter the Ceremonious exempted the monastery from attending the army and royal parade. In 1369, the same king Peter made a donation to the monastery on his way through the town of Tàrrega while transferring the remains of his father, Alfonso the Benign, from Barcelona to Lleida.

**CONVENT OF LA MERCÈ**

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1218, the order of the Mercè was founded in the cathedral of Barcelona. The order spread rapidly around Catalonia and reached Tàrrega. The convent, on the outskirts of the town, was founded by James I on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 1227, in gratitude to the Virgin Mary.

In 1451, the Mercedarian community requested the council for permission to build a church and house within the walls of the town. The church was finally built in the centre and the community moved to the place where the church of the Mercè stands today.

**CONVENT OF EL CARME**

This convent, situated in front of the modern Plaça del Carme and known in the past as the Convent of Santa Llúcia, was founded in 1364 thanks to the prior of the Carmelite house in Manresa, who obtained the licence from Pope Urban V, the approval of King Peter III and permission from the town (fig. 7).

The convent must have been too small for the expected requirements as an extension was soon proposed. In 1384, when it was still under construction, Prince Martin granted it some nearby plots to be used as a cemetery and for the needs of the monastery.

The convent was damaged in the Catalan Civil War (1462-1472). In 1472, moves were made to rebuild it. In these circumstances, the relic of the True Cross, which was worshipped there, was lost, but then recovered in 1476.

<sup>[1]</sup> In this sense, we find an illustrative reference from Tàrrega on the 16<sup>th</sup> of September 1450, when an earthquake interrupted the session of the council

just when they were discussing the way to reduce the *censals* that the university owed to the creditors from Barcelona: “en aquest punt feu terratremol e tot lo conceyll decendi cuytadament de la casa de la payria hi ha en aço nos dona fi”. The startled councillors took refuge in the church and, after being recomforted by the divine protection, continued the meeting to its end: “acò fonch fet dins la sglesia maior de Tàrrega justat lo dit consell per causa del terratrèmol”. [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1446-1451)*, f. 192]. See also FARRÉ (2008: 160).

<sup>2</sup> ACUR, FMT, collection of parchments, num. 31.

<sup>3</sup> ACUR, FMT, collection of parchments, num. 21.

<sup>4</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells*, f. 64r.

## 2.2. THE COUNCIL AND THE NOBILITY

**MIQUEL ÀNGEL FARRÉ TARGA**

The development of municipal government in the towns and cities that depended on the public authorities was favoured, whether they came under the Catalan count-kings or the Counts of Urgell. In the western area of Catalonia, this local government went by the name of Paeria, as in the cases of Lleida, Cervera, Balaguer, Agramunt and Tàrrega.

Although the municipality of Tàrrega arose in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there is evidence of a settlement from the beginning of the previous century. The first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was a period of transition of this primary community towards the establishment of a legal entity. This took shape from the second half of the century, with the system of municipal government in Tàrrega being consolidated later.

In broad traits, J. Ribalta and M. Turull establish two periods of evolution until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: from the *consules* to the *universitas* (1214-1274) and from the *universitas* to the municipality (1274-1382) (RIBALTA and TURULL, 1992: 143-231).

In the first period, there was a series of events that established the basis for the further development of the system of the Paeria. Thus, in 1214, there is evidence of activity by four consuls (Guillem de Bell-lloc, Ramon d’Oromí, Jaume de Bell-lloc and Bernat Calvet) who swore oaths of allegiance to King James I at the assembly held in Lleida. With the institution of the uses and customs in 1242, municipal government was developed and facilitated the application of the norms, the imposition of bans and the power to make rulings about water. In the following years, there is proof of the existence of a common *bossa* (chest) and a complex administration able to organise the payment of taxes. At this time, the term *paer* and a new conception of the term *universitat* also appeared. While the *paers* are documented in 1257, the *universitat*, understood as a legal entity that represented the municipality of Tàrrega, did not appear in the documentation until 1274.

In the second period, defined as “from the *universitas* to the municipality (1274-1382)”, there was an ever clearer difference between *universitat* and Consell. The Consell became the organ of government that allowed the *universitat* or collectivity to express their wishes. In the first phase of the organisation of the institution, the system of *mans* (literally “hands”) was established as a social criterion for political election. Starting in 1342 and throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was a tendency towards oligarchisation and the regime of the Paeria was consolidated progressively, reaching a high level complexity and efficiency, and a system of quarters was adopted as a spatial criterion for elections.

James I (1213-1276) was the monarch who most favoured the creation of municipal governments in the royal towns, organisms that were fully consolidated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with many dispositions from James II and Peter III. In principal, the highest organ was the Consell General of the town, made up of all heads of family. This is where the concept of *universitat* arose to designate the authority in Tàrrega, in the hands of all the population (fig.

1). However, for operative reasons, the Consell was limited to a certain group of people (*consellers* or *prohoms*) that varied in number over time. The leaders of the government were the *paers* (three or four), representing the different social estates of the town: *mà major*, *mà mitjana* and *mà menor* (the upper, middle and lower hands). Sometimes, a *paer* represented one of the four most important neighbourhoods. The *batlle* (royal deputy) had to attend the meetings of the Consell, as the delegate of the lord of the town. The elective systems for the posts of government changed with royal decrees that tried to make the Consell representative of all the estates.<sup>1</sup> However, in the Late Middle Ages, the municipal government was dominated by the most privileged estates.

The Paeria had very wide powers. It had civil servants for different roles including the *racional*, the treasurer, the *mostassà* (inspector of weights and measures), notaries and scribes. The Consell could pass ordinances to regulate the fairs and markets, and administered the flour shop, the butcher’s and the ice store, that was often leased to private individuals. It also had tax inspectors and could impose bans and set taxes and extraordinary contributions.

In the supra-municipal field, the territory was organised into *vegueries* (magistracies). The *vegueria* was a system of territorial division that the count-kings of Catalonia imposed on the Principality in the Middle Ages. At the top, there was the *vaguer* or magistrate, a position created by James I in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, with judicial, police, military and administrative powers, in representation of, or delegation from, the king. However, it seems that the official network of *vegueries* in Catalonia was not established until 1301, under James II. The *veguer* had a court, and officials (the *sotsveguer*, the judge, lawyers, etc.) and a scribes’ office with a notary. His role was to apply justice and the king’s dispositions in his *vegueria*. Sometimes, the powers of the *veguer* were confused with those of the *batlle*, which led to conflicts.

At first, the *vegueria* of Tàrrega came under that of Cervera, until the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1330, when King Alfonso III created the *vegueria* of Tàrrega, segregated from Cervera (GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 202-203).

At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, its limits were established.<sup>2</sup> The extension of the *vegueria* of Tàrrega changed over time, often for the powers of neighbouring *vegueries*, political strategy or local interests. However, in the end, it was always the king who decided these territorial questions. In 1357, it reached its minimum extension, only covering the limits of Tàrrega and Preixana, but the growing importance of Tàrrega meant that this area grew again, including municipalities that nowadays form part of the Pla d’Urgell, Segarra and Urgell districts.

The nobility also played a fundamental role in the formation and consolidation of the medieval town. The noble families gradually entered the seats of power in the town, namely the Church and the municipal government.

Since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, members of important noble families had been appointed as the castellans of the castle of Tàrrega for services rendered to the counts in the process of reconquest. These married and succeeded each

other, and divided the incomes from the castellany, protecting their subjects and often abusing their power with the collecting of *censos*<sup>3</sup> from the population. The nobles, through relations of vassalage with an oath of loyalty, made up a well-defined feudal pyramid. The feudal structure of Tàrrega was headed by the king, and under him, the castellany was held by, among others, the Pinós, Peramola, Santafè, Torroja, Oluja, Aguiló, Granyena, Tàrrega and Rufaca lineages. Most members of the families that held the castellany of Tàrrega lived outside the town and did not take part in its affairs. Thus, the castellans remained outside municipal government, with the exception of the Rufacas, the only ones who resided habitually in Tàrrega. In this sense, in 1300, we find a member of the family, Ramon de Rufaca, as a councillor in Tàrrega.<sup>4</sup>

The great noble families who had domains in the district influenced the social and economic development of the town one way or another. So, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1269, one of the members of the Anglesola family, Ramon d’Anglesola, the then bishop of Vic, founded the brotherhood of merchants in the church of Santa Maria in Tàrrega (FARRÉ and MIARNAU, 2007: 85-102). Under this protection, a large number of merchants, furriers and tailors came together in the brotherhood, a circumstance that favoured the development of the Tàrrega market. Trading activity must have been important in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, bearing in mind that on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1242, with the granting of the uses and customs by James I, an eight-day annual fair starting on Saint Matthew’s day was established.<sup>5</sup> The founding of the brotherhood thus served to group the traders together through common interest and, thus, promote and regulate the commercial affairs.

Various members with roots in Tàrrega were relevant in the affairs of the town and the area, and even further afield. Outstanding among these noble families were the Llària, Copons, Oliva, Espigol, Folquet, Perellós and Ardèvol lineages (figs. 2 and 3) (SARRET, 1994: 12-13). The involvement of people from these families in the affairs of the area is quite clear. As an example, the Copons family supplied abbots and abbesses for the Cistercian monasteries of Poblet and Vallbona. Thus, Abbot Ponç de Copons was behind the Gothic works in Poblet and the castle in Verdú. The Espigol family donated a great deal of their heritage to the monastery of El Pedregal. The Folquets had wide influence as merchants all over Catalonia. And the Ardèvol family had special relevance, as Miquel d’Ardèvol founded and instituted the hospital of the Ardèvol in Carrer de Falcó (nowadays Carrer del Carme) and was one of the most important figures behind the urbanization of the Plaça de Sant Antoni (then Plaça de Sant Mateu).

<sup>[1]</sup> In two royal privileges dated the 21<sup>st</sup> of July and 10<sup>th</sup> of August 1313, James II dictated the method for electing the *paers*, thirty councillors and twelve *prohoms*, shared between the three “hands”, for the good government of the Paeria (ACUR, FMT, collection of parchments, nums. 8 and 9). See also SARRET (1982: 50-52).

<sup>[2]</sup> “La vegeria de Tàrrega combrense a sa Mora sobres Taylladel, e passa per za Cardosa e Conyll, e hix al coll d’Agramunt e pel coll d’Almenara

a avall. E compren Almanara e tota la honor d’en Ramon Arnaud. E hix a Bocsènich et a Bellmunt entrò al terme de Muntgay. E puys travessa entrò a la Ràpida. E travessa tot Urgel. E ix al Palau d’Anglèola, que compren e va entrò al terme a Ayguesvives. E passa d’aquí amont, e compren Sidamon. Eix entro al terme d’Arbeca, e comprèn Miralcamp. Eix als Exades, e comprèn Sent Martí. E va entrò al riu d’Analech, e va entrò al riu de Ciutadylla, e va entrò a Vallfagona, e comprèn Guimerà. E torna d’aquí per la serra entrò deyós za Mora, el terme dez Taylladel. Ha lo seynor rey dins aquesta vegeria, qui són seus propis, Tàrrega, Vilagrassa. Pren-se lo comte d’Urgel la iurisdicció de gran res dels castels d’aquesta vegeria ves lo comdat”. (ACUR, FMT, parchments, num. 41; transferred on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1329 by Bernat Bertoní, public notary of Montblanc, from a notebook that is conserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon).

<sup>[3]</sup> A fixed annual payment on a *censal* a fixed-income loan (translator’s note).

<sup>[4]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1300-1334)*, f. 1r. See also SABATÉ (1991: 33).

<sup>[5]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de privilegis II*, f. 1v-3v. See also FONT (1992: 88-89).

## 2.3. THE URBANISM OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWN

**JOAN E. GARCIA BIOSCA**

The joint interpretation of the cartographic and documentary sources allow an evolutionary hypothesis about the medieval town to be put forward that defines it as built by successively adding seven major elements: the county castle, the walled town around the castle, the area built around the Plaça Major, the areas of urban growth prior to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the new convents built at the beginning of that, and surrounding all the previous elements, except some of these religious institutions, the walls built between 1366 and 1370. These set the limits for Tàrrega until the growth of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries began to spill over them and force the progressive demolition of the medieval walled enclosure. We will follow the evolution of the town through these different elements that, over time, became part of it and defined its characteristics.

### THE COUNTY CASTLE

The origins of the fortification that presides over the town have still to be established.<sup>1</sup> Although the first direct documentary reference is from 1056, when Count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona endowed his wife Almodis with a series of castles including those of Granyena, Tàrrega and Cervera,<sup>2</sup> it must date from earlier and perhaps could be linked chronologically to the process of colonisation that began a generation before around the nucleus of Cervera. At that time, there was a tower, perhaps a outlying watchtower to warn the capital of the Segarra about any danger coming up the Ondara valley from L rida, but, in the eyes of the counts of Barcelona, its defensive capacity was insufficient for the role he wanted to assign to this forward position.

The counts of Barcelona planned to convert the small tower into a real fortress and make it the launch point for expansion into Andalusian controlled territory, and also as a centre for colonisation to make the outer frontier more stable. To this end, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1058, the counts of Barcelona invested Ricard Altemir with the castellany of Tàrrega with 40 ounces of gold a year so that, over two years from the following Christmas, he had to finish the building of a new fortification adequate for a contingent of ten knights, who the castellan agreed to maintain until the following festivity of Saint Michael (fig. 1).

The detail given about the works to be done is as unusual as the characteristics of the fortification it was planned to build. This had to have two large towers one hundred “palms” high (approximately 20 m) and as many thick, the first of which was to be built by heightening the existing one, while the second, identical in size, was to be built *ex novo* using stone and lime. These two outstanding elements had to be completed with turrets, 50 “palms” in height and the same in diameter, as well as walls connecting these structures, all built in stone and lime.<sup>3</sup>

After the deadline for the works had expired, they were still not finished, so, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1061, Ricard Altemir agreed to an extra year to build the two towers and another to complete

the turrets and the wall.<sup>4</sup> We do not know if the works were carried out according to the calendar envisaged, but the appointment of the next keeper in 1068 included a doubling, from 10 to 20 knights, of the garrison, while there was as considerable drop in the stipend granted to the county vicar, from 40 ounces of gold to 85 *mancusos* of gold (1 ounce = 10 *mancusos*).<sup>5</sup> Altogether, this seems to imply that the defensive requirements had by then been met, and the place was ready to accept a larger contingent than those assigned in the initial enfeoffments and that focus was now on strengthening the offensive advantages this fortress offered.<sup>6</sup>

### THE WALLED CASTLE TOWN

East of the castle, on the side that drops down to the Ondara, there was the primitive town, possibly from the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and that would have grown up there to service the detachment posted by the counts of Barcelona. This urban embryo would have been structured around streets (like the modern Pujada del Castell) that linked the fortress and lowest and flattest part, built around streets that would correspond to the modern Carrers de la Cendra and d’Urgell (the upper part) and Major and dels Capellans (the lower).<sup>7</sup> From the latter, three gateways through the adjacent wall opened led out of the town. Two of these would have survived as the ones of Urgell and Sant Antoni (fig. 2), while the third was possibly near the old church of Santa Maria,<sup>8</sup> where the Plaça Major is nowadays.<sup>9</sup>

The Plaça Major, the main square of Tàrrega.

### THE AREAS OF GROWTH OUTSIDE THE WALLS

From the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after the Muslim threat had disappeared, we begin to find indications of growth beyond the walls of the primitive walled castle town. The earliest expansion that we see in that century is along the paths that led out through the gateways to the west and north. Thus, around 1155, the town was beginning to grow in the area that was then known as the *vila nova de Tàrrega*<sup>10</sup> (possibly, the modern Carrer de la Vilanova), while, during the 1190s, building spread to the threshing grounds north of the modern Plaça Major, under the Camí del Mor.<sup>11</sup> This area was also the site of large storehouses where large monasteries, like Poblet<sup>12</sup> and especially Santes Creus,<sup>13</sup> stored the crops and incomes from the lands they owned in the municipality. This was also when the first hospitals were set up outside the walls, especially around the streets that led east from the old gateways of the church. These hospitals were destined to attend both to the sick and to travellers and pilgrims.<sup>14</sup>

The plots in the area between the Carrer Major and the river Ondara are particularly regular, like in the new, or newly-planned, towns.<sup>15</sup> This was a way of building based on the regular repetition of party walls made with stone arches with keystones, which could be opened up or sealed off depending on the needs of use or passage (fig. 3). This way of building is documented in Barcelona between the mid and late 13<sup>th</sup> century (GONZÁLEZ, 2003: 152), a chronology coherent with the plausible urbanisation of this sector of medieval Tàrrega.

Thus, there is a stark contrast between the situation at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when there was still mention of animal pens and some isolated houses along the Sequia dels Molins,<sup>16</sup> and the

beginning of the following century, when the growing Jewish community, that had initially settled in the area of the modern Carrer de Sant Agustí, was granted permission by the bishop of Urgell in 1306 to build the synagogue, and again in 1319, with another royal authorisation that ratified the permission from Bishop Ponç of Vic. However, given the difference of years between these two authorisations, there remains the possibility that the 1319 permission was to rebuild the synagogue as a result of the damage caused by possible flooding of the Ondara.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps it was this same flood that obliged the council to rehabilitate the town’s well, possibly known later as the well of the Romans and which was reached through Carrer de la Font.<sup>18</sup> Another significant indication of the rise of this area during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was the extension of the Plaça de Sant Mateu (now de Sant Antoni), an initiative promoted by the neighbours against the wishes of the municipality and for which they obtained permission from King James II to demolish houses and build porches around the square. These have survived down to our times (SEGARRA, 1984: 85; GÜNZBERG, 2003: 384) (fig. 4).

### THE PLAÇA DEL BLAT OR DEL MERCAT

With the expansion of the town beyond the first walls, the church of Santa Maria soon became to small for the growing population. The primitive church must have been extended or rebuilt, possibly between the mid 12<sup>th</sup> and mid 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, as shown by the remains of sculptural decoration dated from around 1215-1225<sup>19</sup> with documents from 1150<sup>20</sup> and 1205<sup>21</sup> which contain the donations to pay for the works then underway.

The gateway next to the old church, at the junction of Carrers Major, d’Urgell, dels Capellans and de Falcó (nowadays Carme) (fig. 5), as well as Carrers d’Agoders, de la Vilanova and de les Piques, had to be demolished before the building of new walls in Peter III’s times to make space for the many uses given to this space around the church of Santa Maria. A sentence from 1319 offers a vivid panorama of both its layout and the activities conducted there. Labourers offered their services in front of the doorway of the church, while on market days, farmers and merchants sold their products. Meanwhile, the women entered the church to take part in the services from the choir through the cemetery gate (closed off by a wall to stop animals from entering).<sup>22</sup>

### THE CONVENT BUILDINGS

The appearance on the periphery of the built-up area of the houses of religious orders is a characteristic trait of the period of economic prosperity prior to the crisis of the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century. The monastery of the Friars Minor was founded on the left bank of the Ondara in 1318, as the result of a common will of King James II and the bishop of Vic, Berenguer de Guàrdia, and the support of the town council (fig. 7). In 1340, the Franciscans managed to connect their monastery to the town by building a bridge that had then to be rebuilt after a flood in 1344.<sup>23</sup> Also, in 1346, not very far from the house of the male branch of the Franciscan order, the Tàrrega notary, Pau Amenós, promoted the creation of the convent of Santa Clara (fig. 7) outside the walls near the road to Anglesola

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(SEGARRA, 1984: 143). A third convent, El Carme, was added in 1364.

**THE WALL OF PETER THE CEREMONIOUS**

The instability caused by the war with Castile and the arrival in the country of companies of foreign mercenaries led Peter III to encourage the refortification of the main towns in his reigns.<sup>24</sup> In 1358, Tàrrega was told to build a new enclosure to protect not only the old walled town but also the growth outside the walls that had taken place between the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>25</sup> This would leave only the convent buildings outside the walls. The works began in 1366 and lasted four years, after which a wall with nine new gates (twelve, according to other sources) circled most of the citadel (figs. 6 and 7).

These works had a large economic impact as they were paid for by a community and an economy much weakened by the crisis of the first half of that century and, especially, by the havoc caused by the plague of 1348. A good example of the extent to which the social fabric of Tàrrega had deteriorated in those years is the petition by the councillors to the king in 1360, asking for the four quarters the town was divided into for the elections to the council to be reduced to two, as the neighbourhoods that congregated in the church of Sant Antoni and in the houses of Creus had been left so depopulated that it was impossible to gather the minimum number of candidates necessary to opt to the Paeria.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it seems that the neighbourhood between the Carrer Major and the Ondara (precisely where the Jewish quarter was) and the area north of the Plaça Major were the worst affected by the events of 1348.

<sup>1</sup> According to information from Anna Colet and Oriol Saula, in charge of the excavations in the castle, no structures or levels have been identified that date clearly from the Andalusian epoch, although some fragments of pottery attributed to that culture have been recovered.

<sup>2</sup> ACA, LFM, f. 481r; FELIU *et al.* (1999): II, 887-890, doc. 479).

<sup>3</sup> “... convenit ad predictos [comitem] et comitissam ut adrescat ipsam turrem que modo est incoata in ipso castro de Tàrrega usque quo habeat centum palmos in altum, et faciat in predicto castro iam dictus Ricardus alteram turrem de petra el calc de centum palmos in altum et de alios centum in gros. Et insuper iam dictus Ricardus faciat ibi alias duas [bestu] rres de quinquaginta p[almo]s in altum unaqueque et de quinquaginta in gros; et inter predictas besturres faciat predictus Ricardus optimos muros de petra et de calc quales ibi conveniunt”. (ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer I, carp. 13, parchment num. 218; ACA, LFM, f. 188r; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: II, 934-935, doc. 511).

<sup>4</sup> “... ut predictus Ricardus habeat in Tàrrega factas optimas it turrets, de centum palmos in alto et de centum in grosso, usque ad festivitatem Sancti Andree que modo erit prima. Et de ista festa sancti Andree que modo venit usque ad aliam festam sancti Andree habeat factas in predicta Tàrrega ii besturres, unaqueque de quinquaginta palmos in altum et de quinguaginta in grossum, et ipsum curtillum quod debet

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<sup>5</sup> ACA, Cancelleria, Ramon Berenguer I, carp. 17, parchment num. 419; ACA, LFM I, f. 189; FELIU *et al.*, 1999: III, 1260-1262, doc. 725).

<sup>6</sup> The excavations done in the castle (personal communication by Anna Colet and Oriol Saula) have yet to shed light on the remains of the fortifications the mentioned documents refer to. However, in contrast, a small set of inner chambers could correspond to these chronologically. Nevertheless, the description of this castle by the royal commissioners in 1328 puts doubts on whether the work was actually done (at least, in the conditions set by the counts of Barcelona), as, on that date, they claim that the fortress was destroyed (“dictum castrum Tàrrege est dirutum”) and was not useful militarily, given that it was “sine turribus et muro et sine aliquo opere”. Then, inside there were only the ruins of the old quarters of the keepers, of which only those of Guerau d’Aguiló were remotely habitable (SABATÉ, 1991: 58). Nor can we discard the possibility that the castle was demolished during an Andalusian counter-attack and that it was thought unnecessary to rebuild it after the city of Lleida had been captured in 1149.

<sup>7</sup> In the plan of the medieval town published in BOLÓS (1997: 560), the original town wall passes between Carrers de la Cendra and Major, with the latter outside the walls. In contrast, the excavation of the Portal de Sant Antoni has shown that this structure dates from before the refortification in Peter III’s times and, in consequence, that the Carrer Major must have been inside the first wall (SAULA *et al.*, 2012: 83 and fol.).

<sup>8</sup> This church was first documented in 1108 in a list of parishes that paid tithes and other tributes to Santa Maria in Solsona (ADS, parchments num. 416, 417 and 418; BACH, 2002: I, 128-130, doc. 75).

<sup>9</sup> The existence of this gate is conjectural and not based on documentary or archaeological data. In contrast, the fact that a series of streets that we know to have existed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century converged next to the church gives this hypothesis feasibility. On the other, in Cervera, a street also linked the castle and the church, next to which there was one of the gates of the old walled castle town. This gate was dismantled, as in Tàrrega, with the extension of the church and the conversion of the surrounding area into the Plaça Major (JULIÀ, 1991: 133).

<sup>10</sup> To become canon of Santa Maria in Solsona, Alegret of Tàrrega endowed himself with the same church, as well “meas casas quas feci in Vilanova de Tàrrega, iuxta casas Ysarni de Castronovo” and other alodia and rights in Vilosell and Torrefeta (ADS, parchments num. 681 and 682; BACH, 2002: II, 441-442, doc. 354). A stretch of wall built during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was called *muralla de Vilanova*; its meemory has survived in the street that still bears this name (SEGARRA & MALLA, 1984: 196).

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<sup>12</sup> In his will, written in 1175, Pere de Talladell donated to the monastery of Poblet “... omnem honorem quem habeo in villa Tàrrega vel in eius terminis et omnia vasa que ibi habeo, scilicet VI tonas et Ilos chubs et una archa et VI portadores et alia que cellario sunt necessaria. Tali videlicet pacto ut abbas et conventum annualiter donent leprosis de Anglerola quinquaginta migeras vini et leprosis de Tàrrega similiter quinquaginta, et hospitali de Tàrrega XXa migeras vini, et predictum sit datum anual[iter] per censum, in die Omnium Sanctorum” (AHN, codex 992 B, f. 154v; ALTISENT, 1993: 389-390, doc. 527).

<sup>13</sup> The houses-cellers of Santes Creus, where the *censo*s and the benefits in kind of crops from their tenants were stored, were at the entrance to the church square, at the junction of the path leading from Tàrrega to El Mor (PAPELL, 2000: 214).

<sup>14</sup> In 1175, Pere de Talladell bequeathed some donations to a “hospital de Tàrrega”, although its whereabouts is not indicated (AHN, codex 992 B, f. 154v; ALTISENT, 1993: 389-390, doc. 527). At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were at least two hospitals in the town: one founded by Miquel d’Ardèvol in 1324 in Carrer de Falcó (nowadays Carme) (GRAUS, 2001: 120 and fol.) and another in Carrer d’Agoders (“hospitalis nominati Beati Antonii, constructi in villa de Tàrrega, in vico de Aguades”), around which an agreement was estblished between the Paeria and the Antonian friars in 1319 (ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 125v-127r; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 126-129, doc. 44). The hospital of the Antonians was later moved to the actual Plaça de Sant Antoni (until then de Sant Mateu), where the church and hospital house were built during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>15</sup> For these phenomena and the morphology that derived from them, see LAVIGNE (2002).

<sup>16</sup> In 1213, Guillem de Montalbà gave Santes Creus a corral that faced “ab oriente in corralle Petri Guerreti et chohendum suorum et Guillelmi et Guillelmi de Tàrrega, ab occidente in domibus Raimundi Ferrarii et de me donante rei, a meridie in cequia molendini, a circio in honore Bernardi de Acrimonti”. (AHN, Clero, Parchments, Santes Creus, carp. 2777, nms. 1 and 2; PAPELL, 2005: II, 770-772, doc. 539).

<sup>17</sup> For this aspect, see the article by Xavier Muntané in this same publication. The excavation carried out in the limits of the old Moli del Codina brought to light a building dated archaeologically from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century that, in the opinion of the team who did the excavation, could correspond to the mentioned synagogue.

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<sup>18</sup> For this, see the contribution by Alberto Velasco in this same volume.

<sup>20</sup> In his will, Gonter left “ad Sancta Maria de Tàrrege morabatium .i. ad eius opere” (ADS, parchment num. 661; BACH, 2002: I, 404-406, doc. 331).

<sup>21</sup> Bernat Granell’s will consigns teh following bequeachment: “ad operam Sanctam Mariam de Tàrrega .xxx. solidos et ad capellanos .XI. solidos per misses” (AHN, Clero, Parchments, Poblet, carp. 2090, num. 15; BISSON, 1993: 389-390, doc. 168).

<sup>22</sup> “... attendentes etiam quod melius, competencius, honestius ac facilius gentes et potissime domine et alie mulieres, que in superiori parte supra ecclesiam sunt et degunt, venient ad orandum ad dictam ecclesiam, si per dictum cimiterium transire poterint, quam si transire habentur per plateam dicte ville, impediuntibus cultoribus et agricolis, qui ad portale maius quilibet die locant operas suas, et etiam mercacionibus, que ante ipsum portale fuerint comuniter precipue in die fori, [...] quod portalia dicti cimiterii sint et stent perpetuo aperta et sine ianuis, ponendo tamen rexias ferreas in quolibet portali taliter quod animalia quadrupedum dictum cimiterium intrare minime valeant” (ACUR, FMT, LPT I, f. 57r-58v; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 127r-128v; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 129-131, doc. 45).

<sup>23</sup> The excavation of the bridge in question, as well as part of the convent, has given a good idea of the size of the works. For this, see COTS (2012: 118 and fol.).

<sup>24</sup> For the general characteristics of this phenomenon, see VERDÉS (2003).

<sup>25</sup> For the process of construction and the line of the new wall, see SEGARRA (1984: 178-198) and SALAS FLOTATS (1996).

<sup>26</sup> “... et nunc due ex dictis partibus, ille videlicet que congregabantur in ecclesia Sancti Anthonii et domibus Sanctarum Crucum, a tempore mortalitatis citra fuerint ita ad parum numerum reduce et bonis personis viduate, quod in nulla ipsarum reperitur aliqua persona suficiens, que ad dicta officia paciaritius et consiliariatus admitti possit”. (ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 57v-58r; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 366-368, doc. 194).

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**THE WALL OF PETER THE CEREMONIOUS**

**THE JEWS, A SIGN OF THE PENETRATION AND ASSIMILATION IN TÀRREGA IN THE FIGURE OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL MUNICIPALITY**

The arrival of the first Jews in Tàrrega towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century can be understood as a sign of the evolution of the town at that time. The presence of these new inhabitants is another indicator of the growth that followed the approval by James I of the *Usos i Costums* for the town of Tàrrega in 1242. However, the social, economic and political maturity that the town had reached in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, reflected precisely in the concession of these regulations,<sup>1</sup> was only the base for the future municipal organisation of Tàrrega, the evolution and consolidation of which has to be compared events in other parts of the Principality.

In a limited way during the 13<sup>th</sup> century and more generally during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a system of organisation and local government was developed in Catalonia that produced a social and legal personality similar to human communities in the territory. In this sense, the *Usos i Costums* of Tàrrega mark the town moving from a high-medieval communal regime and acquiring some of the legal features necessary for it to adopt and consolidate the model of late-medieval municipality, although it had yet to reach this model.<sup>2</sup>

The arrival of the Jews is evidence of this asymmetry: nonexistent or present perhaps only sporadically in the town before 1242,<sup>3</sup> the figure of the Jew did not appear in the 25 chapters of the *Usos i Costums* of Tàrrega.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, as the Jewish minority cannot be dissociated from the history of the late medieval Catalan municipality,<sup>5</sup> the population of Tàrrega always included members of this community in this stage. This is the perspective from which we consider these first Jews as a sign of the penetration and consolidation in the town of the features of the late medieval municipality.

**THE JEWS AND THE MUNICIPAL ECONOMY**

The initial stage of this model of organisation, especially during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup>, was characterised by a period of social transformation and economic growth. It would have been difficult for it to be accepted and to spread as it did if it had not meant an improvement in the lives of the local communities, or if it had not been shown to be an effective means of participating in the social and economic progress being experienced by other communities in the same territory.

Excluded from the first aspect, in other words, social progress, segregated by ecclesiastical instruction and royal will from the Christian population, the Jews did however, participate intensively in the economic activity of the privileged setting of the medieval municipality. Almost all the documents about the first Jews in Tàrrega that have survived in the de Urgell District Archive relate to economic questions. There is a dominance of references to the office of the public *corredor*<sup>6</sup> the rest show the Jews participation in the money market as lenders.<sup>7</sup>

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From time to time in the oldest volumes of the books of proceedings of the council in Tàrrega, there are lists of those who swore to exercise as public *corredor* in the town. There were many fewer Jews, almost always annotated at the end of these registers, than Christians and their surnames appear time and again without any specific frequency and few changes between 1300 and 1332: Avinpelx, Avingaic, Rimoc, Cera, Mocatill, Bedog, Satorre, etc. In contrast, in 1343 and 1344, there were two lists of *corredors* at the fair in which, for the first time, Jews outnumbered the Christians. These included some from Barcelona, Monzón, Lleida and Tudela.<sup>10</sup>

These Jews were of great importance for consolidating the trading activity of Tàrrega, especially for attracting merchants and purchasers from distant places to the fair.<sup>11</sup> In a council meeting in 1361, just after the fair, recognition was given to three Jewish *corredors* for the work they had done for free to seek clients (“an ajudat aytant com an pogut en aporroquiar la fira de gràcia”) and it was decided, “per ço que d’ací a avant se tinguen miyls pertanguts de donar profit a la fira”, and to reward them with 20 *sous*.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, the capital lent by the Jews meant an injection of liquidity of a different kind than the traditional one. In fact, beside the lending known as survival loans, characteristic of Jewish medieval lending and that is also found in Tàrrega,<sup>13</sup> there is evidence of loans to the municipal government, both in Tàrrega itself and to nearby places. Although it is true that at that time in Tàrrega, there was no shortage of Christians who lent money to Christians, the arrival of the Jews, some extremely rich, meant an increase in cash flow and thus, commercial transactions, communal investments, etc.

The attraction of a population in transformation like Tàrrega for the Jews is evident. These population movements were perhaps one of the most visible elements of the progress and expansion of the town.

**A DEED OF DEBT BETWEEN THREE CHRISTIANS FROM VERDÚ AND A JEW FROM TÀRREGA**

The deeds of debt are notarial documents that prove that one or more people are indebted to another person who has lent them money. This one, like most deeds of debt, contains the name(s) of the debtor(s) and the creditor(s), the amount lent, the *lucrum* or interest, the date of repayment or payment of the debt and the conditions in case of non-compliance. The deed of debt was held by the Jewish creditor and he returned it to the Christian debtor once the later had repaid the debt, as proof of payment. The notary also kept a copy in the manual of notes.

In the case of this deed of debt, from 1336, the jew who had it in his possession noted the names of the debtors the quantity owed and the terms of payment on the outside in Hebrew, to make it easier to consult.

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The walls of the citadel in Segarra.

(SEGARRA, 1984: 143). A third convent, El Carme, was added in 1364.

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The walls of the citadel in Segarra.

[verso]

[línia 1]

The walls of the citadel in Segarra.

[translation line 1] Ramon Barba, Pericó Barba, Arnal Barba. 250 sous. 100 sous in mid August [1336. 150 sous in [the year (said)], for [All (Saints)].

**THE JEWS AND URBANISM IN MEDIEVAL TÀRREGA**

As the documents in the Urgell District Archive move towards 1300 and the years immediately after, there is a rise in the number of Jewish names. This ongoing trickle of new neighbours was characterised in that case by their religion. The Jewish newcomers tended to congregate together for religious reasons, which led to the appearance of a specific area within the medieval Christian town, the Jewish quarter, with the homes and public buildings of the Jews, and a common space with shared elements, especially in the butchery, where the meat for the Jews was usually sold on separate tables.

There are various indications that Jews who settled in the town during the 13<sup>th</sup> century chose the area near the Bell-lloc gate in the modern Carrer de St. Agustí).<sup>15</sup> Various reasons, including

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New streets, more houses and shops, some special buildings like the synagogue and the bakery added to and expanded the urban layout of medieval Tàrrega and shaped it in a way that is still visible nowadays.

<sup>1</sup> J. M. FONT (1992), *Els Usos i Costums de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, Ajuntament de Tàrrega, Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Tàrrega and Museu Comarcal de l’Urgell, p. 21-27.

<sup>2</sup> J. RIBALTA, M. TURULL (1987), Alguns aspectes del règim municipal de Tàrrega i Cervera al segle XIV, Tàrrega, Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent; M. TURULL (1990), *La Configuració Jurídica del municipi Baix-Medieval. Règim Municipal i Fiscalitat a Cervera entre 1180-1430*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera.

<sup>3</sup> By this, we understand the Christian town between the reconquest of the castle and its territory in the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century by Ramon Berenguer I (1035-1076) and the concession of the *Usos i Costums* by James I (1242).

<sup>4</sup> The same did not occur with other uses and customs, like those for Tortosa, Lleida or Barcelona.

<sup>5</sup> To obtain an idea of the spread of the Jewish communities around Catalan territory in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, see the map by J. RIERA (1987), *Catalunya i els jueus*, Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya.

<sup>6</sup> The person who acted as the go-between for negotiating sales and loans. Translator’s note.

<sup>7</sup> The money-lending activity of these Jews is not much documented in Tàrrega because the books of notes and the manuals of the notaries in Tàrrega form these centuries have not survived. In the Parish Archive of Verdú (from here on, APV), in contrast, thanks to the research project we are carrying out, we have found clear evidence of the dedication to usury of these Jews and other that do not appear in the Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell.

<sup>8</sup> M. SÁNCHEZ, (1978) “Impuls comercial i financer entre el 1200 and el 1350: Mercaders i banquers.”, in *Història Salvat de Catalunya*. Barcelona, Ed. Salvat, vol. III, Salvat p. 104; C. BATLLE (2004), *Fires i mercats: Factors de dinamisme econòmic i centres de sociabilitat (segles XI a XV)*, Barcelona, Rafael Dalmau, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> The weekly market was held on Thursdays until 1458, when Mondays were added, L. SARRIET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, A. G. Camps, p. 395. The fair of Tàrrega was granted by James I in 1242; in fact, this was the last chapter of the *Usos i Costums*. At first, it lasted eight days from Saint Matthew’s day (the 21<sup>st</sup> of September),

then it was extended to ten, from Saint Martin (11<sup>th</sup> November) and, after 1417, with a return to 11 days it was given permission to last for 20. G. GONZALVO *et al* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis de Tàrrega: 1058-1473*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, num. 6 § 25 and num. 55; L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, p. 368-369.

<sup>10</sup> References and transcriptions of these documents are in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts per a l'estudi de l'aljama jueva de Tàrrega. Documents i regesta*, Barcelona, PPU.

<sup>11</sup> As also happened with the fair of Cervera, M. TURULL (1991), “Intercanvi comercial, fira i mercat a Cervera entre 1136 i 1392”, *Miscel·lània Cerverina*, num. 7, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1361-1367), f. 18r [24.11.1361].

<sup>13</sup> This was a loan of small amounts of money, at an interest of up to 20% per year, the maximum rate allowed in the domains of the Catalan kings, the beneficiaries of which usually came from the most humble classes. It was called “of survival” because the money was used to tide them over until the next harvest or to purchase tools and basic raw materials to enable them to work.

<sup>14</sup> Our thanks to Father Ramon Roca for enabling us to consult and reproduce it. Transcription and translation by Josep Xavier Muntané.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, after populating what was the nucleus of the medieval town, in other words, the Plaça del Blat (actual Pl. Major) and the main streets that radiated from the square as the roads that led to the main places in the territory (Barcelona and Lleida), the town grew from the Plaça St. Mateu (later St. Antoni) towards the river, following the Verdú road, around Carrer de Bell-lloc. This area was at one end of medieval Tàrrega. It was a relatively quiet area as the traffic along the main road was concentrated at the other gates. It was also quiet from a religious point of view, being far from the parish of Sta. Maria, and the Franciscan convent on the other side of the river still did not exist. Moreover, the place chosen by the first Jewish settlers must have been close to the river Ondara, whose floods heavily affected the primitive synagogue.

## 2.5. SANTA MARIA IN TÀRREGA IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

Until 1672, the Plaça Major, the main square of Tàrrega was presided over by a monumental medieval church dedicated to Saint Mary. However, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February that year, the bell tower collapsed (fig. 1-2), probably due to the damage suffered in the earthquake of 1660, which caused widespread devastation in the town.<sup>1</sup> The fall of the steeple destroyed two bays of the nave and three side chapels, Santes Espines, Sant Blai and Sant Jordi. Immediately after the collapse, building began on a new Baroque church, a process that involved the progressive demolition of the old structures as the new ones were erected. The new church was finally consecrated in 1696, although not all the work had been finished.<sup>2</sup>

There are very few surviving material remains from the medieval church in Tàrrega and we have few documentary references to help us to know its artistic history. Moreover, we also lack a study that brings together all the existing information, which would give us a much clearer idea of the original appearance of the building (fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> Its origins must be sought in the Romanesque period, coinciding with the growth of the town. From the last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and especially over the following century, the main nucleus had grown up in the shadow of the castle, as in many places around the Catalan territories.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the start of work on the church coincided with the expansion of the town towards the east, and that the church and its vestry formed the backbone of the area, including the Plaça Major on the south side of the church.

Starting from the little information available, Lluís Sarret i Pons supposed that this was a 12<sup>th</sup>-century building.<sup>5</sup> As we shall see below, this church must have had a single nave and apse facing east, but we can say little else. The Urgell District Museum holds the only surviving remains (of any size) from this primitive Romanesque church, namely a capital that the tradition says is from Santa Maria and that is currently now attributed for the first time to the workshop of the sculptor Ramon de Bianya (see the corresponding entry in this same catalogue). Its style indicates a very precise chronology, around 1215-1225, bearing in mind the intervention of that workshop in the Lleida and Urgell area (Lleida, Anglesola and Vallbona de les Monges). This is the only element that can supply us with any information about the high medieval church, the building of which began in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and continued over the following century.<sup>6</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> century was a time of important demographic and economic growth for the town. This must be analysed alongside the concession of statutes and customs to the people of Tàrrega by James I in 1242, as it implied a regulation of the population and the creation of a local council.<sup>7</sup> These changes and the resulting prosperity help to explain the important urban reforms in Tàrrega in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, part of a process that spread all over Catalan territory.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, from the point of view of the civil administration, it became the capital of the *vegueria* after 1330,<sup>9</sup> while, in the religious terrain, the diaconate of Tàrrega, in the bishopric of Vic and outside that of Cervera, had

been created five years earlier.<sup>10</sup> This was at one of the high points in the town’s history, reflected in the vigour of its craftsmen and traders and, especially, the wealth and the rise of its important Jewish aljama.<sup>11</sup>

The monarchy contributed to this splendour by granting numerous privileges, many of them after the town had paid large amounts of money to the royal household. The king who contributed most to this was James II (1291-1327), who awarded the town some sixty privileges. Thus, on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1327, the monarch promised not to separate Tàrrega from the Crown because it was “[...] locum solemnem, notabilem, et insignem”.<sup>12</sup> This rise of the town under James II led to large architectural and urban changes, with a series collective initiatives that contributed to its beautification, most of which were backed by the monarchy. These included the reform and extension of what is nowadays the Plaça de Sant Antoni (ca. 1319), the founding of the hospital of Saint Anthony (ca. 1321), together with the brotherhood and chapel dedicated to the same saint, the project for a new well (ca. 1321), and the building of the Franciscan monastery outside the walls (from 1318).<sup>13</sup>

The urban physiognomy of Tàrrega was undergoing rapid changes and the town council was fully involved in the process. The definitive layout of the walls was finished during the reign of Peter the Ceremonious (1366-1370),<sup>14</sup> while the council paid for some projects that contributed to transforming the street plan. These included the gateway that was built in 1330 near the Franciscan monastery, “en lo camí que es a cap del carrer dels frares menors lo qual torne al camí de Verdú” (on the path to Verdú),<sup>15</sup> or the bridge built close to the same monastery, for which various municipal *deixes* (legates) are documented between 1342 and 1344. The last of these *deixes*, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1344, highlights the importance of the involvement of the council, because it was “common work for all the town”.<sup>16</sup> Outstanding amongst the private initiatives was that of the Ardevól family, who founded a hospital just in front of the family home, in the modern Carrer del Carme. This was finished in 1324<sup>17</sup> and was in full operation in 1342, when the municipal Council qualified it as “obra comuna per Tàrrega i necessària a la vila” (common and necessary work for Tàrrega).<sup>18</sup>

The Ardevòls also had a chapel built dedicated to *Corpus Christi*, an annex to the family’s palace, which would hold the magnificent tombs of two members of the family, nowadays in the National Museum of Art of Catalonia and that date from 1365-1370.<sup>19</sup>

All these public and private initiatives can be explained by the favourable economic climate and the dynamism of the Tàrrega oligarchy and authorities of that time. The works done during James II’s reign became, moreover, the context in which we must see the important reforms carried out in the church of Santa Maria, outstanding among which was the building of a monumental Gothic doorway with apostles on the jambs (some of which can be seen in the Urgell District Museum). This was very innovative in the Catalan context of those years.<sup>20</sup> A growing town whose layout was undergoing profound changes also needed a church that was adequate for the new times.

The lack of documentation prevents us from knowing the real extent of the reforms carried out in the church, but we have to suppose that these were very significant. This can be deduced from a series of unpublished references from the municipal documentation. One of these, from 11<sup>th</sup> January 1341, is an authorisation from the Council for Bernat Senres to build a chapel. Senres was fulfilling one of the conditions of his father’s will, which stipulated the building of a chapel “en la volta primera de l’església de Santa Maria” (which we thus suppose, was parallel to the first bay of the church).<sup>21</sup> The rest is a series of references corresponding to the period between 1324 and 1344, which mentions *deixes ad opera* for the parish church and from which it can be supposed that the work was underway.<sup>22</sup>

Everything seems to indicate that these *deixes ad opera* were not generic, in other words, destined to a fund that could be used when required, but rather that the church of Santa Maria was undergoing a profound reform that surely dated from years before. This is shown by three more items from which a certain amount of building activity can be deduced. The first is the town council’s desire to build a steeple. According to a royal document from 11<sup>th</sup> May 1340, Tàrrega council had passed a tax on meat to collect money for building the belfry,<sup>23</sup> which indicates that, if this was not already under construction, work on it was about to begin. A second reference to this work is an agreement by the Council in 1343 which reported on a series of stones and slabs that were causing problems “en lo mercadal que és davant la església” (in the square in front of the church), and bothering merchants and buyers.<sup>24</sup> The same can be said of a report form 6<sup>th</sup> July of the following year, in which the Council agreed to allocate the money that the rector had earned with the sale of some roof tiles from the church for the purchase of two 6-pound wax torches for the festivity of Corpus.<sup>25</sup> These stones that got in people’s way and the tiles the rector sold were surely spare material from the reforms mentioned above.

The building of the Gothic doorway was certainly one of the most important projects in this reform. It was done around 1315-1320, a date we propose based on the style of the apostles conserved in the Urgell District Museum and a report from 1319 that is analysed below in detail. Something similar can be stated for the building of the belflower that collapsed in 1672, that, as we have seen, must have been started around 1340 (fig. 2).<sup>26</sup> It is thus highly likely that the project for the doorway was already complete and the Council concentrated its efforts on the other structure for the church.

This all indicates a major renovation probably caused by the lack of space in the Romanesque church, that would have become too small owing to the growth of the town and its population. From the information mentioned, it can be deduced that the reform meant adding various chapels and a massive Gothic façade on the south side, as well as such other structures as the belflower. We do not know if the scope of the reform also implied a renewal of the liturgical scenography of the high altar, but this is also very likely. In this sense, we should not discount the building of an altarpiece or that some kind of work was done on the high altar that the alabaster virgin, nowadays in the Urgell District Museum,

would have been part of. This figure has been dated from the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (see the corresponding entry in this same catalogue).<sup>27</sup> The same can be said about a wooden Virgin of the Milk from Tàrrega (fig. 4), from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in the Episcopal Museum in Vic since 1918 (num. inv. 5498, 77 cm). Unfortunately, it is not known which the church it comes from.<sup>28</sup> This is the same with the large Christ on the cross now in the Frederic Marès Museum in Barcelona (MFMB 731, 143 × 27 × 22 cm), and whose arms have been lost (fig. 5). Stylistically, it resembles the work of Jaume Cascalls and parallels can be found in the Lleida area in Agramunt, Balaguer and Cervera.<sup>29</sup>

In any case, it is not very likely that the reform involved a full demolition of the existing church and its replacement with a completely new building, even more so bearing in mind that there is abundant news about the poor state of the building in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> Our hypothesis is based on documentary evidence that will have to be corroborated by the archaeology if possible. That is why the reconstruction of the monument we present here is full of questions (fig. 3) that we will try to answer in the future.

From the historical-artistic point of view, the most interesting of the structures built in the church is the doorway, on the façade that faced the Plaça Major.<sup>31</sup> The collapse of the bell tower in 1672 did not affect it, but the building of the new Baroque church meant it being disassembled, an operation done in 1709. On that date, the *Llibre d’obra* of the church tells us about the withdrawal of the sculptures of the apostles, Jesus and the Virgin Mary.<sup>32</sup> Thanks to this news, we can document something that we knew from other documents, in other words, that the doorway was presided over by an apostolate located on the jambs and an image of the Virgin that occupied the central mullion.<sup>33</sup> It also allows us to deduce that the tympanum had a Christological representation, surely of the judgmental type, mandatory on this type of doorways following the French tradition and that were beginning to appear in the Crown of Aragon in those times.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the sculptures from the doorway were reused in the new church, while others suffered a curious fate that we tried to recreate in an earlier work.<sup>35</sup> Nowadays the Urgell District Museum holds five apostles. We can make interesting deductions about the authorship of the project for the doorway and its building from these. Then, in the actual parish church of Santa Maria there is series of sculptural elements that could be *membra disiecta* of the doorway and that supply complimentary information.<sup>36</sup> They have been reused in various parts in the building but in places that mean they are not very accessible to the public. These are, firstly, two sculpted heads on the north and east walls of the bell tower, at a height of about fifteen metres (fig. 6-7). Given the style, we attribute them to the Mestre d’Anglesola, who, as we shall see, is surely the sculptor around whom the project or the doorway revolved. There is a third head on the south face of the bell tower (fig. 8) at about the same height, but the style seems more *quattrocentista* and, thus there are doubts about it having come from the doorway. Although we have been unable to inspect these elements in detail, the flat ledge of the upper part of some indicates that these could

be corbels (perhaps the figures of the apostles rested on them).<sup>37</sup>

Besides these, we have found two other reused sculpted elements that may have been related to the Gothic doorway. These were found in the dead space between the vaults of the current church and the roof. This is a series of large ashlars, long in shape decorated with diamond patterns, a very common motif in medieval doorways from the Romanesque period and that survived through the Gothic.<sup>38</sup> The fact that this motif was used over a long chronological period, especially during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, prevents us from dating these elements. One of these ashlars is in a crossing space in a wall under the roof, in the access to the vaults of the central nave, reached from the stairs that start on the side with the remains of Ferran Saperas (fig. 9). The most important set of ashlars is in a blocked-up hole on the inside of the façade at the bottom of the church. We can clearly see this empty space this was covered with a series of ashlars from the medieval epoch, three of which, in their current position, show the decorations with diamond patterns (fig. 9). According to time span of the building of the Baroque church, this part was not finished until the 1740s,<sup>39</sup> given that it had to await the dismantling of the Gothic doorway in 1709. Therefore, it is possible that some of the ashlars from the doorway were used to cover the hole. Moreover, the dimensions of these ashlars indicate that they were part of a large doorway.

Going back to the five apostles and the fragments of others in the Urgell District Museum, it can be deduced from the stylistic analysis that at least three sculptors worked on them.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that one of them was more important for the project than the others. The former was an architect who we know more or less well, namely the Mestre d’Anglesola, an epithet behind which there is one of the most interesting artistic characters of Catalan sculpture from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The work that gives this anonymous master his name is the frontal-altarpiece originally from the church of Anglesola, nowadays in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and he is attributed with other works from the modern provinces of Tarragona and Lleida.<sup>41</sup> His style fitted the patterns of early Gothic sculpture in Catalonia, characterised by a strong French influence that surely indicates the artist’s origins, as the specialists in this question have unanimously agreed.

The surviving remains show that the Mestre d’Anglesola was the leading artist on the project for the doorway, which, given its characteristics, was a relatively pioneering initiative in the Crown of Aragon. The work must have involved the master spending a long time in Tàrrega and surrounding himself with collaborators to help carry out the commission. The fact that he took on a project like this demonstrates his versatility and ability to tackle a range of works, as we see him moving comfortably in such fields as the production of altarpieces, tombs and individual figures.<sup>42</sup> Thus, it is possible that the other artists who participated on the project did so under his orders and that, as master builder, he was also in charge of the architectural aspects besides his responsibilities for the sculptures. This is shown by the kind of doorway erected in Tàrrega, almost unknown in Catalan lands and whose

origins lie in the French world, from where the artist is supposed to have come. We cannot forget that Tàrrega is about sixty kilometres from Santes Creus, which was then becoming an important centre for the spread of the new ideas from France, with very innovative projects that converted it into the place where the most avant-garde artistic works of that time in Catalonia were being done.<sup>43</sup>

To date, the only chronology we have of a work by the Mestre d’Anglesola is for the tomb of Ramon Folc VI of Cardona in Poblet (fig. 10), done around 1320, the year of Folc’s death.<sup>44</sup> This places us in a context that can be linked with the above-mentioned *deixes* for the work on the church in Tàrrega, the first of which dates from 1324. However, we have to add a much more interesting detail from 1319, that had not been related to the doorway until now. This is a document that states that the market square was the busiest and noisiest place, and thus the men and women who lived in the upper part of the town managed to obtain permission to enter the church from the back, through the cemetery, so avoiding having to pass through the square, where the “portale maus” of the church was located.<sup>45</sup> The fact that the doorway is mentioned in this document obliges us to ask whether it was the one that the Mestre d’Anglesola worked on or the previous one. Bearing in mind that the sculptor was working in Poblet the following year, this could indicate that the Tàrrega doorway could have been built (or at least begun) before 1319.<sup>46</sup> However, the information in the document in question is excessively brief to enable this to be confirmed with any confidence.

The fact that the doorway faced out onto the most important square in the town and one of its most emblematic places, conditioned its monumentality and decoration. These aspects magnified the access to the building and affected the visual perception the faithful had of this architectural structure. This was an addition to an existing building and which furthermore served as a connection with one of the busiest and most densely occupied places, the market (fig. 3). In short, the doorway acted as the link between the public area of the square and the consecrated space of the church.<sup>47</sup>

These questions lead us to ask about the topography and orientation of the medieval church (fig. 3). This apparently did not coincide with the current building, which is orientated north-south.<sup>48</sup> In the Middle Ages it was mandatory for the churches to face east, with which we deduce that this changed with the building of the new church, as happened with many other churches during the Modern Age. Otherwise, in the Gothic centuries, the major doorways with apostles on the jambs were also the main access points to the churches, and tended to be placed at the foot of the church, on the west side of the building. However, this was sometimes impeded by external factors, as for example, in Vilagrassa, where the doorway is on the north side, also facing onto the place where the market was held.<sup>49</sup> In the case of Tàrrega, the position of the market place to the south of the church determined the position of the doorway, which was logically placed on the south wall of the church, at a point level with the last of the three bays of the nave of the present church.<sup>50</sup> There would have been no sense in having such an imposing

façade at the foot of the church, facing away from one of the main public places in the town.

In the study of the urban and parochial setting, the cemetery located at the foot of the doorway, played a fundamental role (fig. 3). The first news we have about burials in this area dates from the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1391, when the rector confirmed the cemetery of the parish church was where the market was held.<sup>51</sup> However, the documentation seems to indicate that the burials did not take place in the area of the square until after the building of the doorway, which is symptomatic and interesting. Until that time, burials only took place on the north side of the church, in the modern Plaça dels Àlbers and Plaça de Lluís Millet.<sup>52</sup> This extension of the cemetery on the south side could have been a consequence of the construction of the doorway, which converted that area of the church into the most adequate place to rest eternally.<sup>53</sup> The existence of an architectural structure that enormously dignified the church, the square and, in general, the urban appearance of the town possibly encouraged a manifest desire of some of the people of Tàrrega to be buried at the foot of the main access to the church, as it had become a privileged place.<sup>54</sup> In this sense, the tomb of the person who was buried in front of, or near, a doorway (*in porticu* or *ante limina*) would be walked over by the faithful on entering and leaving the church, a sign of humility before the community. Moreover, the defunct would benefit from the passing of relics and processions over their tombs, while they were also in a privileged and symbolic place awaiting the opening of Heaven’s Gates on the day of the Final Judgement, near Christ the Judge who, in the case of Tàrrega, had been sculpted on the doorway.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>[1]</sup> M. A. FARRÉ TARGA (2008), “Fenòmens naturals i religiositat a la Tàrrega dels segles XVI-xx”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 22, p. 160. Apart from through the documents, we know the date of the collapse of the tower through a plaque on the outside of the base of the chapel of the Santes Espines in the new parish church and that has survived until today.

<sup>[2]</sup> M. GARGANTÉ (2004), “L’església parroquial de Tàrrega durant els segles XVII i XVIII: Del classicisme de fra Josep de la Concepció al barroquisme de Pere Costa”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 17, p. 183-207.

<sup>[3]</sup> In this sense, see A. VELASCO (forthcoming), “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

<sup>[4]</sup> J. BOLÓS (1997), “Vila de Tàrraga”, in *Catalunya romànica*, vol. XXIV, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, p. 557-559.

<sup>[5]</sup> “Era d’istil romànic, probablement del segle XII; no tan gran com la d’avui sinó que tenint la façana a la Plaça, l’absis arribava a poca diferència on en la d’avui acaben les capelles de la Puríssima i de les Ànimes i comença el cimbori; de manera que el que avui és creuer, presbiteri, sagristia i campanar, llavors era cementiri. El campanar era a la part del carrer de Cervera i la Capella

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de les Santes Espines sota el campanar, cap a la part del cementiri; a l'altra banda del presbiteri, cap a la part del carrer de Sant Joan, hi havia un portal per on entraven a l'església, passant pel cementiri, els veïns dels carrers de Sant Joan i Santa Maria". See L. SARRET (1926a), “Església parroquial I: Ruïna de l’església vella. Plànol per a la fàbrica de la nova”, *Crònica Targarina*, num. 247 (22<sup>nd</sup> May), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> In 1268, the document of the founding of the brotherhood of merchants of Tàrrega, the members mentioned that it was constituted “to the honour of the Virgin Mary, mother of the Saviour, and her glorious altar built, blessed and consecrated in the church of Tàrrega”. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> J. M. FONT (1953), “Costumbres de Tàrrega”, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, num. 54, p. 429-443. Later published in J. M. FONT (1992), *Els usos i costums de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, Ajuntament de Tàrrega. Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Tàrrega and Museu Comarcal de l’Urgell.

<sup>8</sup> For this process, see J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, pàssim. See also the summary of this period by J. M. PLANES (1987), “La Tàrrega dels segles XIV-XV”, in *L'evolució històrica de Tàrrega (des de la prehistòria fins al 1987)*, Lleida, Museu Comarcal de Tàrrega and Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Cultura, p. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, A. G. Camps, p. 108, doc. XIII; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (ed.) (1997), *Libres de privilegis de Tàrrega: 1058-1473*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, p. 187-188 and 202-204, doc. 71 and 82.

<sup>10</sup> J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 95; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (ed.) (1997), *Libres de privilegis de Tàrrega: 1058-1473*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, p. 166-168, doc. 56-57.

<sup>11</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts per a l'estudi de l'aljama jueva de Tàrrega: Documents i regesta*, Barcelona, PPU.

<sup>12</sup> L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, A. G. Camps, p. 91; J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 99.

<sup>13</sup> For all these projects, see J. M. SEGARRA (1973), *Recull d'episodis d'història targarina, des del segle xi al xx*, Tàrrega, Francesc Camps, p. 21; L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, Camps, p. 67-70; J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 81 and 84-87; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (ed.) (1997), *Libres de privilegis de Tàrrega: 1058-1473*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, p. 131, doc. 46. Regarding the founding of the monastery of the Friars Minor in 1318, Pope Joan XXII issued the bull *Clara Ordinis Vestri*, which awarded the order the founding of a convent in Tàrrega, following a

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request by James II, the bishop of Vic and the town council. See P. SANAHUJA (1959), *Història de la seràfica província de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Seràfica, p. 100; J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> M. SALAS FLOTATS (1996), “Les obres d’emmurament de la vila de Tàrrega (1366-1370)”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 9, p. 81-96.

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<sup>15</sup> Arxiu Comarcal de l’Urgell (henceforth, ACUR), FMT, *Llibre de consells (1300-1334)*, f. 105v-106r.

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<sup>17</sup> In a document from 1324, Miquel d’Ardèvol mentions the “hospítal que vaig fer construir en la dita vila, en les cases que foren d’en Falcó, al carrer també anomenat Falcó”, a name that then referred to Carrer del Carme.

See L. SARRET (1931), *Nobiliari targari*, Tàrrega, F. Camps Calmet, p. 54-55.

<sup>18</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 8r.

<sup>19</sup> F. ESPAÑOL (1993), “Els sepulcres monumentals d’època gòtica a l’Urgell”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 5, p. 120-125.

<sup>20</sup> A. VELASCO (2009), “Els apòstols de la desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 227-248; A. VELASCO (forthcoming), “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans, forthcoming.

<sup>21</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 6v.

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<sup>22</sup> Two are from the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1324 and are related to the some provisions by the council about breaches by the elected councillors. The first imposes fines of 100 *morabatins*, of which half had to donated to “the work on the church in Tàrrega”, while, the fine in the second was 12 *sous*, that all had to go to the work (ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells [1300-1334]*, f. 165r i 165v). The following news is from the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1342, when it was decided that, during liturgical celebrations, the *baci* o collecting bowl for the work on the high church had to be passed round after the one for the poor ashamed. This document dictated orders about the collecting of alms during the services in the church and also decided that the *baciners* who breached these rules would have to pay a fine that would go to the bowl of the works. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 285. The fact that the money collected from these fines was destined to the works on the church may indicate that it was an ongoing project that required resources. We can say the same about an agreement

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by the municipal council in October 1343 which stated that the councillors who were late to the council meetings after the bells were rung, would pay a fine of 6 *diners*, 4 of which would go to the works on the church (ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells [1341-1344]*, f. 55v). The last piece of news is from January of the following year, when the council agreed to send a letter of supplication to the bishop of Vic to request that a quarter of the money collected from those who had uttered insults be destined to the works on the church (ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells [1341-1344]*, f. 62v).

<sup>23</sup> J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 128. The document is a royal missive in which the monarch ordered that 1,000 *sous* from the money collected with this tax should be given to the Friars Minors to build a bridge over a stream near the monastery. This is the bridge that has been referred to above.

<sup>24</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 56r.

<sup>25</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 72r. It seems that this unpublished reference is the oldest to the celebration of Corpus in Tàrrega, given that the earliest to date was from 1438. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 249; R. MIRÓ BALDRICH (1997), “La celebració de Corpus a Tàrrega entre els segles XV i inicis del XVII”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 9, p. 165.

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<sup>26</sup> The use of the church tower as a prison is documented below, as we read in a 1442 document in which various men appear imprisoned for stealing the relic (and we suppose the corresponding reliquary) of the arm of Saint Ursula from the monastery of the Friars Minor. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 285. We also know that the tower was in deplorable conditions in 1573, given that the Council signed a capitulation with the master of houses Martí Vernach to repair it, we must deduce that it was important. See J. M. SEGARRA (1987), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. II: *Segles XVII-XVIII*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 50-53. We only know the church tower through the view of Tàrrega by Pier Maria Baldi from 1668, where it can be seen that it was Gothic. See *Atles de les viles, ciutats i territoris de Lleida* (2001), Lleida, Diputació de Lleida i Col·legi d’Arquitectes de Catalunya. Demarcació de Lleida, p. 228-229.

<sup>27</sup> On 10<sup>th</sup> August 1446, Ramon Cescases and his wife Caterina are documented as paying for the predella that was being made in the high altar. However, it is not known if this work was an addition to an existing structure or was part of a full renovation of the altarpiece. The document mentions that the altarpiece was flanked by large torch stands with candles and it was “molt bell e notable” (very beautiful and notable). The text states, “E apres lo honorable consell sabent que lo bancall del retaule que los honorables en

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Ramon Cescases he madona Catherina muler sua fan en lo cos de la sglesia maior de la dita vila, se feu posar per dita aquesta setmana e lo maestre que aquel fa [?] que les brandoneres que son als costats del altar maior faeren gran nosa e donarien deformitat al dit retaule e per semblant aquella biga grossa en la qual hi penjien cet brandons de certs singulars e lo ciri dels lauradors e de sent Steve hi faria gran nosa e donaria deformitat al dit retaule e que de necesari sen hauran alevar per donar embelliment al dit retaule que es molt bell e notable per que delibera e acorda lo dit honorable consell que si les dites brandoneres e biga e altres coses [?] en la dita sglesia que necesaries sien a levar per embelliment del dit retaule sen hauran a levar o hauran a romandre aço remeto lo dit honorable consell als senyors de pahers e als promens desus scrits o a la maior part de aquels car lo honorable consell ara per lavos ha per ferm e agradable tot ço e quant sobre aquests afes per los dits senyos de pahes e promens sera fet ordenat e provehit e son los promens segents [...]”. (ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de Consells [1446-1454]*, f. 18v-19r). The reference to the document appears in J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 286-287.

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<sup>28</sup> J. BRACONES CLAPÉS (1983), *Catàleg de l'escultura gòtica del Museu Episcopal de Vic*, Vic, Patronat d’Estudis Ausonencs i Museu i Biblioteca Episcopals de Vic, p. 79, cat. 33.

<sup>29</sup> A. FRANCO (1991), “Crist crucificat”, in F. ESPAÑOL and J. YARZA (ed.), *Catàleg d'escultura i pintura medievals: Fons del Museu Frederic Marès*, Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, p. 348-349, cat. 325.

<sup>30</sup> Throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, various reports mention the deterioration of the church, surely due to its age. One, from the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1453, tells us that the faithful had difficulties to follow the services because “la sglesia Maior està tant mal parada que quant plou per tot hi ha goteres”. It also mentions that “està ab gran vergonya de la Universitat i perill gran de caure”. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 284, 287, 289-290 and 402.

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<sup>31</sup> The case of the Gothic doorway of Santa Maria in Tàrrega is especially relevant because, at that time, doorways of that type had only been (or were being) built in Tarragona, Valencia, Huesca and Morella. It even dates from before what would become the most important building of that style in the area begun shortly after, namely the Seu Vella in Lleida. See F. ESPAÑOL (2007a), “El Mestre d’Anglesola”, in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: Escultura*, vol. I: *La configuració de l’estil*, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, p. 90.

<sup>32</sup> L. SARRET (1926c), “Nota històrica targarina: Església parroquial V”, *Crònica Targarina*, num. 255 (17 July), p. 4; J. M. SEGARRA (1987), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. II: *Segles XVII-XVIII*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 187; M. GARGANTÉ (2004), “L’església parroquial de Tàrrega durant els segles XVII i XVIII: Del classicisme de fra Josep de

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la Concepció al barroquisme de Pere Costa”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 17, p. 194.

<sup>33</sup> In 1575, the Council of Tàrrega signed a capitulation with two belltowers, and the document informs us that, among other tasks, they had to take care of the lamp of the Virgin Mary on the main doorway of the church. The document also stipulates that the bell ringers “sien obligats sis voltes quicun any de stararinya la sglesia, y les festes de nostra senyora enrramar tant la figura de Nostra Dona del portal com los apòstols que stan junct ha ella y lo dit dia dels apòstols enrramarlos y stararinyarlos”. See J. M. SEGARRA (1987), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. II: *Segles XVII-XVIII*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 55-56. Other similar reports are known and these appear in A. VELASCO (forthcoming), “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

<sup>34</sup> For the theme of the Judgment in this type of doorway, focussed on the case of Lleida cathedral, see F. ESPAÑOL (2004), “El claustro gótico de la catedral de Lérida: Forma y función”, in P. KLEIN (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang, Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, Regensburg, Schnell-Steiner, p. 363.

<sup>35</sup> A. VELASCO (2009), “Els apòstols de la desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 227-248. See also the corresponding entries in this catalogue.

<sup>36</sup> They have as yet not been analysed by the historiography. Some of them are presented in A. VELASCO (forthcoming), “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

<sup>37</sup> For these questions, see F. ESPAÑOL (2007b), “El Mestre d’Anglesola”, in *Romànic tardà a les terres de Lleida*, Lleida, Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent, p. 130-131. In Vilagrassa, the coincidence between the cemetery and the access to the parish (and we suppose, also to the market) caused some problems, as shown by the complaint that the *sindic* and the *batlle* of the town sent to the bishop of Vic, Benet de Tocco, in 1556. See P. BERTRAN ROIGÉ (1986), “Marc històric de l’església de Vilagrassa”, in *Vilagrassa: VIII centenari de la carta de població, 1185-1985*, Lleida, Institut d’Estudis Ilerdencs, p. 209; J. YEGUAS GASSÓ (2013), “La riquesa artística de Vilagrassa i Anglesola a l’època del Renaixement (1500-1640)”, in *Romànic tardà a les terres de Lleida*, Lleida, Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent, p. 209.

<sup>38</sup> F. ESPAÑOL (2011a), “L’art al servei de Jaume II: Els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus, portaveus àulics”, *Lambard: Estudis d’Art Medieval*, vol. xXII, p. 191. The short distance from the monastery at Poblet should also be born in mind. At that time, artists like Guillem de Tournai (ca. 1300-1324), author of the tomb of the bishop of Huesca, Jaume Sarroca, were working there.

<sup>39</sup> Its original morphology would not have been very different from one of the corbels of the eastern gallery in the cloister of Santes Creus, recently attributed to Pere Bonhull, a sculptor stylistically close to the Mestre d’Anglesola. See F. ESPAÑOL (2011a), “L’art al servei de Jaume II: Els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus, portaveus àulics”, *Lambard: Estudis d’Art Medieval*, vol. xXII, p. 174, fig. 6.

<sup>38</sup> For example, they appear in various doorways of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Lleida school, such as Vilagrassa, Cubells or Vinaixa, or in other nearby examples, Santa Maria in Baldós de Montanyana, in Huesca province. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, these elements continued to appear on facades, as we can see in the rose window and the eaves of the doorway of Santa Maria de Huerta in Sòria or the portal of Santa Maria in the cathedral in Manresa, among many others.

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<sup>39</sup> M. GARGANTÉ (2004), “L’església parroquial de Tàrrega durant els segles XVII i XVIII: Del classicisme de fra Josep de la Concepció al barroquisme de Pere Costa”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 17, p. 194-195.

<sup>40</sup> A. JOSÉ and L. SAN JOSÉ (coord.) (2008), *Maestros de alta época: Galeria Bernat*, Barcelona. Galeria Bernat, p. 14-15; A. VELASCO (2009), “Els apòstols de la desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 236-239.

<sup>41</sup> Outstanding are the tomb of Ramon Folc VI de Cardona, in the monastery of Poblet, or the Saint Paul of Narbonne that currently presides over the high altar of the church in Anglesola. Moreover, there is a series of works that have been linked directly to his environment, like the dynastic pantheon of the counts of Urgell from the monastery of Bellpuig de les Avellanes, nowadays in the Cloisters Museum in New York. See F. ESPAÑOL (2002), *El gòtic català*, Manresa, Angle, p. 124-126; F. ESPAÑOL (2007b), “El Mestre d’Anglesola”, in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: Escultura*, vol. I: *La configuració de l’estil*, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, p. 87-92; A. VELASCO (2009), “Els apòstols de la desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 239-245; A. VELASCO (2011), “Un nou fragment del sepulcre de Ramon Folc VI de Cardona del monestir de Poblet”, *Aplec de Treballs*, num. 29, p. 209-219; A. VELASCO (forthcoming), “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans.

<sup>42</sup> For these questions, see F. ESPAÑOL (2007b), “El Mestre d’Anglesola”, in *L’art gòtic a Catalunya: Escultura*, vol. I: *La configuració de l’estil*, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, p. 90.

<sup>43</sup> F. ESPAÑOL (2011a), “L’art al servei de Jaume II: Els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus, portaveus àulics”, *Lambard: Estudis d’Art Medieval*, vol. xXII, p. 191. The short distance from the monastery at Poblet should also be born in mind. At that time, artists like Guillem de Tournai (ca. 1300-1324), author of the tomb of the bishop of Huesca, Jaume Sarroca, were working there.

<sup>44</sup> F. ESPAÑOL (1991b), “Atribuïble al Mestre d’Anglesola: Cap d’àngel”, in F. ESPAÑOL and J. YARZA (ed.), *Catàleg d'escultura i pintura medievals: Fons del Museu Frederic Marès*, Barcelona, Ajuntament de Barcelona, p. 329-330; A. VELASCO (2011), “Un nou fragment del sepulcre de Ramon Folc VI de Cardona del monestir de Poblet”, *Aplec de Treballs*, núm. 29, p. 209-219.

<sup>45</sup> “[...] quam si transire haberent per plateam dicte viue, impediētibz cultoribus et agricolis, qui ad portale maius quilibet die locant operas suas, et etiam mercacionibus, que ante ipsium portale fuerint comuniter precipue in die fori [...]”. See L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, A. G. Camps, p. 68; J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal,

p. 82-83; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (ed.) (1997), *Libres de privilegis de Tàrrega: 1058-1473*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera, p. 129-131, doc. 45. For this second door into the church, see note 52.

<sup>46</sup> As mentioned above, it is possible that the work was finished around 1340.

<sup>47</sup> These questions are further developed in A. VELASCO, “La desapareguda portalada gòtica de Santa Maria de Tàrrega”, in *Congrés Internacional “Portalades gòtiques a la Corona d’Aragó”*, Barcelona, Amics de l’Art Romànic i Institut d’Estudis Catalans, (forthcoming).

<sup>48</sup> X. BERMÚDEZ LÓPEZ (2012), “Intervencions entorn de la plaça Major de Tàrrega: 4.000 anys en 175 metres”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 26, p. 93-103. The architectural surveys of the subsoil of the square in 2008 brought to light the existence of a wall about nine metres from the current facade of the church. This was some 25 m long and about 17° off the east-west axis. It was interpreted as the possibly the wall of the cemetery of the medieval church and its orientation was taken for a general proposal about the church, north-south, as it was considered that this wall would have run parallel to the bottom of the church. However, this proposal clashes with the habitual east-west orientation of medieval churches that we must suppose the one in Tàrrega respected. The topographic details that Lluís Sarret i Pons supplied also have to be added (see note 5), and these coincide with the proposed east-west orientation. Further excavations will be required to confirm the questions posed here.

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<sup>49</sup> P. BERTRAN ROIGÉ (2013), “Mercat i fira a Vilagrassa (s. XII-XIV): De les concessions reials a les tensions amb els municipis veïns”, in *Romànic tardà a les terres de Lleida*, Lleida, Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent, p. 130-131. In Vilagrassa, the coincidence between the cemetery and the access to the parish (and we suppose, also to the market) caused some problems, as shown by the complaint that the *sindic* and the *batlle* of the town sent to the bishop of Vic, Benet de Tocco, in 1556. See P. BERTRAN ROIGÉ (1986), “Marc històric de l’església de Vilagrassa”, in *Vilagrassa: VIII centenari de la carta de població, 1185-1985*, Lleida, Institut d’Estudis Ilerdencs, p. 209; J. YEGUAS GASSÓ (2013), “La riquesa artística de Vilagrassa i Anglesola a l’època del Renaixement (1500-1640)”, in *Romànic tardà a les terres de Lleida*, Lleida, Grup de Recerques de les Terres de Ponent, p. 209.

<sup>50</sup> We deduce this from some documented data. In 1696, we know that the parts of the new church that had been built were the presbytery, the chapel of Santes Espines, the transept, one of the four chapels that had to be built on each side, the bell tower (incomplete) and the sacristy. See M. GARGANTÉ (2004), “L’església parroquial de Tàrrega durant els segles XVII i XVIII: Del classicisme de fra Josep de la Concepció al barroquisme de Pere Costa”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 17, p. 190. The Gothic doorway had not yet been dismantled (this was not done until 1709), which means that this was, more or less, at the level of the three bays of the nave that remained to be built.

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Capella de Sant Joan i Santa Maria, Tàrraga, amb els seus costums i tradicions, vol. I. Segles XI-XVI, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 91.

<sup>51</sup> Taking advantage of the pastoral visit by the bishop of Vic, the rector presented him with the complaint. Many people used to be buried in that area, but he was surprised that nobody had asked to be buried there that year. The rector suspected that this was because of directives from the town council, which surely prohibited people from being buried there. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 231. The coincidence of the market and the cemetery in the same place should be no surprise, given that this derived from well-rooted uses in Catalonia. All together, it was surely related to the origin of the market in the place of the old sanctuary of the parish, as documented in other places in the country. For these questions, see F. FRÉ (1996), “Algunes qüestions sobre urbanisme medieval en les àrees de repoblació de la Catalunya Nova i el Llevant (segles XII-XIII)”, in *Homenatge a mossèn Jesús Tarragona*, Lleida, Ajuntament de Lleida, p. 145-166; F. FRÉ (2006-2007), “Arquitectura i repoblació a la Catalunya dels segles x-xii: Parròquies i sagreses. Els exemples d’Àger i Tartareu”, *Lambard: Estudis d’Art Medieval*, vol. xix, p. 51-95; F. FRÉ (forthcoming), “Sobre l’origen i la formació de les places, o mercadals, a la Catalunya medieval: Alguns exemples de la Catalunya de Ponent”, forthcoming; F. FRÉ (forthcoming), “La plaça del Mercadal de Balaguer en el context de les places medievals de Catalunya i d’Europa”.

<sup>52</sup> There are more or less contemporary references to the building of the doorway, from 1318-1319, that place the cemetery to the north of the current church. It was walled in and had one gate. In this sense, a arbitral sentence from 1319 stipulated that the existing walls had to be demolished and other ones built, five hands in height, coated with cement and covered with flat slabs. See J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 82-83. A piece of dated the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1330 also places the graveyard in that area. The document states that the accequia that watered the town passed “per lo sementiri de Senta Maria destro devers los puysals”, in other words, on the north side of the present church, given that at another point, the same document mentions that from the cemetery, one could go “destro al portal d’Urgelet”. See ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1300-1334)*, f. 187r. The second item fits perfectly with the location of this doorway, which is well known through the topography of the medieval wall. On the other hand, the door of the church that faced the graveyard is still documented from shortly before the collapse of the belltower, when the captains of the brotherhood of the Dolors declared their desire to move the chapel of the Mare de Déu, given that it was too small. So they asked the dignitaries to “[...] se mude la Capella de Nostra Seny

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the church opening onto the graveyard coincides with that of the first chapel on the side of the gospel in the actual church (of the Roser), in other words, the one closest to the chapel of the Santos Espines. See L. SARRET (1926b), “Nota històrica targarina: Església parroquial II”, *Crònica Targarina*, num. 248 (29 maig), p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Although there has never been a large enough excavation of the Plaça Major with stratigraphic methods, the archaeological work done in 2008 corroborates what we have said about the cemetery. When the pavement of the Plaça Major were renewed in the 1950s, graves appeared, as also some years later (1970s) in the Plaça dels Àlbers, where the oldest part of the graveyard was. The digs mentioned above from 2008 unveiled new burials in the area of the square, all except one facing east and with the same 17° deviation as the supposed wall of the cemetery. They dated from the Modern age and the conlusion drawn was that the square was redesigned for the new church starting in 1672, and that involved a large extension of the medieval area, even doubling it in size. These changes also involved the demolition of old structures related to the church, such as the possible cemetery wall, and the ending of burials in this area. In this sense, the study concluded that the graveyard in the square was in use from the medieval epoch until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See X. BERMÚDEZ LÓPEZ (2012), “Intervencions entorn de la plaça Major de Tàrrega: 4.000 anys en 175 metres”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 26, p. 95-96 and 101-102. There were still burials in front of the doorway in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1599, there were many deaths from an outbreak of plague in Tàrrega and the bodies were buried in the graveyard of Sant Antoni. As this cemetery was too small, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 1602, they were exhumed and moved to the Santa Maria cemetery, in front of the doorway. Other bodies from the above-mentioned outbreak were moved there. These had been buried in the convents of Santa Clara and Sant Agustí. See J. M. SEGARRA (1987), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. II: *Segles XVII-XVIII*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 76; J. M. PLANES (1994), *La parròquia i la vida religiosa de Tàrrega: Segles XVI-XIX*, Tàrrega, Parròquia de Santa Maria de l’Alba, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> For the funerary practices at church doorways, which appeared in the late antiquity, see Y. DUVAL and J. Ch. PICARD (ed.) (1986), *L’inhumation privilégiée du ive siècle au viie siècle en Occident: Actes du colloque de Créteil, 16-18 mars 1984*, Paris, De Boccard; J. Ch. PICARD (1988), *Auprès des saints corps et âme: L’inhumation ad sanctos dans la chrétienté d’Orient et d’Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes.

<sup>55</sup> For these questions we started from the works of C. ROUX (2004), “Entre sacré et profane, essai sur la symbolique et les fonctions du portail d’église en France entre le XIe et le XIIIe siècle”, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, vol. LXXXII, num. 4, p. 846; A. DIERKENS (2002), “Avant-corps, galilées, massifs occidentaux: Quelques remarques méthodologiques en guise de

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conclusions”, in Ch. SAPIN (ed.), *Avant-nefs et espaces d’accueil dans l’église entre le IVe et le XIIe siècle: Actes du colloque international d’Auxerre, 17-20 juin 1999*, Paris, CTHS, p. 497-498, which mentions two studies on the theme: A. ANGENENDT (1994), “*In porticu ecclesiae sepultus*: Ein Beispiel von himmlisch-irdischer Spiegelung”, in H. KELLER and N. STAUBACH (ed.) (1994), *Iconologia sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck*, Berlin and New York, s. n., p. 68-80; Ch. SAPIN (1996), “Dans l’église ou hors l’église: Quel choix pour l’inhumé?”, in H. GALINIÉ and É. ZADORA-RIO (ed.), *Archéologie du cimetière chrétien: Actes du 2e colloque ARCHEA (Orléans, 29 septembre-1er octobre 1994)*, Tours, FERACE, p. 65-78.

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### 3.1. THE ALJAMA OF JEWS IN TÀRREGA

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In the Middle Ages, the Arab term “aljama” was used to designate a Jewish community in a Christian place from the legal point of view, in other words, as an entity with recognised legal powers, rights and obligations. The initial settlement of a few Jewish families in a given place led to a natural process of growth that, after a period under the auspices of the nearest aljama,<sup>1</sup> could lead to the recognition of that community as an aljama. Documents from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, among the oldest references to the Tàrrega community, refer to the “Jews de Tàrrega”,<sup>2</sup> while in a document from 1303 the designation used was “aljama of Jews of Tàrrega”.<sup>3</sup>

However, this desire for emancipation (and one that was very legitimate) came up against an insurmountable obstacle in the Catalan tax system, organised in collections. Whatever the level of development of an aljama, from the fiscal point of view, it remained subordinate to the aljama that was the head of its collection.

In fact, when collecting taxes and subsidies, the royal administration decided that the most effective way was to group the Jewish communities of a certain area together under the aljama considered the leader from the historical, demographic or economic point of view. There were four great collections in Catalonia: Barcelona, Girona-Besalú, Tortosa and Lleida. Tàrrega came under the latter<sup>4</sup> and so when fiscal questions were being dealt with, it had the right to send a couple of delegates to negotiate with the administration of the Lleida aljama about the proportion of taxes that Tàrrega was due to pay, as shown in this document from 1319.<sup>5</sup>

On 16<sup>th</sup> April 1325, James II accepted the petition proposed (and paid for) by the representatives of the Tàrrega Jews and granted this aljama the same “privileges, graces and good uses” as the one in Lleida.<sup>6</sup> This concession, which was ratified by the successive rulers of the country and defended by the town’s councillors,<sup>7</sup> can be considered one of the high points in the process of consolidating the aljama in Tàrrega. This process finally led it to a pre-eminent position among the Jewish communities in the surrounding area (Verdú, Vilagrassa, Anglesola, Bellpuig, etc) some of which, after 1331, were officially designated as its collection<sup>8</sup> and from 1340 could enjoy the “privileges, freedoms, exemptions and graces” of the Jews of Tàrrega.<sup>9</sup>

The ongoing close relation during the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> and first of the 14<sup>th</sup> century between the Jews in these places encourages us to think that a good part of the Jews who settled in Tàrrega came from these same places and the aljama of Lleida.

**INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE ALJAMA OF THE JEWS IN TÀRREGA**

Each aljama had its own governing body, the council, that, since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was made up of representatives of the three social classes Jewish society was divided into, and that imitated Christian society: *mà major* (major hand), *mà mitjana* (medium hand) and *mà menor* (minor hand).<sup>10</sup> All Jews living both

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inside and outside the Jewish quarter came under its jurisdiction. The number of councillors depended on the size of this population and, in the medium-sized aljamas, there were between 10 and 13. In fact, there were 13 councillors in the Tàrrega aljama of 1355 (out of a total of over 50 heads of family<sup>11</sup>). However, thanks to a document from 1361, we know that the aljama in Tàrrega had the privilege of choosing up to 15.<sup>12</sup> Fourteen swore obedience to Princess Isabel, the new lady of the town in 1470, in representation of the aljama.<sup>13</sup> However, as the latter document does not indicate the quality under which they swore, it is quite likely that there was a mixture of councillors and secretaries in this group, which would reduce the number of councillors to eleven given that there were usually three secretaries. In fact, there were three on the roll from 1354: Perfet Adret, Vidal Moshe and Bonjuha Saporta.<sup>14</sup>

Sometimes not very suitable, the shortage of candidates, or the desire of some families to dominate it, meant that some names were perpetuated in the government, or that various members of the same family held various posts. On the payroll of 1354, one secretary and four councillors were from, or related to, the Natan family.<sup>15</sup> We only find two of them on the 1361 payroll, but among the 13 councillors from 1354, 9 names are repeated.

After the election and appointment of those responsible for the aljama, traditionally held at the Jewish New Year (September-October), according to a concession granted by James II to the Tàrrega aljama,<sup>16</sup> the new councillors had two weeks to nominate two or three leaders to judge the affairs and disputes of the members of the aljama.

The other public posts, some of which were paid a salary from the community, were chosen by the community or else by its government. These were the appraisers, tax collectors, auditors, and scribes,<sup>17</sup> the *khazan*, *xamaix* and *xokhet*, etc.<sup>18</sup>

It was precisely during the tense election of the *khazan* and the *xamaix* in 1309 that James II granted the Tàrrega aljama the power to nominate these by a simple majority.<sup>19</sup> However, one and a half centuries later, in 1446, the principle of the majority no longer calmed tensions (as the Tàrrega councillors could confirm) but rather inflamed things even more, especially when the minority, in disagreement with what the majority had passed, refused to obey: “E més, com lo honrat consel general, axí per dita de juheus habitants en la vila, com per cristians de aquella hi per moltes altres persones, haga sabut e sentit que dies ha la universitat dels juheus de la present vila viuen fort desareglats hi [enfre] ells molt desbaratats, en tant que tota volta que per ells se fa congregació en lur scola hi han a tractar de affés a la universitat des juheus tocants, enfre ells bonament no-s poden concordar, hi de ells hi ha alguns juheus que per la major part dels altres en res que facen ni ordenen no-s volen adonar ni areglar, de què se seguex dan, hodis hi rancós hi males voluntats enfre ells, hi alguns juheus per aquesta rahó se’n van de la present universitat e muden lur habitació en altres parts, e axí matex se segueux dan a la universitat. Per aquesta rahó, lo dit honrat consell, volent provehir a la universitat dels dits juheus hi de la universitat e per sostenir e conservar aquels e perquè se puxa veure

## 3. JEWISH MEDIEVAL TÀRREGA

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## 3.1. THE ALJAMA OF JEWS IN TÀRREGA

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In the summer of 1448, Mordekhai was caught filling water pitchers at the Ofegat spring and the lady of Anglesola seized his ass with the pitchers and water jars and sent him of empty-handed under the threat of imprisoning him in the castle.<sup>33</sup> The second case is much more complex, both for the people involved and the economic interests that lay behind it. Briefly, in 1450 Iahudà Iossef de Besés, a Jew from Bellpuig d’Urgell,<sup>34</sup> purchased the freedom to be able to move, “mudar sa habitacion e domicili” from the town’s lord, baron Ramon de Cardona.<sup>35</sup> The Tàrrega council immediately let it be known that they “avie voluntat de viure e morir enfre nosaltres e avie voluntat de comprar hic casa e alberch e altres posesions e propietats en gran quantitat”. The council, aware that said Jew “wished to live and die among us and wished to purchase his house and home and other possessions and properties in great quantity”, because he was very rich, accepted his petition. However, a few months later, problems arose for the Jew and the councillors when the Baron of the Bellpuig, going back on the permission granted to Iossef de Besés, demanded that he return to town and basing his arguments on the assets the Jew still had there.<sup>36</sup> The documents cover the coming and going of the delegates from the Tàrrega council in Barcelona, which then held the domain over the town, and also the journey there by the noble Ramon de Cardona.<sup>37</sup> We do not have the sentence dictated by the Barcelona councillors, although there is no doubt that Iossef de Besés continued to live in Tàrrega, as did his descendants, who converted to Christianity in 1492.<sup>38</sup>

**Council of Tàrrega**

Apart from the references that this catalogue makes to the relations between representatives of the university of Tàrrega and thealjama of Jews at one time or another during late Middle Ages, we think that, given its exceptionality, special note must be taken of the specific case of 1462. That year, a civil war broke out in Catalonia that would last for ten years (1462-1472).<sup>39</sup>

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1462, a few hours after John II entered Catalan territory, the king and his troops came in sight of a Tàrrega that, helpless and bewildered, had no other option if it wanted to stay unscathed than to open the gates and welcome them into the town. This unexpected and uncomfortable visit did not last long. Two days later, warned about the ambush set for him near Cervera if he decided to head for Barcelona, the king returned to Balaguer by the same route he had come by.

After recovering from this predicament, and with the king far away, the authorities requested protection from the Generalitat. This help, in the form of a commitment to send 200 soldiers to Tàrrega, was linked to an official public declaration of adhesion to the cause of the Generalitat to allay the fears that the recent reception of the monarch had generated among the members. In this sense, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 15, the Generalitat were made aware of the cry condemning the king that had been made around the streets of Tàrrega and the letter that had been sent to John II to inform him that he was *persona non grata* in the town. Three days later, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, the 200 soldiers were already billeted in the town. However, Tàrrega was only on the side of the Generalitat

until the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, when the entry of the royalist troops finally put an end to the town’s participation in the armed conflict (fig. 2).

With the outbreak of the war, the relations between the aljama and the monarchy, which had again held the domain over Tàrrega since 1460, were affected. During the month and a half that the town fought on the side of the Generalitat, this relation ceased. With the later change of sides to the royalist ranks, the old link was re-established but with a third interlocutor: the councillors of Tàrrega. While those who had traditionally dominated this aljama at one moment or another during its history, namely the monarchy or Barcelona, were focussed on the war, the council strengthened its position as a close and effective institution the Jewish community could resort to.

During the decade of the civil war, the authorities in Tàrrega reiterated themselves (in their own words) as “sostenidors e mantenidors dels habitans de aquesta vila tota hora e quant los sera fet coses no degudes” in other words, the support and protection, without distinction of faith.<sup>40</sup> In fact, during the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, on various occasions the councillors had taken on the task of the defence and welfare of the Jews in the town.<sup>41</sup> Thus, in contrast with other occasions when the aljama had not hesitated about working against the regulations of the town in exchange for royal privileges, during the civil war, it behaved with “un sol cor i un sol voler ab la universitat”.<sup>42</sup> The survival of everyone depended on this local understanding during those years of chaos and danger.

Of the times when Tàrrega was on the side of the Generalitat, the councillors wrote that the Jews, both collectively and individually, willingly paid for the strengthening of the “murs de aquesta vila, aquella part que nosaltres havem volgut”, participating in the defensive works and helping the population with the necessities regarding “forments e totes altres vituales” that is, wheat and other victuals.<sup>43</sup>

After the town was occupied by the royal troops, the atmosphere turned even more rarefied and the living conditions of the civil population worsened. The shortage of staples, aggravated by having to support the French soldiers billeted in the town, led some families, including four or five Jewish ones, to leave Tàrrega.

In a letter to the king in 1462, the councillors and dignitaries of Tàrrega lament the violent manners of French soldiers when they demanded money from the Jews: “als juheus han fet donar més per força que per grat, fahen-los de grans menaces, cent liores [...] de què los dits juheus són romasos molt aterrits” with threats and resulting fear.<sup>44</sup> And in another, written in mid 1463, the councillors echoed of the “constrenyiments a ells fets [els jueus] e les vexacions e grans destruccions que han hagudes en dies passats, axí be per lo manexant, al qual han hagut a donar bé tres milia sous, com encara al dit mossèn lo governador, bé vuyt cents o mil florins”.<sup>45</sup> Because of these extortions, the councillors told the king that “los dits juheus se troben vuy molt pobres e destruyts, com la facultat de tots ells no sie en pus de dos o tres cressats, los quals en totes aquestes coses han pagat e paguen la més quantitat en servey de vostra altesa” in other words, the poor

Jews, no more than two or three families, had to pay him the most.

The two or three heads of family who, despite the crisis and abuses by the troops, contributed most to the royal coffers were the doctors David Abenaçaia and Avraham Salom and the moneylender Iahudà Iossef de Besés. The *mestre racional* noted down the quantities that they handed over in these years of the war, mainly for questions of loans.<sup>46</sup>

Thanks to the testimony of the councillors, we also know that during the first weeks of the war, the Jews took part in defensive tasks: “armarn-se hi stant nit hi dia en guarda dels portalls e murs”, all day and all night guarding the walls and gates.<sup>47</sup> It seems that even after the arrival of the 200 soldiers, the civil population continued to watch over the walls and the land around the town. This lasted at least until the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June.

Thus, on Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, first thing in the morning, the alarm was raised that some of the king’s men were stealing a herd of livestock from right in front of the town. Thinking that they were few in number, a large group of civilians and soldiers set out to pursue the thieves only to find themselves surrounded by the enemy army. The ambush was fatal: “han morta e nafrada molta gent en nombre de cent o sens entre morts e presos, entre los quals és lo capita [Pere de Sant Clement] e molts spinguarders”.<sup>48</sup>

In a missive written two days after the defeat, the councillors and dignitaries of Tàrrega complained to the deputies of the Generalitat about the “cruelties” of the soldiers to the villagers, including the ban on them participating in the tasks of surveillance: “aquests senyors de capitans, ab gran insult e rigorós, són venguts a nosaltres, ens han levades les claus dels portals e axí han girades nostres guardes dels portals e han hi mesos de les sues gents e axí mateix no permeten home del món de la vila face guayta de nit ne de dia sino ells, com no-ns tinguen per cathòlics ni fien de nosaltres”.<sup>49</sup>

An eyewitness explained what happened in the neighbouring town of Cervera when the news of the defeat arrived. He said, “Vuy de mati és venguda nova aci com los de Tàrrega són exits ha empresa d’altri, de què los ne ha pres mal que n-i ha perduts alguns hòmens. En tant que per la nova quen vench, aquesta gent de aci e del exèrcit se són aremorats dient que en lo call d’aci havia gent enemichs e no podent-los resistir ni los pahers ni yo per molt que hajam treballat han robat lo dit call, e lo altra call, com n-ich haja dos, volien robar, emperò aquell havem defès”.<sup>50</sup>

Thanks to the work of the councillors, the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega was not attacked, despite the threats it received from various sources. The ongoing and generous collaboration of the aljama with the local authorities in affairs of economic and strategic nature did not go unrewarded. Such a favourable response as the one it obtained from the councillors of this occasion was unheard of, “tota la universitat los han [als jueus] una grandíssima afecció e voluntat, fahent certes vestres reverences que per ells, aquesta universitat morie”.

In the words of the representatives from Tàrrega (almost an institutional declaration of love), one perceives a mixture of common sense, justice and

goodness that was totally missing in the handling of the riot in 1348.

**B) Ecclesiastic authorities**

Given that Tàrrega never came under any ecclesiastical lordship (in contrast to Verdú, for example), the Church’s power over this aljama always had to go through the king or whoever was the lord.

This is visible even in the licences that the bishop of Vic (1306) or his vicar general (1346) granted to the aljama of the Jews to rebuild the old synagogue.<sup>51</sup> Despite the exceptional nature of the first document, in which the bishop awarded himself an attribute that belonged to the secular power, namely that of conceding licences for synagogues,<sup>52</sup> years later, in 1319, it was the king who not able to deny what he saw (“visa quadam carta pergamenea sigillo appendicio venerabilis quondam Poncii episcopi vicensis sigillata”), on one hand ratified the episcopal licence and on the other authorised the rebuilding of the synagogue in the same terms contained in it (“in ea melius et plenius continetur”) but which, by law, were his to award.<sup>53</sup>

In 1346, when the old synagogue had to be rebuilt, authorisation was requested first from Peter III,<sup>54</sup> as should be, and only later, and with the monarch’s permission,<sup>55</sup> did the aljama request authorisation from the dioceses.<sup>56</sup>

It was also royal orders in 1279 and 1344 that regulated the preaching of friars or converted Jews in the town. In the first of these, Peter II ordered various officials in the territory, including the *battle* of Tàrrega, to prohibit the entry of Christians in the sermons by Dominicans and Franciscans in the Jewish synagogues to avoid disorders.<sup>57</sup> The other document, from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, is presented below.

On a more local level, we have no documents that help to establish the relation that the aljama had with the town’s priests or the various monasteries and convents.

<sup>[1]</sup> The smaller or more recently established communities of Jews did not possess the institutions that the consolidated aljamas enjoyed, such as a cemetery; when a community lacked this, its dead had to be buried in the graveyard of the nearest aljama. See Y. T. Assis (1997), *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry. Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327*, London and Portland, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, p. 24, 165 and 232.

<sup>[2]</sup> In one we can read “iudeos de Tarrega”, ARB, reg. 70, f. 23r [19.11.1286], and in another, “iudeos Tarrege”, ARB, reg. 74, f. 79r [07.12.1287].

<sup>[3]</sup> In this sense, that the correction by the Chancery scribe at the start of the document on question may be significant. He erased “iudeorum” from the expression “ex parte iudeorum” to add the term “aliama” and leave the phrase as follows: “ex parte aliama iudeorum Tarrege”, ARB, reg. 126, f. 294r [13.02.1303].

<sup>[4]</sup> This appears in the documents mentioned from 1286 (“iudeos de Tarreta e de Villagrassa et quoslibet alios de collecta llerde”) and 1287 (“iudeos Tarrege et aliorum locorum collecte iudeorum llerde”).

<sup>[5]</sup> ARB, reg. 217, f. 148v [22.06.1319]; J. REGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews in Aragon: Regesta and Documents 1213-1327*, Jerusalem, The Magnes Press and The Hebrew University, num. 3114. Sometimes the negotiations became more complicated than expected, as happened on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1345, when the king was requested to intervene to resolve the disputes between the aljamas, ARB, Pere III, c. 20, num. 2724.

<sup>[6]</sup> “Privilegiis et graiis et bonis usibus”, ARB, reg. 226, f. 137v; J. REGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews*, num. 3328. It was not unusual for the set of privileges that regulated a certain aljama to be taken as a model by another aljama to request and obtain royal consent. Tàrrega did so in 1325, Lleida had done so in 1268.

<sup>[7]</sup> “Privilegiis et graiis et bonis usibus”, ARB, reg. 226, f. 137v; J. REGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews*, num. 3328. It was not unusual for the set of privileges that regulated a certain aljama to be taken as a model by another aljama to request and obtain royal consent. Tàrrega did so in 1325, Lleida had done so in 1268. Lleida had earlier adopted the uses that had been granted to Barcelona. J. REGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews*, num. 400.

<sup>[8]</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 108 [reina Elionor, 01.03.1332], 119 [Pere III, 01.12.1336] and 128 [Pere III, 17.10.1339]. In being sworn into office, the councillors of Tàrrega agreed to defend and maintain the uses, customs and privileges of the Jews in the town: “E més, encara juraren [de paer, Mateu Folch, Franci Ponces, Jaume Junques and Miquel Xirima] e que de tot lur poder deffendran e mantindran contra totes persones usos, costums, privilegis e libertats, axí de la vila com dels juheus habitans en aquella, e ordinacions de la vila fetes e fahedores. Encara totes concessions atorgades a la dita vila per los senyors reys passats e persones, com encara per la illustríssima senyora princessa, senyora de la dita vila”, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells*, (1470-1475), f. 153r [11.04.1474].

<sup>[9]</sup> From that year on, some documents addressed to the singulars, the individual taxpayers, of the Tàrrega aljama specified that they were also included in the collective: “concessit eidem aliame [iudeorum Tarrage] et singularibus ipsius necnon iudeis collecte ipsius aliame”, ARB, reg. 485, f. 145v [01.03.1332]; “aliame iudeorum ville Tarrege et eius collecte”, ARB, Pere III, c. 26 num 3649 [27.10.1337].

<sup>[10]</sup> “Ad suplicationem aliame iudeorum ville Tarrage ordinaverimus et velimus per omnis illi iudei qui de collecta ipsius aliame existant et in questiis solvant et contribuunt cum eadem gaudeant de certo omnibus illis privilegiis, libertatibus, franquitatibus et gratiis quibus tam ex concessione predecessorum nostrorum quam nostra gaudeant iudei aliame predictæ”, ARB, Pere III, c. 12 num. 1546 [28.03.1340].

<sup>[11]</sup> These were always male heads of family and taxpayers who obviously lived in the same place. For the evolution of the concept of representativity in the government of the aljama and how the power held by the rich and educated oligarchy gradually gave way to the middle and lower classes, see Y. T. Assis (1997), *The Golden Age*, p. 72, 77, note 4, and 83. For a detailed analysis of the internal conflicts that this power play cause in an aljama, see J. RIERA (1990), “Els avalots de 1391 a Girona”, in *Jornades d’Història dels Jueus a Catalunya. Girona, abril 1987; Actes*, Girona, Ajuntament de Girona, p. 97-113.

<sup>[12]</sup> ACSG, FN, Ramon Rama, *Manual* (1373-1382), f. 17r-19r [03.10. 1375, with references to a document dated 05.05.1355], publ. in J. M. LLOBET (1984), *Algunes notícies sobre els Jueus de Tàrrega. 1303-1496*, Lleida: Institut d’Estudis llerdens, p. 11.

<sup>[13]</sup> ARB, reg. 906, f. 165r-165v [11.01.1362], quoted in C. FERRAGUD (2005), *Medicina i promoció social a la baixa edat mitjana (Corona d’Aragó, 1350-1410)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p. 356-357.

<sup>[14]</sup> ACUR, FMT, parch. num. 189 [26.06.1470].

<sup>[15]</sup> In 1388, another Saporta, Khanokh by name, and also secretary, complained that the livestock of the town butcher were grazing in the Jewish cemetery. ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de bans* (1388), f. 11r [26.04.1388], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 285. Among the various functions of those responsible for the community was to look after the properties that belonged to the aljama.

<sup>[16]</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), Qüestions de vida, Barcelona, Institut Mòn Juic and PPU, p. 45-46.

<sup>[17]</sup> ARB, reg. 126, f. 294r [13.02.1303].

<sup>[18]</sup> In 1384, Prince Martin granted the Tàrrega aljama to power to choose scribes to draw up documents in Hebrew, with the same validity as the documents by the scribes of the Cuirassa: “eligere scriptore seu scriptores iudeos qui scripturas et contractus in ebrayco faciat et conficiat seu faciant et conficiant inter vos”, ARB, reg. 2086, f. 171r [01.07.1384].

<sup>[19]</sup> Among the functions of the *khazan*, a Hebrew word that is equivalent to the *capellanus* of the Latin texts, there were the strictly religious ones, like leading the religious services (weddings, funerals, etc.), and also others, directly related to communal life, like reading the ordinations or *taqanot*, announcing the results of the elections or the sentences of the judges... which came into force and became valid precisely with this announcement, done in the synagogue. The *xamaix*, a Hebrew word equivalent to the *sacristanus* in Latin texts, were in charge of the order, cleaning and maintenance of the synagogue. The *xokhet* was in charge of slaughtering the animals for human consumption according to the Jewish rituals, and deciding if their meat was suitable or not.

<sup>[20]</sup> The document also shows the tensions within the aljama due to communal expenses: “super missionibus comunis”, ARB, reg. 206, f. 43v-44r [09.05.1309], publ. in J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues: Segles XIII-XV*, Girona, Patronat Call de Girona, num. 39. About the obedience of the minority to the majority in the aljama, see Y. T. Assis (1997), *The Golden Age*, p. 71-73.

<sup>[21]</sup> “E més, com lo honrat consel general, axí per dita de juheus habitans en la vila, com per cristians de aquella hi per moltes altres persones, haga sabut e sentit que dies ha la universitat dels juheus de la present vila viuen fort desareglats hi [enfre] ells molt desbaratats, en tant que tota volta que per ells se fa congregacion en lur scola

hi han a tractar de affés a la universitat des juheus tocants, enfre ells bonaly no-s poden concordar, hi de ells hi ha alguns juheus que per la major part dels altres en res que facen ni ordenen no-s volen adonar ni areglar, de què se segueix dan, hodis hi rancós hi males voluntats enfre ells, hi alguns juheus per aquesta rahó se’n van de la present universitat e muden lur habitacion en altres parts, e axí matex se segueix dan a la universitat. Per aquesta rahó, lo dit honrat consell, volent provehir a la universitat dels dits juheus hi de la universitat e per sostenir e conservar aquels e perquè se puxa veure açò en què peca ni en què no e per tant que ab los dits juheus se puxa de açò comunicar e saber la veritat del fet com passa, elegí los pròmens deüis escrits, als quals donà lo dit honrat consell càrrech de saber, sentir e treballar en los dits affés hi en posar en algun bon tayll e regla la universitat dels dits juheus, e per reposar aquels i metre’ls en bona regla hi orde, a fíi que los juheus visquen en repòs e pacífichs d’aquí avant.” ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1442-1446), f. 191r [29.03.1446], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 362.

<sup>[22]</sup> In the late Middle Ages, the legal situation of Jews in Europe worsened notably. The spread and acceptance of the notion of “servi regis”/“servi cameræ regis” left them totally enslaved to the power of Christian princes, who could do what they wished with their persons and property. In the Court of Barcelona in 1283, Peter II firmly upheld the principle under which the Jews were, and should continue to be, royal property, despite the pressure from the different arms: “Item de judeis et sarracenis, de quibus exitit peticio nobis data quod debent esse illozum in quorum castris seu villis habitarent seu morarentur, partus super hoc illud de cetero observari quod in loco quolibet eorum est antiquitus observatum, salvis privilegiis et pactis specialibus cuicumque”. RAE (1896), *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, t. I, vol. 1, Madrid, unnumbered, p. 151.

<sup>[23]</sup> The situation servility and inferiority of the Jews who lived among the Christians was viewed by the Church as the logical consequence of their disbelief in the Christian faith, and their presence was tolerated mainly for this, S. GRAVZEL (1966), *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century. A study of their relations during the years 1198-1254 based on the papal letters and the conciliar decrees of the period*, New York, Hermon Press, p. 49-70; B. BLUMENKRANZ (1960), *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096*, Paris, The Hague, Mouton & Co., p. 293-306; R. CHAZAN (1980), *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages*, Springfield, Behrman House; R. CHAZAN (2010), *Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 133-221.

<sup>[24]</sup> J. M. LLOBET (2001), “Mossé Natan, valedor dels jueus de Tàrrega (segle XIV)”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de*

*l’Urgell*, num. 14, p. 147-150, with transcription of some documents nowadays missing.

<sup>[25]</sup> ARB, reg. 222, f. 27v [27.05.1322]; J. REGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews*, num. 3224.

<sup>[26]</sup> In 1329 Elionor, Alfonso III’s wife, received Tàrrega and other Catalan towns as her dowry and espousal. For the document of absolution, G. GONZALVO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis de Tàrrega*, num. 97 [15.10.1331].

<sup>[27]</sup> The document of absolution dates from 4<sup>th</sup> October 1346 (ARB, reg. 881, f. 88v-89r), although the unrest came from further back: on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1345, the king granted Natan Chelomo separation from Falconeta and permission to take another wife as “cum racione inimicitie et male voluntatis” between the two (ARB, reg. 880, f. 130r) and on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1346, given of the symptoms of serious dementia that he showed, his father, Chelomo Natan obtained permission from the king to retain him at home and also the promise that, in case of death, the family would not be blamed (ARB, reg. 881, f. 3r). It seems that after Chelomo Natan’s death and the death shortly after of his son, the king forgot this promise and began proceedings against Chelomo Natan’s heir and his widowed sister-in-law, among others. J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), Qüestions de vida, p. 29-31.

<sup>[28]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1376-1378), f. 49v, publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 272.

<sup>[29]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1437-1442), f. 188r-188v [24.11.1441], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 343.

<sup>[30]</sup> Regarding master Iossef Alçahaya, doctor of surgery, see J. X. MUNTANÉ (2012a), “Metges jueus contractats pel govern municipal de Tàrrega durant els segles XIV i XV”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 26, p. 139, note 18. About this Barukh, see J. X. MUNTANÉ (2005), “La pràctica del lloguer de bèsties entre els Jews targarins a la fi del segle XV”, *Tàmid: Revista Catalana Anual d’Estudis Hebraics*, num. 5, p. 74-76.

<sup>[31]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1446-1451), f. 109r-109v [25.11.1448], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 367.

<sup>[32]</sup> About the lordships of the count of Trastàmara and his brother-in-law, the noble Felip de Castro, during the final years of this period, J. M. SEGARRA (1984), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*, vol. I: *Segles XI-XVI*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 170-178.

<sup>[33]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1446-1451), f. 107v-108r [05.07.1448], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 365 § 2.

<sup>[34]</sup> For other references to the Besés in Bellpuig, see J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Els jueus i jueves de Bellpuig i la guerra civil catalana del segle XV”, forthcoming.

<sup>[35]</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1446-1451), f. 150v [26.01.1450], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 370.

A page from the 1462 letter, showing the original text and the translation into Catalan.

<sup>36</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1446-1451), f. 166v [07.06.1450], f. 186r-187r [03.08.1450] and f. 189r-189v [27.08.1450], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 372-374.

<sup>37</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1446-1451), f. 190r [24.08.1450]; f. 195r-v [06.10.1450]; f. 196r-v [25.10.1450], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 375-377.

<sup>38</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2009b), “El patrimoni dels conversos als llibres de fiscalitat municipal de Cervera i Tàrrrega durant el primer terç del segle XVI”, *Miscel·lània Cerverina*, num. 19, p. 227, 230-231 and 243-247.

<sup>39</sup> M. BOFARULL (1861), *Levantamiento y guerra de Cataluña en tiempo de don Juan II. Documentos relativos a aquellos sucesos*, vols. 7 and 8, Barcelona, Impr. de l’Arxiu, [corresponding respectively to vols. 20 and 21 of CODDÓIN]; F. CARRERAS (1907), *Dietari de la guerra a Cervera, des del 1462 al 1465*, Barcelona, Bartomeu Baxariàs; P. BERTIEM (1982), “Tàrrrega en la revolta catalana contra Joan II”, *Ilerda*, num. 43, p. 359-375; J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor: Els paers i prohoms de Tàrrrega escriuen als diputats de la Generalitat en defensa de l’aljama de la vila (22 de juny de 1462)”, forthcoming.

<sup>40</sup> In fact, the letter these words come from was an appeal sent to the authorities in favour of Itskhaq Iaqov, a Jew from Tàrrrega, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes* (1458-1468), f. 126v-127r [19.05.1466], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix II, num. 3. A similar conception of their mission to that commented here is also perceived in an earlier letter addressed to the deputies of the Generalitat: “No serie justa cosa que aquells qui fan bé de lur poder a la dita universitat [referint-se als Jews targarins] lexarem mal tractar en neguna manera per negunes gents”. ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes* (1458-1468), f. 93r, publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix I, num. 1.

<sup>41</sup> There are some examples above.

<sup>42</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix II, num. 2. Military reasoning.

<sup>43</sup> Other documents go in the same direction. In the annual municipal accounts of July 1461 there are three payments of Jewish capital: the first is the sum of 100 sous, destined to strengthening the wall of the Urgellet gate, and the other, two amounts of 20 *lliures* each, handed over by lahudà Iossef de Besés and David Abenaçaia, for the foundations of the wall of Bell-lloc. ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de diversos comptes municipials* (1459-1470), f. 37v [08.07.1461] and 41v [August-December 1461], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 458 §1 and 461.

<sup>44</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes* (1458-1468), f. 98v [24.11.1462], publ. J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix II, num. 1.

<sup>45</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes* (1458-1468), f. 102v-103r [02.07.1463], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix II, num. 2.

<sup>46</sup> ARB, MR, 2653, f. 13r [10.11.1463, Avraham Salom]; 21v [20.02.1465, Iossef de Besés]; f. 23r [08.08.1465, Iossef de Besés]; f. 28v [08.08.1465,

A page from the 1462 letter, showing the original text and the translation into Catalan.

David Abenaçaia]; f. 30v [11.08.1465, Avraham Salom]; 40v [10.01.1467, David Abenaçaia]; f. 43r [10.01.1467, Avraham Salom]; f. 47r [25.11.1467, Iossef de Besés]; f. 47v [25.11.1467, David Abenaçaia]; f. 49v [08.01.1468, David Abenaçaia]; f. 53v [08.12.1468, David Abenaçaia]; f. 54r [08.12.1468, Iossef de Besés]. These must have been the “powerful Jews” that appear in one of the versions of the 1462 letter. See J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix IV. Comiat.

<sup>47</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes* (1458-1468), f. 93r [22.06.1462], publ. in J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix I, num. 1. We have evidence of the active participation of the Jews in the defence of the town throughout the Late Middle Ages; B. BLUMENKRANZ (1960), *Juifs et chrétiens*, p. 35-37. In the Late Middle Ages the Jews were banned from this kind of activity and they were popularly branded cowards; J. RIERA (2006a), “Esculls en la història dels jueus”, *Afers*, num. 53-54, p. 148. Something similar happened in Bellpuig where, as well as forming part of the town’s guards, we have documented the names of the Jews who accompanied their lord, the noble Antoni de Cardona, on the battlefield. See J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Els jueus i jueves de Bellpuig i la guerra civil catalana del segle XV”, forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> M. BOFARULL (1861), *Levantamiento y guerra*, vol. 7, p. 435-436 and 453-454. Regarding the reaction of the deputies of the Generalitat: idem. p. 467-468; 468-469; 474-475.

<sup>49</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de cartes (1458-1468)*, f. 93v [23.06.1462]. The anti-Jewish hint in the expression “no-ns tinguen per cathòlics” is almost imperceptible. Quite the opposite of Joan Agulló, captain of the Generalitat posted to Cervera, on being accused of cowardice, who exclaimed “tant me amaria esser jueu com comportar ço quem dieu!”, M. BOFARULL (1861), *Levantamiento y guerra*, vol. 7, p. 310. Joan Agulló later changed side and betrayed the 500 men under him to King John II, F. CARRERAS (1907), *Dietari*, p. 36.

<sup>50</sup> Captain Joan Agulló wrote this on the same Monday at four in the afternoon. M. BOFARULL (1861), *Levantamiento y guerra*, vol. 7, p. 439.

<sup>51</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 38 and 124. As stated below, we think that at that time, there must have been a simple private oratory in Tàrrrega, in the house of one of the Jews, and the one that was really being built in this document would allow the community to put up a public place of worship. As that was prohibited by ecclesiastical law, they resorted to the stratagem of making it appear that there was already a place of worship in Tàrrrega and what was now granted was only permission to rebuild it. In truth, there was worship in Tàrrrega because there were Jews living there, but still no official place for this, because the Jewish community was just coming into being. The bishop thus tried to avoid the contradiction between the canonical prohibition against building new synagogues,

and the fact that the Church used various arguments to tolerate the existence of the Jews in Christian territories.

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<sup>52</sup> J. RIERA (1989), “La història dels jueus en el Viage literario del P. Jaume Villanueva”, *Calls*, num. 3, p. 13; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 86-88. In 1306, the bishop attended to the petition presented by the university de Jews of Tàrrrega and various Christian dignitaries. In 1319, it was only the Jews who requested the king to ratify the episcopal licence.

<sup>53</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 57.

<sup>54</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 123. In the same way that the members of the aljama had gone to the king to resolve the questions related with the old synagogue, idem num. 116-118 and 120.

<sup>55</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 125. Surely to avoid breaching the right that the 1306 document had somehow founded.

<sup>56</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 124.

<sup>57</sup> ARB, reg. 42, f. 148v [08.10.1279]; J. RÉGNÉ (1978), *History of the Jews*, num. 746.

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A page from the 1462 letter, showing the original text and the translation into Catalan.

### 3.2. LOCALISATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE JEWISH QUARTER IN TÀRREGA

JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI

#### A) VARIOUS LOCATIONS

Where did the first Jewish families to arrive in Tàrrrega settle? Given that in the early moments of the Jewish presence there must have been few families, it is difficult to imagine that the place they lived in was different or markedly separated from the rest of the population. A Jewish quarter required a certain number of people and, in the case Tàrrrega, this only came about when the town became a preferred destination for the Jews in this part of Catalan territory during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

We cannot place the houses the heads of family rented, bought or had built in the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century with any certainty. However, if we start from the fact that the synagogue was near the river Ondara (“cum esset juxta locum rivalem edificata”) and that this, for obvious reasons, would not have been very far from their houses, we think that these first Jewish homes were on the east side of the medieval town of Tàrrrega.

There are various indications about the growth of the Jewish community in the licence it was granted by Ponç de Vilaró, bishop of Vic, in 1306.<sup>2</sup> The bishop addressed the “universitati judeorum ville Tarrage” and among the concessions he granted them was one to rebuild the existing synagogue (“oratorium seu scolam”) in the same or another place. The dimensions envisaged for the building were exceptional if we bear in mind that this was right at the beginning of the Jewish presence in the town,<sup>3</sup> and so we suspect what the episcopal concession did was allow the change from a private oratory to a public synagogue,<sup>4</sup> while setting the (maximum) limits that this could have and also indicating the basic element it had to have: the rolls of the Law (“rotulis Legis mosayce”). The concession by James II, only three years later, in 1309, to the Tàrrrega aljama regarding the choice of the *servicials*, the people who helped in the services (“eleccionem capellani aut sacristani”) shows that this was a real synagogue.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1319, when James II saw and confirmed the 1306 episcopal licence<sup>5</sup> and gave permission to rebuild or move the synagogue, we know that it was not moved, because later when this synagogue was called the old one (“sinagoga antiqua”),<sup>6</sup> this referred to the one that both the bishop and the king had granted and that, time ago, had been built on the banks of the river.

We know that in 1347, there was a street in Tàrrrega where most of the town’s Jews lived (“via in qua in dicta villa dictorum major pars inhabitat judeorum”)<sup>7</sup> and in 1348, this area was known as a Jewry and could be closed off with gates. However, it seems that the old synagogue was not in this area, although the new one was (according to the document cited from 1347). It could be that the area that ended up being home to the majority of the Jews did not fully coincide with the early nucleus of the Jewish population.

However, this is not to propose that there were two Jewish quarters in the town, but rather we suggest that there was a more or less dense initial grouping of Jewish families with the synagogue near the river, which, for unknown reasons, could not hold the large number of

A page from the 1462 letter, showing the original text and the translation into Catalan.

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Jewish immigrants into the town. The newcomers opted to settle in another place,<sup>8</sup> giving birth to the street of the Jews, in other words, a *call* or Jewry.<sup>9</sup> In 1345, efforts began to obtain the king’s permission to move the old synagogue, the aljama’s centre of worship and meeting, there.

The reason (or excuse) which this group, identified in the documents as the aljama of the Jews (“pro parte aljame judeorum de Tarrega”), used to justify moving the synagogue was the poor condition the flood of the Ondara in 1344 had left it in (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> The king allowed them to transfer it provisionally to a house chosen by the majority, while the old synagogue was being repaired. If we accept the damage caused by river that the document claims as true,<sup>11</sup> what seems even truer was the desire to close the old synagogue without repairing it, letting it fall down on its own, and transferring the place of worship to the site chosen by the majority. The complaint presented by Itskhaq Vidal, in the name of Bonjuha Caravida and some other Jews from the town, reporting that the synagogue was closed and no work was being done when (they claimed) it would have been possible to pray there, illustrates the split between a majority, living in the town’s Jewish street or quarter, that grew from the 1330s, and a minority who must have been living somewhere else in the town, at least since 1306, date of the first permit for the old synagogue.<sup>12</sup>

The resistance led by Caravida and Vidal<sup>13</sup> did not prosper and the old synagogue, closed for over a year, was given up as lost in 1346. A year later, the king allowed a new one to be built in the street where most of the Jews had settled. This synagogue had to be a replica of the previous one, as the document includes the dimensions given by Bishop Ponç in 1306. The project was opposed by the town council, which, that same year, shortly before work began, passed a series of measures against the Jewish community.<sup>14</sup> Similarly moving the liturgical furniture from the old synagogue, damaged by a flood, to a safe place in 1345, also provoked opposition from the royal and episcopal authorities.<sup>15</sup>

The precise location of the old synagogue and the primitive nucleus of the Jewish population in some of the houses of some Jews who had not moved to the Jewish quarter are still being researched.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the new one, we assume that given that, no documents were issued to authorise its building or transfer to somewhere else in the town after 1347, this synagogue was erected in the Jewish quarter that was attacked in the summer of 1348 and remained in the same place until the expulsion in 1492. So, thanks to this building, we believe that the Jewish quarter prior to 1348 was in the same place as the Jewish quarter after that date and that remained there until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 2).

We suppose this, despite the fact that a document from the Chancellery, emitted in 1350, seems to challenge this idea.<sup>17</sup> This was a royal authorisation, requested by the councillors and *prohoms* of Tàrrega, “circa melioralium [et incrementum] aljame judeorum ville”, that approved the construction of a Jewish quarter with walls and towers in the area known as “la Font”.<sup>18</sup> In our opinion, however, the main purpose of this licence is in the adverb at the end of the following sentence:

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“judei dicte ville qui nunc sunt vel pro tempore fuerint, habere valeant eorum hospitia competentia et ibi morari valeant *separate*”. In other words, it was about separating the Jews from the Christians to give the former safer living conditions. For example, with this in mind, the town council had the hostels belonging to Vidal Avinpeix in the Jewish quarter (“pro faciendo iter publicum seu carrariam ad hoc inter domicilia christianorum a judeorum qui erant quodamodo intermixta fieret aliquis separatio seu divisio”)<sup>19</sup> and Cresques Gracià demolished.<sup>20</sup>Thus, it would seem there was no need to create a new Jewish quarter to achieve the aforementioned separation but it only required some works, the minimum necessary.

On the other hand, after the loss of lives and the economic setback caused by the 1348 assault, it would not seem reasonable for the surviving Jews to be forced to abandon their homes to move to another part of the town. Nor does it seem very likely, amid the misery provoked by the plague, and, in the case of Tàrrrega, the high cost of the royal pardon that absolved the town of all civil and criminal responsibility for the riot, to be paid to the royal treasurer between 1350 and 1354, that the municipal coffers were healthy enough to carry out such a large policy of expropriation. In fact, the documents related to the above-mentioned houses of the two Jews mentioned above that the council had demolished, indicate that the agreed compensation had yet to be paid to their old owners!

It is also curious that, after the 1348 riots, behind which there was an authentic string of anti-Jewish lies and prejudices, one of the most common of which blamed them for having spread the plague by poisoning the drinking water, permission was given to build a Jewish neighbourhood near a well. Personally, I am inclined to believe that the area of the Jewish quarter after 1348 was not very different, or far, from that of the *call* prior to the attack. The most likely is that the works carried out consisted mainly of marking out the area better, separating the houses of Christians and Jews, and improving its defence, heightening the walls that had already been built around it. We can deduce that these walls were not as strong as could be wished from the fear felt in the aljama after a new outbreak of plague in 1362 that the disturbances of 1348 would reoccur.<sup>21</sup>

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#### B) STRUCTURE AND TOPONYMY OF THE JEWISH QUARTER

This part of the town, that as we shall see below, was structured around one street, remained inhabited by Jews until 1492 and the names used to designate its parts lasted some years more.<sup>22</sup> We know its last outline through some *llibres d’estimes*, or property registers, from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> It began at the junction of the Carrer Major and the Plaça del Blat (nowadays the Plaça Major) and ran down to the wall on the river Ondara, where it ended in a cul-de-sac. The denomination “Carrer dels Jueus” (now Carrer de l’Estudi) alternated with other names as one moved down the street (fig. 3).

#### Carrer del Forn dels Jueus

The first of these names was “Carrer del dels Jueus” (Street of the Jewish Bakery). All the high part, especially the stretch near the bakery on the right-hand

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#### Carrer del Call

The next name is “Carrer del Call”. This designates the second, lower, half of the street, generically named in some 16<sup>th</sup>-century registers “*Call dels jueus*” or simply “*call*”. This part of the street was inhabited exclusively by Jewish families. We have evidence of some of these: the families of Iaqov Deulosal, the brothers Nicim and Chelomo Besés, hosiers by trade, the families of doctor Avraham Salom, Carabassa, David de Cabestany and Astruc Bites, all on the left side, and the family of Iossef de Besés, on the right (fig. 5).

The street was not paved and there was an open drain for the rainwater. In 1434 the wives of Iaqoví and Xalom, and a friend of Carabassa, were fined for dumping the remains of stews in it. Possibly this was the same Xalom who, in 1459, reported the nephew of Iaqov Deulosal and one Joan Bergot for having climbed on his roof to retrieve a ball that had got stuck there.<sup>25</sup>

In 1484, David de Cabestany took his powerful neighbour from the other side of the street, Iossef de Besés (paradoxically known by the nickname of Nin (the boy)) to court. He was fed up seeing the water from Nin’s well spilled over into the street, dirtying the ground the filling the place with stench and dirt. Thanks to the sentence, which forced Nin to channel the water from the well, we know that this rich Jew had a school slightly further down the same street. “sia tengut e obligat de fer una botera que partesce del dit pou e que dins la sua, sens exir de fora, face una botera que par per la sua casa e que vage a ferir a la porta de la sua scola e que vuyde en una botera vella. Ia qual està davant la sua scola, e que desorregge allí de manera que no face enuig ni dan al dit Cabestany ni als altres veyns”.<sup>26</sup> If we bear in mind that the synagogue of the aljama was on the other side of the street, more or less at the same level as El Nin’s school, the most probable is that the local scribe used the term “escola” to refer either to a private oratory or a place of study and learning for Jews, founded under the patronage of this Jew.<sup>27</sup>

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#### Carrer de l’Escola dels Jueus

The last name attested to is precisely, “Carrer de l’Escola dels Jueus”, explained by the presence of the synagogue on the left, near the wall, from which it was separated by a courtyard that was a vegetable plot in 1501.<sup>28</sup> The proximity of the wall explains why this stretch of street was also described as “carrer que ix al mur”. On some occasions, it was referred to as a “carreró” (alley), from which we can suppose it was not very wide (fig. 6).

Princess Iolant proposed this synagogue as a model for the one that had to be built in the upper Jewish quarter in Cervera (“operaciones sive fabricaciones dicte sinagoge fiant ad modum seu formam sinagoge aljame judeorum Tarrge”).<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, we have no detailed information of what this synagogue was like. A document from 1621 describes the remains of a building situated in a street identified as a “carrer Nou *olim* dit dels Juheus” in the following way: “en lo qual pati ja y avie un sumptuós enfront de paret de pedra picada ab unes grans finestres y una capella comensada molt

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bona ab sa portalada molt ben feta y fabricada y molts bons fonalys de altres parets”.<sup>30</sup> The imprecision about where the courtyard was in the street, the large time gap between the last documentary references to the synagogue (1492-1502) and the text reproduced (1621), as well as the norm that prohibited any display of sumptuousness and decorative ostentation in Jewish religious buildings, lead us to be more cautious about assigning a Jewish origin to the remains mentioned in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century document.

In line with the episcopal dispositions of 1306 (as in Cervera) the door of the hall did not open directly onto the street (“secunda porta ubi ore predicte per quam in ipsam scolam ubi oras vestras dicere vos continget ingressus habebitur de via publica christianorum videri non possit”), but possibly onto a courtyard, which, in the case of Tàrrrega, seems to have opened to the back of the aljama hospital, the facade of which must have been the visible outside part of the synagogue complex.<sup>31</sup>

The presence of the town wall, that barred the way, together with the narrowness of this part of the street and that fact that the properties were either inhabited by Jewish families<sup>32</sup> or, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, opened onto the courtyards and gardens behind the houses in Carrer de Santes Creus (the modern Carrer de la Font), parallel to the street of the Jews, which, while not really isolating this area from the rest of the town, did in some ways create the ideal conditions for isolation.

#### JEWS AROUND THE MAIN STREET OF THE JEWISH QUARTER

However, there were always Jews in the town who, either because the main street of the Jewish quarter could not absorb them, by trade or for other reasons, opted to live in nearby streets and places and in some cases, even outside the Jewish quarter.

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#### Carrer d’Arnau Farrer

Of the only three houses that the people still called by the names of their old Jewish owners after 1492, one, Iaqov Deulosal’s, was at the junction of the Street of the Jews with the “carrer que anava cap el d’Arnau Farrer” (Carrer de la Vilanova), near the Gothic arches that can still be seen today (fig. 7).<sup>33</sup> The other two were in Carrer d’Arnau Farrer (Carrer de les Piques). One had belonged to the doctor David Abenaçaia and the other, to the merchant Nicim Rovén.

It seems that the narrow street that today connects Carrer de les Piques and the Plaça Major did not exist in the late Middle Ages. Thus, access to the street was from the modern Carrer de l’Estudi under the arches of the Jewish quarter and from there, it ran parallel to the Street of the Jews down to the gate in the wall that opened out onto the river (fig. 8). On the inside of the gate, there was a fountain or trough. At the end of 1356, Bonjuha Saporta was fined for refusing to remove a pile of earth (we understand from in front of his house) that the women who went to the fountain stumbled on, “que molts cantes i trenquaven”. In 1388, the wife of the Jew Jafia was caught washing nappies in the same fountain.<sup>34</sup>

The cohabitation between Christians and Jews was especially intense in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In April 1434, Lluís Puig complained to the *mostassaf*, fed up with the sieve maker Itskhaq Abnaxec’s hens

wandering around his terrace pecking everything and even entering into the house.<sup>35</sup> Two months later, he reported that the Jewish cobbler “li spuçava los draps del lit devant casa sua”.<sup>36</sup> We do not know whether it was because of the hens or the fleas that Lluís Puig decided to rent the house to one Xemuèl Leví, as appears in the neighbourhood dispute between this Jew with the sieve maker Abnaxec.<sup>37</sup> The sentence indicated, as if it were normal, that this Jew’s neighbours were Christians: their names were, on one side Antoni Steve and on the other, Joan Carnicer. One Gabriel Gibert must not have lived too far from Abnaxec, as the latter was fined in 1435, because of the dirty water he had thrown out of the window had made a puddle “enmig del portal de Gabriel Gibert, que no poden entrar en casa”, blocking his door.<sup>38</sup>

According to another case between neighbours, also from 1435, Chelomo Abenafia had his home in that same street, near a pen belonging to Joan Cirerols.<sup>39</sup> In 1480, Simeó de Sivília reported that, on the other side of the street, the hosier Bonjuha had thrown dirty water out of the window.<sup>40</sup> In 1485, the wife of the Jew was at it again, only this time the water went “deves quasa de mestre Davi”,<sup>41</sup> as in 1501, and, as mentioned above, keeping the memory of its old Jewish owner alive.

The homes that some Jews owned or rented in this street and the fact the houses on one side of the Street of the Jews faced onto it at the back would explain why for many of the people of Tàrrega the street was like an extension of the Jewish quarter. This was more than enough reason for the gateway on that street to end up being called the “portal dels Jueus”, as appears in a document from 1461.<sup>42</sup>

**PLAÇA DEL BLAT**

The Plaça del Blat was one of the focal points of the late medieval municipality for political (with the town council on one side and the royal deputy’s court opposite), religious (with the abbey and the parish church of Santa Maria) and economic purposes (with the lower floors of houses taken up by shops, tables on the walls and the holding of the weekly market). This was the square closest to the Jewish quarter and, although at a lower level, we also have evidence of a Jewish presence (fig. 9).

In 1442, the town council prohibited Iaçov Deulosal and his sons from having the workshop in the square and ordered him to move it to “en aquell carrer o loch hon la pella se acostuma de tenir”.<sup>43</sup> Ten years later, in 1452, the council decided that the tavern run by Iaçov Deulosal in the square (perhaps in the same place where the workshop had been) should be “tanquada e del tot levada” and from then on, “negun juheu no gos tenir sa taverna en la dita plaça sinó en ses cases, si tenir-ne volran, ho habitacions”.<sup>44</sup>

Given that the Jews were “entre los cristians, més que més en la plaça”, a council session in 1468 agreed that “negun juheu no stigue continuament en la plaça ab sa muler ni familia, però que pusquen tenir lurs botigues en las plaças”.<sup>45</sup> Only ten years later, the councillors referred to this prohibition as an “old use, custom, practice and ordination” to force Bellsom’s family to leave their home in the square and move to “en lo loch hon los jueus de de dita vila acostumen de star, ço en lo lur cal”.<sup>46</sup> However, this norm did not affect the

shops that Bellsom and other Jews had in the square.<sup>47</sup>

So much continuous emphasis on banning the same thing leads us to doubt the observance of this prohibition. This is more like evidence of pressure that, after the council’s agreement had been proclaimed in the town’s squares and streets, was soon forgotten and a rich new period of transgression began.

<sup>1</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 123.

<sup>2</sup> This licence, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1306, arrived included in the royal approval of the 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1319; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 38 and 57.

<sup>3</sup> “Octuaginta in longitudine, quinquaginta in latitudine et sexaginta in altitudine palmarum quantitatem aliquatenus non excedat”. The synagogue in Tàrrega was the third biggest on the list of those whose dimensions are known; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 191-192.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the duality of nomenclature that appears in this first document and in which they were closely followed; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 38, 57 and 117. For another interpretation of this nomenclature, idem p. 166 note 336.

<sup>5</sup> As was habitual in other Catalan aljamas, the Jews of Tàrrega must have kept this licence in the furniture for this purpose in the synagogue; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 206-207.

<sup>6</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 118 and 124. Or with similar expressions: “antiquitus in dicto loco constructam”, idem, num. 117 and 120.

<sup>7</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 128.

<sup>8</sup> This was the Plaça del Blat, an area closer to the economic and political centre of the town. Despite this closeness, the new place kept its inhabitants somewhat isolated as it was below the houses on the Carrer Major, whose walls acted as a kind of separation between the populated part of the town and this interior area with a low population density. Moreover, it was far from the Franciscan convent, founded in 1318 just in front of the Bellloc gate, on the other side of the river.

<sup>9</sup> J. R. MAGDALENA (1987), “Etimologia no semítica de “call””, *Calls*, num. 2, p. 7-16.

<sup>10</sup> The first documented flood of the Ondara in the town (“diluvi” in the text) among the many that have occurred, dates from July 1344, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* 1341-1344, f. 75r, J. BADIAS, O. SAULA (1999), “Les excavacions arqueològiques del jaciment del Molí de la Codina de Tàrrega: Possible emplaçament de l’antiga sinagoga de la primera meitat del segle XIV”, *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d’Estudis Hebraics*, num. 2, p. 173. The first documents in the Chancellery that refer to the damage caused by a flood in the synagogue in Tàrrega are from the following year, July 1345; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 116-117.

<sup>11</sup> Despite the caution with which we must take the information related to the destruction of synagogues [F. SABATÉ (1999b), “En torno a la identificación de sinagogas medievales: El caso de Tàrrega”, *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes*, num. 59, p. 155-156], we believe that these arguments could not have digressed much from the reality or, at least, they could not contradict it excessively without involving the royal and ecclesiastical authorities in falsehoods.

<sup>12</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 118 and 120.

<sup>13</sup> We have found one Itskhaq Vidal documented in Tàrrega in 1308, acting as a witness and guarantor in two oaths as a public *corredor*, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 37-38. The documents related to Bonjuha Caravida are his appointment as a procurator on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1347, and a document from 1354 in which mentions that he had died, J. M. LLOBET (1984), *Algunes notícies*, p. 7 and 11.

<sup>14</sup> ARB, reg. 644, f. 48r-48v [05.04.1347], publ. in A. RUBIO (1908-1921), *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, num. 84; J. RIERA (2006), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 129.

<sup>15</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 117.

<sup>16</sup> For a possible location of the old synagogue, J. BADIAS and O. SAULA (1999), “Les excavacions arqueològiques”, p. 182-184.

<sup>17</sup> ARB, reg. 890, f. 175r [17.04.1350], publ. in A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 19; G. GONZALVO *et al* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis*, num. 139.

<sup>18</sup> It is not completely clear exactly which part of the town the councillors were referring to with this toponym. The medieval spring known as the Romans was on the other side of the river Ondara, near the Franciscan convent, clearly outside the town. In contrast, on the side of the town nearest the river, in the place where the gate of Arnau Farrer was later opened, and thus right next to the Jewish quarter, there was also a spring. So the most probable is that this was the spring the Tàrrega authorities were referring to in this document.

<sup>19</sup> The amount of the which, as of the 28<sup>th</sup> of May, 1351, the council had still not paid to said Jew, publ. in A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 25.

<sup>20</sup> The amount of the which, as of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, 1352, but had not been met, A. LÓPEZ (1959a), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348”, *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíe*, num. 19, p. 122.

<sup>21</sup> ARB, reg. 708, f. 155r-155v [12.01.1362], publ. in A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, Heraldó de Aragón, num. 150.

<sup>22</sup> This street would correspond to “lo cal dels juheus” that is first mentioned in a local document in 1362, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1361-1367), f. 7v and which, during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was often used to indicate the place (“lo loch, carrer e cal”) where the Jews lived, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1476-1481), f. 57r; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 256 and 526 [11.05.1478].

<sup>23</sup> The property registers from 1501-1506, 1501-1514 and 1501-1523, conserved in the Urgell District Archive, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006a), “*Les cases que solien ésser dels jueus*. Una aproximació al call de Tàrrega a través dels llibres d’estimes”, *URTX: Revista Catalana de l’Urgell*, num. 19, p. 106-123.

<sup>24</sup> This localisation of the bakery of the Jews is not far from the one it had traditionally been given in a house on Carrer de Lluís Folquet, but it does not coincide with it.

<sup>25</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 312 and 434.

<sup>26</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 576.

<sup>27</sup> However, in both cases, the fact of being situated opposite the synagogue can be interpreted in different ways. Either el Nin, aware that this part of the Jewish quarter was heavily marked by the presence of a synagogue over a hundred years old, and joined in and enriched it by promoting a place of prayer and for the study of the Torah and the Talmud, or confronted it, promoting an alternative option just in front of the synagogue.

<sup>28</sup> Regarding the similarity of the location of the synagogue (near the wall and in a courtyard) with other synagogues, J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 182-183. Some property registers from 1501 and 1502 attribute the building that gives the lowest part of the Carrer dels Jueus its name, the names of: “casa de l’estudi ere sinagoga”, “scola” and also “scoles”; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006a), “*Les cases que solien ésser dels jueus*”, p. 117-118.

<sup>29</sup> ARB, reg. 1815, f. 16r-16v [28.03.1384], and reg. 1822, f. 59v-60r [28.03.1384]; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 239- 240. The plan of this synagogue in Cervera has been recreated from the documents for the sale of the seats, A. DURAN (1924), *Referencies documentals del call de juhéus de Cervera*, Barcelona, Impr. Atlas Geogràfico, p. 33-40.

<sup>30</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de capitulacions* (1618-1666), f. 42r-42v, publ. J. M. SEGARRA (1987), *Història de Tàrrega amb els seus costums i tradicions*. Vol. II: *Segles XVI-XVIII*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 99.

<sup>31</sup> The document for the sale of the house that David de Cabestany had next to the synagogue distinguishes between a hospital and school: “ex alia [parte afrontat] cum domo sive ospitali del aljama et retro cum escola de la aljama”, ACSG, FN, Cristòfol Vidal, *Manual* (1491-1492), f. 57r [05.07.1492]; J. M. LLOBET (1991), “Els jueus de Cervera i Tàrrega, l’any 1492”, in *Actes del 1r Co-loqui d’Història dels jueus a la Corona d’Aragó*, Lleida: Institut d’Estudis llerdenscs, p. 359.

<sup>32</sup> The few notary documents that have survived about the sales the Jews made hurriedly before August 1492, contain valuable data about some of the houses: they all belonged to Jews and their neighbours were also Jews (except for some Christians who, with the publication of the decree of expulsion, had rushed to acquire property at a good price), J. M. LLOBET (1991), “Els jueus de Cervera i Tàrrega, l’any 1492”, p. 358-368.

<sup>33</sup> Near which the following events related to this Jew’s family took place. In December 1485, this Jew was fined for having thrown “aygues a la part de les voltes” and, a week later, for having dumped a “privada de pixats e quagalons tant grossos com lo bras” that his wife, na Puries, hurried to sweep “quarera aval fins a les voltes”, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 594-595.

<sup>34</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 238 and 283.

<sup>35</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 311.

<sup>36</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 313.

<sup>37</sup> The disagreement had nothing to do with Jewish poultry but rather with a party wall that was very worn down. J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 322-323.

<sup>38</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 320.

<sup>39</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 324.

<sup>40</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 536.

<sup>41</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 593.

<sup>42</sup> J. M. PLANES (1987), “Breu aproximació als jueus de la Tàrrega medieval”, *Nova Tàrrega*. Separata, p. 1. According to this document, there was a drinking trough next to the gate.

<sup>43</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 344 §2. As shown by this document and all the others cited below, the reports of this cohabitation date from later and thus are contrary to the anti-Jewish measures in the apostolic constitution *Etsi doctoris gentium* by Benet XIII (1415) and the version by Ferdinand I that same year. In 1420, a friar denounced an identical situation in the neighbouring town of Cervera, where “en gran scàndol e perill dels crestians contra forma de la dita ordinació [del papa] stan o habiten entre los cristians e perill de les ànimes dels cristians”, A. DURAN (1924), *Referencies documentals*, p. 57-60.

<sup>44</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 388.

<sup>45</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 496. Some shops that were forced to close during Christian festivities in 1472 (idem, num. 518), although in 1484 Bonnin was seen unloading “sargies e altres mercaderies” in the his shop in Carrer Major, on All Saint’s Day, without being fined for it, idem, num. 581.

<sup>46</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 526.

<sup>47</sup> In 1492, Iaçov Deulosal sold a fixed wooden table that was in the wall of Bellpuig, next to the Plaça del Blat, J. M. LLOBET (1991), “Els jueus de Cervera i Tàrrega, l’any 1492”, p. 362; Chelomo Cresques and Bonadona sold a house between the court of the deputy’s house and the house of Joan Guarro, idem, p. 359.

### 3.3 MOSHE NATAN

**JOSEP MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI**

**HISTORICAL APPROACH TO CHELOMO AND MOSHE NATAN**

We do not know the exact number of the heads of family who settled in the aljama of Tàrrega in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It must have been large, among other things, because the 40 heads of family that Peter III imposed on the authorities of the town after the 1348 riot indicates a number that would have been larger than before the disturbances and that the deaths caused by this and the plague, would have made it prudent to reduce.

The Natanes were one of these families. With houses in Barcelona and possibly also in Cervera and Bellpuig, where they spent long spells, the brothers Chelomo and Moshe Natan were always linked to Tàrrega (fig. 1). They must have been attracted to the growing the Jewish community there. This was a new community, still free from the influence and power of the more established aljamas, concentrated around a few families. In short, this was a land overflowing with opportunities that would gradually succumb to their control and prestige.<sup>1</sup>

Closely linked to the *corredors* of the aljama, for whom they acted as guarantors on various occasions,<sup>2</sup> they seem to have had only a passing interest in trade. In contrast, money lending became their main business.

Evidence of this vocation first appears in the complaint submitted to the royal authorities by the priest of Sant Martí de Maldà in 1319, in which he accused various Jews from Tàrrega of having lent money at interest above the legal rate. This churchman tells us that Chelomo and Moshe Natan were among these.<sup>3</sup> At this point, we do not know if they were novice or experienced lenders, but there is no room for doubt that this was a very profitable business as both brothers amassed exceptional fortunes in a few short years. It has even been suggested that Moshe Natan could have been one of the richest Jews in Catalonia towards the end of the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

The rising profits encouraged the lender to lend ever-larger sums of money and made him into a preferred resort for the leading people and institutions of the epoch, whose costly activities always required financing with considerable amounts of money. We know that among this exclusive group who borrowed from the Natan brothers there was the monarchy, various municipalities (the documents include Tàrrega, Cervera and Guimerà) and also a military order (the order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem).

The prestige that surrounded the figure of Moshe Natan derived from different aspects of his life. These included his participation as a advocate or delegate in cases related with his coreligionists, both with the Christian authorities<sup>5</sup> and in cases between Jews,<sup>6</sup> his generosity towards certain charitable causes,<sup>7</sup> his signature and very likely participation in the discussion and writing of the famous agreements of 1354 between the representatives of the aljamas of Catalonia and Valencia, which the ones from Majorca joined later,<sup>8</sup> his fortune and dealings with the high spheres of power, both Christian and Jewish and

also, as explained below, his literary vocation.

Chelomo died in 1346. Moshe passed away sometime between the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1359 and the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1360, at an age of around seventy.

**AN APPROACH TO THE LITERARY WORK OF MOSHE NATAN**

The profile of the historical figure of Moshe Natan grows even more when his dedication to writing, and the literary production that arose from this, is considered.<sup>9</sup>

In this sense, it must be noted that Jewish writers who wrote in the language of the land where they lived as well as in Hebrew were a *rara avis* in the Late Middle Ages. There were many Jewish writers in Catalonia who only used Hebrew. In contrast, very few of them resorted to Catalan. Moshe Natan was one of the latter.

What did Moshe Natan write? The surviving part of his written work can be classified in general terms among the didactic and moral literature of his times. His speciality was collections of proverbs, of which we have evidence in both Hebrew and Catalan. He was also interested in certain biblical passages that he paraphrased poetically in the form of a treatise, of which we have proof of both the Catalan original and its translation into Castilian. Another facet of his written production, the result of the attraction he felt for synagogue liturgy, are the various hymns he composed in Hebrew for the celebrations of the Jewish religious calendar, some of which have survived in various rituals.

Thus, his written production has a strong religious and moralising leaning, although, as someone has mentioned, one perceives that there is a bourgeois spirit beating under his poems and which began to break through both inside and outside the Jewish quarters in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of Moshe Natan’s proverbs, the presence of this spirit is noted especially in the choice, together with the more traditional subjects of Jewish morals, of certain themes and literary contents that presupposes a perception of the world that fits the well-off class that Moshe Natan and his belonged to. On the other hand, a careful reading shows that the literary works that appear in Moshe Natan’s proverbs are a reflection of the intellectual and aesthetic concerns, not only religious, of this bourgeoisieis.

**a) Written production in Catalan**

From the information in some medieval inventories, we know that Moshe Natan wrote various works in Catalan.<sup>11</sup> One of them was a poetic composition in the style of the Noves Rimades (octosyllabic verses and rhyming and consonant couplets), which used an account of the creation as it appears at the beginning of the Bible as a vehicle for a message with religious and moralising contents. It is very likely that the internal structure of the work reflected the peculiar disposition of Gn 1 when narrating the creation of the world, while arranging the contents of the book according to the six days of the creation. Only a few verses in Catalan and some translated into Castilian of this poetic treatise have survived, among which is the poet’s famous presentation of himself: “E si quisieres saber el mi nombre abierto / sepas que Mosé Azán me llaman por

cierto, / vecino de Tàrraga, un pequeño lugar / et de mui nobles gentes et omes de prestar. / Et es noble lugar, ordenado e puesto / et poblado de mucho ome limpio e honesto”.<sup>12</sup>

If the Castilian translation dates from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, we must suppose that the original was written before this date. On the other hand, if we take the tone of praise in the verses in which the author refers to his place of residence Tàrrega seriously, we must suppose that it dates not only from before the 1348 riot, but also prior to the years when the town council began to pass rules that discriminated against the Jewish population, the first of which dates back to 1341.<sup>13</sup>

This work could be identified with “lo tratat de mossèn Açan” in the inventory of Joan Spígol (1450).<sup>14</sup> This inventory from the merchant from Catí is also evidence of another work written in Catalan attributed to the same author: “los proverbis de mossèn Açan”.<sup>15</sup> This is another lost work of which only a pair of proverbis have survived in the anthology titled *Doctrina moral* (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). The first of these proverbis is in chapter 22, the “de consell e de seny”, and the other, in chapter 32, the “del sinch senys corporals”.<sup>16</sup>

The proverbis in question are the following: “Del hom qui es pensa que savi és / de son saber no fius en res” (of the man who claims to be wise/ in his knowledge do not trust) (*Doctrina moral*, 22), and: “Somada que un pot dressar / dos ni ha obs al leuar” (A load that one can put straight / two would not even raise) (*Doctrina moral*, 32).

In a similar way to the treatise on the creation of the world, these are octosyllabic verses and rhyming and consonant couplets. And it is also very curious that a piece of the treatise has survived in its Castilian translation. Of the two surviving proverbis in Catalan, one has its counterpart in the collection of Hebrew proverbis by Moshe Natan. Indeed, chapter 11 of *Qüestions de vida*, dedicated to justice, contains the following proverb:

1 במוט מישא בענדא עיל בהמה, / בלי עמל הלא אחד יקיסהו.

2 ואם תפול עלי ארץ ותכבד / ולא יכילו טלשה לתקומו.

This is translated as:

“Quan vacil·la la somada carregada sobre l’animal, / no és cert que sense esforç un de sol l’adreça? / En canvi, si cau a terra i és feixuga, / ni tres podran aixecar·la.”
“When the load on the animal is not tied tight / is it not true that with the effort of one it is put to right / in contrast, if it falls and is heavy /not even three will be able to put it back).

It is clear that despite the differences of formulation, the basic theme of the two proverbis is the same. According to the current state of our research, the idea seems genuinely to be Moshe Natan’s as we have only found evidence of it in his collections. This coincidence not only reinforces our belief in Moshe Natan’s authorship of the collection of proverbis in Catalan, but also brings up the possibility of some kind of equivalence between the collections of Catalan and Hebrew proverbis.

### B) Written production in Hebrew

The language Moshe Natan spoke at home in the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega and in the streets of the town was

Catalan. Despite this, he also used Hebrew at certain moments of his day: in the ritual prayers and blessings that precede or follow such everyday events as beginning the day, eating, travelling; during the daily service in the synagogue and, especially on the Sabbath and feast days; when setting the time in writing, in Hebrew or Aljamiat (Catalan written in Hebrew script), and for certain deals, generally financial.

In the case of Moshe Natan, the use of Hebrew was not only limited to the above-mentioned more practical and immediate functions of the written language, but he also used it as a tool for literary pleasure.

Unfortunately, no details have survived of the books Moshe Natan had at home. However, the textual quotes and parallels in *Qüestions de vida* to biblical verses, the proverbis of Ibn Gavirol or the *Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filòsofs* by lendà Bonsenyor, among others, leads us to think that these must have been among Moshe Natan’s habitual reading material. On the other hand, the domain of the different Hebrew models of versification, together with the knowledge he shows of the rabbinic and medieval lexis, suggests that besides the books mentioned, in which, by the way, these techniques are almost absent, he must have had others where these literary artifices and this lexis appeared: medieval biblical commentaries, philosophical works from the new wave, *maqames* and other poetic works, etc. A library where, besides the Catalan proverbis by lendà Bonsenyor, there must have also been other works in Catalan, or even Latin.

Moshe Natan wrote various hymns (*piutim*) in Hebrew, some of which are still recited in the liturgy of the synagogues, and the collection of proverbis *Totseot khaiim* or *Qüestions de vida*, (*Questions of Life*), our proposal for a title in Catalan.<sup>17</sup>

*Qüestions de vida* begins with a poetic exordia that is constructed as an immense mosaic of biblical references, that he reworked and combined into mono-rhythmic couplets. Through this rhyming prose, Moshe Natan presents his reader with the reasons that encouraged him to write this work. He starts with an empirical observation: the equality of anatomical structure that is seen in all human beings is altered by the possession, to a greater or lesser extent, of five assets or “corones”: beauty, strength, wealth, family and wisdom. Of all these, only wisdom lasts forever. However, people concentrate their efforts in conserving and increasing the perishable assets when, paradoxically, if someone succeeds in this, he or she is wise. Having reached here, Moshe Natan intones a *mea culpa* for having let himself be seduced by the more material goods and airs his conversion to the cause of wisdom, to which he declares he will dedicate himself reading and meditating on the sayings of the old wise men and composing new ones.

Then his own proverbis appear, classified thematically and grouped into 58 chapters. This division makes the internal structure of the work more visible: a first group of chapters (from 2 to 45) are dedicated to the qualities and virtues that one must possess to become wise and successful in life, while a second group (chapters 38 and 46 to 57) focuses on negative attitudes to be avoided. A chapter dedicated exclusively to wisdom (the first) and another to peace (the last)

open and close the collection. Their function is to present wisdom and its fruit, peace, as something so desirable that it justifies the efforts that are needed both to acquire the virtues (first part) and to reject the vices (second part).

Although it seems there were originally 248 proverbis, there are actually more. As this number varies with the various textual traditions, if we add the specific proverbis from each to the ones that are common to all, the resulting figure is 322. The majority of proverbis are matched, with external consonant rhyme, although in a third of them, there is also internal rhyme, consonant and even assonant, the latter surely through the influence of Catalan and Provençal poetry. As well as rhyme, the proverbis in *Qüestions de vida* have rhythm, as each and every one of them is adapted faithfully to the various metres that Hebrew medieval poetry had adopted as a its own expressive element.

This collection of proverbis is characterised by its uniqueness in late-medieval Hebrew literature. While the use of proverbis in a good part of this literature is unquestionable, it is also true that to find a work in this genre, in other words, a work that only contains proverbis, we have to go back almost one and a half centuries.

In 1218, Yehuda ben Chelomo al Khariji published a translation of the *Kitab adab al-falasifa* in Lunel that he titled: *Musré ha-pilosofim* or *The teachings of the philosophers*. Before him, in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, a pair of translators did Hebrew versions of the collection that Chelomo ibn Gavirol had written in Arab during the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century: Yehuda ibn Tibbon (1167, Lunel) titled his translation *Mivkhar ha-peninim* (*The choice of pearls*), and Iossef Qimkhi (Narbonne) titled his poetic version in the same collection *Xéquel ha-qódeix* (*Sacred moderation*).

What encouraged Moshe Natan to compose a work in this genre after so long? In the poems of eulogy that Chelomo Bonjudà, poet and friend of Moshe Natan, wrote for *Qüestions de vida*, it is clear not only that Moshe Natan had written in Catalan, but also implies that the Catalan collection came before the Hebrew as it refers to the former, when the latter had only just appeared.

However, as mentioned, in contrast to the oblivion this genre suffered in 14<sup>th</sup> century Hebrew literature, collections of proverbis were in vogue in Catalan literature. This trend had begun at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century with Guillem de Cervera (*Proverbis, ca.* 1280), Bonjudà Bonsenyor (*Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filòsofs*, 1298, Barcelona), Ramon Llull (in *d’Arbre exemplifical*, 1296, Rome; *Proverbis de Ramon*, 1296, Rome; *Llibre dels mil proverbis*, 1302, Majorca; *Proverbis d’ensenyaly*, 1309) among other anonymous authors, and throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, this underwent a growing diffusion and diversification with translations and adaptations of works in the genre by foreign authors, both old and contemporary (*Llibre de saviesa*, 1295; *Proverbis de Salomó*; *Llibre de Cató*, etc.).

It is true that Moshe Natan had examples of the old Hebrew collections of proverbis, of which we know there were in places as close to Tàrrega as Cervera, but if he finally decided to write it in this language, I am inclined to believe that it was the result of the golden age that the collections of Catalan proverbis were experiencing. Moshe Natan was

not only infected by the contemporary enthusiasm for this genre in Catalan literature, which he contributed to with his collection of proverbis in Catalan, but he also decided to pass it on to Hebrew literature, writing, after such a long time, a new collection of proverbis: *Questions of life*.

<sup>1</sup> The minority group made up of the richest families in each community were those who benefitted most from the structure of government of the aljama, which they easily dominated, as, in their hands, this became the ideal platform for their social and financial aspirations, often in detriment of the rest of the community, Y. T. ASSIS (1997), *The Golden Age*, p. 76-131.

<sup>2</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 41, 47, 62 and 72.

<sup>3</sup> ARB, reg. 167, f. 8. [31.03.1319]; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), *Questions de vida*, p. 15-27.

<sup>4</sup> See the “Guia per a una lectura comprensiva dels acords” by J. Riera in the article by E. FELIU (1987), “Els acords de Barcelona de 1354”, *Calls*, num. 2, p. 166; J. R. MAGDENÀ (1989), “Les aljames catalanes segons les fonts hebraïques: Aspectes de la vida i les institucions desl jueus catalans als segles XIII and XIV reflectits als responsa rabínicos”, in M. SALLERAS (ed.), *El debat intercultural als segles XIII and XIV. Actes de les I Jornades de Filosofia Catalana. Girona, 25-27 d’abril de 1998*, Girona, Col·legi Universitari de Girona, and Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, p. 204, note 26. The attack on the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega in the summer of 1348, was a turning point from which it did not recover.

<sup>5</sup> Moshe Natan appealed to the bishop of Barcelona on behalf of Iossef Achaz, falsely accused of blasphemy, J. BAUCELLS (2005), *Vivir en la Edad Media: Barcelona y su entorno en los siglos XIII y XIV (1200-1344)*, Vol. II, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, p. 1727; before the *veguer* and *sotsveguer* of Cervera in favour of Astruc Sullam, J. M. LLOBET (2001), “Mossé Natan, valedor”, p. 147-150.

<sup>6</sup> Moshe Natan helped to prepare the case between Chelomo Sullam and the aljama of Cervera, ARB, Alfons III, c. 9, n. 1.160r [G. ESCRIBÀ (1995), *The Jews in the Crown of Aragon: Regesta of the Cartas Reales in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Part II: 1328-1493*, Jerusalem, Ginzei Am Olam and Hispania Judaica, num. 648], and emitted the verdict in the probate lawsuit of Astruc de Besers, A. RUBIÓ (1908-1921), *Documents*, num. 83.

<sup>7</sup> According to the valuable account by Girona rabbi Nissim ben Reuvén, T. ALSINA (1985), “Vida i obra de Mossé Natan”, in *Constitution de l’Association d’estudiosos del judaisme català*, Tàrrega, Museu Comarcal, p. 18-19.

<sup>8</sup> F. BAER (1929), *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien: Urkunden und Regesten*, Vol. I: *Aragonien und Navarra*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, num. 253; B. PIETERS (2006), *De Akkoorden van Barcelona* (1354). Historische en kritische Analyse, Barcelona, PPU, p. 135a-e.

<sup>9</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), *Qüestions de vida*, p. 57-118.

### English version of the text

<sup>10</sup> E. GUTWIRTH (1998), “Widows, Artisans, and the Issues of Life: Hispano-Jewish Bourgeois Ideology”, in B. D. COOPERMAN (ed.), *In Iberia and Beyond. Hispanic Jews between Cultures*. Proceedings of a symposium to mark the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the expulsion of Spanish Jewry, London, Newark, p. 160-163.

<sup>11</sup> J. RIERA (1981), “Les obres catalanes de Mossé Natan (segle XIV)”, in J. MASSOT (ed.), *Miscel·lània Pere Bohigas/1*, Barcelona, Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, p. 95-105.

<sup>12</sup> “And if you want to know my name / know that Mosé Azán is what gives me my fame, / from Tàrraga, a little town / of very noble people and men of renown. / It is a noble place, tidy and neat / of clean and honest men it is the seat”. N. ANTONIO (1788), *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, Madrid, Vol II, book IX, cap. III, p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 131.

<sup>14</sup> Inventory of the assets of Joan Spígol, merchant from Catí (1450), R. CARRERAS (1928), “La comarca de Morella: Catí. Los claros linajes”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, num. 9, p. 319.

<sup>15</sup> Or rather: “los proverbis de Mossé Naçan”, correcting a very common misspelling of the author’s name.

<sup>16</sup> G. LLABRÉS (1889), *Doctrina moral del mallorquí en Pax, autor del sigle XV*, Palma, Felip Guasp, p. 78 and 105.

<sup>17</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), *Qüestions de vida*, p. 82-86.

## 4. THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DETERMINANTS OF THE POGROM OF 1348 IN TÀRREGA

### 4.1. VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL INSTABILITY

JOAN E. GARCÍA BIOSCA

Perhaps it was not strictly by chance that the news we have about the outbreaks of violence in the area of Tàrrega and Cervera coincide either with moments of climatologic stress, or epiphenomena related to these, such as famine and shortages. Thus, the first references to violence against the Jews in Tàrrega date from 1307, after a year of floods and at the beginning of a three-year famine (RIERA, 1991; BENITO, 2004: 191). On that date, bishop Ponç of Vic granted permission for the building of the synagogue, while exhorting the people of Tàrrega not to disturb the Jews with stones or sticks while they were celebrating their festivities or praying, and at the same time expressly prohibiting them from entering the Jewish cemetery, vandalising it or digging up the bodies.<sup>1</sup>

During 1320 and 1321, just after the famine and shortages that had marked the period between 1315 and 1319, there was decisive change in the indices in violence. In early 1321, a rumour spread around southern France according to which the lepers, in connivance with certain Muslim rulers, planned a massive poisoning of the waters of the kingdom. It was not long before the Jews were added to the plot and, in a question of weeks, the municipal authorities of Languedoc appealed to the King of France for a stricter segregation of lepers, as well as the definitive expulsion of the Jewish communities. Although the sovereign and his officials attempted to redirect the protests, they were soon overwhelmed and it was the bishops and municipal magistrates who unleashed the hunting, torture and execution of lepers and Jews (NIRENBERG, 1998: 52-56).

The accusations against the lepers (not so much those that affected the Jews) were also echoed south of the Pyrenees and in June, James II ordered reinforced frontier controls to prevent the arrival of the supposed poisoners, while encouraging his officials to arrest and intern any stranger suspected of carrying the disease. The list of groups to be controlled soon expanded to include Muslims, Basques and Genoese. As had happened in France, the authorities were unable to keep the situation under control, so that in the last months of the year there were frequent attacks on those deemed suspicious, among whom the lepers came off worst.

The assaults on the leper colonies spread and in one of the best-known episodes, not only were the installations of the leper colony of Santa Maria Magdalena in Cervera attacked and burned down, but the sick who lived there were also executed publicly.<sup>2</sup> The fate of the lepers in Tàrrega, Vilafranca del Penedès and Morella is less clear. We do not know for sure if they suffered a similar fate, but their presence after 1321 seems questionable, as not only do the references to them in the written documentation stop, but also their assets, that had until then ensured their sustenance, were adjudicated by the municipalities to the local Franciscan communities.<sup>3</sup>

A decade after these slaughters, we are offered the image of a deeply divided society with tensions that occasionally appear as outbreaks of violence.<sup>4</sup> Tàrrega was not immune to this atmosphere of tension. Thus, in 1326, at the end of a period of severe drought and famine,

the *prohoms* and individuals of the town were absolved from having supported Guillem Folquet and his followers, “de diversis criminibus inculpato”. The situation was serious enough for Prince Alfonso, as procurator general of the realm, to go in person to take control of the situation.<sup>5</sup>

We know somewhat more about the attack against Vilagrassa launched by the people of Tàrrega in 1330, and that led to three deaths and an indeterminate number of injuries. The documents of the absolution show one of the most surprising traits of these events: their truly communal nature, as the entire town rose in arms against the neighbouring village. In October 1331, the widow queen Elionor, the lady of Tàrrega, absolved the *prohoms*, the university as a whole and each of the individuals in particular, of the crimes committed, regardless of their religion, while singling out the Jew Chelomo Natan<sup>6</sup> as one of those who had taken part.<sup>7</sup> A year later, the bishop of Vic imitated the queen and granted his pardon to each and every one of the Tàrrega clergy who had participated in the mentioned events.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, again in this case, the reasons for the attack are not explained, but the wide social, and even ethno-cultural, range of those involved leads us towards the idea of the activation of transversal solidarity in the town against a threat to its economic foundations and/or institutional personality. There were recurring conflicts with Vilagrassa throughout the Middle Ages, starting almost from the time of its foundation in 1185. However, these seem to increase in frequency and intensity from the second decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 1). An agreement between the magistrates of the two towns, signed on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1323, talks generically about crimes, wrongdoings, conflicts and bans that had occurred between them in the past and the need to negotiate the remissions or pardons, while they also agreed on their respective limits and the possessions of each in their neighbour’s territory.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the willingness shown by both parties to reach agreement, at the end of the same year, the king had to intervene to limit the abuses that the people of Vilagrassa committed by exceeding the length set for their fair that overlapped it with the one in Tàrrega, with the intentional aim of damaging it.<sup>10</sup> In the epoch in question, the fair seems a specific trait of the economic life of Vilagrassa (almost a speciality),<sup>11</sup> so that only Lleida and Cervera were in a position to overshadow it. Thus, it is understandable that the people of Vilagrassa fought to maintain its viability and pre-eminent position by opposing not only its neighbours, but also all royal orders that went against their economic interests.<sup>12</sup>

Another parallel source of tension between the two towns arose around the weekly market in Vilagrassa, which it had a right to through its population charter, but that seems to have fallen into disuse, perhaps due to the proximity and vigour of the one in Tàrrega. With a privilege awarded in Lleida on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 1328, the king gave his assent to the confirmation, restoration and change of date of the weekly market in Vilagrassa, but the joint pressure of the Tàrrega council and Queen Elionor soon led the monarch to go back on this

and revoke that disposition on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February the following year.<sup>13</sup> Despite this, the neighbouring town must have appealed unsuccessfully against the royal decision, as two months later the king finally confirmed his decision, against the wishes of Vilagrassa,<sup>14</sup> while promoting measures to stimulate the market in Tàrrega.<sup>15</sup>

Did the inhabitants of Vilagrassa ignore the royal dispositions deliberately? Did they respond with other measures or practices to counteract the advantage gained by the neighbouring town and economic rival? These are questions that we as yet have no answers to, nor can we state with confidence that the tensions that arose about the markets and fairs caused the attack against Vilagrassa by the people of Tàrrega in 1330. However, we believe that this explanation is plausible and that it makes sense for Jews to have taken part, given that they played a very relevant role in the Tàrrega fair and thus, were especially harmed by the competition posed by the neighbouring town.<sup>16</sup> Far from appeasing the conflicts with the remissions of 1331 and 1332, the conflicts with Vilagrassa continued over the following decade. Good evidence of that are the royal offices from 1341, where we can read that both places “orta fuisse**t** brica seu dissensionis materia” and called for measures to be taken to protect goods and people on both sides to guarantee public order.<sup>17</sup>

Attention must be drawn to the apparent everyday nature of extreme forms of aggression that, against what is usually believed, were not restricted to groups of *bellatores*, but were rather a facet of society as a whole. Throughout this period, violence acted as a means of communication that not only allows the social relations to be explored and configured, but is also a tool for establishing an individual’s place in the community and a key resource for articulating the civic identities that were taking shape (SKODA, 2013: 234).

<sup>1</sup> ACA, reg. 217, f. 147v-148r; MUNTANÉ (2006a: 14, doc. 35). The insults in Jewish quarters and synagogues, especially during Easter time, were part of what NIRENBERG (1998: 200 and fol.) typified as forms of systemic, sacred or ritual violence. In contrast, the reference to profanations and disinterment of bodies seems less ordinary, especially if we compare it with other regulations referring to the Jewish cemeteries in Girona and Lleida in 1360 and 1383, respectively (SIERRA and SOLER, 2005; BERTRAN, 2013), which only mention the ban on grazing flocks there. We find the parallels to the acts of profanation detailed in the rules of the bishop of Vic in contrast, in contexts of persecution unleashed like that of 1348. The, the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century historian of Girona, Joan Cortada details how that year, the graveyard of the Jews was sacked and the bodies thrown onto the pyre. However, his documentary sources have not been found (NIRENBERG, 1998: 240).

<sup>2</sup> A document dated the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1238 (AMC, num. 278, cited by NIRENBERG, 1998: 101, note 20) mentioned, retrospectively: “quod cum tempore quo leprosi cum infirmitatibus exigentibus et alias ex rationabili causa fuissent remoti seu expulsi ab domibus in quibus morabantur ac etiam plures eorum ad [ultimum] suplicium compdemnati fuissent”.

<sup>3</sup> A royal decree of 5<sup>th</sup> August 1322 (ACA, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 222, f. 43v-44r, cited in NIRENBERG, 1998: 102, note 24) recognised the ownership by the Friars Minor of the property and land that had belonged to the lepers in Tàrrega, with the condition that anyone who acquired them would have to take care of looking after and maintaining any future cases of leprosy declared in the town.

<sup>4</sup> The minutes of Cervera council from 1331-1333 state that, in those years, there was “rancor e mala voluntat per rones, per ferides e per naffres, o per mortis” between different factions in the town, in dispute about reasons that are unknown, and that robberies, sackings and attacks were so frequent that the council even had to apply the death penalty. The situation was even more serious in 1333, when drought was declared in what would become the famous “first bad year”, to the point that limits were placed on the armament that could be carried in the town. (TURULL, 1986b: 32-34).

<sup>5</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 60r-61r; GONZALVO *et al* (1997: 169-170, doc. 59). The price of absolution was 25,000 *sous* of Barcelona, a large amount that, compared with the 36,000 *sous* the king demanded to end the legal proceedings against those accused of the 1348 massacre (MUNTANÉ, 2013: 114, note 33), gives us an idea of the seriousness of the events of 1326. Despite that, it was still far from the 70,000 *sous* of Barcelona extorted from the relatives of Chelomo Natan and others charged with penal responsibility for his murder in 1345. (MOŠÉ NATAN, 2010: 30-31).

<sup>6</sup> Brother of the writer and businessman, Moshe Natan. He shared a good number of business and lending initiatives and became one of the leading people in the Tàrrega aljama (MOŠÉ NATAN, 2010: 2-55).

<sup>7</sup> “... relaxamus vobis probis hominibus et universitati ville nostre Tarrege, et omnibus singularibus ex vobis, necnon et Salamoni Nazan, iudeo eiusdem, omnem accionem, questionem, petitionem et demandam et omnem eciam penam, civilem et criminalem [...] racione aggressionis et invasionis per vos vel aliquem vestrum, ut dicitur, facte anno proxime preterito contra homines de Villagrassa et singulares eiusdem, in qua invasione neces trium hominum et vulnera plura fuerunt inter ipsos homines subsequata”. (ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 73v-74v; GONZALVO *et al*, 1997: 225-226, doc. 97).

<sup>8</sup> “... remitimus et penitus relaxamus ac perpetuo diffinimus omnibus et singulis clericis ville Tarrege, qui interfuerunt seu interfuisse dicuntur conflictui seu armorum insultui qui dudum habitus fuit inter homines ville Tarrege, ex una parte, et homines Villegrasse, ex altera, in quo quidem conflictu mortes, vulnera et alie percussiones, hoste procurante antiquo, secute fuerunt”. (ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 79v-80r; GONZALVO *et al*, 1997: 232-233, doc. 103).

<sup>9</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT I, f. 4r-5r; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 36r-37r; GONZALVO *et al*, 2006: 131-133, doc. 47).

<sup>10</sup> “... iam dicti homines Villegrasse, in preiudicium hominum ville Tarrege et ut possint destruere seu

diminuere nundinas dicte ville Tarrege, faciunt nundinas preconizari in loco Villegrasse ultra tempus concessum eisdem, ipsasque durare faciunt per tempus concessum hominibus dicte ville Tarrege in ipsorum preiudicium non modicum, ut asseritur, atque dampnum”. (ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 26; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 58v-60r; GONZALVO *et al*, 1997: 164-166, doc. 55).

<sup>11</sup> However, it should be born in mind that the Vilagrassa fair, established in the town charter of 1185, is the oldest in western Catalonia. Balaguer, Lleida and Tàrrega were not granted their fairs until 1211, 1232 and 1242 respectively, while the first news of the one in Cervera dates from 1301, although it must have been in existence before then (TURULL, 1991: 26-29).

<sup>12</sup> In this sense, it should not surprise us that the 1323 decrees by James II met resistance and that, in 1329, Alfonso III had to reiterate that ban on extending that powerful fair beyond ten days to avoid ruining the one in Tàrrega (ACUR, FMT, LPT I, 40v-42r; GONZALVO *et al*, 1997: 188-189, doc. 72).

<sup>13</sup> “... nunc autem illustris domina Alionora, Aragonum regina, karissima consors nostra, asserat et pretendat quod ex dicta concessione seu commutatione redditus mercati ville Tarrege, qui ad ipsam reginam pertinere noscuntur, extenuarentur et diminuarentur quamplurimum, et rogaverit nos ut, cum ipsa tempore concessionis seu renovacionis ac commutacionis dicti mercati, quod hominibus Villegrasse per nos indultum fuit, cum dicto antiquo privilegio tunc non uterentur, tenent redditus ville Tarrege, novitatem et communicationem predictas, in dampnum dicti mercati Tarrege factas, revocare velimus, presertim cum ex dicto mercato Villegrasse villa Tarrege, que locus insignis est, deterioraretur, nec expediat mercatum aliud fore in loco de Villagrassa, qui locum multum contiguus est ville Tarrege et de collecta eciam ville eiusdem”. (ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 38; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 7v-8v; GONZALVO *et al*, 1997: 192-193, doc. 75).

<sup>14</sup> ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 38; ACUR, LPT II, f. 7v-8v; GONZALVO *et al*. (1997: 192-193, doc. 75).

<sup>15</sup> ACUR, FMT, Parchments, boxes num. 3 (1329) and 4 (1330).

<sup>16</sup> More than two thirds of the names of the people authorised to participate as *corredors* of the Tàrrega fair in 1343 and 1344 were Jewish, although not all were from, or lived in, the town [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 80v and 47v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 58, doc. 145]. However, among these, there is no mention of the Chelomo Natan specifically identified as one of those involved in the attack in 1330, although the breadth of his economic interests and (no less important) his ability to pay off the succulent remission for penalties could have been behind the Crown’s interest in highlighting his responsibility.

<sup>17</sup> ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 1434.

### 4.2. THE EFFECTS OF CREDIT AND TAXATION

JOAN E. GARCÍA BIOSCA

Unfortunately, seen from this perspective, except for the number of victims, the pogrom of 1348 was no exceptional event. This riot was no novelty even if we focus on the urge shown to eliminate a minority, given that the previous generation had exterminated the lepers in Cervera and possibly also those in Tàrrega in 1321. On the other hand, the attack on Vilagrassa in 1331 shows that the whole town was capable of rising against a threat considered vital, with no limits to the level of violence employed to achieve the objective.

Thus, the question that must be posed is how the Jews in Tàrrega came to be perceived by their fellow citizens as a threat that had to be eliminated. What had changed in years since 1331, when Jews and Christians from Tàrrega had together attacked the neighbouring town and murdered some of its inhabitants? It is true that in 1348 all the ingredients for a “perfect storm” of violence had come together; drought, famine, pestilence and political disorder before and during the epidemic. But were these only exceptional circumstances of the time that explain the massacre of the Jews? Or is it possible, on the other hand, that over the seventeen years that separate one event from the other, that a wide enough breach had opened between the two communities for the elimination of such a relevant minority as the Jews not to be perceived by the majority as self mutilation?

One way to consider these questions is to examine the financial and credit situation of the towns and inhabitants of Tàrrega and Cervera. As part of a royal domain, their economy oscilated between three poles: meeting the Crown’s fiscal requirements, the creation and maintenance of an incipient municipal structure and, no less important, the payment of the debt accumulated to face previous demands.

Regarding the royal demands, the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was marked by two phases of increasing demands on the towns of the dominion, both coinciding with periods of notable military activity.<sup>1</sup> The increase in tax hit local and individual economies already suffering from bad harvests and famine in the mid 1320s and especially at the beginning of the following decade. The collection of the tributes soon was insufficient to meet the amounts demanded by the royal officials, so the municipalities had no other option than to indebt themselves to appease the impact of the increase in taxes on the population by at least by deferring these.

The indebtedness of the towns took two forms: one more traditional and another more innovative. The first and more onerous consisted of resorting to the usurious short-term loans with high interests (20% legal), that, in the case of the towns that concern us here, seem to have been the speciality of certain members of the local Jewish communities (fig. 1). The second, easier to bear but that required a longer period of negotiations and management, was the sale of long-term low-interest debt in the form of *censals mortis* (perpetual incomes, 7.14% interest) and *violaris* (annuities, 14.28 % interest).<sup>2</sup>

In 1328, Tàrrega seemed to have exhausted the possibilities of the two types of loan, and its finances were at

such a point that it was impossible to meet the annual payments owed to the lenders with usury or the holders of *violaris*.<sup>3</sup> This situation forced the king to intervene and the adoption of a series of corrective measures: on one hand, Alfonso III granted the council the power to establish “ordinations”<sup>4</sup> that allowed it to increase its resources, as well as a series of franchises aimed at reactivating trade;<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, over the following years, a specially convened commission took care of clarifying and recovering the rights and incomes owed to the Crown to correct them and prepare the donation of the town to Queen Elionor of Castile as a dowry (SABATÉ, 1991).

Going further into the question of the “ordinations” granted in 1328, in 1333, Queen Elionor empowered the trustees of Tàrrega and Vilagrassa to set “impositions” on certain products sold in markets and fairs to help them to gather the amounts demanded to subsidise the war against Granada.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the taxation on the municipalities, that had until then been based on the direct taxes of the *quèstia* (feudal dues) and the *subsidi* (tax), was now increased with a form of indirect taxation on commercial deals.<sup>7</sup>

During the 1330s, the king raised the taxation on the royal towns to subsidise the pressing financial needs of his armies. This way, the *subsidi*s, that had been an extraordinary measure until 1336, became an almost annual requirement, and thus were added to the annual customary tribute of the *quèstia* (SÁNCHEZ, 1995a: 412-413). As a consequence, the 1340s saw the start of generalised and chronic indebtedness of the royal towns, ever more burdened down by the taxes demanded by the Crown (SÁNCHEZ, 1995a: 414).

The *Paeria* of Tàrrega attempted to lighten this growing burden on their ever more meagre resources by following two lines. On one hand, this meant seeking exemption from some royal taxes and, on the other, attempting to cancel short-term loans at high interest rates that had been taken out at moments of urgent needs. With the former in mind, in 1342, Tàrrega and Vilagrassa granted the king a loan of 25,000 *sous* on the condition that they would be exempt form paying the *quèstia* until this money had been repaid.<sup>8</sup>

We do not know the amount borrowed from Christian or Jewish lenders,<sup>9</sup> but, judging from the difficulties the council had, and the resources dedicated to repaying the loans from the brothers Moshe and Chelomo Natan, this must have been considerable.<sup>10</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1341, Tàrrega council seems to have reached a critical point. Having reached the last deadline for repayment, the creditors would have presented the *batlle* or the royal minister with a requirement for the due repayments to be made within ten days. At that moment, only royal intervention, with the suspension of the clause that committed the council to pay within that time limit, saved the municipal coffers from having to add the penalisation of an extra third to be repaid on top of the capital sum and interests.<sup>11</sup>

The beneficiary or beneficiaries of the loan to be repaid over the summer of 1341 are not identified, but were perhaps unnamed Christians that the royal authorisation then emitted refers to. Over the final months of the year and a good part of the following one, the municipality’s attention was focussed on

repaying what they owed to the Tàrrega Jew Moshe Natan, while the loan from his brother Chelomo was not finally paid off until 1344.

The behaviour towards the mentioned Jewish lenders was very homogeneous and seems more aggressive than the feelings against the creditors in 1341. From the fragmentary data available, a similar pattern can be reconstructed for both brothers:as the deadline for the loan drew closer, the council publicly accused the Natans of usury<sup>12</sup> and immediately implanted measures that discriminated against all the Jewish population.<sup>13</sup> The rise in tension, both between Christians and Jews and within the aljama, forced the Crown to act, and it was decided either to adjourn the payment<sup>14</sup> or suspend the ten-day clause temporarily,<sup>15</sup> while all parties were encouraged to come to an agreement. The council then appointed a commission to negotiate new terms and conditions of payment with the lender.<sup>16</sup> Once a compromise had been reached, this was put into motion and *ad hoc* mechanisms were applied to pay back the amount owed.

The ways Tàrrega used to collect the amounts owed to the Natan brothers are of special interest. In 1344, the appeal used to cancel the amount that had to be paid to Chelomo was very habitual: the sale of long-term, low-interest debt to pay back the usurious loan.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, this resort does not seem to have been available two years earlier when the council had had to return the money owed to Moshe. Such an amount would have been difficult to collect without resorting to a large sale of *censals* and/ or *violaris* and, after exhausting this option, the councillors had no option but to collect the *quèstia* of that year from the people of Tàrrega, just after they had made an important financial effort to buy exemption from this from the king.<sup>18</sup> With the amount collected they hoped to pay, firstly the loan from the Natans and, with the remainder, the royal *subsidi* for the building of galleys, as well as a *violari* contracted with people from Lleida whose repayment date was coming dangerously close.<sup>19</sup>The Natan were not the only Jewish moneylenders in the town,<sup>20</sup> nor was Tàrrega the only municipality forced to request their services. Nor were the only conflicts with the Jewish creditors restricted to the field of local government. There is the sensation that at that time, there was a certain generalisation of short-term loans throughout society, possibly because of the frequent crises of subsistence. The first, although indirect, indications take us to 1336, to the end of a particularly harsh three-year drought and the resulting food shortages coinciding with notable increase in the frequency of Royal demands for money. In that context, the king adopted a measure aimed at giving security to the lenders in the Tàrrega aljama, lightening the economic difficulties that they were going through<sup>21</sup> and perhaps to favour a greater flow of credit, for five years, they would have the privilege of not having to grant any kind of moratorium to their debtors.<sup>22</sup>

Only three years went by before the first disputes between debtors and lenders forced the Crown to go back on this and challenge the previous privilege. On the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1339, Peter III wrote to his *batlles* in Lleida and Tàrrega requesting their help in a certain disagreement that had arisen between Jews from Tàrrega and their debtors, who had obtained

a privilege from Queen Elionor to postpone the payment of the amounts owed.<sup>23</sup> The following year, this change of line became even clearer with two new royal decrees: on one hand, the *batlles* would have the power to decide the legitimacy of the pledges for loans not repaid before foreclosing it<sup>24</sup> and, on the other, they were prohibited from imprisoning any Christian for questions of debts and had to free those who were already behind bars for this reason.<sup>25</sup>

In the final months of 1342 or early 1343, Count James of Urgell, as the Crown procurator general, decided to open an investigation into tax fraud by the members of the aljama of Tàrrega when declaring their assets. This was part of a general initiative to put a stop to the generalised and growing tax avoidance among the kingdom’s Jewish communities.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1343, Peter III wrote to his brother James ordering him to stop that policy, alleging that the town’s Jews were already heavily-enough burdened with taxes so it was not the moment to place them under even more financial pressure.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast with the stricter attitude of the prince, the king adopted a contemporising position, which must have reflected his need for the backing of some nobles from the area for the expedition he was preparing to conquer the Kingdom of Majorca.<sup>28</sup> The king’s position must also have been conditioned by perhaps being considering (or even negotiating) a loan from Moshe Natan, as a guarantee of which on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May the following year, he granted him the collection of the *leudes*, taxes on merchandise, from the aljamas in Cervera and Vinaixa.<sup>29</sup>

What can be drawn from the above is an image of Jewish creditors and Christian debtors trapped in an apparently endless cycle that was fed by a chain of requests for loans, payments of royal taxes and demands for the repayment of debts. Thus, it should come as no surprise that, in the best of cases, this vitiated dynamic led to an increase in antagonism towards the Jews or that, when the circumstances worsened, the physical elimination of the lenders became an alternative to consider. The destabilising factor in this equation does not seem difficult to establish: the fiscal rapaciousness of the monarchy stretched the financial capacity of the municipalities and, especially, the aljamas, to the limit.<sup>30</sup> This led them both to seek new resources or protect what they already had, and ultimately, led them to a conflict to ensure their own survival (MEYERSON, 2004: 194).

<sup>[</sup> On one hand, there are the years between 1282 and 1305, marked by the conquest of Sicily, the crusade against the Crown of Aragon and the conflicts prior to the Treaties of Anagni (1295) and Caltabellota (1302). On the other, there is the period between 1321 and 1375, with an almost continuous and sometimes overlapping succession of conflicts: the conquest of Sardinia (1323-1324), the wars with Genoa (1329-1336) and with the alliance between the latter Italian republic and the Nazarite sultanate of Granada (1337-1342), the annexation of the kingdom of Majorca (1343), the repression of the revolts on Sardinia (1347) and against the unions of Aragon and Valencia (1347-1348) and,

just before the events of 1348, another war with Genoa (1351-1352) and the confrontation with Castile (1356-1375).

<sup>[</sup> The municipal accounts of Cervera from 1333 illustrate the balance of accounts of a royal town of the time: a third of the debt corresponded to the payment of the *quèstia*, almost 35% went on annuities sold to dignitaries in Lleida and Cervera and 17.3 % on the payment of usurious loans to a group of Jews from Tàrrega. Yet, another item of 1.7% for the repayment of loans has to be added (TURULL, 1986b: 35).

<sup>[</sup> “... fuistis et estis magno debitorum pondere pregravati, ita quod villa ipsa et habitantes in ea ob violaria et usuras, quas et que tenentur annuatim impendere, sic propriis facultatibus sunt exausti quo, nisi congruum adhibeatur remedium, incurrunt in brevi desolacionis irreparabilis detrimenta”. (ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 34; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 178-179, doc. 63).

<sup>[</sup> According to Font, *ordinacions* were “those things or sets of norms emanating from the popular authorities of the municipality, with the approval or accordance of the higher authority and intended for the internal regulation of the city or town” (SÁNCHEZ and ORTÍ, 1997: 213).

<sup>[</sup> However, these had to be paid through a specific subsidy. Thus, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1328, Alfonso III gave the *batlle* of Tàrrega the names of those neighbours who had to help to tax the assets of the townspeople to obtain the money to pay the monarch in compensation for the exemption on merchandise granted on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May that same year (ACUR, FMT, LPT I, f. 10v-11v; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 186-187, doc. 70).

<sup>[</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 134v-135v; GONZALVO *et al.* (1997: 243-244, doc. 105). In this aspect, the queen followed the provisions issued by the courts of Montblanc that year, that granted this right to all the royal market-towns (SÁNCHEZ and ORTÍ, 1997: 251).

<sup>[</sup> This innovation obliged the market towns to build up an incipient administrative structure to enable it to set impositions, auction these, mange their product and channel the resulting sums to the royal coffers (SÁNCHEZ, 2008: 79 and 82-85). This also increased the costs of running the councils with the growth of the number of staff without this meaning a significant increase in the resources to cover their own expenses (SÁNCHEZ and ORTÍ, 1997: 246).

<sup>[</sup> Cervera did the same with a loan of 68,000 *sous* (SÁNCHEZ, 2008: 88 and note 65).

<sup>[</sup> In a document dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of July 1341, Peter III stated that “pro parte paciariorum ville Tarrege fuit nobis supplicatum ut, cum paciarii ac universitatis dicte ville ratione diversarum pecunie quantitatum obligati sint pluribus et diversis creditoribus, tam christianis quam iudeis”. (ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 22r-22v; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 267-268, doc. 122). The only certain datum about the amount of this debt is the 4,000 *sous* still owed to Chelomo Natan at the end

of 1343 [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 59v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 52, doc. 130].

<sup>[</sup> The repayment of these loans became one of the priorities of the council, fearful that the validity of these would stretch over more than one year, at which time the amount to be repaid would more than double. The analysis of the loans taken out by Cervera in 1333 with five Jews from Tàrrega (prominent among whom quantitatively were Moshe and Chelomo Natan) shows that the interest on these over the first year was 35%, but rising to 55% of the initial capital in the second year (VERDÉS, 2009: 30). There was also the risk that, in the case of failure to meet the terms for repayment, there would be an additional sanction equivalent to a third of the outstanding amount. The number of municipalities that were caught in this “pena de terç” grew over the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century from 12.7% in the 1350s to 21.26% in the 1390s (SABATÉ, 1999a: 272-273).

<sup>[</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 14v and 22r-22v; GONZALVO *et al.* (1997: 267-269, doc. 122 and 123).

<sup>[</sup> Only details about the case of Chelomo Natan have survived. The minutes of the council from the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1343, state that “fos proposit excepçio contra en Salamo Natan de ço que ha prestat a la vila ultra lo cot del Senyor Rey”. [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 57r-58v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 59-61, doc. 147, developed in MUNTANÉ, 2013: 119-120]. The “cot del rei” was the maximum interest that could be charged on loans, set at 20% by the *Statuta Usurarum* of 1241. Any loan with a higher rate was considered usurious (GARCÍA, 2002: 86). Brandishing this type of accusation publicly was a habitual delaying tactic among Christian debtors to force their creditors to negotiate more favourable terms for repayment. (MEYERSON, 2004: 197).

<sup>[</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1341, the Council decided to reissue the call to ban all Jews and midwives from touching the fish and fruit displayed for sale [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 5r; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 52, doc. 131]. That was only thirteen days before the *Paeria* restarted negotiations with Moshe Natan to solve the question of the repayment of the money he was owed. Two years later, when the council was negotiating with Chelomo Natan, a similar sequence was played out. Using the same minutes of the council from the 29<sup>th</sup> of December 1341 that accused that creditor of being a usurer, the prohibition was again put into place now aimed at Jews, midwives and prostitutes to prevent them from touching the fish, bread and fruit they wanted to buy. At the same time, it was dictated that the table in the market that sold meat slaughtered for Jews had to be indicated and that this meat be sold to Christians at a *diner* less per pound, thus reducing the profit margin for the aljama [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 57r-58v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 59-61, doc. 147]. The joint application of discriminatory measures to Jews, lepers, prostitutes and midwives is a recurrent feature all over Europe from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (MOORE, 2008: 91). Specifically, the ban

on them touching the food on display in the markets, first documented for the Council of Avignon in 1209 (SILVER, 2012: 7), reappears in Perpignan (1299), Lleida (1350), Cervera (1399), Solsona (1434) and Girona. For the disagreements about the terefah meat in the markets in the Crown of Aragon, see RIERA (1988: 300-302) and GARCÍA (1993: 175-181).

<sup>[</sup> On the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1339, Peter III wrote to the *veguers* of Lleida and Tàrrega about a dispute between the Jews from the latter town and their debtors, to whom Queen Elionor had granted an adjournment on the payment of the money owed. The king ordered the above-mentioned officials to work for an agreements between the parties (ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 1521).

<sup>[</sup> The suspension of this clause marked the beginning of the negotiation with the lenders from 1341 and came a little over a month before the first news about the negotiations with Moshe Natan, at the beginning of the following year (ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 22r-22v and 14v; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 267-269, doc. 122 and 123). The main aim of that measure was to avoid the debtor having to pay the “pena de terç” and grant him a relative advantage to encourage the parties to restart negotiations.

<sup>[</sup> On the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1342, less than a month after the suspension of the ten-day clause, the council selected two dignitaries to reach an agreement with Moshe Natan [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 7v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 53-54, doc. 134]. This first action must not have been fully satisfactory, as a new commission had to be nominated on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1342 [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 15v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 54, doc. 136]. In the case of the debt with Chelomo Natan, we know of the setting up of a negotiating commission on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1343 [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 56r; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 58-59, doc. 146]. After months of unfruitful comings and goings, it must have reached deadlock, and that led to the council meeting on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November accusing the creditor of usury and the implanting of discriminatory measures against all the Jews in the town. The effects of this decision were soon felt, so that on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December, an agreement was announced for the payment of the outstanding 4,000 *sous* under flexible terms [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 59v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 61, doc. 148]. It seems that even these favourable terms were not complied with, given that on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1344, the council was still taking measures to pay off the loan [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 72r; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 63, doc. 152].

<sup>[</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1344, Tàrrega council destined part of the money obtained from the sale of a *censal* to the lady of Ciutadilla to repay what it owed Chelomo Natan [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 72r; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 63, doc. 152]. About the trend towards replacing short-term loans with long-term *censals* and *violaris*, see the case of Cervera in VERDÉS (2004: 75).

<sup>[</sup> It should be born in mind that the king had been granted an extraordinary loan of 25,000 *sous* that same year, which until it was repaid, exempted Tàrrega and Vilagrassa from paying the *quèstia*.

<sup>[</sup> “Que com la questa que ara se es campada se sie feyta per pagar deutes, violaris e altres coses en que la universitat de la vila de Tàrrega es a diversos acreedors obligada, que, per tal que no pogues esser mesa en altres coses, qe’n fossen satisfeyts: primerament, en Mosse e en Salamo Naçan; a aquests paers e conseyl a pagar los diners que eren deguts a l’ajuda de les galeres; apres que’n sien treyt lo violari de Leyda que es a termini de Santa Lucia e na agats penes, e si passave lo temps de la gracia que passarie lo dit die de Santa Lucia e sirie gran dapnatge”. [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 18r-18v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 54-55, doc. 137].

<sup>[</sup> Among the Jewish creditors in the town, there was also one Sullam Brunell, who, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1343, was paid 400 *sous* in interests for a loan not yet repaid, while new repayment terms were also established [ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells (1341-1344)*, f. 43r; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 57, doc. 142].

<sup>[</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1337, the king ordered his *batlle* to exempt the aljama of Tàrrega from paying that year’s *quèstia*, because of the “prospectaque inopia dicte aliame, que multum est facultatibus diminuta”. (ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 357).

<sup>[</sup> ACA, reg. 861, f. 185; MUNTANÉ (2006a: 48, doc. 118). The granting of this kind of privilege over moratoria was not infrequent, as shown by the fact that James II repeatedly granted it to the aljama of Morvedre in 1304, 1306 and 1309, although the power or wish to maintain it effective was just as inconsistent in the case of this Valencian town as it was for Tàrrega. (MEYERSON, 2004: 188-189).

<sup>[</sup> “... discensio sive lis ortia fuerit inter judeos ca [...] ville et vicarie Tarrage, ex una parte et debitores eorum qui obtinuerunt provisionis et elongamenta predicta, ex altera”. (ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 1521).

<sup>[</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 29r-29v; GONZALVO *et al.* (1997: 261-262, doc. 116).

<sup>[</sup> ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 19v-20r; GONZALVO *et al.* (1997: 265, doc. 119).

<sup>[</sup> This is the line that MORELLÓ (2011: 343) follows, in which he sees a defensive movement of the Jewish communities faced with the soaring tax pressure that marked the 1340s throughout the Kingdom.

<sup>[</sup> ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 1670.

<sup>[</sup> This would be indicated by the fact that, on around the same date, the sovereign asked both the Lleida dignitary Samsó de Navés and the Natan brothers to request the aljama of Tàrrega to concede a two-year postponement on the return of the loan taken out with this aljama by Ramon Cornell, lord of Arbeca and member of

the military forces he was assembling (ACA, Cartes reials, Pere III, num. 2223 and 2234).

<sup>[</sup> ACA, Reial patrimoni, t. 322, f. 21v; MUNTANÉ (2006a: 63, doc. 151).

<sup>[</sup> When studying the taxes the Jews from Girona had to pay to the king, Christian Guilleré reached the conclusion that, between the 1330s and 1340s, the amount of extraordinary contributions demanded increased six-fold (GUILLERÉ *et al.*, 1993: 275-276). On the other hand, SÁNCHEZ (1995a: 142) states in the same sense: “At the end of the 1340s, it is possible that the Jewish communities had ceased to be the important source of revenues for the Crown that they had been until then”. This exhaustion must also have been partly due to the changes in the money market, with the definitive consolidation of long-term lending in the form of *censals* and *violaris*, that deprived the Jewish moneylenders of the tool that had until then ensured their importance in this sector (MEYERSON, 2004: 205-206).

### 4.3. A MASSACRE WITH OVERTONES OF A POLITICAL REVOLT?

JOAN E. GARCÍA BIOSCA

The municipal documentation for 1345-1348 has not survived, so it is difficult to reconstruct the evolution of tensions over tax and lending with any precision, or their impact on the relations between Christians and Jews. However, we would in all likelihood make a mistake if we only sought the causes of the pogrom of 1348 in these financial aspects. When analysing a massacre like the one that concerns us, it is worth paying attention to those responsible and establishing whether this crime was the result of a more or less spontaneous action by a group or if there was coordination or leadership behind it. Another aspect is to establish if the participants or instigators came from a certain social group and, consequently, encouraged the assault in response to the aims of a specific class or group.

While both the Latin and Hebrew documents related to these events keep referring to those responsible for the massacre with such expressions as “populus”, “concitationes populi sive avaloti”, “ruralium vulgaris opinio” or “*ἄνθρωποι*” (“people of the town”),<sup>1</sup> the names of those charged by the royal officials who re-established order in the town after the riot seem to belong to a privileged social strata. Leaving aside some unnamed people from Cervera<sup>2</sup> and Vilagrassa, the latter specifically accused of the death of Maimó Nicolau,<sup>3</sup> three men were singled out as responsible for the events: on one hand, Francesc Aguiló,<sup>4</sup> the royal *batlle* in Tàrrega, and on the other, individuals by the names of Ramon Folquet<sup>5</sup> and Berenguer de Cortielles.

The Aguiló and Folquet families were both important in Tàrrega, and, paradoxically, would have been thought of as representatives of opposing tendencies. Thus, while the former were a family of keepers and royal *batlles*,<sup>6</sup> the latter were influential merchants<sup>7</sup> with political ambitions<sup>8</sup> and a history of rebelling against royal power.<sup>9</sup> Neither does the outsider Berenguer de Cortielles<sup>10</sup> seem to fit the popular origins repeatedly attributed to the participants in the disturbances, but rather seems to have belonged to a family of merchants with interests in collecting royal and ecclesiastic tributes.<sup>11</sup>

It was not only in Tàrrega where we find men of good standing and merchants involved in the attacks on the Jewish quarters in 1348. In Solsona, one of the few individuals singled out among those “homes de Valdelori”<sup>12</sup> who attacked the town’s Jews was Ramon Garró, son or relative of the local merchant Francesc Garró, who paid the bail to get him out of prison (PLANES, 1985: 112). In fact, this social and professional profile is very similar to that of the attackers of Jewish quarters all over Central Europe that same year (the urban patrician class), and it was the same municipal institutions that forced the royal and ecclesiastical authorities to stop protecting the Jews, and also those who led the attacks and killings.<sup>13</sup> However, unlike the events in the centre of the continent, where the attackers are not seen to have had any evident economic interest (COHN, 2007: 25-26), the descriptions of the riot in Tàrrega, like others in Catalonia at the same time, emphasise the physical destruction of the creditors<sup>14</sup> or the deeds of their debts<sup>15</sup> as one of the targets of those who led the killing of the Jews.

On analysing the attacks on Jews in the Crown of Aragon that year, Nirenberg notes that they only took place in Catalonia and then only in royal towns.<sup>16</sup> This statement is true *grosso modo*, but not exact, as there were also attacks on the Jewish quarters of Valencia.<sup>17</sup> Morvedre (MEYERSON, 2004: 211 and fol.), Monzón, Huesca (MUNTANÉ, 2013: 109, note 18) and Jaca (BUESA CONDE, 1982: 149), while in the Principality, there was also an attack on the jewry in Solsona.<sup>18</sup> In the latter case, the domain was shared between the town’s canonly and the viscounts of Cardona. Bearing in mind that the epidemic affected all Catalonia more or less homogenously and without forgetting that Jewish lending was not exclusive to the royal possessions, but had spread to all kinds of rural and urban settings, independently of the type of lordship they were submitted to, we have to look deeper to find reasons for this geographic and jurisdictional bias behind the attacks on the Catalan Jews in 1348.

The answer surely requires a deeper analysis of the political circumstances of the exceptionally convulsive two-year period of 1347-1348, when Peter III nominated his daughter Constança heiress, relegating his brother James of Urgell and removing him from all the posts he held as heir to the Crown. This decision went down badly in Aragon and Valencia, where it was seen as a clear example of the king’s authoritarian tendencies. This grievance was the last straw in a situation already charged due to the fall in seigniorial incomes, the institutional imbalances caused by the reforms by the monarchy and the growing tax burden (SIMÓN, 2011: 249).

Unions were formed in Aragon and Valencia to defend the rights of the nobility and the urban patriarch class, while Aragon rose in revolt and tension grew in Valencia. Faced with this situation, the king withdrew to Catalonia to stop the revolt from spreading to this kingdom too.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, agitation was growing in Aragon, where the discontented rallied around the princes James of Urgell and Ferdinand, to the point that the king was forced to convoke courts in Saragossa and travel there, where, virtually a prisoner of the rebels, he manoeuvred to draw some key figures of that movement over to his side while pretending to accept their demands.<sup>20</sup>

News was reaching Saragossa of a terrible rout of the Catalan-Aragonese forces at the battle of Aidu de Turdu (August 1347), which endangered the Crown’s already precarious hold on the island of Sardinia. After the Aragonese courts, the king returned to Catalonia to prepare the relief force to be sent to Sassari and, having reached Lleida, he decided to convoke the courts of the Principality. However, instead of holding court there, he ordered it to be transferred to Barcelona, as prince James enjoyed a lot of support in Lleida (TASIS, 1991: 41).

The western area around Lleida was good territory for the rebel members of the royal family, not only because it was part of the Urgell County, which James was the head of, but also because he habitually lived in Lleida and had a lot of support there (LLADONOSA, 1991: 586). Also, his stepmother and the real power behind the revolt, the widow queen Eleanor of Castile, had been lady of Montblanc and Tàrrega before fleeing to Castile in 1335. Lleida, Tàrrega

and Cervera all also had reason to distrust King Peter and were potentially supporters of his adversaries. This reason was none other than the fear of being enfeofed to another lord, a threat that had hung over all three in 1344<sup>21</sup> and that could have returned in the context of the urgent sales of royal patrimony in an attempt to raise money to contain the Sardinian revolt of 1347.<sup>22</sup>

In mid November, the death of the Prince-count James of Urgell in Barcelona, amid suspicions that he had been poisoned on the king’s orders,<sup>23</sup> raised the political tension and led to open rebellion in the Kingdom of Valencia. Important sectors of the nobility and the towns of that kingdom gathered under the banner of the Union, an army that defeated the forces favourable to the king at the battles of Pobra Llarga and Bétera in December 1347. That forced Peter III to leave Catalonia and advance into Valencia with his forces to try to contain the revolt.

He set up his headquarters in Morvedre, but soon, unable to pay the wages of the troops, he was abandoned by his army, and became a hostage to the rebels. To avoid his flight, the king was forced to move to Valencia, where he would agree to, and confirm, the appointment of his half brother, Prince Ferdinand, as heir to the throne. Virtual prisoner of the rebels, only the outbreak of plagues in the city in May allowed him to obtain permission to leave the following month.

Meanwhile, the epidemic had broken out in Catalonia, spreading from both Roussillon and the ports of Barcelona (April-May 1348) and Tarragona (May 1348). From these two coastal cities, the pestilence spread inland, reaching Lleida around the 15<sup>th</sup> of July and Saragossa in September (fig. 3). Anti-Jewish riots followed in its trail, and seem to have occurred a few weeks after the epidemic was declared in a town. Thus, the disturbances in Barcelona took place on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May, around the 6<sup>th</sup> of July in Tàrrega, and in Lleida, no earlier than the 24<sup>th</sup> of the same month.<sup>24</sup>

In fact, the arrival of the epidemic and its havoc it wreaked acted as a trigger for the attacks on the aljamas, but it is surprising that the Black Death only triggered this kind of response in the royal towns without affecting most of the Jewish neighbourhoods in other domains. So we must ask if there were a element of political revolt against royal authority that, without spreading widely, as happened with the Aragonese and Valencian unionist movements, that took advantage of the relaxation or failure of the mechanisms of social control, induced by the spread of the disease, to hit out against the king’s interests in the flesh of his Jews, his “coffre e tresor”.

We must bear in mind that these pogroms happened at the most critical moment of the revolt, when Peter III was held prisoner in Valencia (in the case of the riot in Barcelona), and when the royal and unionist armies were force marching to Saragossa (in the case of the attacks in Cervera and Tàrrega). In the end, perhaps it is not by chance that after the victory of the forces loyal to the king at the battle of Épila on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July 1348, the intensity of the attacks on the Jews, that had risen over the previous months, fell off and disappeared rapidly. It may not be purely by chance that the last of the attacks on a Jewish quarter took place in Morvedre on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September, three months after the plagues had

stricken the area. Nor that this final assault seems to have had less to do with the fears provoked by the epidemic than the wishes of the Valencian unionists, who were still fighting desperately against the king, to deny the king one of his most important financial resources.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>[1]</sup> See the texts we refer to in MUNTANÉ (2009a) and MUNTANÉ (2013: 105-106, note 6).

<sup>[2]</sup> LÓPEZ (1959b: doc. 29), cited in MUNTANÉ (2013: 114, note 34).

<sup>[3]</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1349, Peter III passed the case of Maimó Nicolau to Gilabert de Corbera. The former was a Jew from Tàrrega possibly killed by people from Vilagrassa during the attack on the Jewish neighbourhood and who had been accused by the *veguer* of Tàrrega (ACA, reg. 655, f. 264v; MUNTANÉ, 2006a: 71, doc. 177).

<sup>[4]</sup> There are some confusing aspects in the accusation against Francesc Aguiló and it was asked whether he was tried as an instigator or co-author of the attack or if the charges against him were related to him supposedly abandoning his role as *batlle*, of not having been able to predict and contain the riot (MUNTANÉ, 2009a: 168, notes 41 and 43).

<sup>[5]</sup> After a year in prison, he was pardoned on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1350 from the other year he still had to serve and from the punishment of the third that he had incurred for having failed to pay the fine in the terms stipulated in exchange for a remission of 5,000 *sous* (LÓPEZ, 1959b: doc. 15, cited in MUNTANÉ, 2009a: 169, note 47; MUNTANÉ, 2013: 113, note 31).

<sup>[6]</sup> For the complex seigniorial structure of the castellany of Tàrrega in 1328, see SABATÉ (1991: 30 and fol.). On that date, the post of *batlle* was held by Pere or Pericó d’Aguiló, perhaps the father of the Francesc Aguiló who concerns us.

<sup>[7]</sup> “The Folquet family had long been in Tàrrega. Its menfolk were reputed merchants known throughout the Principality. In the 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-century documents, we find the Folquet family lessees of the butchers tables”. (SARRET I PONS, 1994: 50-51). The family possibly lived next to the Jewish neighbourhood, in the street that was called Lluís Folquet in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and that still bears that name (MUNTANÉ, 2006b: 114, note 9).

<sup>[8]</sup> Another member of the family, Ramon Folquet, did not take long before starting to work to take over the syndicature of Tàrrega and hold it from 1356 to 1380 (ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 108; ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 245r-252v, cited in GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 335-342, doc. 173; ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 46r, cited in GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 517-518, doc. 301). In 1364, a relative of his called Miquel Folquet appears in the post (ACUR, FMT, parchment num. 136; ACUR, FMT, LPT III, f. 87v-90v; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 378-385, doc. 202).

<sup>[9]</sup> A Guillem Folquet is documented in 1326 as the head of a band relevant enough to force Prince Alfonso to go in person to re-establish order. Although he was not captured then, his assets, as well as those of all the population, were taxed with a remission of 25,000 *sous*, a

figure that gives some idea of both the importance of the riots and the financial means of the family (ACUR, FMT, LPT II, f. 60r-61r; GONZALVO *et al.*, 1997: 169-170, doc. 59).

<sup>[10]</sup> At the time of the events, he is said to have lived in Tàrrega (from which we can deduce that he was not originally from the town) and that he was released from prison thanks to bail paid by a doctor called Antoni de Campells, who in 1352, was still demanding the return of the bond from the above-mentioned Berenguer, then living in Puigcerdà (LÓPEZ, 1959: doc. 18, cited in MUNTANÉ, 2009: 169, note 48).

<sup>[11]</sup> As well as one Berenguer de Cortiella who is documented in 1308 as a notary of the clergy of Tortosa (FONT, 1983: II, 668, doc. 239), another person with the same name appears in 1323 acting as a collector of a royal subsidy from the castellany of Amposta (ORTEGA, 1999: 75, note 8). In 1378, Pere de Cortielles, a merchant from Barcelona, held a censal of 12,000 *sous pagadors* from Cervera (VERDÉS, 2004: 97) and, between 1390 and 1393, we know of a Berenguer de Cortilles or Cortielles, a merchant from Saragossa, involved in the collection of taxes owed by the aljama of Monzón and the gathering of the tithes of the bishopric of Barcelona (SALLERAS CLARIÓ, 2010: 153; BERTRAN, 1994: 374). This may have been the same Berenguer de Cortilles who, in 1394, as treasurer to Queen María de Luna, received the money collected from the aljamas dependent on Tarragona (MORELLÓ, 2001: 206).

<sup>[12]</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1348, Astrugona, widow of Yuçef Annacaia, a Jew from Solsona, declared before the town’s viscount’s curia that she was her husband’s heiress, and that he died intestate, as did their two children, “los quals moriren en la suestió que.ls homes de Valdelort feren els juheus de Solsona”. (ADS, Bernat Zavila, Manual de la cúria vescomtal de Solsona, ms. 14, f. 8v; PLANES, 1985: 115-116, doc. 2). The reference to the Lord valley has possibly less to do with the valley itself and more to the gate and neighbourhood of the same name in the town (PLANES, 1985: 113, note 17).

<sup>[13]</sup> For the well-off position of those who instigated and attacked the German Jewish communities in 1348, see COHN (2007: 18-21). The significant presence of nobles, urban bourgeoisie and even clergymen has been detected in the radical movement of the Flagellants, responsible for a good number of pogroms in Central and Northern Europe in those years (KIECKHEFER, 1974: 160).

<sup>[14]</sup> This seems to have been the case in Solsona, where Astrugona requested the viscount’s court to guarantee the payment of the debts owed to her husband and sons killed during the pogrom: “perquè requeri lo dit honrat en Francesch de Castelar que li destrenguàs a la força forçan tots deutes que al dit en Juçef e a sos fiyls sien deguts”. (ADS, Bernat Zavila, Manual de la cúria vescomtal de Solsona, ms. 14, f. 8v; PLANES, 1985: 115-116).

<sup>[15]</sup> This is very clear in the case of Tàrrega, where it was stated that, “quia plura et diversa instrumenta

deed of debta et obligaciones dictorum Judeorum per predictos malefactores fuerint, sicut predictur, rapta et depredata, destructa et penitus laniata”, work had to be done to rebuild these deeds of debt from the notarial manuals and other available sources. (LÓPEZ, 1959b: doc. 12, cited in MUNTANÉ, 2009a: 166, note 34).

<sup>[16]</sup> “Within this polarized geography of loyalty and rebellion, it is striking that the plague provoked violence against Jews only in the region most loyal to the Crown: in the pro-monarchical towns of Catalonia. Wherever antiroyalist forces had the upper hand, no Jews were attacked”. (NIRENBERG, 1998: 244).

<sup>[17]</sup> The excavations in the Jewish necropolis in Valencia have uncovered two mass graves with forty bodies, a good part of which showed signs of violence. These burials have been identified as belonging to the pogrom of 1348 (CALVO, 2003: 592). Paradoxically, the attack on the Jewish quarter in Valencia seems to have left little documentary traces (MEYERSON, 2004: 212).

<sup>[18]</sup> See PLANES (1985). This would confirm the news transmitted by Josef ha-Kohen in *The valley of Tears*, where he notes that, as well as Barcelona, Cervera, Tàrrega, Lleida, Monzón and Huesca, there were also attacks in Solsona, Cardona and Tarragona (MUNTANÉ, 2009a: 176, esp. note 81; MUNTANÉ, 2013: 109).

<sup>[19]</sup> The king himself confessed as much in his chronicle (cap. iv, § 10): “... car nos veiem que ja es tenia lo foc per tot Aragó e que la dissensió era ja escampada entre ells, imaginant que deguéssen acórrer a Catalunya, que no entràs la dita dissensió”. (SOLDEVILA, 1971: 1093-1094).

<sup>[20]</sup> About the king’s actions in these courts, see SIMÓN (2011).

<sup>[21]</sup> Amid the diplomatic movements that preceded the definitive rupture with James III of Majorca and the annexation of his realms, Pere III offered him the enfeofment of Lleida, Tàrrega and Cervera to offset this dispossession. The minutes of the Paeria in Lleida from the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1344 contain the missive sent to the king expressing their point blank refusal of this possibility (LLADONOSA, 1991: 478).

<sup>[22]</sup> In an effort to gather funds, a series of towns on Sardinia were sold together with the castles of Torelló and Castellet de Bages. At the same time, some royal towns, such as Cervera (14,000 *sous*), were compelled to sell *censals* and *violaris* on incomes received by the Crown (SÁNCHEZ, 1995b: 792-798).

<sup>[23]</sup> The rumour that King Peter was responsible for his brother’s death was widespread and is noted by various chroniclers (TASIS, 1991: 129, note 59). Another factor that does little to remove his responsibility for this is the fact that in early October 1347, when he renegotiated his secret agreement with the then unionist Lope de Luna, he mentioned that is was impossible to make him procurator general immediately as he had promised, as he was forced to reinstate Prince James. However, he assured him that, “dito oficio le tirara el toldra al dito dentro d’un mes”. (SIMÓN, 2011: 261). The fact

that the courts reinstated James in the post on the 20<sup>th</sup> of that month and that he died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November was perhaps, in the end, no coincidence, but it must no be forgotten that he had been ailing for some time, possibly affected by malign malarial fevers (McVAUGH, 2002: 154-158).

<sup>[24]</sup> For the chronology of this advance, see BENEDICTOW (2011: 124-125) and MUNTANÉ (2013: 110-111, note 23).

<sup>[25]</sup> See DÍAZ (2004: 265 and fol.). Regarding these events, MEYERSON (2004: 212) argues as follows: “The Jews of Morvedre endured Christian violence in 1348 and other hardships in subsequent years not because they were somehow blamed for the plague but because they were caught between opposing Christian groups: the Union of Valencia and the royalists; invading Castilian armies and the forces of King Pere; and the municipalities of Valencia and Morvedre; and the municipalities of the rural lords. The Jews had a specific and unmistakable political identity (or identities). They were, first and foremost, *de jure* “serfs of the royal treasury” and thus “royalist”. They were also residents of the town of Morvedre. Depending on the circumstances, either one or both of these identities could, and did, cause them problems”.

#### 4.4. THE IDEOLOGICAL PRESSURE AND NORMS AGAINST THE JEWS IN TARREGA.

JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI

IDENTITY AND RELIGION

The first documents that mention Jews in Tàrrega appear almost forty years after the concession of the *Usos i Costums* (1242) by James I. From then on, the two groups evolved in parallel as the monarchy favoured one or the other, but was also interested in keeping them apart, obviously for its own benefit. However, the evolution of the institution of the late medieval municipality in Tàrrega, principally, from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century until it was fully consolidated in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, with the royal privileges of 1342 and 1343, seems to have entered into conflict with the interests that the monarch had in the Jews, as we shall show here.<sup>1</sup>

The process of consolidating the late medieval municipality involved, among other aspects, setting and establishing the functions of its representatives.<sup>2</sup> Throughout this period, the councillors and *prohoms*, or leading men, came to assimilate the defence of the economic and human interests of the town’s inhabitants as their own, as well as creating and organising community places and activities. This commitment to public duty is perceptible in the minutes of the council meetings, and their petitions to the royal power were also done in the same sense.<sup>3</sup>

These councillors promoted various public works in the town, that, as well as improving the quality of life of the population and becoming a tangible expression of urban progress, also projected a determined and deliberate image to those who reached the town, either to settle or only passing through.

In line with the social, political and spiritual climate of the country, many of these projects combined identity and religion perfectly (for example, the major works on the parish church of Santa Maria and the construction and maintenance of the bridge that linked the town to the church and convent of the Friars Minor). In fact, during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the religious presence in the town was notably consolidated, as a considerable number of new ecclesiastic institutions were added to the old ones.

It was common throughout the country that the rising Jewish presence in a town or city meant a reaction by some the Christian faithful. In the same way, the expansion of the idea of Christianity did not generate the desired response of conversion by the Jews. In fact, the exclusion of the other was common to both societies and religions.<sup>4</sup> Tàrrega was no exception.

To such old and well-known manifestations as the ritual stoning of the Jewish quarter at Easter, opposition to the building of synagogues or the profanation Jewish graves,<sup>5</sup> another was added that adjusted more closely to the times, this being preaching to the Jews (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Although we have no documents that state that the Tàrrega Jews were forced to attend initiatives of this kind, a document spread in Tàrrega on the king’s wishes, on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1344, authorised master Romeu de Pal to gather all the Jews of the aljama and argue with them. This indicates that, at least during Peter III’s visit to the town, this question was on

the agenda of the affairs to be discussed with the king.<sup>7</sup>

There was nothing casual about the year this royal licence was granted as, according to the surviving documentation, the relations between the aljama and the university had become more distant during the 1340s.

**MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AND ALJAMA: THE 1340s**

The minutes of the sessions of the council from 1342, 1343 and 1344 contain many questions related to the payment of the debts the university had contracted with some Jews in the aljama, principally the Natan brothers.<sup>8</sup> One of these minutes shows the acrimony that was felt about the municipal indebtedness and the large profits obtained by the Jews: “com la universitat sie oprimida de grans càrrechs de deutes de juheus que van a grans guayns” [11.06.1343]. This sensation of being throttled, that manifested itself in the way the councillors time and again negotiated new terms for paying off the debt, or studied alternative ways to obtain income to meet it, reached a peak in the meeting on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1343. During the debate about the dispute between the council and Chelomo Natan regarding the 4,000 *sous* the university had to repay and for which there was no apparent solution, the council denounced Chelomo for having lent to the town “ultra lo cot del senyor Rey”<sup>9</sup> and immediately ordered the proclamation in the streets and squares of the town of rules that prohibited Jews, midwives and prostitutes from touching food displayed in the market (fish, bread and fruit) and forced the pound of meat from animals killed by Jews to be sold one *diner* cheaper to Christians (fig. 2).

This was the second time in a few years that the Tàrrega council adopted clearly anti-Jewish measures. The councillors based their posture on a royal document that appears copied in the minutes of the meeting, the authority of which also harked back to 1341, when Jews and midwives were prohibited from touching fish and fruit.<sup>10</sup> Note that although the king’s letter must have been the same, the discriminatory measures and defamatory terms were harsher in the ban of 1343 than the one in 1341. The pressure of the debts with the Jews had also increased. A few months later, in February 1344, the king’s visit to the town was used to request and receive a personal licence for master Romeu de Pal to preach to the Jews.

Although the series of books of minutes of the council stopped that year and did not restart until 1361, various documents from the royal chancellery show that the conflicts and tensions between the university and the aljama remained active until 1348.

In August 1345, some of the town’s *prohoms* (related to the council as shown below) intervened in the question of the synagogue that had divided the members of the aljama: ones, in favour of preserving the old synagogue, and others who wanted a new one built. These *prohoms* aligned themselves with Itskhaq Vidal, the leader of the conservative group, and defended the suitability of the old synagogue before the king.<sup>11</sup>

Those in favour of renewing did not agree and that same September, they managed to have the licence granted to the other side in August 1345 revoked.<sup>12</sup> Between May and July the following

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

year, they managed to make the royal and episcopal curia issue the authorizations required to build the synagogue that finally had to replace the old one.<sup>13</sup> Some kind of internal resistance must have arisen inside the aljama as yet another royal licence was necessary, and this was granted in March 1347. As this was only valid for one year, it forced the Jews to avoid delaying the project any further.<sup>14</sup>

After this complicated two-year process, when the moment finally came to start work on the synagogue, it was the councillors who, under external pressure, attempted to obstruct and scotch the project. Using the excuse of the deeply-rooted custom of mocking the Jews and stoning their areas during the celebration of Easter, on the Thursday before Easter, they prohibited the Jews from touching the bread, fish, fruit and other foodstuffs in the market and forced the butchers to sell the meat of animals killed by Jews one *diner* cheaper to the Christians. Before annulling these statutes imposed by the councillors, the king argued that if they had lasted any length of time, it would have deprived the Jews of the food “sense els quals no es pot viure ni existi”.<sup>15</sup> With these measures, the councillors wanted to overwhelm the Jewish community and indirectly, reduce its influence in the town.

What catches our attention is that the councillors knew perfectly well that this went against the wishes of Peter III, as he had already revoked the discriminatory measures of 1343 and ordered that the Jews should not be hindered from building the new synagogue. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the discrepancy between royal and municipal authority partly explains the behaviour of the councillors and *prohoms* during the anti-Jewish riot the following year.

Indeed, among the first to benefit from the general pardon that the king granted the people of Tàrrega in 1350 was Francesc Aguiló, who had been the town’s royal *batlle*, followed by the councillors and *prohoms*, all guilty of having ignored the king’s call to protect and defend the Jews, as they had not confronted the mob gathered at the gates of the Jewish quarter nor prevented the assault from taking place.<sup>16</sup>

If they deserted their duty it was perhaps because the relations the people in charge of the municipality had with the Jews were very contradictory. Although the aljama was an ever more visible part of the town physically, and more influential economically, it could not in truth be considered as such. For the councillors, whose mission in the municipality was well consolidated from the early 1340s, the aljama was a forbidden reality that slipped out of their hands, a foreign body that, in the case of Tàrrega, had acquired dimensions and a weight that was uncomfortable to bear. The royal protection through privileges, that even went against the town’s own regulations, favoured the growth and progress of the Jewish community, and also tended to separate it from its immediate social and political surroundings. Thus, it was not surprising that the councillors and dignitaries, who faced this paradox in person, held back in a context of an overwhelming crisis like that of 1348. Put simply, they conceived their obligations to this group proportionally to the *de facto* rights that they were allowed to exercise over them.<sup>17</sup>

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

<sup>1</sup> For some of the aspects dealt with here, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2012b), “Aproximació a les causes de l’avalot de Tàrrega de 1348”, *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d’Estudis Hebraics*, num 8, p. 115-122.

<sup>2</sup> The royal interventions determining the function and defining the nature and management of the town councils were decisive in that sense, beginning with those by James II, in 1294 and 1313, following with the ones by Alfonso III, in 1328, and finishing with the ones under Peter III, in 1342 and 1343; J. RIBALTA and M. TURULL (1987), *Alguns aspectes del règim municipal*, p. 8, 11, 13-14. Regarding the various privileges and ordinations, G. GONZALVO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis de Tàrrega*, num. 6, 63 and 126; L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, Tàrrega, A. G. Camps, p. 35-36, 51-52. Some of these ordinations aimed to break the forming and transmission of local oligarchies and in the case of Tàrrega, it must be highlighted that the election of *paers* and councillors involved all the inhabitants of each quarter, J. RIBALTA and M. TURULL (1987), *Alguns aspectes del règim municipal*, p. 20, 53 and 66.

<sup>3</sup> For a sample, see G. GONZALVO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis de Tàrrega*, num. 28, 34, 79; L. SARRET (1982), *Privilegis de Tàrrega*, p. 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> J. RIERA (1988), “La conflictivitat de l’alimentació dels jueus medievals (segles XII-XV)”, in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, núm. 20: *Alimentació i societat a la Catalunya medieval*, p. 302. Religion constituted one of the clearest signs of identity of medieval people because the observance of its precepts meant, sooner or later, an effective separation between ones and the others: the distribution of the time spent on religious activities differed between Jews and Christians in time (daily—with specific but different daily prayers; weekly—with a different day of rest; and at the yearly level—with their own cycle un of feast days, all of them, religious); in the norms regarding food; the celebration of the high points of life (birth, marriage and death); in the teleological interpretation of history, etc.

<sup>5</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 87 and num. 38; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 371 § 2. D. Nirenberg considers this violence from a ritual and cyclical point of view and, as such, limited and not very effective at eliminating large numbers of people (D. NIRENBERG (1998), *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, p. 201-230), although the Jews never stopped complaining to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. In this sense, one of the claims in the 1354 agreements was to put an end to the aggressions at Easter; E. FELIU (1987), “Els acords de Barcelona de 1354”, *Acords* § 3.

<sup>6</sup> This type of missionary activity, which began in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, became more intense and popular during the following century. See J. RIERA (1987), J. RIERA (1987), “Les llicències reials per predicar als jueus and als sarraïns. (Segles XIII–XIV)”, *Calls*, num. 2, p. 113-131.

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

<sup>7</sup> ARB, reg. 1118, f. 112r, publ. in A. RUBIÓ (1908-1921), *Documents per l’història de la cultura catalana mig-eval*, Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, vol. I, num. 119. About Romeu de Pal, the document from the Chancellory states that “scripturas sacras tam novi quam veteris testalyi dederit et in eis imbutus tam latina lingua quam ebrayca non modica profunditate noscatur”. J. Riera identifies him as being from Tàrrega, a convert and royal surgeon, J. RIERA (1987b), “Les llicències reials per predicar”, p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 134 [11.01.1342, Moshe Natan], 136 [14.07.1342, Moshe Natan], 137 [16.09.1342, Moshe and Chelomo Natan], 141 [11.06.1343], 142 [29.06.1343, Sullam Brunell], 143 [05.07.1343], 146 [15.10.1343, Chelomo Natan], 147 [21.11.1343, Chelomo Natan], 148 [07.12.1343, Chelomo Natan], 152 [01.07.1344, Chelomo Natan] and 153 [30.07.1344, Chelomo Natan].

<sup>9</sup> In other words, above the legal limit set at an annual interest rate of 20%. The report, surely false in this case, led to a court case and temporarily halted the return of the debt.

<sup>10</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006b), *Fonts*, num. 131.

<sup>11</sup> “Aliquos probos homines ville Tarrague predicte, qui erant in curia nostra presentes, qui concorditer dixerunt fore magis expediens et posse sustineri per christianos ipsius ville quod in sinagoga antiqua supradicta judei dicte aljame oracionem faciant, ac rotulum Legis Moysi et lampades et cetera alia que ad ritum pertinent judeorum”, ARB, reg. 636, f. 50r-50v [31.08.1345]; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 118.

<sup>12</sup> ARB, reg. 636, f. 84r [24.09.1345], J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 120.

<sup>13</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 123-125.

<sup>14</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, num. 128.

<sup>15</sup> “Si ordinata per vos dicti paciarri durarent esset quasi privare eisdem comercio victualium, sine quibus non posset vivere sive esse”, ARB, reg. 644 f. 48r-48v, publ. in A. RUBIÓ (1908-1921), *Documents*, num. 84; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2008), “L’alimentació a l’aljama medieval de Tàrrega”, *Urtx: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 22, p. 110-116.

<sup>16</sup> “Dicti populi singulares et nonnulli alii in magna multitudine, in judeos ville predicte que tanquam in nostri speciali protectione constituti per vos Franciscum Aquilonis olim bajulum et paciarios et probos homines ville eiusdem pro posse debebant nostri intuitu tueri, protegi et deffendi, ferocissime irruerunt nulla per vos prohibitione seu resistentia facta eisdem”, ARB, reg. 890, f. 174v-175r [15.04.1350], publ. A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18; G. GONZALVO *et al* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis*, num. 138; J. X. MUNTANÉ (2009a), “Itinerari pels documents relatius a l’assalt al call de Tàrrega de l’any 1348”, *Urtx: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 168.

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

<sup>17</sup> Royal policy, based mainly on financial interests, was the main reason for the existance and permanence of two clearly differentiated social realities in Tàrrega: Christian and Jewish. F. SABATÉ (1999b). “En torno a la identificación de sinagogas”, p. 130-132. And also in other places. P. VIDAL (1987), “Els jueus dels antics comtats de Rosselló i Cerdanya”, *Calls*, num. 2, p. 49-50; J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, p. 29. As mentioned above, this distant and cool relation between the university and the aljama changed with the sale of the town to the city of Barcelona in 1391. Over the following decades, in practice, the aljama gradually created closer links to the municipality. This meant that with the outbreak of the civil war, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the municipal authorities came out in defence of an aljama that, was in turn, clearly comitted to the municipality, J. X. MUNTANÉ, “Una carta d’amor”, appendix II, num. 4. Raonament polític.

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The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

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The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

#### 5.1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE GRAVEYARD OF THE JEWS THROUGH THE DOCUMENTATION

JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI.

For over two hundred years, not only did Jews live in Tàrrega, but also died and were buried there. Despite the high mobility of medieval Jews and their habitual changes of residence, the truth is that two hundred years is a long time and it is it evident that a good number of the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega ended their days in the town’s Jewish graveyard.

We now know where this graveyard was. The archaeological excavations carried out leave no room for doubt. However, it was not always like this. There were times when the Jewish cemetery, lost from the memory, was only known through scant documentary references. However, fortunately some of these documents have been very useful when proposing the possible location of this necropolis on the map, defining the place to start digging.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest document about the graveyard takes us back to the early years of Jewish presence in Tàrrega. Included in a later document, from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1319, the data of the former document is the 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1306. In the original, the bishop de Vic, Ponç de Vilaró, made various concessions to the Tàrrega Jews, among which was the right to have a cemetery in the limits of the town, either *cum clausura vel sine clausura*, with the condition that the place chosen did not affect third parties. This concession did not impede the prelate from immediately confirming the cemetery they already had *in dicto loco*, so the document seems to legitimate rather than authorise.

It is possible that this episcopal concession was preceded by a earlier authorisation, which has been lost. It could also be that there was a series of facts behind it that committed the aljama, like having had to bury a member of the incipient community without enough time to request and obtain permission from the relevant authority regarding the place to do so. The text would attempt to remedy this situation re-establishing, on one hand, the bishop’s rights and, on the other, accepting situation in which no-one could be blamed. For this reason, the document firstly leaves proof of the concession granted by the bishop for a cemetery in the town’s limits, and only later, secondly, to save the situation which, in fact, already existed, with this confirmation.<sup>2</sup>

Let us leave aside a pair of documentary references, one from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the other from the start of the 15<sup>th</sup>, in which the Jewish cemetery appears fully integrated into the limits of the town, to focus briefly on the minutes of the council meeting on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1503, thus from when Jews no longer lived in Tàrrega. One of the points dealt with in that session was the petition by the apothecary Joan Ponces to use a stone from the Jews cemetery “to make a bridge on the river that goes to his mill and to many other properties”. The decision was favourable: “that he be given a stone to built said bridge”.

From this information, after the expulsion of 1492, we can deduce that the Jewish graveyard was municipal property, so the townspeople had to ask the authorities for permission to do anything in it. On the other hand, the request to reuse one of the tombstones also shows that there were stones of that type in a Tàrrega.<sup>3</sup>

## 5. THE GRAVEYARD OF THE JEWS, THE MASS GRAVES OF LES ROQUETES AND THE ATTACK ON THE JEWISH QUARTER OF TÀRREGA

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

To these documents, that show how long the cemetery lasted, we can add the ones that have been decisive for drawing up the hypothesis of its location. These other documents are in the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century property registers in the Urgell District Archive.<sup>4</sup>

The *llibres d’estimes* or property registers were a fiscal tool that allowed the town’s population to be taxed directly on their wealth.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, when the tax on the inhabitants of a specific place had to be calculated their personal wealth had to be known beforehand, as this quantity was the base for measuring, the quantity each had to pay to the tax collectors proportionally.

Property became the basic criterion per excellence for measuring personal wealth: houses, hostels, workshops, shops, gardens, cellars, plots and vineyards were easy to individualise, check and finally tax.<sup>6</sup> These assets, declared under oath by their owners to the collectors (*talladors*), and the corresponding tax were noted down in special books (known in Cervera as *llibres del manifest*, in Tàrrega, *d’estimes* and in Bellpuig, *de valies*) that, from time to time, had to be updated to take into account changes through deaths, sales, etc.

From a careful reading of 21 of these *estimes* we know that in 1501 the Jewish graveyard in Tàrrega still existed, as the field with rows of vines owned by Nadal Rexachs, faced “d’una part ab lo fosar dels juheus”. It is the only case in which a field bordered the Jew graveyard. On the other hand, several properties near of the cemetery were lumped together in one single plot, the “partida nomenada lo fosar dels juheus”. Moreover, the path that led to the Jewish graveyard passed alongside two of these properties.

The *estimes* consulted also contain other indications, not directly related with the Jewish graveyard, but the topographic information they contain has been fundamental for proposing the location of the Jewish necropolis. These elements are the pond on the Verdú path and its boundary; the track from Tàrrega to Granyena, the hill and path of Comabruna, the Comtal drain and the river, and the path to Mas de Bondia.

The following proposal is derived from the connections that can be established between the limits in each property register, the above-mentioned topographic indications and the property map of Tàrrega from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Urgell District Museum (fig. 1):

1. Joan Ponces; 2. Joan Malet; 3. Perot d’Olivó; 4. Bernadí Gotsens; 5. Joan Munfar; 6. Joan Munfar; 7. Joan Malet; 8. Pere Cornellana; 9. Pere Comellana; 10. Jaume Joan; 11. Nadal Rexachs; 12.1. Tomàs Prunera; 12.2. Llorenç Gordiola; 13. Llorenç Gordiola; 14. Joan Joli (sense estima); 15. Caterina Vilanova; 16. Joan Dezlor; 17. Francí Joli; 18. Joan de les Cases; 19. Pere Antoni Llorenç; 20. Antoni Riera; 21. Bartomeu Ratera; 22. Llorenç Gordiola; 23. Andreu Gispert; 24.1. Antoni Sala; 24.2. Macià Farrer.

According to this study, confirmed and extended after the archaeological excavations that have been carried out, the Jewish aljama in Tàrrega had its the cemetery outside the walls of the town, at the eastern end of the long hill to the south of the town, nowadays known as the Maset. It was easy to reach from the Jewish quarter along the track that led to Granyena (which corresponds nowadays to the Raval de Sant Agustí

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

and the Carrer de la Verge de Montserrat/ Avinguda de la Ronda) and very close to the river Ondara.

The relative distance of the cemetery from the Jewish quarter (a little under a kilometre) and its location on a hill was similar to the cemeteries of other Catalan Jewish quarters, like the Montjuïcs of Barcelona and Girona, or the graveyard in Tortosa, also situated at one end of the Alcassaba hill (fig. 2).<sup>7</sup>

More than two centuries of Jewish presence in the town did not prevent the place consecrated to the Jewish cemetery from disappearing from the collective memory of the people of Tàrrega, although a certain administrative tradition has continued to acknowledge the Jewish cemetery. In an application to build walls to protect against thieves on some properties on this land, presented on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1793, one Josep Ignasi de Çanou declared to own a “viña nombrada el Fosar dels jueus”.<sup>8</sup> This property later came to be known as the “fossar del Çanou”, without any reference to its Jewish past.<sup>9</sup>

There could be several reasons. The first and most obvious is disuse, along with the progressive loss of the identity of the place with the disappearance of the gravestones that marked the tombs. On the other hand, over the more than five hundred years since it was abandoned, erosion caused by various natural agents and human activity (especially farming and, more recently, the extractions of soil and the dumping of residues) has altered the old surface the cemetery (burying some parts and exposing others to the extent of making them disappear) and contributed to hiding the record.

<sup>1</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2007), “Proposta d’ubicacion del fossar dels jueus Jews de la vila de Tàrrega a partir dels testimonis documentals continguts en els llibres d’estimes”, *URTX: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 20, p. 103-118.

<sup>2</sup> The royal warrant of 1319, on the other hand, written in the same terms as the grant of 1307, transcribed *ad litteram*, preserved the rights of the king in these questions, as it was he, and not the bishop, who had to grant this kind of concessions.

<sup>3</sup> They were probably little different from the ones found in other Jews Catalan Jewish cemeteries. A. DURAN and J. M. MILLAS (1947), “Una necrópolis judaica en el Montjuich de Barcelona”, *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardies*, num. 7, p. 231-259; J. M. MILLÁS; F. CANTERA (1956), “Inscripciones hebraicas de España. Gerona”, in D. ROMANO (ed.) (1988), *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, Girona, Ajuntament de Girona, p. 163-197.

<sup>4</sup> The property registers consulted are those for the period from 1501 to 1510. The transcriptions of these references appear in J. X. MUNTANÉ (2007), “Proposta d’ubicacion del fossar”, p. 107-109.

<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the procedures for generating income that depended on the sale of certain products (as with taxes) or the sale of pensions (as *censals* and *violaries*), M. TURULL (1990), *La configuración jurídica*, p. 506-518; P. ORTI *et al* (1996), “La génesis de la fiscalidad municipal en Cataluña”, *Revista de Historia Medieval*, num. 7, p. 117-120.

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega

The Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega, seen from the street. The building in the background is the town hall.

<sup>6</sup> In one of its meetings Tàrrega Council decided what would be taxed as real estate and what, as moveable assets, ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de consells* (1341-1343), f. 73v [16.07.1344].

<sup>7</sup> J. CASANOVAS (2002), “Testimonis materials de la presència dels jueus a Catalunya en l’època medieval”, in *La Catalunya jueva*, Barcelona, Àmbit and Museu d’Història de Catalunya, p. 155-156.

<sup>8</sup> ACUR, FMT, *Llibre de registre* (1793), f. 105r , my thanks to M. A. Farré, of the ACUR, FMT, for this reference.

<sup>9</sup> J. M. PLANES (1987), “Breu aproximació”, p. 2. Although this seems to have survived in the memory of some of the farmers with property in the area (perhaps revived by the discovery of skeletons at the beginning of the last century during the building of a water tank). According to the account by the father of Ramon Sala Butxaca, that dates from the 1920s, his family believed that the good people who passed along the side of the Maset hill where the Jewish cemetery has been found, were given special protection by the latter. My thanks to Oriol Saula for this valuable detail.

## 5.2. THE JEWISH GRAVEYARD IN TÀRREGA AND JEWISH FUNERAL RITES

ANNA COLET MARCÉ
JORDI RUIZ VENTURA

The archaeological site of the necropolis of Les Roquetes has been identified as the graveyard of the Jews from Tàrrega. The work in Les Roquetes began in early 2007, anticipating plans to build private houses on the site. During the archaeological work, one hundred and eighty-two individual graves with bodies were documented and excavated (more or less well-conserved) along with six mass graves. We were able to excavate a large part of this site (fig. 1).

Les Roquetes is the medieval Jewish cemetery. On one hand, there is clear documentation that places it very precisely and, on the other, these cultural and religious origins have been confirmed archaeologically, as two rings with Hebrew epigraphs were found during the excavation there (MCUT 4457 and 4458).

According to David Romano, for the remains to be considered Jewish, explicit documentary references are required and epigraphic remains in Hebrew or material evidence of Jewish customs, rites or traditions must appear (ROMANO, 1994: 305). It is very difficult to document rites that are purely Jewish, as even the orientation of Jewish burials, with the head to the west and feet to the east is common to Christian cemeteries, although the latter ended up adapting to an orientation around a central nucleus, either the altar or the church (PALAHÍ *et al.*, 2003: 4).

During the archaeological excavation, eighteen small cuts were found without remains. The explanation for these small graves could be the poor conservation of the bodies (due to the acidity of the soil) or they might have been prepared during an episode of high child mortality, which would not have been exceptional during the Middle Ages. There are arguments in favour of both probabilities and we believe that both may have occurred. On one hand, there are examples in Les Roquetes where the fragility of the remains has meant that only small fragments of bone were recovered, such as in tomb ENT 62, where a necklace or bracelet was also found (MCUT 4461). This was the tomb of a very young child, less than three years old. On the other hand, there are various tombs that would be clear examples of this anticipation. One of these is ENT 108, where a child was buried in a grave forty centimetres longer than the body. The posture of the body in ENT 110 is very forced with the legs folded to make it fit into the grave. ENT 158, an anthropomorphic tomb covered with slabs, also shows a forced posture to make the body fit. ENT 175 is also placed sideways to make the body fit the hole. However, it seems that the grave was adapted to the width of the legs after being folded.

This practice of digging graves in anticipation is documented in other medieval Jewish cemeteries. In Barcelona, there is a tomb where the size of the body does not correspond to that of the grave, the body being a child and the grave is for an adult. The extra space was filled with stones. In Girona, graves have been documented where the body had to be squeezed in, or its feet had to be twisted towards the inside or broken to make them fit the hole (CASANOVAS, 2003: 511).

Despite this archaeological evidence, this practice seems not to comply with the Jewish tradition: “Only one grave is dug, the one that has to hold the body of the person who has died, and it has to be dug on the same day of the burial” (VRIES, 2007: 260).

This shows that the Jewish religious tradition and practice were not always one and the same. “It is very true that the rabbinical texts contain laws and norms of general validity. But these must be complemented with information referring to the customs of the place” (ROMANO, 1994: 294). “Regionalism is also strengthened in relation with death” (GUTWIRTH, 1989b: 180).

The Jewish funeral ritual is very complex, beginning when the person is about to die and ends once mourning has finished. Very few elements of this ritual leave physical remains. In the excavation at Les Roquetes, elements have been uncovered that refer to this ritual, such as the pins from the shroud in tomb ENT 103 (MCUT 4446 and 4447) and the one from tomb ENT 75 (MCUT 4448).

The shrouding of the dead, which is known from documentary sources, such as that of a Valencian rabbi (CALVO, 2003: 591), and also leaves material remains, such as pins, can be documented from the awkward posture of various burials. An example of this is tomb ENT 115, where, although no remains of the shroud have survived, it is evident that the body was enshrouded. Shroud pins have been found in other Jewish medieval graveyards, including the ones in Seville (SANTANA, 2006: 327). Valladolid (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009: 39 and 46) and Teruel (FLORIANO, 1926: 28).

Remains of silver threads (MCUT 4662) were found in tomb ENT 88, over the chest of the body. These have been interpreted as the *tallit*, the prayer shawl used by the men and that they are wrapped in after death (VRIES, 2007: 254). This shawl used to be the habitual clothing for men, which, over time, became limited to liturgical use. It can be made of wool, linen, cotton or silk and is usually white with blue or black lines. The corners are finished off with *tsitsit* (fringes on the four corners of the shawl). The upper part, around the neck and over the shoulders, can be made from a piece of cloth sewn to the shawl with silver thread, which may be adorned with rhinestones (ROMERO, 1998: 122).

Two headdresses have also been documented from the burials of two females (ENT 37 and EST 10). There are parallels in the necropolis of Montjuïc in Barcelona (DURAN and MILLÁS, 1947: sheet. vii), the Jewish cemetery of Paseo de la Acera de Recoletos in Valladolid (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009: 34), and in the one in the Nové Město neighbourhood in Prague (SELMÍ WALLISOVÁ, 2011: 280). These elements are documented on female bodies in all these graveyards.

Linen and silk were identified in the analysis of the fibres from the headdresses from Tàrrega, and these combine different weaves and dyes, with blue linen threads, although the majority were ecru. Ecru, yellow, red and green silk threads were found. There are three types of bullion thread (silk thread covered with gold or silver sheet, etc.) that varied in thickness or the torsion and width of the sheet around them. The sheet around these silk threads is metal, probably silver or an alloy with

other metals. These are rich fabrics, with a profusion of silk and gold-laminated bullion threads (XIRAU, 2012: 95) (fig. 2).

Regarding Hebrew scatology, everything seems to indicate that the inviolability of a tomb was a factor of great importance. However, there were reasons to justify the transfer of the bones from one tomb to another, either because it was the wish of the dead person or their family, or for the necessities of the community. It was also permitted to transfer it because of the position of the tomb itself, exposed to aggressions or being outside a Jewish cemetery, or by administrative decree. In one of his *responsa*, Selomó ben Adret from Barcelona stated that it was permitted to move a body from one tomb to another and also a *cip* (ROMANO, 1994: 296; GUTWIRTH, 1989b: 178).

In the medieval Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes in Tàrrega, two secondary burials have been documented (ENT 56 and ENT 57), placed beside each other. They were in a bundle, with the bones carefully piled up and, in one of them, ENT 57, there were even remains that could have been of the same metal thread from the tallit conserved in ENT 88 (fig. 3). We found parallels in the secondary burials in the Jewish cemetery in Lucena (Cordoba), where two secondary burials deposited in a lateral grave were excavated. As in the case in Tàrrega, the bones are carefully grouped, a fact that makes the researchers think that a shroud was also used for this purpose (BOTELLA and CASANOVAS, 2009: 7).

Regarding the inviolability of the tombs, in the Jewish medieval cemetery in Tàrrega there are three cases of tombs that were despoiled or rummaged through: ENT 39, ENT 97 and ENT 122. The first case is an anthropomorphic tomb covered with slabs, located in the south-west part of the cemetery, which we believe to be the oldest part. During the archaeological work, it was observed that the slabs over the grave had been moved and that only the distal part of both legs and the feet, as well as the back of the skull were conserved *in situ*, the rest of the skeleton being missing.

The other two burials are in coffins in the eastern part of the cemetery. ENT 97 raises two hypotheses. The first is the possibility that it was a secondary burial, in other words, that the body was taken to Les Roquetes in a coffin. This transfer would have taken place long enough after death for the body to have started decomposing, but before this process was complete, as there is a degree of anatomical connection in the limbs. This transfer would have caused certain parts of the body to move from their original position in the coffin. In favour of this hypothesis is that the remains show an accordion effect, and are concentrated in the western part of the coffin.

The second hypothesis is that the body was moved within the cemetery: once it had started to decompose, the coffin was opened, the body was moved and any objects plundered.

Regarding tomb ENT 122, the body was moved in the tomb itself, so that some of the bones remain in their original position and the rest are left like a packet on top of the pelvis. This moving of the body when it was fully decomposed, given that there are no signs of connections between the pieces that were moved. We can state that at least two years lapsed from the moment of burial to the time when the body was disturbed.

There is no documentary evidence of desecration of tombs in Les Roquetes, except for the document from 1307 in which Bishop Ponç authorised the Jews in Tàrrega to have their own cemetery. It also makes explicit references to the prohibition, under the threat of canonical punishment, of invading or damaging the cemetery, or of digging up bodies (CASANOVAS, 2003). We think that the desecration of the tombs mentioned took place after the expulsion of 1492. If not, being such a serious event, we would expect to find complaints to the authorities from the Jewish community, like the one about the flock grazing in the cemetery (MUNTANÉ, 2007: 106).

According to the tradition, the coffin and the bier should be made of light wood, either fir or pine, and not very thick so they decompose easily and without any kind of decoration.<sup>1</sup>

Remains of coffins are found in the vast majority of medieval Jewish cemeteries that have been excavated, either wood that has been conserved of through the presence and position of iron nails (CASANOVAS, 2003: 520).

The use of coffins and biers is also documented in Les Roquetes. In some cases, these elements have survived in very good condition, like the coffins in tombs ENT 172 and ENT 12, which enables us to know the dimensions of the boxes. In other cases, we can suppose coffins were used through the iron nails that remain after the wood of the coffin has rotted away, as in ENT 115 or ENT 154.

The bier was a kind of pall that was used to carry the dead to the cemetery, instead of a coffin. On arriving at the cemetery, this pall was placed over the body as a kind of cover. We have also been able to document this element during the archaeological dig. The best-conserved example is tomb ENT 84. This bier, conserved almost whole, rested on sockets set into the long walls of the grave (the north and south ones) (fig. 4). We have also been able to document different types of supports for these biers, like the one in tomb ENT 29, where it rested on six stones, placed in pairs on either side of the body, next to the head, the knees and the feet.

Another fact that must be highlighted is that there is no overlapping of tombs, except in one case in which the grave is cut (ENT 117 and ENT 118), but without affected the buried. The fact that there is only one level of tombs in Les Roquetes and that none of the burials has been cut by more modern ones is indicative of two facts. The first is that there was no demographic pressure on the size of the cemetery and the second is that, as well as the headstones, there must have been some kind of signs to indicate where the tombs were (not having survived to our times, these signs may have been made of perishable material). No headstones or other elements that could have fulfilled the function of identifying the tombs has been found in Les Roquetes, although the documentary evidence suggests that there may have been (MUNTANÉ, 2007: 107).

Regarding the typology of the tombs, the excavations show that there weren’t specific types of grave in Jewish graveyards. The typologies of documented in this type of cemetery are the same as the ones used by the Christian majority, but with the same models being used for longer.

Regarding the Tàrrega cemetery, only one level of graves is documented, which makes a relative dating of the different types of tomb impossible. To be able to make an approximation to the chronology of the different types of grave in Les Roquetes, we refer back to the excavations in Montjuïc in Barcelona and Montjuïc in Girona, both cemeteries recently excavated.

The overlap of burials has made a chronological approach to the different types of grave used by the medieval Jewish communities of Girona and Barcelona possible. Taking these two cemeteries as a model, the oldest type of tomb used was anthropomorphic and like a bath covered with slabs, followed by the bath-type and coffin, the most modern ones being a simple hole. However, in Barcelona, the coexistence of these types of grave has been documented from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In the western part of Les Roquetes that has been excavated, there is a concentration of graves covered with slabs, either bath type (simple graves), or anthropomorphic (fig. 5). The slab covers fade out as we move to the east, to the point where they become sporadic (ENT 185).

The bath-type tombs with coffins are sporadic to the west of the site, but become more common the further to the east we move.

Bearing in mind the chronology of the different types of grave in Barcelona and Girona, the situation of the mass graves compared with the ones that are covered with slabs, together with the dating of the numismatic material from these mass graves, make the hypothesis of the growth of the necropolis from west to east plausible. This hypothesis is reinforced by radiocarbon dating carried out on four samples: FS 164 (UE 1220), ENT 165, ENT 167 and ENT 179. Three of the burials that were dated corresponded to bath-type graves; the fourth, to one of the mass graves. The dates confirm this occupation of the necropolis from west to east, and also confirm the proposed date of the mass graves (attributed to the riot of 1348) and the use of the types of tomb over long periods of time.

During the archaeological dig, the drains of the area around the graveyard were changed, which allowed us to check the extension of the cemetery. This, linked to the data supplied by the radiocarbon dating and the typology of the tombs, lets us propose a period of occupation of the cemetery.

The necropolis grew from west to east and was bounded on the north and east by the track that led to a Granyena, while to the south it was conditioned by the topography of the hill where the site is located. It must be taken into account that, as also happened with the Jewish cemetery in Lucena, it gradually disappears as we move east. We have been unable to document its bounds to the west, the closest to the Jewish quarter, as the area is built up nowadays. However, we do not believe that the cemetery stretched much further in that direction.

Although the documents indicate the possibility that the cemetery was walled (MUNTANÉ, 2007; CASANOVAS, 2003), we have not been able to find evidence of this structure. Bearing in mind the complaint by the Jewish community about a flock entering to graze (MUNTANÉ, 2007: 106), we believe

that the cemetery was not closed off. Only one case has been documented, at least archaeologically and to date, where the cemetery had a perimeter wall. This was in Seville (SANTANA, 2006: 325). We have references in the documents to the gates and walls of the Jewish graveyards in Tortosa (CURTO, 1991: 405), Vic, Palma and Xàtiva (CASANOVAS, 2003: 510).

<sup>1</sup> Doctor Raquel Piqué, from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, analysed the remains from Les Roquetes and certified that it was pine wood. “Informe de l’anàlisi atòmica de la fusta and atzabeges del jaciment de les Roquetes and del carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Tàrrega)”, April 2008, unpublished.

## 5.3. THE ATTACK ON THE JEWISH QUARTER IN THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ I SANTIVERI

The medieval documentation related to the anti-Jewish riots of 1348 in Catalonia attribute greater intensity and violence to the events in Tàrrega than in other places. Furthermore, this is not only derived from homogeneous documentation.<sup>1</sup>

The largest part comes from the ARB. These are official documents, issued by the royal Chancellery. Read chronologically, they allow the evolution of the incidents to be followed: the initial realisation that the threat of an attack on the Jewish population was real, and the king’s attempts to face this threat; the news of the assaults against the Jewish quarters; the decisions taken to re-establish order, apply justice and compensate the royal finances for the losses caused by the killing of the Jews. The large number of documents issued as a result of the attack on the Jews in Tàrrega facilitates this in our case and also reflects its importance.<sup>2</sup>

The other account of the events, contemporary to part of the above-mentioned official documentation, is in the *Émeq refaim* or *Valley of Shadows*. This work, written by Khaiim Galipapa but nowadays lost, contained a general account of the events of 1348. The part of the medieval account that has survived is in the Hebrew chronicle by Iossef ha-Kohén: *Émeq ha-bakhà* or *Valley of Tears* (Voltaggio, 16<sup>th</sup> century). Thanks to the honesty of the renaissance chronicler, who indicates the source he follows very clearly when describing the events of 1348,<sup>3</sup> we can trace a good part of the history he narrates back to the same year of the attacks.

We have reproduced this duplication of sources in an appendix with the texts that best describe what happened during the attack: the accounts that the secretaries of the Tàrrega aljama sent to the royal curia in 1349 and the one by Galipapa. There are no local documents as these have all been lost. The minutes of the council meetings stop in 1344 and do not restart until 1361. We know that the outbreak of plague in Tàrrega led to a fall in the number of members of the local council,<sup>4</sup> but the undeniable fact is that the meetings continued to be held, and some record or other of the agreements reached must have been kept. However, these records have not survived. Nor have those of the enquiries by the royal authority aimed at explaining the events and identifying the guilty parties.

Thus, from an analysis of the sources available, we propose the following conclusions about the events of that summer in Tàrrega.

THE DATE OF THE RIOT

We know that the attack on the Jewish quarter in Barcelona, the first to be assaulted, took place on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1348. This was a Saturday, the day of rest in Judaism, as reported in a document, issued only five days later, in which Peter III ordered the capture of those responsible for the riot and reinforcement of the vigilance around the Jewish quarter in Barcelona.<sup>5</sup>

The news that must have reached the king’s ears, then in Valencia, about a possible spread of the incidents in Barcelona, led him to issue an order to the officials in Montblanc, Tàrrega,

Vilafranca del Penedès and Cervera on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May to protect their Jewish aljamas.<sup>6</sup> Almost two months after taking these precautions, a document dated the 24<sup>th</sup> of July showed the ineffectiveness of these measures as the disturbances in Barcelona had by then reoccurred in Cervera and Tàrrega.<sup>7</sup>

We lack the precise date of the attack on the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega. However, we know that this occurred between the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, *post quem* date, and the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, *ante quem* date. However, if we give a chronological order in which the neighbourhoods attacked appear in the documents, Tàrrega is always third after Barcelona and Cervera, and also the last, on a date not very far from the 24<sup>th</sup> of July 1348.

Meanwhile, Galipapa’s account follows the same chronology of the attacks as the documents from the royal C hancellery: the one in Barcelona was first,<sup>8</sup> followed by the one in Cervera and three days later, Tàrrega. He even assigns the Tàrrega riot a specific date: the 10<sup>th</sup> of the month of *Av*, a date that could not easily go unnoticed and precisely for that reason, he includes it in his chronicle of the events.

According to the Jewish religious tradition, the most tragic events in the history of the Jewish people had coincided on the same day, the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Av*, although obviously in different years. These included the two destructions of the temple in Jerusalem: the first on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Av*, 587 BC and the other, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Av*, 70 AD.<sup>9</sup> Strictly speaking, Galipapa did not attribute this fateful date to any of the attacks. He did not do so for Cervera, which took place on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *Av*, or for Tàrrega. As an interesting note, the Hebrew account indicates that after the riot, the Jews from Cervera mortified themselves by fasting and dressed in sackcloth and ashes (fig. 1). These were, in fact, the usual displays of mourning for the 9<sup>th</sup> of *Av* and the Jewish reader, seasoned in these practices, easily understood that that year, the Cervera Jews who survived the riot added the dramatic experience to the events traditionally remembered during that celebration. When Galipapa indicates the day of the attack in Tàrrega on the calendar, he states that it was the “tenth day of the month of *Av*, which is a day of mortification”. Mortification, not so much for what had to happen, but rather that that day was a prolongation the preceding day of mourning. Indeed, it was a habitual practice among the communities of the Diaspora, the Jewish communities outside Palestine, to celebrate the main liturgical festivals on the day itself and also the next day.

If, as Galipapa states, the attack took place that day, the mob that burst into the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega found a population that, frightened by the news from Cervera, had more reasons than ever to fast, mourn and pray to God. If the attack did not occur on that date, then this would be a literary convention that attempted to emphasise the magnitude of the events by comparing that tragedy with the great national misfortunes of the past.

However, if we bear in mind that, according to the Jewish calendar, the 10<sup>th</sup> of *Av* 5108 was in the first fortnight of July, probably around the 6<sup>th</sup>,<sup>10</sup> and that the *data ante quem* of the attack was the 24<sup>th</sup> of that month, then the date that appears in Galipapa’s account seems totally credible.

**THE DIFFERENT NAMES GIVEN TO THE EVENTS IN TÀRREGA**

Some references to the assaults on the Catalan Jews in 1348 use the term “pogrom”. In fact, although this Russian-origin word originally designated the mass murder of the Jewish communities in Tsarist Russia between 1881 and 1921, the truth is that nowadays it has been incorporated into most European languages to mean generically, any “massacre of defenceless people, especially Jews” (DIEC). However, obviously, this word does not appear in the medieval documentation about the attack on the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega. In the Chancellery documents, written in Latin, the terms used are in this language or are taken from spoken Catalan and given a Latin appearance. In Galipapa’s account, there is no Hebrew word that specifically designates this type of violence.

At first, in the moments closest to the events, the official documentation resorts to a string of terms to cover the terrible magnitude of the tragedy. The most frequent are incitement, robberies and murders.<sup>11</sup> Over time, this tended to be simplified and the idea of violent and illicit invasion of a place and people ended up dominating.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the terms used were simply “avalot” or “barreig”, with the former predominating.<sup>13</sup> We have opted to continue using “avalot” (riot) to designate specifically that popular and seditious uprising.

The idea of a collective and violent uprising reappears in the two verbs that the Hebrew version uses to describe it: “the inhabitants of Tàrrega *rose* and *charged against* the Jews”.

**THE PLACE OF THE RIOT**

One of the documents closest to the events, dated 11<sup>th</sup> August 1348, indicates that the violence that broke out in Barcelona, Cervera and Tàrrega took place in the streets and homes inhabited by Jews: “calles et hospitia ipsorum judeorum”, in other words, the Jewish quarters of these places.<sup>14</sup> Regarding Tàrrega, we can be somewhat more specific thanks to a document from late 1349 with a detailed account of the events that occurred the year before, according to the version given by the secretaries of the Tàrrega aljama (fig. 2).

Translated into Latin by the officer from the Chancellery, the Jewish version of the events begins by explaining that the attackers “ad callum ipsius aljame hostiliter accesserunt et ausibus indebitis violenter ostias ipsius callis tamen securibus et aliis armorum generibus fregerunt et etiam destruxerunt ipsumque callum intrarunt unanimiter et potenter clamosis vocibus emittentes “muyren los traydors”, et hiis non contenti sed mala peyoribus cumulantes, hospitia ipsorum judeorum nequiter dimitarunt lanceis, lapidibus et sagitis et demum in eis intrantes, res et bona omnia eorumdem tamquam raptores secum perperam asportarunt et plura instrulya ac scripturas ipsorum judeorum diversorum contractuum laniarunt et etiam conburnserunt”.<sup>15</sup>

According to this version, the attackers gathered before the gates of the Jewish quarter, which were closed, they knocked them down with axes and once inside the quarter, attacked and assaulted the houses of the Jews.

Where was the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega in 1348? The sources do not say anything. We do know where it was in the later

years of Jewish presence in the town, prior to the expulsion of 1492. Personally, I believe that the Jewish quarter both before and after the assault of 1348 was always, with minor changes, in the same place, “versus locum vocatum *El Font*”,<sup>16</sup> in other words, in that part of the town that opened on to the Carrer Major and the wall of the river: an area of market gardens and pens that was gradually built up during the late Middle Ages because it was in fact the only area left to be built up inside the walled enclosure of Tàrrega.<sup>17</sup>

What is interesting is that the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega, which must then have had a good number of residents, was in a place that could be totally isolated from the rest of the mainly Christian town. According to a document from 1347, most of the Jewish families were concentrated in a single street, “in via in qua in dicta villa dictorum major pars inhabitat judeorum”.<sup>18</sup> This was the same street where the synagogue was to be built to replace the earlier one. This synagogue lasted until 1492 and was at the end closest to the wall of the street traditionally known as the street of the Jews. It could have been at the other end of this street, where the Jewish quarter came into contact with the town and where the gates mentioned by the secretaries of the aljama were.

**THE TARGET OF THE ATTACK: THE JEWS AND THEIR ASSETS**

**A) The people**

Continuing the story begun above, we read that after entering into the houses of the Jews, the attackers “plures judeos ipsius aljame inaniter occiderunt et quosdam alios atrociter percusserunt et etiam vulnerarunt et plura alia dampna gravia et immensa, injurias, ofensas, raubarias molestias et violentias ipsis judeis fecerunt”.<sup>19</sup> A large number of Jews were murdered and many others, injured. Is it possible to know the number of dead?

Among the documents from the royal Chancellery, the habitual reference to the killings was generic. Referring to the deaths in Tàrrega, the number was emphasised also generically.<sup>20</sup> On one occasion it was even claimed that almost all the inhabitants of this Jewish quarter were exterminated: “judeos et iudeas aljame ville pretaecte in *maxima ipsorum parte* atrociter trucidarunt in quorum Judeorum invasione”.<sup>21</sup>The only figure we have is that of the total from all the riots in Barcelona, Cervera and Tàrrega and which is greater than 300 dead: “in facto concitacionum, necium et raubariarum factarum et perpetratarum contra judeos Barchinone et Cervarie et specialiter ville Tarrage, ex quibus ultra trecentos fuerint nequiter interempti”.<sup>22</sup> The relief that the text seems to attribute to Tàrrega (with the adverb *specialiter* and the substantive *ville*), leads us to think that the bulk of the dead were not precisely from the Jewish quarter. That is, at least, what we read in Galipapa’s account, which does give specific figures for the deaths in each of the events: 20 dead in Barcelona, 18 in Cervera and over 300 in Tàrrega.

Leaving aside that on one hand there is the total of the three riots and the other is for only one, we find it interesting that the sources coincide on the same figure:

over 300. If the number of victims really exceeded 300, but not a significantly higher figure, it is quite possible, as can

be perceived in the official document, that this number could have been rounded down, this being the figure that became part of the account and which the collective memory has set and transmitted as the deaths from the 1348 riots. It is this round number that Galipapa would have taken as good and applied only to the events in Tàrrega because he knew it had been the deadliest of the three attacks.

However, how many deaths were there in Tàrrega? Taking the contents of these documents into consideration, that Tàrrega was the worse affected of the three towns, it does not seem implausible that a large proportion of the 300 dead (fig. 4) can be assigned to this event. To date, at least 69 bodies have been counted in the mass graves excavated (and others still await opening).<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to the documents from the Chancellery, the Hebrew account explains an interesting fact concerning the fate of the dead in Tàrrega stating that they were “dragged to an empty water tank”. Galipapa seems to describe what could be interpreted as the last act of vandalism committed by the attackers, in this case, against the bodies of the dead Jews: their lack of burial.<sup>24</sup> It could also be understood as a not very conventional emergency solution in response to abnormal conditions, both for the number of dead and the short time in which they died. We do not how long riot in Tàrrega lasted. Galipapa only mentions the 10<sup>th</sup> of Av so it is possible that it only lasted that day. However, the figure for the deaths seems to have been too high and perhaps the number of survivors too low, to allow the habitual funeral procedure to be followed. Moreover, these survivors, some hiding in the houses of Christians,<sup>25</sup> must have been reluctant to return to the Jewish quarter to bury their dead. Many fled, as we shall see below. Thus, we understand that it was Christians who dragged the bodies to the cistern, either to take the insult to its final consequences, or to bury some bodies that would quickly have begun to rot in the open air as fast as possible and thus avoid greater evils (we believe that the epidemic of Black Death had already reached the town or was about to do so).

**B) The assets**

Galipapa’s literary account follows the medieval Jew custom of borrowing biblical fragments, pieces of verses, and using them to explain later events with no direct relation to the biblical happenings. For the readers of this literature who know the holy books by heart, as is usual among Jewish scholars, the words are susceptible to having a double meaning: the literal sense of what they say and complementary meaning, originating in the associations that can be established between the event and the biblical account the words have been taken from. That is precisely what can be seen on the two occasions when Galipapa refers to the assets of the Jews in Tàrrega.

After the episode of the water tank, Galipapa continues his account saying that the attackers “seized the booty” (*גבחו את שיהאם*), with words taken from the end of the story of Esther. Indeed, when the book of Esther describes the attacks by the Jews on those they wanted to exterminate, the biblical text repeats, as if it were a tornado, that although the Jews could have done whatever they wanted with them, they did not kill them and “did not sack anything” (Est 9.10.15.16: *וּבַחַה אֵת דַּם (שְׁלַח אֵת דַּם יְשׁוּעָה וְלַחֲמִים נוֹן תֵּן קִוְיַת וּמִסֵּר וּנְשַׁם שׁוֹסֵף וְאִשׁ מַתְלַקְתָּ וְיַדְבְּלוּ הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם בְּלֵף הַ שִׁפְחָם וְיִלְכוּ גַם יוֹם הַיַּיִר וְנִדְבְּלוּהוּ וְיִצְלוּ הַנְּשׂוּאִים מִדָּם וְלֹא עֲזְרוּ כֹחַ לַחֲתִילִם כִּיבָרַם הַיּוֹת הַקְּלוּת וְהַפְטָר כִּי וְכֹן הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם הַאֲוֹמִים וְכַחֲדָם מִנֵּי לֹא יִכְרַם עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד יִיטִיב הִי לְטוֹבִים וְהַמְטִים עֲקִילְקֻלָּהוֹם וְאִפְר הַצִּיּוֹן פִּרְעִי לֹא־אֵמָן אֲנִי וְאֲנִי וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד וְיִקְוֹנוּ עַל הַרְהוּדִים אִשׁ עוֹר צִיבִירָה וְיִרְדַּע כְּסֻמְנָה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁפֵט וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם בְּיַרְעֵי בְרוּחַ לְפִשְׁט יַעֲנֶה בְּצַם חַיִּיתָם וְשִׁק אֶבֶן בְּרִיּוֹן לְרִבְסָם וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁה בְּיוֹם הַיַּעֲשִׂירִי לַחֲדָשׁ אֶבֶן בְּיוֹם עוֹת פִּשְׁטָם וְיִקְוֹנוּ גַם יַעֲשִׂב־שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ בִּיהוּדִים וְאִבְד יִתְרֵם שְׁמֵיכָם מִמַּת שִׁפְטוּסְכֶם אֶל בֵּית וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם וְהַשְׂאִים בְּרוּחַ לְנַפְשָׁם אֶל בֵּית מְכַרְהֵם בְּמִתָּן כְּבָתָר עוֹד עֲבֹר הַעַם וְיִשְׂאֵר עוֹרִים מִכֹּחַ קִינָם לֹא יִתְבַּשְׂטוּ בְּיוֹם הַמָּגֵר הַהוּא.*

not sack anything” (Est 9.10.15.16: *וּבַחַה אֵת דַּם (שְׁלַח אֵת דַּם יְשׁוּעָה וְלַחֲמִים נוֹן תֵּן קִוְיַת וּמִסֵּר וּנְשַׁם שׁוֹסֵף וְאִשׁ מַתְלַקְתָּ וְיַדְבְּלוּ הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם בְּלֵף הַ שִׁפְחָם וְיִלְכוּ גַם יוֹם הַיַּיִר וְנִדְבְּלוּהוּ וְיִצְלוּ הַנְּשׂוּאִים מִדָּם וְלֹא עֲזְרוּ כֹחַ לַחֲתִילִם כִּיבָרַם הַיּוֹת הַקְּלוּת וְהַפְטָר כִּי וְכֹן הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם הַאֲוֹמִים וְכַחֲדָם מִנֵּי לֹא יִכְרַם עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד יִיטִיב הִי לְטוֹבִים וְהַמְטִים עֲקִילְקֻלָּהוֹם וְאִפְר הַצִּיּוֹן פִּרְעִי לֹא־אֵמָן אֲנִי וְאֲנִי וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד וְיִקְוֹנוּ עַל הַרְהוּדִים אִשׁ עוֹר צִיבִירָה וְיִרְדַּע כְּסֻמְנָה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁפֵט וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם בְּיַרְעֵי בְרוּחַ לְפִשְׁט יַעֲנֶה בְּצַם חַיִּיתָם וְשִׁק אֶבֶן בְּרִיּוֹן לְרִבְסָם וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁה בְּיוֹם הַיַּעֲשִׂירִי לַחֲדָשׁ אֶבֶן בְּיוֹם עוֹת פִּשְׁטָם וְיִקְוֹנוּ גַם יַעֲשִׂב־שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ בִּיהוּדִים וְאִבְד יִתְרֵם שְׁמֵיכָם מִמַּת שִׁפְטוּסְכֶם אֶל בֵּית וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם וְהַשְׂאִים בְּרוּחַ לְנַפְשָׁם אֶל בֵּית מְכַרְהֵם בְּמִתָּן כְּבָתָר עוֹד עֲבֹר הַעַם וְיִשְׂאֵר עוֹרִים מִכֹּחַ קִינָם לֹא יִתְבַּשְׂטוּ בְּיוֹם הַמָּגֵר הַהוּא.*

Galipapa concluded his version of the events in Tàrrega with a last mention of the survivors. He says that they “were stripped of their assets and they were not ashamed” (יישאר עורמים מהם ששטת ולא יתבשטו). These words take the reader accustomed to the biblical text to another ending, that of the second account of the creation. Indeed, after the creation of woman, it can be read that “both of them, the man and the woman, were naked and they were not ashamed” (Gn 2,25: *וְהָאָדָם וְהַאִשָּׁה הָיוּ עֲרֹמִים וְלֹא־יָבוּשׁוּ*). It is possible that with this parallelism, the medieval chronicler understood that what had happened in Tàrrega could be interpreted as a new creation: the survivors, purified by the terrible test they had passed, find themselves in a totally new situation in which, like their predecessors before the sin, they felt no sense of shame.

The element that Galipapa adds to the biblical words borrowed from Gn and that, in his eyes, was what characterised this situation, was being “stripped of their goods”. If we bear in mind that it was very frequent for medieval Jewish chronicles to blame the wealth and opulence of the communities of the diaspora for their unfaithfulness and religious relaxation, which God corrected with the persecutions that he sometimes permitted the Christians, we can understand this peculiar analysis of the loss of assets.

Nevertheless, and however it is interpreted, the fact is that together with the murders and attacks on people, the mob that invaded the Jewish quarter stole and destroyed their assets and property, as the documents from the royal Chancellery also testify.<sup>26</sup>

The main target of this predatory urge were the *instrument editorial*: the scriptures or documentary proof of the loans granted and where the names of the lenders (the Jewish creditors), the name of the borrower (in most cases, a Christian name), the amount to be repaid (resulting from the amount lent and the stipulated profit), the terms of repayment, the guarantees and pledges, etc., were carefully and precisely noted.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, we know that the debt instruments of some of the wealthiest and most active creditors in the Jewish quarter were the target for the attackers, as in the case of the wealthy Moshe Natan who, eight years after the riot, had not yet recovered and whose finances were in a critical state, “quasi ad inopiam est deductum”.<sup>28</sup>

The aim was not so much to seize these documents but more to destroy them to cancel the debt: without the deed, there was no proof or obligation to pay back the money.

There were two ways to attempt to redress this situation: one, of doubtful success, envisaged fines for the borrowers who did not repay the money on the due date to the Jewish creditors who, due to the lack of documents, had not demanded this. The other consisted of a remaking the stolen documents, but this was a complex and expensive task when it was applied to large creditors, with hundreds of debts and various notaries and one that also depended on the good will of the later (fig. 5).

However, the robberies did not stop at the *deed of debta* but also extended to

the other goods belonging to the Jewish families: money, clothing, bedclothes, etc (fig. 6).<sup>29</sup>

**The attackers**

On 11<sup>th</sup> August 1348, Peter III entrusted the enquiry into the attacks against the Jews in Barcelona, Cervera, Tàrrega and Lleida to the procurator general of Catalonia, Gilabert de Corbera. Six months later, in March 1349, Gilabert de Corbera had Francesc Aguiló imprisoned in Tàrrega. He had held the position of royal deputy in the town during the attacks, and was accused generically of having been “causam et occasionem raubarie et necium”.<sup>30</sup> At around the same date, Ramon Folquet from Tàrrega was sentenced to two years of banishment and a fine of 5,000 sous.<sup>31</sup> However, the slowness with which Gilabert de Corbera acted ended up exasperating the aljamas affected, that not only saw how the crimes of 1348 went unpunished but also, given the effective lack of sanctions, suffered the continuous harassment of those who did not stop bothering them. The murder of a Tàrrega Jew, one year after the riot, led the representatives of these aljamas to complain formally to the king, who ordered Gilabert de Corbera to act against Francesc Aguiló and the rest of the accused.<sup>32</sup>

The royal admonition had its effects when, in April 1350, Peter III granted Francesc Aguiló, the councillors and dignitaries and the university of the town of Tàrrega remission from all civil and criminal responsibility regarding the riot of 1348, he reminded them of the trials by Gilabert de Corbera and the death and prison sentences, or the fines that many of these trials handed down.<sup>33</sup>

Although there was some talk of external attackers, those accused of rioting were mainly from Tàrrega, according to the documentation, including some who held positions in the town government.<sup>34</sup> Effectively, in the mentioned royal remission, Peter III openly accused the town’s deputy, councillors and dignitaries of, rather than protecting the Jews, doing nothing to stop the mob that invaded the Jewish quarter: “nulla per vos prohibicione seu resistencia facta”.<sup>35</sup> This inhibition of the authorities in Tàrrega contrasted with the way the authorities of other places reacted to the disturbances. In the neighbouring town of Cervera, for example, the deputy and the dignitaries opened the castle for the Jews to take refuge in.<sup>36</sup>

However, those sentenced to hang on the gallows that Gilabert de Corbera had built on purpose in the field of Sant Joan, on the outskirts of the town, or those who were still serving prison sentences years later must not have belonged to these families. They must have been people of lowly origins, with few resources and limited influence. In fact, it is very likely that a large part of the attackers came from the poorest classes.

In this sense, in 1354, when Moshe Natan from Tàrrega, together with Cresques Chelomo from Barcelona and Iafudà Alatzar from Valencia, accepted a series of agreements aimed at preventing the events like those of 1348 from being repeated, he did not hesitate from classifying the attackers as being from the lowest strata of society, stating: *“the people of the town* [the emphasis is ours], on the day that any plague or famine occurs, make the ground tremble shouting: “All that is the fault of the sins

of Jacob! Destroy this nation, kill them!” And during the disaster [...] took the stupid path of acting violently against the unfortunate Jews”.<sup>37</sup>

The Hebrew expression “people of the town” designated the lower and less educated class, the “vulgars” or “rústics” of the medieval texts, the same that, as in another place in the *Acords*, impressed by the miracles that occurred during the profanations of consecrated wafer attributed to Jews,<sup>38</sup> attacked them with “blood, fire and smoke”.<sup>39</sup>

What arms did these people of Tàrrega use to attack the Jews? The documentation from the Chancellery mentions axes, lances, swords, arrows and stones, and the forensic analysis of the remains exhumed from the mass graves confirms this (fig. 7).<sup>40</sup>

**DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX**

**1. DESCRIPTION OF THE RIOT ACCORDING TO THE VERSION OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE TÀRREGA ALJAMA**  
ARB, reg. 658, f. 52r-v [23.12.1349], publ. in A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 14

Anno proxime lapso, nonnulli ipsius ville, populum eiusdem fortiter concitando, Dei tmore et nostre correctionis postposito, nostram magestatem offendere non verentes, diabolico spiritu incitati, manu armata et iye deliberata ad callum ipsius aljame hostiliter accesserunt et ausibus indebitis violenter ostias ipsius callis tamen securibus et aliis armorum generibus frererunt et etiam destruxerunt ipsumque callum intrarunt unanimiter et potenter clamosis vocibus emittentes “Muyren los traydors” et, hiis non contenti, sed mala peyoribus cumulantes, hospitia ipsorum judeorum nequiter dimitarunt lanceis, lapidibus et sagitis et demum in eis intrantes, res et bona omnia eorumdem tamquam raptores secum perperam asportarunt et plura instrulya ac scripturas ipsorum judeorum diversorum contractuum laniarunt et etiam conburnserunt et plures judeos ipsius aljame inaniter occiderunt et quosdam alios atrociter percusserunt et etiam vulnerarunt et plura alia dampna gravia et immensa, injurias, ofensas, raubarias molestias et violentias ipsis judeis fecerunt.

J. X. MUNTANÉ (2009a), “Itinerari pels documents”, p. 163, 168 (translation by Lluís Solà, J. X. Muntané and C. Boswell),

Last year some from this town, strongly arousing the people, casting aside the fear of God and our call for order, not hesitating to offend your majesty, incited by a diabolical spirit, armed and with deliberate intention, with obstinate malice and maniacal motives, came with hostility to the Jewish quarter of this aljama and with undue daring broke down and destroyed violently the gates with axes and other types of arms, and all entered together shouting loudly: “Death to the traitors!” And not satisfied with that but competing to commit worse calamities, they infamously assaulted the houses of the Jews with spears, stones and swords, and lastly, entering these houses, seized all the things and the assets of the Jews, like thieves, and tore up and burned many papers and scriptures of various contracts with the Jews and killed with impunity many

Jews of this aljama, and other were beaten mercilessly and they wounded them, and inflicted on them other serious and disproportionate damage, injuries, offences, pillage, afflictions and atrocities (fig. 8).

**2. DESCRIPTION OF THE RIOTS IN BARCELONA, CERVERA AND TÀRREGA BY GALIPAPA, PRESERVER IN THE CHRONICLE OF IOSSEF HA-KOHÉN.**

K. ALMLADH (1981), *Joseph ha-Kohén. Sefer ‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, p.תפ.מז.

*והי ביום השבת לעת ערב ויקומו על עה ה אשר בארציִלנה ויהרגו מהם כעשרים נפש ובזיחה שלוח את דים וכן אמר השב עזדם ולחמים נוֹן תֵּן קִוְיַת וּמִסֵּר וּנְשַׁם שׁוֹסֵף וְאִשׁ מַתְלַקְתָּ וְיַדְבְּלוּ הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם בְּלֵף הַ שִׁפְחָם וְיִלְכוּ גַם יוֹם הַיַּיִר וְנִדְבְּלוּהוּ וְיִצְלוּ הַנְּשׂוּאִים מִדָּם וְלֹא עֲזְרוּ כֹחַ לַחֲתִילִם כִּיבָרַם הַיּוֹת הַקְּלוּת וְהַפְטָר כִּי וְכֹן הַקְּמִים עֲלֵיהֶם הַאֲוֹמִים וְכַחֲדָם מִנֵּי לֹא יִכְרַם עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד יִיטִיב הִי לְטוֹבִים וְהַמְטִים עֲקִילְקֻלָּהוֹם וְאִפְר הַצִּיּוֹן פִּרְעִי לֹא־אֵמָן אֲנִי וְאֲנִי וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד וְיִקְוֹנוּ עַל הַרְהוּדִים אִשׁ עוֹר צִיבִירָה וְיִרְדַּע כְּסֻמְנָה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁפֵט וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם בְּיַרְעֵי בְרוּחַ לְפִשְׁט יַעֲנֶה בְּצַם חַיִּיתָם וְשִׁק אֶבֶן בְּרִיּוֹן לְרִבְסָם וְהִי לְיָמִים עוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁה בְּיוֹם הַיַּעֲשִׂירִי לַחֲדָשׁ אֶבֶן בְּיוֹם עוֹת פִּשְׁטָם וְיִקְוֹנוּ גַם יַעֲשִׂב־שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ שׂוֹרְהֵי וְיִכּוּ בִּיהוּדִים וְאִבְד יִתְרֵם שְׁמֵיכָם מִמַּת שִׁפְטוּסְכֶם אֶל בֵּית וּבִזְרָח שְׁלֹחַ אֵת יָדֵם וְהַשְׂאִים בְּרוּחַ לְנַפְשָׁם אֶל בֵּית מְכַרְהֵם בְּמִתָּן כְּבָתָר עוֹד עֲבֹר הַעַם וְיִשְׂאֵר עוֹרִים מִכֹּחַ קִינָם לֹא יִתְבַּשְׂטוּ בְּיוֹם הַמָּגֵר הַהוּא.*

Translation: J. X. Muntané and C. Boswell Saturday came and at the evening hour, they rose against the people of the Lord who were in Barcelona. Around twenty were killed, booty was taken<sup>1</sup> and nobody said, “Go back!”<sup>2</sup> They were still in full riot when the Lord made a storm break out<sup>3</sup> and, given the rain that fell and of the lightning that flashed, those who had risen against the Jews felt afraid. The Lord tied their tongues.<sup>4</sup> Then the councillors of the town came and the leading people of this and they rescued the survivors. Before the thunder and the downpour, they had not dared to do so because they were many who had rioted against the Jews shouting: “Exterminate them from among the nations! That the name of Israel no longer be remembered!”<sup>5</sup> May the Lord compensate the good people and those who turned perfidiously may the Lord take with the criminals.<sup>6</sup> Amen, Amen.

A few days later, they rose against the Jews who were in the city of Cervera, they killed around eighteen and booty was seized.<sup>7</sup> The survivors fled, their souls mortified with fasting and many tormented by sackcloth and ashes.<sup>8</sup> And after three days, on the tenth day of the month of Av, which is the day of mortification, the inhabitants of Tàrrega also rose and charged against the Jews. More than three hundred people died and they were dragged to an empty cistern and booty was seized.<sup>9</sup> The survivors fled with presents to the houses of their acquaintances and remained hidden until the rage had passed.<sup>10</sup> On that impetuous day they were stripped of their goods and they were not ashamed.<sup>11</sup>

1. Est 9, 10.15.16; 2. Is, 42.22; 3. 1 Sa 12, 17.18; 4. Gn 11, 9; 5. Sl 83, 5; 6. Sl 125, 5; 7. Est 9, 10.15.16; 8. Est 4, 3; 9. Est 9, 10.15.16; 10. Is 26, 20; 11. Gn 2, 25

1 J. X. MUNTANÉ (2009a), “Itinerari pels documents”, p. 158-179.

2 As well as these collections of documents, most of which are unpublished, Amada López wrote an article about the attacks on the Catalan Jewish quarters that happened as a result of the plague and that is

essential reading, A. LÓPEZ (1959a), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348”, p. 92-131. In deals with some of these attacks in great detail using the information in the documents she had gathered. The assault on the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega is on pp. 115-126 and is, of all those she studied, the longest (it is preceded by the chapetrs dedicated to the riots in Barcelona, p. 97-106, and Cervera, p. 106-115, and followed by a more general study of the attacks on the Jewish quarters in Lleida, Girona and Valencia, p. 126-131).

3 Jossel ha-Kohén indicated that the beginning and end of that part of his book based on the account by Khaiim Galipapa, K. ALMLADH (1981), *Joseph ha-Kohén. Sefer ‘Emeq ha-Bakha (The Vale of Tears) with the chronicle of the anonymous Corrector*, Upsala, Almqvist &Wksell, p. 27 and p. תפ.מז in ט and p.תפ.מז line ה.

4 A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de the peste*, num. 26 [22.10.1348].

5 “Die sabbati proxime preterita, nonnulli maligno spiritu concitati, Dei timore postposito at in nostre dominationis conceptum per modum aualoti intrarunt in Callem Judaycum Barchinone et inibi, plura hospitia frererunt et disarubarunt ac multos judeos inibi occiderunt”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste*, num. 8 [22.05.1348].

6 The king ordered his officials that “omnes et singulos Judeos aljame Judeorum ville eiusdem et collectorie sue ac res et bona eorum quecumque, manuteneatis, protegatis et defendatis viriliter et potenter, ab infestationibus, molestiis, injuriis, grauaminibus et offensis indebitis quorumcumque nec ipsos uel eorum aliquos in personis et bonis ipsorum, per modos supra specificatos uel aliter, permittatis a quo quam contra jus et iustitiam agrauari seu etiam molestari”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste*, num. 9 [29.05.1348].

7 “Hiis diebus proxime lapsis, propter rumores nobis subito venientes, qualiter per nonnullos civitatis Barchinone et villarum Cervarie, Tarrage, contra aljamas et singulares dictarum civitatum et villarum, casu fortuito et inopinato, concitato populo, exititit suscitata occasione cuius strages seu neces, percussions et vulnera varia et diversa rapinie ad destructiones domorum, adversas aliamas predictas et quampluribus singularibus ex ea fuerunt diversimode subsecuta”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 5 [24.07.1348]. This document, sent to the authorities in Lleida, was intended to avoid a similar attack on the Cuirassa. It did not fulfil its purpose, as a document from the 11<sup>th</sup> of August 1348 (included in one from 1349, idem, num. 12 [18.07.1349]) states that, after passing through Barcelona, Cervera and Tàrrega, the wave of attacks also reached Lleida and other places: “Et specialiter nupr primo in civitate Barchinone et nunc noviter in villis Cervarie et Tarrege et in civitate llerde et in aliis etiam locis”.

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<sup>a</sup> Which it states took place on Saturday afternoon (ביום שבת) (ביום תשעה בטבת), coinciding with the information supplied by the Chancellory document mentioned above.

<sup>9</sup> Coincidences of history or pious interpretations of it meant that, over time, this same date accrued other tragedies, including the first crusade, decreed by Urban II in 1095, with disastrous consequences for the Jews of central Europe, or the edict of expulsion that Ferdinand II and Isabel decreed in their respective reigns in 1492 , etc.

<sup>10</sup> See http://www.hebcal.com and https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/corre/www/calendar.html. My thanks to P. Casanellas for his useful help in setting the equivalence of the Hebrew date as exactly as possible in our calendar.

<sup>11</sup> See the following documents: “in concitacione, raubariarum et necibus”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 8 [23.03.1349]; “in facto concitacionum, necium et raubarium”, idem, num. 10 [13.06.1349]; “de dictis concitacionibus, avalotalyis, expugnationibus, invasionibus, necibus, vulneribus, percussionibus, furtis et depredationibus et aliis excessibus et malificiis”, idem, num. 12 [18.07.1349].

<sup>12</sup> See the following: “occasione invasionis, vulnerum, necium et incurus”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 15 [04.03.1350]; “occasione invasionis”, idem, num. 20 [17.04.1350]; “tempore invasionis et depredationis hospitorum”, idem, num. 23 [12.08.1350]; “post invasionem”, idem, num. 24 [13.08.1350]; “a tempore invasionis illicite contra eos et eorum hospitia”, idem, num. 27 [18.01.1352]; “occasione insultus et invasionis”, idem, num. 33 [01.02.1354].

<sup>13</sup> See “in avaloto”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 30 [15.06.1352]; “cum occasione cuiusdam concitationes populi sive avoloti”, idem, num. 31 [01.07.1352]; “tempore barragii”, idem, num. 33 [01.02.1354].

<sup>14</sup> In a document from 1349. See A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [18.07.1349].

<sup>15</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 14 [23.12.1349].

<sup>16</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 19; G. GONZALO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis*, num. 139.

<sup>17</sup> Before the building of the fortifications during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was already a wall round Tàrrrega. Its line awaits an archaeological study that may be done some day. See M. SALES (1996), “Les obres d’emmurallament de la vila

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de Tàrrega (1366-1370)”, *Urtx*, 9, p. 86, 89. Meanwhile, we regard that space between the last houses on Carrer Major and the bank of the Ondara as an area encircled by some kind of wall.

<sup>18</sup> J. RIERA (2006b), *Els poders públics and les sinagogues*, num. 128. Which does not alter the fact that, in connection with this street, there were others, also with Jews, who, perhaps due to their line or because some of the houses had no door at the back, at a given moment allowed the area occupied by the Jews to be fully separated from the rest of the town.

<sup>19</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 14 [23.12.1349].

<sup>20</sup> See the following declarations [the italics are ours]: “ratione seu occasione necium in personis *plurium* judeorum ipsius ville nequiter perpetratarum et aliorum criminum et excessum”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 11 [26.06.1349]; “et *plures* ex ipsis [de l’aljama targarina] glaudio trucidati”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de the peste*, num. 150 [12.01.1362]; it is worth comparing the “*non pauci* Judei [of Tàrrega] crudeliter interfecti et disraubati fuerunt” with the “*aliqui* Judei ville Cervarie interfecti et disrobati fuerunt”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 29 [31.05.1352].

<sup>21</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350]. The information is relative, as it depends on the number of people living then in Tàrrrega, a figure we do not know with any certainty despite the proposed estimates; J. RIERA (1987a), *Catalunya and els jueus*.

<sup>22</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 10 [doc. de 23.03.1349 in one from 13.06.1349].

<sup>23</sup> A. COLET *et al* (2009), “Les fosses comunes de la necròpolis medieval jueva de les Roquetes, Tàrrrega”, *Urtx: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p. 121-122.

<sup>24</sup> The use of wells and water tanks is also documented in other disturbances, like the one in Barcelona in 1391, M. A. FUMANAL *et al* (2011), “Documentant l’arqueologia: La casa de Massot Avengena a l’alfòndec del cal major de Barcelona (carrer de Sant Honorat, num. 3)”, *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d’Estudis Hebraics*, num, 7, num. 19 [08.10.1394]. In contrast, in Palma, in 1309, the Jewish quarter was attacked because of the rumour spread by a priest according to which the Jews had killed a Christian child and thrown the body into a well, A. PONS (1984), *Los judíos del Reino de Mallorca durante los siglos XIII y XIV*, vol. 2, Palma, Miquel Font, num. 34 [27.06.1306].

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the survivors, Galipapa seems to have privileged information when he explains that “the survivors

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fled with presents to the houses of their acquaintances and remaind hidden until the fury had passed”. Galipapa does not specify whether the houses belonged to Jews or Christians. However, if we bear in mind the general context in which Jews were attacked without distinction, and the detail of the gift, which insinuates that the Jews bought their protection, these were most likely the houses of Christians.

<sup>26</sup> See the generic mentions of robbery and theft in note 15, to which we now add: “diversa rapinie”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 5 [24.07.1348]; “furta plurima ac rapinie bonorum ipsorum fuerunt multipliciter insequite”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350].

<sup>27</sup> We read: “Quia plura et diversa instrulya deed of debta et obligationes dictorum Judeorum per predictos malefactores fuerint, sicut predictur, rapta et depredata, destructa et penitus laniata”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [doc. from 11.08.1348 enclosed in one from 18.07.1349]; “in eis intrantes, res et bona omnia eorumdem tamquam raptores secum perperam asportarunt et plura instrulya ac scripturas ipsorum Judeorum diversorum contractuum laniarunt et etiam conbursurunt”, idem, num. 14 [23.12.1349]; “de quibus quantitatibus aliaque memoralia amissit in avaloto facto contra Judeos in villa Tàrrage”, idem, num. 30 [15.06.1352]; “tempore barragii facti in villa eadem de bonis Judeorum et signanter de bonis dicti Mosse [Naçan], amisit instrulya publica suorum debitorum libros et alias scripturas tangentes sua debita antedicta”, idem, num. 35 [19.08.1356].

<sup>28</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 35 [19.08.1356]. The situation did not seem to have improved. See J. X. MUNTANÉ (2010), *Qüestions de vida*, p. 41-45.

<sup>29</sup> “De pecunias, instrulya deed of debta, vestes, superlectilia et alia bona universa qui in domibus dictorum Judeorum ceperunt”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [doc. from 11.08.1348 enclosed in one from 18.07.1349].

<sup>30</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [doc. from 11.08.1348 enclosed in one from 18.07.1349]. Regarding the arrest and accusation of F. Aguiló: idem, num. 8 [23.03.1349] and 10 [13.06.1349]. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1349, the monarch sent the appeal presented by F. Aguiló a a juriconsult from Manresa, idem, num. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Of which, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1350, when he had served one year of the sentence, he was pardoned as he was for the third sentence for not having paid the fine within the stipulated time.

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See A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 15.

<sup>32</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 10.

<sup>33</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350]. In fact, even then, there were people imprisoned in Tàrrrega for their involvement in the riot.

<sup>34</sup> There are very few documents that mention the participation of outsiders and generically, without specifying where they were from, as if they were not very important in number: “factoque maximo tumultu in ipsa per nonnullos ville eiusdem pacis emulos et quosdam alios extraneos dicte ville”, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350]; “per aliquas personas uille eiusdem [Tàrrrega] et aliunde, fuerint disraubati et plures ex ipsis, glaudio trucidati”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste*, num. 150 [12.01.1362]. The opposite case would be Cervera, where there was a greater presence of outsiders in the documentation –and probably also in the disturbances: reference is made to a Pere Blanch, from Granyena, A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 9 [03.05.1349] and 26 [03.08.1351], some men from Çavit de Bordell, idem, num. 22 [13.05.1350] and, it seems, some from Tàrrrega, idem, num. 29 [31.05.1352].

<sup>35</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350]. The position of the heads to adapt them to the size of the hole.

<sup>36</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 9 [03.05.1349] and 26 [03.08.1351], some men from Çavit de Bordell, idem, num. 22 [13.05.1350] and, it seems, some from Tàrrrega, idem, num. 29 [31.05.1352].

<sup>37</sup> E. FELIU (1987), “Els acords de Barcelona de 1354”, *Acords* § 1b.

<sup>38</sup> As they bled from being stabbed or run through by lances, as can be seen in the altarpiece of the monastery of Vallbona de les Monges, attributed to Guillem Seguer and dated precisely around 1348, F. ESPAÑOL (2002), *El gòtic català*, Manresa, Fundació Caixa Manresa, Angle, p. 161.

<sup>39</sup> E. FELIU (1987), “Els acords de Barcelona de 1354”, *Acords* § 2b.

<sup>40</sup> J. RUIZ; M. E. SUBIRÀ (2009), “Reconstruction antropológica del pogrom de 1348 a Tàrrrega”, *Urtx: Revista Cultural de l’Urgell*, num. 23, p.133 and 136.

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is 1.35 m, measured between the walls, while the north-south axis has been taken from the space occupied by the remains, which is 1.80 m (fig. 4).

This grave differs somewhat from the others. The first is that a wooden cover was documented under the earth used to backfill it (fig. 3). This cover was made of pine,<sup>1</sup> in line with the Jewish tradition (VRIES, 2007). Another particular aspect of the burials in this grave is the degree of anatomical connection of the remains. Of the at least seven individuals who have been documented in this structure (NMI), only the remains of one were partially connected. Despite the lack of anatomical connection, the skulls are on the west of the structure and it is these that have allowed us to establish demographic composition of this NMI, namely: a girl between three and four years old, two girls between twenty and thirty, a man and a woman between thirty and forty, a woman between forty and forty-five, a woman of fifty to sixty and an adult woman of indeterminate age.

This is the grave where a set of elements were found from a necklace associated with the burial of a child (ue 1185), who would have been between three and four years old. These elements, whatever material they are made of or their shape, have been considered amulets. The body of the child this necklace is associated with had a malformation of the lower limbs, which has been interpreted as the reason she was wearing this necklace of amulets. She had to be protected, more so bearing in mind the recent outbreak of the Black Death.

Due to erosion and farming activities after the graveyard was abandoned, most of the mass graves have only partially survived. Of the six mass graves documented, the walls have survived in only one, FS 162. In contrast, these have been lost through erosion in FS 161, 163 and 54. The north walls of FS 164 and 166 have been destroyed. UE 1141 seems to have been result of this destruction. This stratigraphic unit is north of FS 164, like a prolongation of the same.

**GRAVE 161**

This is the most westerly mass grave (fig. 2). Like the others, it is rectangular. The north and south walls have been lost, as the terrain they were dug into slopes steeply to the north. The erosion that caused this slope could explain the loss of the south wall. Besides erosion, there is a possible explanation for the north wall, which could be that FS 161 and 163 (the latter, immediately north of the former) were part of a single tomb, so that there was an empty space between the burials attributed to each grave.

An aspect of this and all the other mass graves, except FS 54, is the shortness of the west-east axis. In this case, it is almost 1.5 m, which meant that the postures of the bodies were forced, either by folding their legs or by twisting the position of the heads to adapt them to the size of the hole.

During the excavation of this grave, a series of five buttons were documented, made of an alloy that gave them an appearance similar to silver. These were found under the right clavicle of a female body (ue 1173).

At least ten people were buried in this mixed-type grave, which is explained in greater detail later in this chapter. Regarding the age distribution, we have identified a boy of between seven and twelve years of age; a girl and an individual of unknown gender between seventeen and twenty-five; three men and a women from twenty-five to thirty-five; two men between forty and fifty, and a adult of indeterminate gender.

The position of some of the bodies enables us to deduce how their burial took place, as happens with the position of the arms of the individual UE 1180, bent next to the body and at the height of the head. This indicates that the body was dragged under the armpits, or carried under the armpits or by the legs, to its final resting place in the grave. This would seem to be an insight into the haste with which the bodies were buried, without time to lay them out separately.

**GRAVE 162**

In this grave, the north-south axis measures 5.40 m, while the east-west one oscillates between the 1.30 m and 1.51 m. Because of the limited size of the latter, we can appreciate that those tasked with burying the bodies had to forced them to make them fit. The bodies do not fill all the mass graves, so that there is approximately a metre and a half free on the north side of the burials (fig. 3). A specific aspect worth highlighting is that

**GRAVE 163**

We have mentioned the possibility that this grave was part of a single unit with FS 161. The length of the west-east axis

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

is 1.35 m, measured between the walls, while the north-south axis has been taken from the space occupied by the remains, which is 1.80 m (fig. 4).

This grave differs somewhat from the others. The first is that a wooden cover was documented under the earth used to backfill it (fig. 3). This cover was made of pine,<sup>1</sup> in line with the Jewish tradition (VRIES, 2007). Another particular aspect of the burials in this grave is the degree of anatomical connection of the remains. Of the at least seven individuals who have been documented in this structure (NMI), only the remains of one were partially connected. Despite the lack of anatomical connection, the skulls are on the west of the structure and it is these that have allowed us to establish demographic composition of this NMI, namely: a girl between three and four years old, two girls between twenty and thirty, a man and a woman between thirty and forty, a woman between forty and forty-five, a woman of fifty to sixty and an adult woman of indeterminate age.

This is the grave where a set of elements were found from a necklace associated with the burial of a child (ue 1185), who would have been between three and four years old. These elements, whatever material they are made of or their shape, have been considered amulets. The body of the child this necklace is associated with had a malformation of the lower limbs, which has been interpreted as the reason she was wearing this necklace of amulets. She had to be protected, more so bearing in mind the recent outbreak of the Black Death.

This grave contained the remains of at least seven individuals, mainly disjointed, identified from the number of skulls.

**GRAVE 54**

Only the west wall of this mass grave has survived. Regarding the length of the east-west axis, in contrast with the other mass graves, we can suppose that it was adapted to the height of the bodies that had to be buried as they all have their legs stretched out (figs. 5 and 10).

There are at least five individuals buried, all well laid out, except ue 1051 and 1053, who are partially in the primary position, as well as other disturbed remains in the form of an unconnected packet over the right leg of individual ue 1052. Additionally, movement of individual ue 1055 has been detected. All these movements could be interpreted as the result of successive burial or the later reopening of the grave (voluntarily or involuntarily) in which the moved remains were heaped up.

Regarding the age of the people, the remains found correspond to two bodies of indeterminate gender, one between ten and twelve years old and the other around seventeen; a girl aged between seventeen and twenty-five; a man of twenty-five to thirty-five, and a woman aged between thirty-three and forty-five.

**GRAVE 162**

In this grave, the north-south axis measures 5.40 m, while the east-west one oscillates between the 1.30 m and 1.51 m. Because of the limited size of the latter, we can appreciate that those tasked with burying the bodies had to forced them to make them fit. The bodies do not fill all the mass graves, so that there is approximately a metre and another whose sex has not been established).

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

in the material used to fill this grave, an almost whole, glazed white pottery jar appeared in contact with the base, and also, on the north side, part of a glazed white pottery cover was recovered. Curiously, a fragment of the same cover appeared in the fill in FS 166, which shows, amongst other things, that they were covered at the same time, while also presenting us with the dilemma of the unusual presence of these ceramic materials in the necropolis.

One possible interpretation is that these two pieces of pottery, whose purpose is unknown, could have ended up in the mass graves through some kind of ritual related with the singular nature of these multiple burials.

FS 162 contains the remains of a minimum of twenty individuals, in a mixed-type deposit, like FS 161. In this case, there were again examples of forced postures that indicate the haste with which the bodies were buried. Regarding the age distribution, we have identified a perinatal body of unknown gender, a boy around six months old, two boys aged two and three, a boy between five and six, two children of unknown gender aged between six and seven, a girl and a boy between thirteen and fifteen, two boys and two girls between eighteen and twenty-five, two males and a female between twenty-five and thirty and four adults of indeterminate sex.

**GRAVE 164**

This is the grave that, to date, most burials have been found in, although it is not fully excavated, as the southern part is still outside the area that could be excavated in 2007 (fig. 8). On the other hand, the north side is destroyed, an aspect that prevents us from how far it went on this side. The result of the destruction of this wall is UE 1141, dealt with below.

Regarding the size of the north-south axis, this was taken from the extent of the remains, with a longitude of 7.74 m. The east-west axis measures approximately 1.56 m.

There are elements in this grave that must be highlighted. The most evident is that the bodies situated further south present a lesser degree of anatomical connection than those further to the north. While the latter can clearly be individualised, the ones further south in the grave are heavily mixed, although the ritual orientation has survived, as the skulls are all where they should be, near the west wall of the grave.

As explained for FS 161, buttons were found from the clothing of two bodies in this grave: a female (ue 1201) and an adult male (ue 1211) who, apart from the buttons, were also associated with a set of coins and the key of a chest (MCUT 4653) (fig. 7).

Regarding the number of burials, a minimum of twenty-five were identified, distributed in a similar way to FS 161 and 162. Demographically these were a body aged about six of indeterminate sex; four girls, a boy and an indeterminate individual between seven and twelve; a girl of some thirteen to fifteen years old; three girls and two boys of twenty to thirty; a woman and two men between thirty and forty; two women and three men between forty and sixty; a man of more than sixty, and three people of indeterminate age (two men and another whose sex has not been established).

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

A reconstruction of the pogrom in Tàrrrega, 1348.

**STRATIGRAPHIC UNIT 1141**

This stratum is the result of the destruction of the wall north of FS 164. Seven individuals were documented in it, four of whom adults and three, children. As well as the anthropological remains, a set of coins, two rings (one decorated with a flower and the other with an inscription) and a thimble were also found.<sup>2</sup> These elements are further evidence that the bodies were dressed in everyday clothing when they were buried in the mass graves.

**GRAVE 166**

This is the easternmost of the graves documented in the cemetery of Les Roquetes (fig. 9). Like FS 164, the south wall is outside the boundaries of the archaeological intervention (it is not fully excavated). The north wall has been lost, either because of erosion or the works to solve the flooding that still affects the plots where the graves are located. The west-east axis of this grave varies between 1.42 m and 1.57 m. A third set of coins was documented in the filling material, as well as the fragment of pottery belonging to the above-mentioned cover also found in the filling of FS 162.

FS 166 contains the remains of at least twelve individuals with a mixed distribution. The individuals identified were one between five and six years old, two from seven to twelve, two between twelve and twenty, three between twenty and thirty, and four between thirty and forty.

**CHRONOLOGY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE COMMON GRAVES**

If we leave aside, through prudence, the coins from UE 1141, a stratigraphic unit resulting from the later alteration of part of a grave, 18 pieces were counted in FS 164 and 166. The coins include ones minted from James I to Peter III, and in no case later than 1348 (CLUA, 2009: 149). The dating from these coins (the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century), the verifiable evidence that some individuals were buried clothed, the exceptional nature of multiple burials in the Jewish ritual and, very specially, the clear signs of violence in a considerable number of individuals in the mass graves, show that these burials respond to an episode of extreme violence that, chronologically, fits the riot of 1348.

We believe that the burial in mass graves was a response to the large number of victims of the riot, as at least sixty-nine have been identified, and the site has not been fully studied. The graves would have been the fastest way to bury the bodies at a moment when the fear of another outbreak of violence must have been present in the community, which would have been dramatically reduced in number. Despite being multiple burials, the bodies are placed without heaping them up, with the Jewish ritual orientation (even in the cases where there is no anatomical connection), which suggests that the survivors of the riot buried their fellows who had died during the attack on the Jewish quarter or as a consequence of the wounds received during this episode.

There are individuals with little anatomical connection at the ends of the mass graves, except in FS 54. There is a predominance of unconnected bone fragments in FS 163 and 166. This seems to indicate different burials, separated by a short period of time. The first moment

would have been the burial of the best-conserved bodies a few days after the attack, and the others between a week and a month later (RUIZ and SUBIRÁ, 2009: 129). Although it seems evident in the anthropological field that there were two moments of burial in these graves, this was not detected in the archaeological aspect during the dig, as there is no evidence that the graves were filled and later reopened. However, we must bear in mind that they could have been covered provisionally while the mass burials were taking place and then properly filled in when they were full.

In the territories of the old Crown of Aragon, there are parallels to the mass graves in Tàrrega in Valencia. Two mass graves were documented during urgent work done in the area occupied by the Jewish cemetery in Valencia. The first contained two individuals in an irregular grave. This double burial is interpreted as the result of an infectious disease. The second grave documented in Valencia is the one we are interested in. It has a polygonal shape that is cut off at the upper level by a grave from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and a burial at the level of the cemetery. Forty bodies were found in this, piled up and mixed. The bodies were linked anatomically. As can be inferred from the position of the heads, arms and legs, the dead were collected and buried quickly, as most of the bodies had not entered into *rigor mortis*. Traumatic injuries are documented in a high percentage of individuals: 30% of the bodies display wounds received in the event that led to their deaths. These wounds are especially frequent in the adult males. Evidence of violence is documented in ten of the forty bodies in the Valencian grave; it is supposed that the other thirty died because of the Black Death of 1348.

The demographic study of the remains in the grave reveals a majority of adult males, with only one child and one adolescent.

In contrast with the disturbances in Tàrrega, documented in both Christian and Jewish sources, the attack on the Jews in Valencia in 1348 does not appear in the documents. The finding of two coins and the existence of a grave with a deposit of material that cuts the upper part of the mass grave limit the chronology in such a way that the most feasible date for this mass burial is the one that the author proposes: 1348 (CALVO, 2003).

In the context of Spain, we find a reference to a multiple burial documented in the city of Cordoba. According to the observations of the director of the museum at the time, there were “diez esqueletos mezclados con clavos todos ellos y colocados en dirección Oriente” (ten skeletons all mixed with nails and laid out facing East). These skeletons, presumably deposited in coffins, were found in an Arab water tank. A chronology is supposed for this burial. According to the report, they date from 1348 (LARREA and HIEDRA, 2010). In Europe, a very similar case is documented in the medieval Jewish cemetery in Vladislavova Street in Prague, where a burial was found in a deep grave with a 60×100-cm coffin holding the remains of at last four people. Among the human remains, cockerel, ox and chicken bones were also found. The fact that some of the bones show signs of having been exposed to very high temperatures and the presence of animal

remains leads us to think that they all lived together and died together in the same fire, whether this was accidental or provoked, and when the remains of the victims were being gathered, nobody realised there were also animal bones (SELMI WALLISOVÁ, 2011:277).

Another case of violence against the Jews in medieval times is documented in Norwich (United Kingdom), where seventeen bodies that were thrown into a well were excavated and studied. According to the researchers, the most likely explanation is that these were Jews, very probably murdered (although there are no signs of violence on the bones recovered) or forced to commit suicide, according to the combination of DNA studies, radiocarbon dating and chemical analysis of the bones. The skeletons date from the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, a time of persecution of Jews in Europe. Eleven of the remains from the well correspond to people aged between two and fifteen; the others are adults, both men and women. The DNA study shows that five of the seventeen bodies belong to members of the same Jewish family.<sup>3</sup> It has however been questioned whether these individuals belonged to the Jewish community, as the results from the DNA seem to indicate.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, the mass graves at Les Roquetes are a clear display of the violence against the Jewish community in Tàrrega. In contrast to the grave in Valencia, where the anthropologic study of the remains reveals that a majority of the victims were adult males, in Tàrrega, signs of violence were found in over half the bodies buried, which shows that the attack was aimed at destroying all the Jewish community, as there were women, men and children among the victims, (with no discrimination for any age group). The attack was so severe that it is recorded in both Christian and Jewish sources from the epoch.

However, despite the severity of the riot, we believe it was the survivors who buried the dead of their own community, as even in the cases where the bodies were in an advanced state of decomposition, the correct orientation according to the Jewish ritual was maintained (the craniums placed towards the west of the graves) and an effort was clearly made to avoid piling the bodies up.

The finding of eighteen coins in two graves, FS 164 and FS 166, together with the results of carbon 14 dating and the anthropological study, confirm that these archaeological structures are linked to the riot of 1348.

#### THE MEDIEVAL JEWISH GRAVEYARD OF LES ROQUETES. FIELD ANTHROPOLOGY

Focussing on the mass graves, the epicentre of this study for their particular features and the episode that they silently relate, the burials were done, whenever possible, in accordance with the Jewish burial ritual. This ritual contains a series of rules for burying the faithful, one of which is to orientate the body towards the east. In this sense, the remains in Les Roquetes were found with the head to the west and the feet to the east of the structure. The idea behind this is to guide the dead towards the Afterlife or the so-called Olam Ha-ba. Another norm is to respect the individuality of the dead. In this case, with mass graves, it is difficult to think about not piling up the bodies, a habitual practice in collective burials, where a large hole is dug and

the bodies are heaped up. In the case of this necropolis, the study of the graves and the disposition of the dead show an attempt to respect this cultural norm of not piling up the bodies nor overlapping their parts as far as possible. In collective burials, this can become difficult, even more so in a critical situation such as the one there must have been after the riot and that led to the dead being buried in conditions far from the ideals of Jewish culture and religion.

#### THE FUNERARY ASPECTS OF THE MASS GRAVES

The placing of the body in the tomb is a clear reflection of deferential treatment of the dead. It is a display of the respect that he or she has enjoyed in life and that the relatives, friends and acquaintances maintain at the moment of death to pay homage, while remembering those aspects that meant the dead merited this deference. Thus, the treatment of the dead clearly shows their social status and the esteem or appreciation of the people who carry out the burial.

Throughout history, it has not always been possible to show this deference to the dead in the case of burial in mass graves. In cases of epidemics, great battles, or slaughter with large numbers of bodies, when the consequent decomposition endangers the hygiene and health of the population, priority is given to the survival of the living over the individualisation and respect for the dead. These burials always denote haste and, in many cases, the identification of those who lie there is difficult or even impossible.

This way, with this historical background to the practice of mass burials, we can begin to detail the particular aspects of the mass graves in the cemetery of Les Roquetes.

As mentioned above, given the position of some of the bodies during burial, marked by the Jewish funeral ritual, it is strange to find six mass graves in a Jewish cemetery. The most plausible explanation for the creation of burials that did not conform to the culture of the dead buried there is the exceptional nature of the event and the tense atmosphere that must have existed in the town after the assault. This could be interpreted as the Jewish community, as an exceptional case, allowing the burial of the victims in mass graves, but attempting, as far as possible, to maintain a certain deference towards the dead. For this reason, the graves in Les Roquetes have some particular features that vary from what is usually found in these graveyards. At a moment when a large part of the community had fled and were still in hiding, the use of graves would have been a solution half way between what would have been desirable and what prevailed in those difficult moments. This way, the cultural patterns are depicted by the digging of rectangular graves that allowed the bodies to be aligned beside each other, without overlapping, instead of one large grave with all the bodies piled up haphazardly.

The fact that, despite the tumultuous climate, the criteria regarding aspects of the funeral rites of the Jewish religion were maintained leads us to think that it was very possibly the surviving members Jewish community who buried their own relatives and neighbours.

#### THE TYPE OF DEPOSIT OF THE HUMAN REMAINS FOUND IN THE MASS GRAVES

Another aspect to bear in mind is the different degree of connection of the joints of the bodies in the graves. These graves can be classified by the type of deposit of the bodies, so that we can talk about:

a) Graves that only contain primary deposits, in which the bodies remained intact until their discovery and the process of decomposition took place entirely in the final resting place (fig. 10).

b) Graves with secondary deposits, where the disconnection of the members of the remains seems to indicate that the decomposition began somewhere other than the final resting place (fig. 4).

c) Graves with mixed deposits, in other words, those that contain remains from both primary and secondary deposits (fig. 11).

#### WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE ATTACK. WHEN DID THE JEWS RETURN TO THEIR QUARTER? WHERE WERE THE VICTIMS FOUND? WHERE WERE THEY LEFT BEFORE BURIAL? HOW MUCH TIME LAPSED BETWEEN DEATH AND BURIAL?

We only have the evidence described to answer these questions, and many interpretations can be given to this.

What can be interpreted with a certain degree of confidence is the time that had passed between the death of the victims and their inhumation. Judging by the varying degree of connection of the remains, burial did not take place simultaneously. Thus, it can be supposed that all the bodies were not left under the same conditions between death and final burial. This, as detailed below, was a decisive point for explaining the different stases of conservation of the bodies.

So, by interpreting the distribution of the remains and their degree of anatomical connection, we can offer some hypotheses about the event in function of the type of deposit:

a) The bodies in the primary deposit (those from FS 54) are almost wholly connected anatomically. This shows that the burials would have happened simultaneously and the time between death and burial must necessarily have been short. Once placed there, the bodies would not have been moved except by the normal taphonomic processes (from decomposition and other factors that affected the grave). If something else had changed the original layout, the movements would have been reflected in the skeletons when excavated and, thus, these would have been classified as secondary deposits.

b) The graves with secondary deposits (FS 163 and FS 166) contain remains with little or no anatomical connections. The inhumation of these remains would have taken place longer after the death of the victims. This would have had to be long enough to allow the decomposition to start, so that some of the anatomical connections became looser. The fact that the riot took place in July, in high summer, means that the time between the death and burial of these victims remains uncertain, as the hot weather of that season could have favoured the processes of decomposition. A state of decomposition that could take months in cold weather would only require a matter of only weeks in hot weather with high exposure to the sun. However, against this hypothesis, there is the dryness of this area in summer, as low humidity does not favour decomposition

(although this would not be decisive at high temperatures). On the other hand, the arrangement of the remains in these graves could also be explained by them having been moved later. This could have happened, for example, during possible plundering or sacking of the belongings they had been buried with. However, both the layout of the remains and the fact that pieces of personal attire were found in these same graves means we can discard this hypothesis.

Despite the difficulty of establishing the time before the final burial, it is important to emphasise that, despite their anatomical disconnection, the remains found in secondary deposits shows no signs of the carelessness of hurried actions. These deposits show that special care was taken to place the skulls of the victims together on the west side of the grave with their legs to the east. This again shows that those who buried these remains attempted to follow the Jewish rites, although they could not avoid piling the bodies on top of each other.

c) The typology of the mixed deposits (FS 161, FS 162 and FS 164) falls between the previous two cases. These graves are characterised by a central group of individuals in a primary deposit and relatively intact anatomically and, at one or both ends of the graves, secondary deposits in the form of sets of bones, often unconnected but with the aforementioned distribution of the craniums and legs.

Given the above-mentioned evidence that shows the complexity of the burial of the victims of the riot, a hypothetical chronology of the events can be established. We think that the primary deposits in both FS 54 and the central area of the graves with mixed distribution, came first. These individuals are better preserved and with greater anatomical connection, which means they were easy to individualise and study. This would have been followed by isolated or disconnected remains being buried, both in graves with only this type of remains and added to the sides of the graves defined as mixed deposit. These bodies are more poorly preserved and have less anatomical connection, given that the bodies would very probably have begun to decompose before they were buried. In this sense, as mentioned above, it is important to emphasise that different factors could have affected the decomposition of the bodies, all related to the environment around them, both at the time of death and when they were placed in the grave. Thus, even when buried, decomposition can also be affected by whether the body is in an open or closed space, as aerobic or anaerobic conditions can accelerate or slow down this process.

In this hypothetical chronology of the events, the secondary deposits are vital precisely because of this uncertainty about the time the victims had to wait to be buried. After a riot of this magnitude, why were so many bodies not buried shortly after the events, allowing them to begin to decompose outside their final resting place?

To seek an answer to this question, we have to return to the written sources that more or less objectively relate the facts and the subsequent outcome.

Set in the context of the tense situation that must have existed in those time, one could suggest burials done with an urgency dictated by fear and uncertainty

about the possibility of another attack by the Christians of Tàrrega.

Thus, after the attack and even some days afterwards, some victims could be buried, respecting the Jewish funeral rituals as far as possible. The first to be buried were individualised, laid out one beside another and orientated west-east, and so, indirectly favouring the good preservation observed in these individuals. This would tend to reinforce the hypothesis that these burials were done by members of the Jewish community, despite the rarefied atmosphere and the general malaise that must have reigned in the turbulent society in Tàrrega at that time.

But what about the remains found in the secondary deposits? As we have seen, various interpretations have led to some hypotheses as mentioned above. However, the written sources reveal another point to be taken into consideration, and that is the role of a water tank<sup>5</sup> (taken in the widest sense of the expression), in which some of the victims could have been kept initially.

They could then have been moved again but after enough time for decomposition to have started (between two weeks and a month), to be buried in their final resting places. These burials could have been done either in graves dug for the purpose (FS 163 or FS 166) or on the sides of the first graves dug. The hypothesis of the water tank is favoured by the fact that the heat (of summer) and humidity (inside a structure designed to hold water) would have accelerated the deterioration of the bodies, so that there would be very evident anatomical disconnection. However, because of the uncertainty about the time between death and burial, as well as our lack of knowledge about the environmental conditions the bodies were exposed to, whether the hypothesis of the water tank is right or not, none of the proposed hypotheses can fully explain the reason for such a poor state of preservation and disconnection of the remains in the secondary deposits graves, typical of an advanced state of decomposition.

Two decisive variables for defining the moment between death and burial are where the bodies were and how long they were there. At that initial time of chaos and insecurity after the assault, it is difficult to imagine the few inhabitants of the Jewish quarter who survived the attack daring to bury the victims. It would not be until the royal authorities gave them a certain level of protection that they could begin to prepare the ritual burial of the victims. During this period, the bodies could have been kept somewhere (water tank, cellar, etc.) off the streets, to avoid the proliferation of epidemics and protect the bodies. Thus, both the time between death and the final burial, and the conditions in which the bodies were kept during this period, probably explain the varying degree of anatomical disconnections found in the bodies in different graves.

#### THE MYSTERY OF THE FEET

A notable feature of some of the graves in Les Roquetes is the absence of the feet of a large number of bodies. This is the complete absence of this part of the body, with no signs of cuts or movement of the distal part of the legs, nor remains of dismembered feet in the graves. It seems as if these feet had been taken as a block, leaving no trace and without being buried with the rest of the body (figs. 12a

and 12b). The evidence that leads us to call the absence of this part of the bodies a *mystery* is presented below.

In numerical terms, only thirty-six feet were found connected to the seventy-one legs found in good conditions of preservation and anatomical connection. There is no evidence of any violence to the distal parts of the legs that could make us to think about possible amputations during the attack. Although difficult to interpret, we have tried to imagine various hypotheses to explain this fact.

A first hypothesis refers to the size of the graves, 1.5 m in width, which would have meant the bodies of anyone taller than this had to be forced to fit into the grave. Removing the feet would make the bodies shorter and easier to fit. However, the care taken to lay the bodies out and the fact that some of the bodies were placed with their head or legs twisted into forced postures to make them fit the grave, but maintaining the feet joined to the legs, would seem to refute this hypothesis.

A second explanation could be linked to the reuse of the footwear the victims were wearing when they were buried. If the economic context of the epoch is taken into consideration, not exactly a boom time but more a period of hardship that accompanied the crisis of the Black Death, it is easy to understand a desire to reuse the clothing and footwear of the victims. If this interpretation were correct, the extraction of the footwear would have had to be done a relatively long time after death to allow enough decomposition to make it easy to separate the feet with the shoes. This would mean that the tombs were reopened and sacked, and as mentioned above, there is no archaeological evidence to give weight to this idea. However, following the hypothesis of the water tank, this spoliation could have occurred while the victims were being moved from the tank to the graves. Nevertheless, it would seem strange that the people who buried the bodies, presumably also Jews and thus, wealthier, had removed the footwear. Also, it would have meant violating their own dead. So, although it is not possible to discard this idea completely, the reopening of the graves is apparently a less plausible option, and leads us to speculate about another hypothesis.

The third and last interpretation is related to some kind of posthumous act of revenge by the Christians against the Jews. Beyond the moment of the attack itself, the Christian population could possibly have profaned these graves as a response to the royal reprisals against the attackers. Or simply following a simpler and more plausible motive: the hate they felt for this community, which would have led to attempts to stop or hamper their hypothetical journey to the Afterlife.

In this case, this revenge would have had to have taken place not many days after the deaths and once the bodies had been buried and be done by someone with enough anatomical knowledge to avoid leaving any cut marks around the ankles.

This would lead us to think about a doctor or butcher used to dealing with meat and to cutting muscles and tendons, and who also knew where these were. This would have to be a person with enough knowledge, time and calmness to disarticulate such a specific part of the anatomy after the events of a merciless riot and an irate mob, as we have seen in

this text. However, the marks of the cuts could have been concentrated on the feet themselves, and this is impossible to demonstrate unless a set of missing feet were discovered. This is a rather forced, although not impossible, hypothesis, given the situation of the time and our knowledge of cases of profanation of tombs in other Jewish funerary contexts.

To sum up, none of the three proposed hypotheses supplies allow us to conclude with any certainty that it is the correct explanation for such a difficult mystery.

#### THE VICTIMS BURIED IN THE GRAVES AND THE EVENTS DURING THE RIOT OF 1348.

#### LABORATORY ANTHROPOLOGY

The anthropologic study of the remains, both in the field and in greater detail in the laboratory, offers more data for an accurate reconstruction of the events during the riot of 1348, as well as the subsequent events, until the remains of the victims were laid to rest in the graves. A minimum of sixty-nine individual bodies have been identified from the remains and studied, and these have been broken down into a demographic study of age and gender. This study shows that there are bodies from all age groups and genders, and with a very similar profile to the general population (COLET *et al.*, 2009). Thus, there does not appear to have been any deliberate selection of victims during the assault, but it seems more like an indiscriminate rampage aimed at all the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter.

The study of the age of the victims shows that 32% were sub-adults, in other words, aged less than twenty, and 67%, adults, with 1% whose age is not clear due to the poor preservation and conservation of their remains. The profile of mortality seems to centre on young adults, aged between twenty and thirty, who make up 30% of the population in the graves. It is notable that this age group, the strongest and best able to defend themselves, is the one with the highest mortality. This could be due to the attack being perpetrated by an angry, well-armed mob firstly surprising those who could best defend themselves, or simply that this age group was the most numerous in the Jewish population of the quarter at that time.

Regarding the distribution by gender, there is a notable imbalance between males (31%) and females (50%). In this case, this may be related to the fact that there is a remainder of 19% whose gender has not been determined either because of the poor state of the remains, or the difficulty of determining the gender of sub-adult individuals.

It has not been possible to determine the gender and age of 32% of the bodies from the graves. This bias does not allow us show any preference for individuals of one specific sex or age during the assault, but all the evidence seems to reinforce the hypothesis that the attack was against all the population of the Jewish quarter, without any discrimination by either age or sex.

The detailed anthropologic study in the laboratory has shown marks on the remains that could only be due to acts of violence on thirty-seven of the sixty-nine bodies in the graves. One hundred and fifty-five traumatisms were counted, mainly on the skulls (one hundred and five injuries). Both the localisation and characteristics of the traumatisms with the number identified on each

skeleton (up to twenty-two traumatisms on a single body) clearly show the intentionality and cruelty used and, by extension, the aim of exterminating the population of the Jewish quarter. The fact that signs of violence were not found in the thirty-two other individuals in the graves could be due to the poor state of the remains found in the secondary deposits and that fatal lesions could have been to the abdomen or thorax, without any evident marks of violence on the skeleton. This is clear where bodies without these signs were buried simultaneously with others that do show this evidence, implying that all the bodies in the graves died at the same time.

Of the thirty-seven individuals in whom these traumatisms were detected, ten were children (figs. 13a and 13b) and twenty-seven, adults.

The distribution by sex of the bodies with marks of violence, shows twelve females and fifteen males, maintaining the demographic balance of those buried in the graves, despite the bias produced by the individuals whose gender has not been established.

Thus, there are no notable differences between age and sex among those affected, which again shows that the attack was indiscriminate.

The above-mentioned dominance of injuries to the cranium (in 67.7% of the cases), and the legs (24.5%) over the arms (9.5%), shows the lethal intentions and attempts to prevent them from fleeing. In many cases, injuries to the arms are seen as possible attempts by the victims to defend themselves, given the only options of flight or violent resistance. A certain predilection for cruelty (or torture) to the males is evident, as they have an average of 5.1 lesions per body, above the 4.1 lesions per individual among the females. This would seem to show the irate reaction of the attackers to the people they considered most responsible for their hardships (in Jewish society, it was the men who established the laws and worked as lenders) and also the first who would have to be cut down to crush any resistance. The larger number of lesions to the skulls of males (67.5 %) than females (57.1%) could be due to the wish to avoid resistance by the stronger victims and the quick death of those more able to defend themselves. Five males have been found with a single blow to the head, which would clearly have been the cause of a quick death. There are other cases with a single lesion, but these cannot be interpreted as the cause of death as they are to the arms (in two cases) or the legs (in two more). To judge by these wounds, death would more probably have been through loss of blood after arteries were severed, or wounds to soft tissues, like the thorax or abdomen, which have left no traces on the skeleton.

It is important to emphasise the evidence of the cruelty towards the defenceless, as in the case of the male identified as ue 1215, found in the FS 164 (fig. 14). This man alone presents up to twenty-two traumatisms, twelve head wounds and ten on the rest of the body, especially on one leg, which gave him a limp. The detailed study of his remains has shown that he had an old, badly set fracture of the right leg, and that led to osteomyelitis of the right tibia and fibula. This injury would have hampered him from fleeing given that he almost certainly could not run and would have been easy prey. However, the many lesions to his legs

show that he was surely forced to fall to the ground during the attack.

Another case that shows the brutality of the attackers is the discovery of two decapitations, one of which corresponds to a girl aged between twenty and twenty-five (UE 1221 of FS 164). This decapitation was identified by the second cervical vertebra having been severed by heavy blows from the back (fig. 15). It is difficult to hypothesise over the reason why the attackers would decapitate a young girl, especially if this took place in the midst of the uproar of the assault. That is why, being events that have left no physical evidence except for the fact of the decapitation, this aspect of the riot will remain unanswered.

The detailed study of the traumatisms and knowledge of the arms and tools used during the attack enables us to complete an important gap in the information about the events. Observing the type of imprint that the arms left on the bone, for example, a cut, fracture or fissure, we can extrapolate the type of arm used as long as this mark has not been degraded by time or the burial conditions. This way, among the *peri mortem* traumatisms produced around the moment of death and that could be the cause, the most frequent are those caused by heavy sharp objects (swords, axes or scythes) with long blades. These appear in one hundred and fifty-three cases, or 98.7%, of the lesions described. In these cases, the bone is seen to have been cut more or less cleanly, depending on the energy behind the blow. Judging by the cuts observed on skulls and other parts of the skeletons, these injuries were the result of very hard blows, and the instruments used were very sharp. In some cases, the blows were strong enough to break right through the bones, amputating a limb. In second place, there are traumatisms or fractures from crushing, by the impact of a large heavy object at low speed causing a lesion without penetrating the bone. These could have been from throwing stones or heavy utensils that typically cause radial injuries. Only one such case was found in the graves in Les Roquetes, just on the top of the cranium. Finally, there is a single case of a penetrating wound. This is described as the impact of an object on a specific area with enough force and energy to penetrate the bone leaving a mark that coincides with the object that produced the impact. This injury can be seen on the skull of ue 1215, and is the result of being hit by a rectangular object with enough force to shatter the cranium. Given the shape and the position of the injury (on the top of the skull), it has been interpreted that the arm or tool used was the handle of an axe or a sword. In this case, fragments of broken bone were been found inside the cranium.

To sum up, we can state that the anthropological evidence, together with the historical documentation and archaeological data, enable us to claim confidently that the bodies in the graves were victims of the riot that occurred in Tàrrrega in July 1348. The multidisciplinary reconstruction has enabled some difficult points to be cleared up, especially in the cases of the events that took place during the riot and the fatal outcome of the many lives lost during that harsh attack. Other facts, especially such unusual cases as the disarticulation of remains in the secondary deposits or the mystery of the feet, mean that we can only hazard a range of hypotheses to interpret this

adequately. Unfortunately, in contrast with the events during the riot and the study of the causes of death, where many enigmas have been cleared up, in the aforementioned unusual cases we have been unable to present a definitive conclusion. So, the answer to these enigmas still awaits new evidence.

Finally, it can only be concluded that an assault as severe as the one suffered by the Jewry in Tàrrrega in July 1348, in which an irate mob guided by a hatred so intense that they mercilessly attacked the people they disowned, could only lead to such disorder and chaos that it followed the victims to their graves. Thus, the answer to all the problems posed may lie exclusively in the lack of control that reigned at that time. For this reason, we can only approach this solution through the material evidence left by the people directly involved in the events. Thus, the burials of the victims differ from the other remains in the necropolis, possibly due to this climate of unrest and the nervousness in the area for some time until a relative normality gradually returned. It is precisely these differences and the gaps in the written sources finally that encourage the researcher to fill in the gaps in history, both the recent and ancient, in order not to forget, mask or overlook any of the events featuring those who, through their acts, have brought us to where we are, although the discovery of some of the passages of our history involve a sad memory, as has happened with the study of the mass graves at Les Roquetes in Tàrrrega.

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, magic was not limited to the illiterate levels, but was rather an inseparable part of intellectual activity (BARKAI, 1988: 30).

### 5.5. THE BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY THROUGH ITS OBJECTS

ANNA COLET MARCÉ

MAGIC

Magic was part of everyday life during the period known as *antiquity* and the Middle Ages. It impregnated everything, and constituted a way of understanding the world. The resort to magic, knowledge of it and practice crossed all social classes and was not underestimated by the different ethnic and religious groups that inhabited the lands of the Near East and Western Europe (CABALLERO, 2011: 74). “If we can learn anything specific from the texts and bundles of the Inquisition [...] this is that magic and occultism were in no way restricted to one class or caste in the Hispanic Late Middle Ages” (GUTWIRTH, 1989a: 94).

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, magic was not limited to the illiterate levels, but was rather an inseparable part of intellectual activity (BARKAI, 1988: 30).

THE JEWS AND MAGIC

Witchcraft is prohibited under biblical law, as it is understood as practice of the gentiles. Maimonides, the great *halakkit* of the Middle Ages, listed it among the negative commandments. This prohibition made it necessary to distinguish between prohibited magic practices and those acts that, within the practices considered magic were in fact “non magic” and thus, allowed. These permitted practices were really natural acts, those that could be explained with natural laws and Aristotelian principles. This way, both Christians and Jews legitimated the magic practices in the limits of Christianity and Judaism and Jewish law (KLEIN-BRASLAVY, 2000: 105).

Selomé ben Adret justified and legitimated the use of magic as forces inserted into nature by God to correct the deficiencies of nature itself. Those who practiced “curative magic” did so in consonance with God’s aims or to carry out God’s will and intention in the creation of the world. This type of magic practice is not idolatry and does not lead to it and thus is allowed in accordance with the *halakka* (KLEIN-BRASLAVY, 2000: 111).

However, some people were against this. One of them was Maimonides, who, when talking about amulets, stated, “as the majority of men, if not all, have allowed themselves to be seduced by them, victims of a great madness” (BARKAI, 1989: 27). However, in his opposition to the use of magic, he accepted those acts that could be explained through speculation on the frontier of Aristotelian physics, in other words, that which could be known scientifically (KLEIN-BRASLAVY, 2000: 113).

Regarding specific types of magic, like talismans, Adret affirmed that if a talisman is created thinking that the origin of the figure’s beneficial influence is God, then it can be used for curative purposes.

In a letter to Selomé ben Adret, Bonet Abraham, a Provençal Jew, spoke out against all those arts or practices linked to magic. He also included the making of amulets among the causes that led the people off the path of truth and

drew them towards the various types of witchcraft and black magic that drew those weak of spirit, such as women and children (BARKAI, 1989: 28).

During the Middle Ages, there was a dichotomy between *discourse* and *practice*; between the posture based on the texts on one hand, and the living experience and the written expression of magic knowledge and practices on the other, a series of attitudes that can be summed up as: those who condemned magic as a form of idolatry and those who dressed up these practices with a discourse linked to religious precepts to legitimate them (CABALLERO, 2011: 84).

THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE GRAVES IN THE JEWISH NECROPOLIS OF LES ROQUETES

A series of objects were found during the archaeological dig. These are considered personal attire as the Jewish tradition is against putting jewels objects of value in the tomb (VRIES, 2007: 253). These were earrings, rings and necklaces.

THE EARRINGS

Five pairs of earrings were found in the medieval Jewish cemetery in Tàrrega (ENT 25, 64, 80, 107 and 131) and three cases in which only one of the earrings are documented (ue 2154, ENT 29 and 80). Different types have been documented although they all respond to the same model (fig. 1). These are earrings made up of a ring with little balls in the same metal. Within this type, we have documented one with nine balls (ue 2154) and a pair with three (MCUT 4459). There are also some with only the ring (ENT 107). Parallels to these earrings have been in the graveyards in Girona and Barcelona (PALAHÍ, 2003: 9), Deza (CASANOVAS and RIPOLL, 1983: 597) and Valladolid (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009).

THE RINGS

Four rings were found in the sector of the necropolis excavated. Two of these (MCUT 4457 and 4458), have Hebrew inscriptions. These rings confirm the Hebrew origins of the graveyard (as explained in chapter 5, in the section referring to the ritual). One of these was found in the burial EST 2 (MCUT 4457), a bath-type tomb, without a slab or coffin, of a mature female (between forty and forty-nine years old).

Two more rings, one inscribed (MCUT 4458) and the other decorated with a flower (MCUT 4455), appeared in UE 1141.¹

The last ring (MCUT 4456) appeared in the tomb of an individual female, ENT 29. This structure is a bath-type tomb with a wooden cover (bier) that covered the body resting on stones set out in pairs around the body. This ring is plain with no inscription or decoration.

This type of element associated with burials has not been found in all the medieval Jewish cemeteries excavated. An example of this is the necropolis Lucena, where no personal attire or elements that refers to the funeral ritual, like shroud pins or iron nails from coffins or palls, have been found (BOTELLA and CASANOVAS, 2009: 5). These differences between cemeteries, as well as those mentioned in the previous section referring to the burial ritual, emphasise the regional differences between the Jewish communities indicated by some authors (GUTWIRTH, 1989b: 180).

THE NECKLACES AND AMULETS

All except two of the necklaces found during the excavation of the medieval Jewish cemetery in Tàrrrega include pieces of jet.

The necklace (MCUT 4461) found in ENT 67, a female burial in a bath-type grave is made of jet. The one found in ENT 148, in a bath-type grave with coffin or pall, is also made only of jet, but with two different sizes of beads (MCUT 4463). All the beads in the necklace from ENT 152, an anthropomorphic tomb with a wooden cover, are made of jet, also in two sizes. The one from ENT 174, a bath-type grave with bier, is also made of jet.

The one from the bath-type female burial EST 24 combines jet beads with others made of coral (MCUT 4460).

A necklace (MCUT 4462) was found in the child burial ENT 113, a bath-type grave. This piece combined jet and amber beads and others apparently made of coral.

A necklace with jet beads, and others made of amber, vitreous paste, silver, coral and bone, was found in ENT 172, a bath-type grave with a coffin (MCUT 4465).

Amber is recommended to prevent abortions (CABALLERO, 2011: 92), while jet has been used since prehistoric times. In the cave in Caldas, in Oviedo, jet beads have been documented from Solutrean levels dated from nineteen thousand years ago (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009: 53).

Since ancient times, magic properties have been attributed to jet. That is why it has been used as an amulet. “These objects with magic virtues can present in jet, coral, rock crystal or opaline. The virtues of jet are conferred by the material itself and also by the form it is given” (FRANCO, 2008: 83).

Amulets made of coral or jet, among others, are used to protect children from the evil eye or *aojamiento*, as they are liable to suffer from it due to their weakness (CIAPPARELLI, 2005: 10). We find the testimony of an 11<sup>th</sup>-century Muslim scientist, Bembuclaris, who highlighted the use of jet in Spain, hung round children’s necks to protect them from evil spells (MALALANA, 1997: 306).

Two necklaces were also found in Les Roquetes with the beads only made of vitreous paste. These were found in ENT 62 (bath-type grave) and ENT 65 (bath-type grave), both child burials and very badly preserved. Necklaces of vitreous paste have been found in Jewish burials in Mazacote (Ocaña, Toledo) and Teruel, as well as Mudejar burials in the Roman circus in Toledo or the church of San Andres in the same city (MALALANA, 1997: 294).

The necklace found in ENT 80 (bath-type grave with coffin) is made up of beads made of two different materials: the smaller one are globular and could be coral, while the larger ones, whose shape resembles ones found in the necropolis of Deza (CASANOVAS and RIPOLL, 1983), seem to be made of unfired clay.

A set of beads made of three different materials (jet, coral and vitreous paste) was found in the child burial ENT 107 (Bath-type burial with bier). The vitreous-paste ones are like those in ENT 80, with parallels in Deza. These elements were at the level of the navel and accompanied by a number of bronze hoops (fig. 2). We believe that this was not a necklace, but could have been a bracelet or elements that hung from the

clothing that accompanied the child on her journey to the Afterlife.

All the burials where this type of amulet were found were of children or women, never accompanied by adult males. This is also true for the necropolis in Valladolid (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009: 49).

These elements, except a necklace found in FS 163 (associated with the burial ue 1185), were found in individual burials in the eastern part of the graveyard. The layout of the tombs where necklaces were found could indicate that this was a later practice, as the only elements found in the older part of the cemetery (nearer the Jewish quarter) are earrings, and it must be borne on mind that there was only pair of these from a child burial, specifically ENT 131.

The typology of all these tombs is bath-type graves with coffin or bier, except ENT 152, which is anthropomorphic (the head of the pit is defined by the placing of stones). Moreover, the necklace found in child burial ue 1185 is from FS 163.

The typology of the tombs where the necklaces are found, and the situation of the tombs in the cemetery, seem to corroborate the fact that burial with this kind of element is a practice that was adopted with the passing of time. However, two facts must be borne in mind. The first is that the plots to the west of these burials were not excavated (they are part of a garden), and the second is that, although not all the cemetery has been excavated, the tombs towards the west, anthropomorphic and bath-type and covered with slabs, contain no remains of any attire except some earrings (MCUT 4459).

The only elements that were found in the western part of the necropolis (considered the oldest) are from the mass graves. Thus, we understand that these were not placed there on purpose at the moment of burial. The mass graves hold the bodies of those who died in the riots of 1348 and, as shown in the corresponding chapter, we are sure that some of them (if not all) were buried clothed, so that the child ue 1185 found in FS 163 was wearing these rings and pendants when she was killed.

As well as the necklaces, a pair of bracelets was documented in the child burial ENT 66 (fig. 3). These (MCUT 4450 and 4451) were made of vitreous paste the colour of jet. According to Malalana, bracelets were usually part of the individual funerary artefacts among the Mudejar and Jewish minorities. Their role is always interpreted as protection against the evil eye (MALALANA, 1997: 293). The added value of the bracelets, as well as imitating the colour of jet, is their shape, an endless circle to trap the evil indefinitely, which makes them a great prophylactic element (MALALANA, 1997: 306).

Among Spanish Jews, a piece of red coral was usually used to protect children from the evil eye. The origin of these Jewish practices is in the Talmud, where certain people are indicated as being more likely to suffer the evil eye: pregnant women, or those giving birth, the newly-born, the sick and those who are in mourning (BUBELLO, 2012: 11).

THE SET FROM FS 163 (UE 1185)

In the description of the necklaces from Les Roquetes, we have mentioned various elements of coral combined with jet and others, but perhaps the most

outstanding case among the necklaces is the one from the child burial ue 1185 (MCUT 4467) from FS 163 (figs. 4a and 4b). This is a set of ten beads made of vitreous paste, jet, horn, coral, silver, smoked glass and rock crystal. Two of these ten elements are in the shape of *hamses* or hands of Fatima, the first made of horn (MCUT 4476) with what could be two eyes cut, and the second made of silver (MCUT 4472). The use of *hamses* was very common among the Arabs. The hand engraved or cut into gold, silver or lesser metals were specially designed to avoid the evil eye. As well as the shape, the material also has an important role in preventing the evil eye. Both coral and silver distract or repel it, either through the redness of the coral (MCUT 4475 and 4473), or the shininess of the silver (MCUT 4472) (CIAPPARELLI, 2005: 21). Glass (MCUT 4468) also helps to protect against the evil eye.

There are parallels to these in the necropolis of the Paseo de Recoletos in Valladolid. These are three silvers pendants in the shape of the hand of Fatima found in tomb 31, and seven jet *hamses* in tomb 33 (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009).

Regarding the jet pendants, similar ones to those from MCUT 4470 have also been found in Valladolid and the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9, in Tàrrega (fig. 5). As well as being made of a material with a great symbolic importance, the two pieces from Tàrrega seem to be engraved with eyes, which gives them greater preventative power.

The burial that these pendants, all of them amulets, was linked with was a girl with slight malformation of the legs (fig. 6). The fact, as mentioned above, that children were considered vulnerable to the evil eye and her slight malformation, together with the context of the Black Death, could be the reasons why she was wearing a necklace with this number of amulets.

In contrast with the individual burials, where necklaces-amulets could have been placed on purpose at the time of burial, those found in the mass graves are a clear indication that they were everyday elements. A necklace is not left in a mass grave on purpose.

Similar sets of necklaces to those described here have been found in Jewish graveyards in Teruel, Valladolid and Deza, and in Christian burial grounds such as Santa Maria de Melque, Valeria (MOREDA and SERRANO, 2009), the graveyard of Sant Llorenç in Valencia (PASCUAL and SORIANO, 2000) and Marialba de la Ribera, in Leon (*Diario de Léon*, 2011), and other Islamic ones. This shows the cross-cultural nature of prophylactic elements. As in ancient times, magic practices were widespread and part of life. In this sense, they crossed religious and cultural frontiers (CABALLERO, 2011: 87).

<sup>[1]</sup> We believe that this stratigraphic unit is the result of the destruction of the north part of FS 164. The remains of seven individuals were found in this layer.

## 5.6. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE RIOT OF 1348 IN THE JEWISH QUARTER OF TÀRREGA. THE SITE AT CARRER DE LA FONT, 7-9

ANNA COLET MARCÉ  
ORIOL SAULA BRIANSÓ  
SILVIA VALENZUELA LAMAS

The site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9, in Tàrrega helps us to see the effects of the riot of 1348 in the houses in the Jewish quarter. The place excavated is in an area that, from the interpretation of the documentation, has been attributed to the town’s Jewish quarter in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The neighbourhood is made up of the Carrer de l’Estudi, that acts as its central axis and, on either side of this, Carrer de les Piques and the east side of Carrer de la Font. Carrer de la Font (Carrer de les Santes Creus in medieval times) was the western limit of the Jewish quarter. Indeed, the situation of the site, on the western edge of this neighbourhood, obliges us to analyse the remains carefully and thoroughly to see whether they had belonged to a Jewish or Christian population.

We focus on a specific sector of the site in Carrer de la Font that has stratigraphic levels with material from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This part of the site is characterised by being an open area with a silo, interpreted as a rear courtyard for a house (fig. 1). This silo would have been dug by the first settlers in this neighbourhood, which was newly built at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup>. It would have been dug directly in unturned ground, made up of silt from old floods of the river. The silo is refilled with soil that contains materials from the time span mentioned and, at the same time, the entire courtyard was the result of levelling the ground that covered the mouth of the refilled silo. The strata of the levelling abutted or covered laterally a wall that dates from between the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and which formed the edge of the courtyard and part of a house, very possible with entry from Carrer de la Font. In the excavation of this house, multiple building phases are documented on the inside of the mentioned wall. Identifying a house as Jewish in the archaeological field is almost impossible through the architecture, as, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews used the same architecture and art, furniture, materials, techniques, modes and styles of the peoples they were in contact with in the places they settled. The elements that identify these as belonging to a Jewish community include some ornamental motifs and some specific buildings or elements linked to their religious practice (ROMERO, 1989).

A large amount and range of archaeological materials appeared in the soil used to fill the silo. These included remains of tableware, lamps, cooking pots, casseroles and different types of pottery vessels, remains of glass containers, bronze objects associated with clothing, small-format furniture and diverse instruments; remains of pieces of iron, among which a large knife stands out, coins, remains of fauna and other types of material that date from no later than the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century. Everything indicates that most of this material was in use when it ended up in the courtyard of the house, as some pieces are clearly seen to have been whole when they were thrown there. The dates of the making

of the tableware and minting of certain coins (CLUA, 2012: 41-49) are very close to the date of this filling. That is why it has been interpreted that the material found was thrown there on purpose, possibly the result of simultaneous dumping at one time (or several stages over a short period of time). These discharges suggest that, firstly, a pile of rubbish and broken tools built up as a result of the action and, later, after some time, the pile was scattered and mixed with the soil that was used to fill in the silo and level the courtyard. That would explain why fragments of the same piece are found in different superimposed strata.

Regarding the cultural origins of the materials, we must state that the analysis and study of the pottery remains (ESQUÉ *et al.*, 2012: 22-39) has shown no difference between the items used by Jews and Christians, except for one piece: a *hanukiah* or multiple lamp, of which we only have a small fragment (fig. 1). Examples of this type of lamp have appeared in the site at Carrer de Sant Honorat, 3, in Barcelona (FLORENSA *et al.*, 2007), and in the Jewish quarters in Puigcerdà and Teruel and the castle of Llorca (PUJANTE and GALLARDO, 2004), among others. The fragment found in the site in Tàrrega, like some of those from Llorca or Santa Maria la Blanca (Toledo), corresponds to a flat base on which the bowls would have been mounted without legs (PUJANTE and GALLARDO, 2004: 184). The importance on this piece is, on one hand, its role in the Jewish ritual of the Festival of Lights and, on the other, because it gives us a weighty argument for the cultural origins of the site, as it is clearly Jewish. However, there is always the possibility that a Jewish piece could have ended up by chance mixed with materials from a non-Jewish context. A piece of jet was also found in the silo. This is an elongated trapezoidal pendant, decorated with four circles with a central point and a hole at the top to be hung from. Although the piece is of no help for defining the cultural affiliation of the site, it is a very common element in the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes from the same chronology. We also find parallels as Jewish in the archaeological field is almost impossible through the architecture, as, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Jews used the same architecture and art, furniture, materials, techniques, modes and styles of the peoples they were in contact with in the places they settled. The elements that identify these as belonging to a Jewish community include some ornamental motifs and some specific buildings or elements linked to their religious practice (ROMERO, 1989).

On the other hand, the study of the remains of bones from the fauna in the site, specifically the levels resulting from the 14<sup>th</sup>-century dumping, gives us clear evidence about the consumers of this fauna and, in passing, other material associated with these remains.

Diet is one of the leading expressions of cultural identity, especially when it is regulated by religious precepts. In the case of Judaism, the consumption of meat is strictly regulated by the Torah, which lists the permitted species and how these have to be prepared to be apt for human consumption (Kosher). That means that in the case of practising Jewish families, the remains of food have particular characteristics. Firstly, they cannot consume certain species, which, in the case of mammals, covers cloven-hoofed animals or ones that chew the cud. That excludes pigs, as well as rabbits and horses, among others. Also, the animals have to be sacrificed and prepared in a certain way, following the rules of the *kashrut*, which means that certain body parts are not consumed or are infra-represented, such as hind limbs (and especially the hip), where the sciatic nerve and the femoral artery run,

which have been removed for the piece to be Kosher.

These traits are clearly shown by the archaeo-zoological register from Carrer de la Font: sheep and goats represent over 90 % of the remains identified, while pigs make up less than 0.5 % (VALENZUELA and VALENZUELA, 2012). That coincides with the findings from the Jewish quarter in Barcelona (FLORENSA *et al.*, 2007), where less than 1% is from pigs and contrasts clearly with contemporary Christian sites, where the remains of pigs represent around 20% of those identified (VALENZUELA and VALENZUELA, 2012). Other results that corroborate the Jewish cultural adscription of the fauna are the infra-representation of the hind limbs of ovicaprins (especially, the hip) and the absence of remains of rabbits, which are very abundant in contemporary Christian and Islamic sites (MORENO-GARCÍA and DAVIS, 2001; DAVIS, 2006; ALÓS *et al.*, 2006-2007; MOLINA *et al.*, 2003a; MOLINA *et al.*, 2003b).

To sum up, after defining the Jewish cultural origins of the materials recovered and the chronology of the remains from the study of the numismatics and pottery, which date from no later than the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and analysing the characteristics of the remains mentioned above, we can propose the reasons for throwing away this material that was in good conditions. Although we do not completely discount that this dumping could have been caused by the Black Death, with the belongings of a family afflicted by plague being thrown away as a hygienic measure, everything indicates that the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9, in Tàrrega was the result of the 1348 riot, during which a large part of the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter perished. In this assault, as well as killing the Jews, their homes were sacked and their possessions destroyed or stolen. The site would have been part of the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega and would be evidence of this assault. This way, the materials found in the silo and the strata that cover it belonged to one or more families from this neighbourhood who suffered the attack (and perhaps died in it).

## 5.7. THE REASON FOR THE ATTACK ON THE JEWISH QUARTER IN TÀRREGA

JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI

The assault on the Jewish quarter in Barcelona, on 17<sup>th</sup> May 1348, took place shortly after the outbreak of the plague and appearance of the first cases of contagion in the city.<sup>1</sup> In Tarragona, another port city, the first plague deaths also date from early May, although the only one to mention an attack on the Jewish quarter is Galipapa.<sup>2</sup> From the coastal towns, the plague spread across the country along the main roads. In this sense, the order in which the place names appear in the documents in the royal Chancellery and Galipapa’s report (Barcelona, Cervera and Tàrrega) correspond to the path the plague took on its advance inland from the coast along the highway: it reached Cervera first and three days later, Tàrrega.

If, as explained above, the Tàrrega riot took place in the first fortnight of July, probably around the 6<sup>th</sup>, we can state that, as in Barcelona and surely also in Cervera, it happened in the first days of the plague striking the town. There is no register of these first cases of plague in Tàrrega, although the possibility is reinforced by the rate of propagation of the plague, estimated at 45-60 km/month.<sup>3</sup> Thus, a couple of months would have gone by between the first cases of the plague detected in Barcelona and those in Tàrrega.<sup>4</sup>

This causal relation between the outbreak of the plague and the attacks on the aljamas is even clearer in a document from late 1361. Faced with the alarm provoked by the resurgence of the plague, the secretaries of the Tàrrega aljama requested royal protection, fearing that, “as in the times of the mortalities the, through divine will, took place times ago, this aljama and its singulars, by some people from the town and other places, were robbed and many of them put to the sword, now [...] because of what has occurred and still occur in some parts of the kingdom, they are again being hurt, preyed upon and killed as ferociously as before”.<sup>5</sup>

Although the link between plague and riots against Jews does not always bear out in Catalonia,<sup>6</sup> it was clearly true for the 1348 epidemic. Thus, when seeking the motivations of the attackers, the plague, in one form or another, must be considered.

**A) THEOLOGICAL MOTIVATION: THE SINS OF JACOB**

The Middle Ages were marked by religion and it would be difficult to understand the behaviour and decisions of medieval man if we underestimate the real and effective importance of beliefs. Faith became a powerful element of identity that dictated behaviour and structured whole societies in all fields, from the most intimate moments of believers’ private lives to the most banal acts in public. Belonging to a certain faith meant accepting a defined distribution of time, the observance of specific dietary rules, the obligation to marry people of the same religious group, etc. but especially, the fact of belonging to one faith or another in a shared place like the medieval had consequences in function of the dominant religion. During the Late Middle Ages, Christianity became the dominant religion in our lands and both Islam and Judaism were progressively

marginalised socially. In theory, the idea of Christianity, the basis for that society, accepted minorities but the praxis was often less tolerant, especially in moments of crisis and conflict (fig. 1).

In the *acords* of 1354, Moshe Natan presents this social intolerance when he states that in times of plague or famine when the Christian people talked of the Jews, the discourse was “All that happens is because of the sins of Jacob! Destroy this nation, kill them!” (*acords* § 1b). When Galipapa transcribes the arguments used by the Christians against the Jews, he also states: “For Jacob’s sin all this has happened [...]. Theirs is the guilt and for their cause this great misfortune that now afflicts us has occurred!”

Prince Peter presented this same idea in the letter that he wrote to the Pope in 1355 at the request of the Jews who drew up the *acords*. “When, because of the sins, it happens that by the hand of the Omnipotent the people are afflicted with plague, mortality, famine and shortage of food, there is the common opinion of many rustics that such things come about through the sins of the Jews and, against the Jews, without distinction, attempt to raise the people and circulate the rumour that with the death of the Jews, any kind of plague, mortality, famine and shortage would cease and for that, the soul of anyone who kills Jews would be saved”.<sup>7</sup> Similar terms are used in the Castilian translation of the fragment of a bull by Innocence VI, emitted in Avignon on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 1356, “regnos del muy amado en Jhesu Christo, fillo nuestro, don Pedro, Rey illustre de Aragon, que a los judios morantes en los ditos regnos et tierras, sin rason alguna los fieren, plagan, apdrehan et encara los matan, diciendo los ditos christianos que por los peccados de los judios vienien mortaldades, faltas de fruytos, et fendo los ditos males a los ditos judios que cessan las ditas pestilencias”.<sup>8</sup>

The words of Moshe Natan and Galipapa, together with those of Prince Peter and the Pope, show us that various sectors of Catalan society considered the Jewish minority a key element for the theological interpretation of the outbreak: it was for their sins that God punished men. In contrast, it is clear that the ecclesiastic and civil dignitaries did not share the opinion of the plebs: to their mind the plague, a divine scourge, struck fiercely due to the sins committed by the people in general, not only the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

However, whether due to the sins committed by everyone or only those by the Jews, the perception of the epidemic as a *divino iuditio* is basic to understanding the reaction of late medieval Catalan society to the epidemic of plague of 1348.

**B) CRIMINAL INDICTMENT: THE JEW POISONER**

The document Clement VI sent to the prelates includes the specific reason why Christians blamed the Jews for the plague that was spreading across wide areas of zones Europe, including Catalonia in 1348. “Recently it has come to our notice a public rumour, that is nothing less than a real disgrace, according to which some Christians, seduced by the Devil, falsely accusing the Jews of poisoning the plague with which God, moved by the sins of the people, ails the Christian people, have killed some of these Jews in an unholy and reckless way and without regard for age or sex”.<sup>10</sup>

The majority of medieval works on the plague, true to the doctrine of Aristotle, Alumesar and Avicenna, attributed the origin and spread of the 1348 epidemic of plague to the alteration and putrefaction of the air. Among the causes that could provoke the “pestilència de l’ær”, doctor Jacme d’Agramont<sup>11</sup> enumerated the traditional ones: the sins of men that drew divine punishment;<sup>12</sup> the conjunction of certain planets;<sup>13</sup> humidity<sup>14</sup> and rotting bodies.<sup>15</sup>

Among this list of causes, Jacme d’Agramont added one that referred to the testimony in the letter from Clement VI: the plague as the result of the evil acts of men. Although this doctor, as he indicates in the treatise, did not think that the plague provoked by man could correspond to the subject of his study, he did nothing to dispel the rumours of poisoning that had spread from the other side of the Pyrenees to Lleida in early 1348 and fed the mood of the people who were fearfully awaiting the imminent outbreak of the epidemic. “[P]ot venir mortaldat e pestilència en les gents, ço és a saber, per malvats hòmens fiylls del diable qui ab metzines e verins diverses corrompen les viandes a molt fual engiynn e malvada maestria, ja sie ço que pròprialy parlan, aytal mortaltat de gents no és pestilència de la qual aci parlam, mas he.n volguda fer lyon per ço car ara tenim temps en lo qual s’a[n] seguides moltes morts en alcunes regions prop d’ací així com en Cobliure, en Carcassès, en Narbonès e en la baronia de Montpesler e a Avinyó e en tota Proença”.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast with the papal missive, in the treatise by Jacme d’Agramont, the poisoning is not attributed to any specific group. In contrast, Khaiim Galipapa, one of the witnesses of the events that occurred in Catalan territory in 1348 does so. His words, picked up by Iossef ha-Kohén in his chronicle *Valley of Tears*, repeat the same accusation against the Jews that Clement VI had made.

According to Galipapa, “no survivor or fugitive of the Jews that there were in Aragon and Catalonia would have remained because they were accused with unjust slanderers saying: “For Jacob’s sin all this has happened, as they have brought a mortal poison into the world. Theirs is the guilt and for their cause the great disgrace that now afflicts us has come!”” Some lines later, when he reproduces the accusation used to blame the German Jews, note that poisoning refers explicitly to drinking water: “In Germany the Jews are accused saying, “They have thrown the dead into the wells!””

We do not know if anyone in Tàrrega accused the Jews of poisoning the wells and springs, but we do know that this accusation was at least in the air and spread in the same direction as the outbreak of plague.

**C) ECONOMIC CRISIS, PROFIT SEEKING AND SOCIAL SEGREGATION: THE JEW THE TRAITOR**

In the document with the words of the representatives of the Tàrrega aljama who so eloquently explained what happened that day, we read that when the attackers knocked down the gates of the Jewish neighbourhood, “intranut unanimiter et potenter clamosis vocibus emittentes: “Muyren los traydors””. It is true that we find this same expression in other contexts of conflict, but if we compare it with the slogan of the anti-Jewish riots of 1391, “Muyren los dits juheus o’s facen cristians” (Let these

Jews die or become Christians).<sup>17</sup> We realise that in 1348, in Tàrrega, where most of the aljama died at the hands of the attackers, the victims were given no other option. In 1348, the aim was not to convert the Jews was, but rather their physical elimination. How was such an extreme reached? In what way did the Jews not fit into the town of Tàrrega to the degree that they were labelled traitors and treated as such?

A first indication appears in the anti-Jewish municipal ordinances that were passed and announced around the town various time in the 1340s. In these, Jews were assimilated with the morally censurable elements of that society: prostitutes and pimps. The ordinances sought as far as possible to prevent their presence from contaminated the meats that the Christians had to eat, so they could not touch it or chose it with their hands. It was an ominous way to discriminate them before everyone and segregate them, in everyday affairs, from the rest of the population.

Beyond the state of opinion about the Jews that these prohibitions encouraged among the inhabitants, as stated above, we believe that these ordinances also worked as a measure of pressure to make the Jewish creditors relax the conditions of the loans that they had earlier given the municipality and that the generalised crisis made difficult to repay. In Tàrrega, both motivations (social segregation and crisis economic) went hand in hand. The Jews, who did not renounce their profits despite the crisis the municipal economy was immersed in, were segregated from the town’s public areas.

Could their desire for profits be considered in this context as an act of treachery that placed the whole university in danger? The written sources do not go so far, but it would not be at all strange if the municipal authorities had understood it this way.

What happened at an individual level? We must bear in mind that the economic crisis, that officially began with “*el mal any primer*” (the first bad year) of 1333, hit the poorest levels of society hardest, those with fewest resources to face the famine. If we bear in mind, on one hand, that an large proportion of the loans from the Jews were for survival, given to people precisely from this social strata that were now forced to accept the usurious rates that these lenders demanded, and that, on the other, the 1330s and 40s were characterised by a considerable, almost vertiginous, rise in the loans from Jews to Christians in the Tàrrega area, we can understand that the riot, as well as violently eliminating these people, led to the destruction of the accounts books that proved these debt and that forced ever more insolvent Christians into the hands of their Jewish creditors (fig. 2).

The attackers, of lowly origins, took advantage of the arrival of an epidemic that emptied the countryside of manpower and workers and had begun to inflict damage on the feeble economy of the Principality, to call for the death of these traitors. Perhaps for them, the latent and real threat of the problems that awaited them in the case of failure to repay their debts was perceived more than as an act of justice, as treachery by a few, and moreover Jews, who were taking advantage of the situation to threaten them with ruin.

<sup>1</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2012b), “Aproximació a les causes de l’avalot”, p. 106-112. On 2<sup>nd</sup> May, there was “una bella professó ab molts preveres de la Seu y Parroquias y Monastirs y moltas gents [...] per la gran mortaldat que les hores havia en Barcelona que durà per tot juny”; E. G. BRUNIQUER (1915), *Ceremonial dels magnífichs consellers y regiment de la ciutat de Barcelona*, Barcelona, Impr. d’Henrich, vol. 4, p. 319. Some people consider that the plague arrived around mid May. C. GUILLERÉ (1994), *Girona al segle XIV*, Girona, Ajuntament de Girona, Barcelona, Publicacions de l’Abadía de Montserrat, vol. 2, p. 171-172. Regarding the attack on the Jewish quarter, both the document of the Royal Chancellery and Galipapa coincide on the day of the week: Saturday. However, the rabbi from Huesca is more specific and places it in the afternoon.

<sup>2</sup> In Tarragona the plague began on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May. J. TRIENÇHS (1969), “La archidiòcesis de Tarragona y la peste negra: los cargos de la catedral” in *VIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. 1 a 8 de octubre de 1967*, vol. 2, Valencia, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Valencia, p. 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> C. GUILLERÉ (1984), “La peste noire à Gérone (1348)”, *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins*, num. 27, p. 107, note 86. Guilleré’s proposal is confirmed by the coordinates of contagion in S. K. COHN (2008), “Epidemiology of the Black Death and Successive Waves of Plague”, *Medical History Supplement*, num. 27, p. 78, note 20.

<sup>4</sup> Among the documents in the Royal Chancellery, there is one that, from the temporal point of view, places the riot first (in which many debt documents were destroyed) and later, the plague (that killed the witnesses who could testify to these). A. LÓPEZ (1959b), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 14 [23.12.1349]. However, there is another which mentions first the plague and then the violence against the Jews, idem, num 21 [17.04.1350]. On the other hand, the dating we propose is also backed by the fact that if, as is deduced from the sources of the epoch, in a given place the epidemic normally lasted between two and three months, the first days of July is the date derived the document of the Chancellery dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1348 which first refers to the dead in the plague in Tàrrega in the past tense: “cum propter mortalitates que, anno presenti, Diuino Iudicio, in ipsa villa multipliciter vigerunt”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste*, num. 26.

<sup>5</sup> “Pro parte aliame Judeorum dicte uille, fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum ut cum tempore mortalitatum que, Dei Iuditio temporibus preteritis vigerunt, aliama ipsa et eius singulares, per aliquas personas uille eiusdem et aliunde, fuerint disraubati et plures ex ipsis gladio trucidati, timeantque nunc occasione mortalitatum que jam vigerunt vigentque nunc in aliquibus partibus regni nostri iterato dampnificari, prepedari et interfici et immaniter prout prius dignaremur eisdem super hiis de nostri regia clementia subuenire”, A. LÓPEZ (1956), *Documentos acerca de la peste*, num. 150 [12.01.1362].

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<sup>6</sup> In the 1440 epidemic of bubonic plague, the Council abandoned old prejudices and admitted those Jews, converts and Christians escaping from places devastated by the outbreak into the town, without distinction by religion, who could show that they were not infected. If not, anyone from outside was expelled from the town or not allowed to enter: “Item més hi fonch proposat que per rahó de les mortalitats que huy són en la ciutat de Leyda, en la vila de Monsó hi en altres lochs e viles, vehem av ull que alguns juheus e crestians novels e de natura són venguts en la present vila fugint a les dites morts, e los sembra que sia cosa molt perilosa per ço com leument purien metre infecció en la vila, que los plàcia provehir, e si aturaran los dits juheus e crestians novels e altres en la dita vila, e si d’ací avant n-i ve d’altres se’ls recoliran ho se los daran comiat. Provehí e acordà lo dit consell que los crestians e juheus forastes que uy són en la present vila, venguts per causa de les dites morts, e los que hic vindran d’ací avant, que sans sien, romanguen en la dita vila si romandre voldran. Així emperò que si malaut algú hic venia de accident de glànola, que aqel aytal no atur en la vila ans prestament li sia donat comiat per lo balle o son loctinent e per los pahes. E per semblant si de aquels que sans són e sian venguts a la vila e se emalantaran del dit accident que axí matex li sia donat comiat, que no atur en la vila. E que sia feta crida pública per los lochs acostumats de la vila que tot hostaler ho hostallera, metge e especier e qualsevulla altre de la vila, que no gos recolir algun crestià o juheu o moro en lur casa que malaut vinga fora la vila del dit accident. E si de aquels forastes que uy són en la vila o de aci avant hi vindran hi en lur casa pendran lo dit accident, que encontinent ho haga a denunciar e manifestar als dits balle o son loctinent e pahers sots pena de X lliures”, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006*b*), *Fonts*, núm. 335 [08.08.1440].

<sup>7</sup> E. FELIU (1987), “Els acords de Barcelona de 1354”, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> S. SIMONSOHN (1998), *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents 492-1404*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, doc. 378.

<sup>9</sup> The pontifce expressed himself in these same terms in the letter sent in times of plague to the bishop head of the chapter of Barcelona: “exigentium gentium mole peccaminum divinum flagellum percussit tam aspere”, J. TRENCHS (1969), “La archidiócesis de Tarragona y la peste”, p. 54, note 51.

<sup>10</sup> “Nuper autem ad nostrum fama publica, sed infamia verius, perduxit auditum, quod nonnulli Christiani pestem qua Deus populum Christianum ipsius peccatis populi provocatus affligit, Iudeorum falso tossicationibus, seducente dyabolo, imputantes, nonnullos ex Iudeis ipsi, temeritate propia, non deferentes etati vel sexui, impie perimerunt”. S. SIMONSOHN (1998), *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, num. 373 [26.11.1348].

<sup>11</sup> Let us follow closely the treatise on the plague by Jacme d’Agramont, doctor and professor of medicine in the Estudi General in Lleida, who was the first of the various medieval authors worked in this genre: *Regiment de*

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*preservacion de pestilència* (24.04.1348). Written (as the author reveals) “for the profit of the people and not the instruction of doctors” (*Regiment* 2,9-10), it is valuable testimony of the speculation about the plague in the months before the arrival of the epidemic in Lleida, J. VENV (1971), “*Regiment de preservacion de pestilència” de Jacme d’Agramont (segle XIV)*, Tarragona, Diputació Provincial de Tarragona.

<sup>12</sup> *Regiment* 13,15-15,9. Jacme d’Agramont supplies a string of biblical references in which the divine punishment that follows the sin of men takes the form of plague or mortality: Dt 28; 2Sa 24; Ex 7-11 and Nm 14. Later, when proposing the pertinent remedy if the plague were caused by God, he refers to the authority in 1Re 8. See *Regiment* 38,1-19.

<sup>13</sup> *Regiment* 15,18-16,9 and notes 33-34. According to the *Compendium de epidimia*, written by the college of doctors at the university of Paris in October 1348, the planetary conjunctions suspected of having caused the plague were the one with Saturn, Mars and Jupiter on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1345 and, some years later, the one caused by the situation of Mars at the end of 1347 and beginning of 1348, J. ARRIZABALAGA (1991), “La peste negra de 1348: Los orígenes de la construcción como enfermedad de una calamidad social”, *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinæ Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam*, num. 11, p. 93. Among the various French astronomers who predicted the epidemic, there were also Jews, S. GUERCHBERG (1948), “La controverse sur les prétendus semeurs de la “peste noire” d’après les traités de peste de l’époque, *Revue des Études Juives*, num. 8, p. 9 note 18.

<sup>14</sup> As a result of the confluence of hot and cold winds or the vapours that the earth and the water exhale, *Regiment* 16,10-12; 18,5-19,27.

<sup>15</sup> The putrid exhalations which the winds spread and scatter rapidly, *Regiment* 16,13-18,4.

<sup>16</sup> *Regiment* 15,10-17 and note 32 [about rumours of poisoning, and also C. GUILLERÉ (1994), *Girona al segle XIV*, vol. 2, p. 166-168]. Alfons de Còrdova, master of medicine in a Montpellier, also took up the theory of deliberate poisoning in his treatise *Epistola et regimen de pestilentia* (1348-1349). In contrast with a Jacme d’Agramont, he considered that the plague of 1348 was the result of poisoning the air by *ex profundo malitiae per artificium subtilissimum profundae iniquitatis inventae*. According to this author, the Christians were the most affected, which can be understood (together with other evidence, such as the vocabulary used to designate those responsible for the poisoning that employed terms used to talk about the Jews) as an implicit accusation of the Jews, J. ARRIZABALAGA (1991), “La peste negra de 1348”, p. 98-101.

<sup>17</sup> J. RIERA (1997), “Los tumultos contra las juderías de la Corona de Aragón en 1391”, *Cuadernos de historia: Anexos de la revista Hispania*, num. 8, various documents published p. 220-223.

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## 5.8. AFTER THE RIOT

**JOSEP XAVIER MUNTANÉ SANTIVERI**

**AFTER THE RIOT. CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATTACK**

There are no documents that explain what happened in the hours after the riot. Galipapa mentions Jews taking refuge in the houses of acquaintances, bodies thrown into a water tank and nothing else. The remains exhumed from the mass graves corroborate the lethal force and indiscriminate violence of the riot. Everyone can then imagine the devastation that this caused.

As the days went by, however, it became ever clearer what would happen. Firstly, the king would not just stand by. He would send his people to the town to impart justice, but not for the Jews, but to restore his right, as the Jews of Tàrrega belonged to him, and together with their assets, were part of his royalties. Everyone knew that and Peter III repeated it in one of many documents written after the disturbances: the Jews “sunt thesaurus et regalie nostre”.<sup>1</sup> If anyone attacked the Jews, they would have to face the consequences of having provoked a drop in royalties, and an insult to the domain the king exercised over this group: “in nostrarum regaliarum diminutionem et vituperium nostri domini”.<sup>2</sup>

The right the king had over the Jews provided him with financial resources he was evidently not willing to relinquish. This was the reason behind the fines in many of the legal proceedings and that evidently did not go to the Jewish families affected but straight to the royal coffers, and this also explains the general remission of 1350. Peter III absolved the authorities and the *universitas* of Tàrrega from any civil and criminal responsibility in perpetuity in exchange for 20,000 *sous*, to be paid into the royal treasury that same year, and another 16,000 *sous* over the following four years.<sup>3</sup> It was a huge sum of money. Dividing the time during which the income the crown received from the aljama in Tàrrega was affected by the fall in the numbers of that community (from the year of the attack, 1348, to the year when it must have been considered that the situation would be re-established, 1354), we see that the amount per year was around 5,000 *sous*. This was only a fraction of what the monarchy received from this aljama as ordinary and extraordinary taxes in a normal fiscal year.<sup>4</sup>

However, it was clear that the council in Tàrrega could not replace what the crown expected to receive from the aljama much longer. Thus, two days after the concession of this general absolution, the king ordered the authorities of Tàrrega to begin a campaign to repopulate the Jewish quarter over four years, at the end of which there had to be at least 40 heads of family settled in the town and paying to the royal exchequer. If they were unable to do so, they would pay an annual fine of 2,000 *sous* to the royal treasury.<sup>5</sup>

Effectively, the view of the depopulated Jewish quarter must have been one of the clearest pieces of evidence of what had happened in Tàrrega. A brutal riot that, in a question of hours, eliminated most of the Jews, left their neighbourhood almost empty and brought the economic growth that had been one of the main traits of this aljama during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to an abrupt halt.

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The trauma provoked by such a disturbing experience, the fear of new attacks and the uncertainty about the future led the survivors to move to safer places. Perfet Adret and others went to the Jewish quarter in Balaguer,<sup>6</sup> Avraham Atzay moved to the Cuirassa in Lleida,<sup>7</sup> and we know that Moshe Natan passed through the various places including the Jewish quarters of Barcelona and Cervera.<sup>8</sup> Some returned to Tàrrega, of their own free will or forced by the king, while other seem never to have done so.

Moneylending, one of the mainstays of the economy of the aljama, was very badly affected. The destruction of the deeds of debt and of the accounts books of the Jewish lenders made recovering the debts an almost impossible task. Although the recovery of this documentation was among the first measures taken by the crown to redress the chaos caused by the disturbances,<sup>9</sup> almost a year and a half later, the king again had to intervene. This time it was to respond to pleas from the Jews of Tàrrega<sup>10</sup> who had been unable to recover the debts from the documents destroyed or damaged in the attack, which were in danger of prescribing if not reclaimed in the five-year period, and which was becoming more urgent as time went by.

Four years after the riot, the aljama in Tàrrega had again to request the king to intervene to reclaim the unpaid debts that the Jews themselves were afraid to ask for.<sup>11</sup>

All together, as mentioned, it involved a sharp change in an aljama that had become the destination for ever more Jews who had seen it as the ideal place to settle and prosper.

How could this situation be reversed? Probably the agreement between the aljama and the municipality, which stipulated the amounts that had to be repaid to the Jews for the assets they lost in the riot, and that the king ordered to be signed without any delay on 12<sup>th</sup> August 1350, was one of the elements that helped to re-establish confidence between the parties. It must have been followed by other gestures. We do not know these, but in 1355, the aljama had far exceeded the minimum number of forty heads of family imposed by Peter III<sup>12</sup> and it seems that this was the trend over the following years.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [18.07.1349].

<sup>2</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18 [15.04.1350].

<sup>3</sup> ARB, reg. 890, f. 174v-175r [15.04.1350], publ. in A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 18; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis*, num. 138.

<sup>4</sup> J. X. MUNTANÉ (2006*b*), *Fonts*, num. 97, 100, 101, 103, 193, 194.

<sup>5</sup> ARB, reg. 890, f. 175r [17.04.1350], publ. A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348.

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Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 19; G. GONZALVO *et al.* (1997), *Llibres de privilegis*, num. 139.

<sup>6</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 24 [13.08.1350].

<sup>7</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 34 [13.05.1354].

<sup>8</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 31 [01.07.1352] and 35 [19.08.1356].

<sup>9</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 12 [doc of 11.08.1348 in doc. of 18.07.1349].

<sup>10</sup> On one of the few times when a certain compassion was shown for the victims of the riot: “Sane cum predicta juxta occasione predicta amiserint quam omnia bona sua et non habeant instrulya cum quibus eorum debitores valeant convenire, cum aliqua ipsorum instrulyorum sint combusta et alia laniata aliaque ammissa, occasione predicta, at indigeant judeis testibus cum quibus eorum debita clare et legitime absque instrulyis et scripturis potant comprovare. Quiquidem testes, tempore mortalitatum que subsequent extitiunt vite terminum consumarunt, propter quod nobis extitit humiliter suplicatum ut eorum instrulya qui, causa premisa eis ablata fuerant, reparare et instrulyis ruptis et laniatis fidem adhibere fieri facere dignaretur. Idcirco Nos, eorum suplicationi favorabiliter annuentes, compatientesque ipsorum Judeorum miserie et dampno et attentis inmensis laboribus atque dampnis per eos vehelyer sustentis et passis et ut vitam ipse uxores et familie sue ducere valeant in futurum, vobis et cuilibet vestrum dicimus et mandamus expresse: quatenus cum constent de manera notoria violentia supradicta, quecumque instrulya que ipsi Judei que extunc exnunc disraubati vel eorum heredes in perpetratione et violentia omnium predictorum, juraverint super decem precepta legis amise et eis fuisse ablata per patratores excessuum predictorum confecta intra quinquenium ante quam promissa nequiter, ut premititur, extitunt comissa seu etiam perpetrata, per notarium seu notarios qui ipsa instrulya receperunt aut alios qui in eorum documenta, protocolla seu capibreviam detinent [...] reparetis seu reparari continue faciatis”. A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 14 [23.12.1349].

<sup>11</sup> A. LÓPEZ (1959*b*), “Una consecuencia de la peste negra en Cataluña: El pogrom de 1348. Apéndices (documentos inéditos)”, num. 27 [18.01.1352].

<sup>12</sup> ACSG, FN, Ramon Rama, *Manual* (1373-1382), f. 17r-19r [03.10.1375]; J. M. LLOBET (1984), *Algunes notícies*, p. 11; A. COLET *et al.* (2009), “Les fosses comunes”, p. 122, note 12. In this

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document, the names of the heads of family from the Tàrrega aljama were again noted, when, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1355, one Ramon Serra junior, together with Ramon Serra senior, perhaps his father, sold a *violari* for 500 sous. There were a total of 54 heads of family in 1355.

<sup>13</sup> Fifteen councillors were chosen to govern the Jewish community in 1361, according an old privilege of the Tàrrega aljama. Of these, thirteen were on the list from 1355 mentioned in the previous note, ten of whom in administration roles as secretaries or councillors. Between 1355 and 1361, at least two other heads of families settled in the town, and were elected councillors of the aljama in 1361, ARB, reg. 906, f. 165r-165v [11.01.1362], cited in C. FERRAGUD (2005), *Medicina and promotion social*, p. 356. Regarding other additions to the Jewish quarter of Tàrrega after the riot, J. X. MUNTANÉ (2013), “El testament i l’inventari d’Astruc lossef, jueu prestamista de Manresa (1391), seguits d’un inventari i un testament menors”, *Iberia Judaica*, num 5, p. 108.

## 6. TÀRREGA IN THE EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL JEWISH PATRIMONY

### 6. TÀRREGA IN THE EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL JEWISH PATRIMONY

JORDI CASANAVAS MIRÓ  
ORIOL SAULA BRIANSÓ

What was left of the Jews, and their properties, once repaid, after a phase of active speculation, was gradual forgotten. Nothing special or that involved different treatment. Despite this patrimony, only some place names conserve the record of what had been. The neighbourhoods underwent transformations with new occupants, and new buildings went up as others were demolished or abandoned. Now, in an exercise of memory, the aim is to recoup the record of those communities that awaken so much interest. This is a double exercise focussed, on one hand, on the material remains and, on the other, on certain reminiscences of very varied nature of what is known as *intangible heritage*. However, the potential of the archaeological interventions carried out or still to be done is influenced by the lack of monumentality of the remains.

If we exclude the specific nature of such aspects as baths or the necropolis, what determined the Jewish character of a place were added elements. Once these are removed, it is difficult to identify a place as Jewish, if it does not show any elements with a clear Jewish association. In the case of the Jewish monument in Rouen, the presence of graffiti in Hebrew was determinant, and in the case of a necropolis, the presence of headstones or objects with inscriptions is a necessary feature.

Unlike the archaeology of the land of Israel, which is designed to assemble a full history from the thousands of fragments available, with the Diaspora the main aim is not so much a deep knowledge of the details as to bear witness to the Jewish presence in earlier times and its development within other dominant communities with which, at some moment, there has not been even simple tolerance but more serious problems of coexistence. All that has contributed to hindering the conservation of the material culture, which has been aggravated by purely economic questions. Analysing the situation that arises after the disappearance or expulsion of some communities enables us to see clearly how this process develops.

The awakening of this interest has gone through two stages. The first one lasted until 1990 and was characterised by a few interventions without any links between them and with an element that was still predominantly exotic. Evidently, the turning point was the changes in medieval archaeology as a whole from the 1980s on. Although this was a type of preventive archaeological heavily conditioned by emergency interventions, there is a tendency towards a better planned archaeology in the framework of a deeper knowledge about the sites and the possibilities these can offer, thanks also to greater knowledge of the documentary sources. In this sense, although Jewish archaeology has benefited from the rise in medieval archaeology in general, it is burdened by certain implications that mean that even nowadays it is a very special field of research given the media repercussions it provokes. Excavating a Roman villa is not the same as working on a Jewish necropolis, as the motivations

differ in each case. Historical reasons are foremost in the former case, while in the latter, the concept *place of the memory* dominates over all other aspects. This means that the diffusion of each case also follows different paths. This is probably the main problem that the Jewish heritage presents for the Diaspora.

Jewish archaeology in this country is nowadays similar to the rest of Europe, with similar approaches and problems. Over recent years, some of the previous differences have gradually faded, which is visible in some of the most recent scientific conferences focussed on the Jewish field or with a section specifically dedicated to this theme.

Over recent years in Europe, many aspects have been dealt with and actions carried out to improve our knowledge of the medieval communities. There is still much to be done to understand the older communities better and to know the links between them and later epochs. This theme is not yet very clear and is still in the uncertain territory of the hypotheses.

Topography studies are fundamental for clarifying various concepts, beginning with the location of the places occupied by some of the communal buildings, which does not mean that it is always possible to identify these remains even when they have been located.

In this respect, the work by D. Iancu-Agou in the field of the Provençal Jewish communities should be highlighted.<sup>1</sup> The main thread of his research revolves around the Jewish neighbourhood, updating the cartography of medieval Jewish Provence, covering a chronology from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century until 1501, date of the final dispersion of the Provençal Jews as a consequence of the annexation of Provence by the Kingdom of France in 1481. He establishes a clear sequence for the settlements, from the most important in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries to the smallest. This study includes up to sixty-one places thanks to the exploration of new unpublished documentary sources that have enabled more accurate topographic measurements to be done. This task continued the research initiated by B. Blumenkranz. The synthesis of the work that had been done until then in very varied fields of the history of Judaism published in *Art et archéologie des juifs en France médiévale* in 1980 was also pioneering.

Notable work has been done on the old and medieval synagogues, about some of which some details had been published and, although they had been partially excavated years ago, a deeper study was now required to revise the new data and, if possible, carry out new interventions. In some places it has also been possible to delimit and study the synagogue complex (Saranda, Albania), despite the difficulty of interpreting it, together with aspects related to their chronology (Syracuse, Montpellier, Cologne), or extending the scope of the research from a previously known, but still decontextualised and partially studied nucleus (Besalú). Moreover, notable progress has been made in their presentation and diffusion. This has not always been easy given the character and state of the remains conserved, often difficult to identify. The debate about the interpretation of the building excavated under the courtyard of the Palais de Justice in Rouen is still open: was it a Talmudic school or a synagogue?

Focussing on the city of Toledo and in an effort to clarify various aspects of the urbanism of the areas occupied by Jews, J. Passini identified and localised the synagogues of El Sofer,<sup>2</sup> Caleros<sup>3</sup> and Los Golondrinos, as well as the *midrash* of Las Vigas<sup>4</sup> and the old synagogue<sup>5</sup> from the study of the historical topography and thanks to the abundant documentation consulted. This was a large step forward in our knowledge of a site as important as the city of Toledo.

Another important step forward was the publication in 1995 by Girona City Council, of the first edition of *Els jueus i la ciutat de Girona*, whose main aim was to present a cartographic reconstruction of the city's Jewish quarter from the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the 15<sup>th</sup>, showing the location of the synagogues.<sup>6</sup> The documentation includes details about the dimensions of the houses, their market value, and the rent paid and reforms carried out in them. Regarding synagogues, it has been possible to unveil their history, as well as define the place they occupied and, in some cases, even their internal layout thanks to the documentation related with the applications for the seats or the sales documents. As a summary of the work done to widen our knowledge about Jewish Girona (fig. 1), the city has the Museum of the History of the Jews, which deals with a wide range of themes and, after various modifications (2003, 2007) since the first installation in 2000, presents a very coherent overview of medieval Judaism. Similarly, in Barcelona, as well as the rooms dedicated to this in the Museum of History (MUHBA), there is an interpretation centre for the Jewish quarter (fig. 2) and an exhibition about the excavations in Carrer de Sant Honorat, with the remains of a Roman *domus* together with a set of silos backfilled with numerous everyday Jewish elements from the medieval epoch, some of which are epigraphic (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>7</sup>

The topographic studies of the Jewish neighbourhoods enable us to define their characteristics better, a task often complicated by the transformations undergone by the buildings in particular, and the towns and cities in general. There are frequent cases in which the Jewish quarters were moved with the historical changes. Four different neighbourhoods have been documented in Orleans each corresponding to different epochs. All this effort of study, extracting information from documents, archaeological research, identification of the remains, etc., goes hand in hand with the equally important task of publishing the corpus of inscriptions and documents, monographic studies, scholarly and popular articles, exhibitions, colloquia and seminars, and global research projects, thanks to the assistance of historians, museums and local and national research centres. The creation of extraordinarily active research teams, like the Nouvelle Gallia Judaica, enables us progressively to fill in the remaining gaps in all these fields of study. All these previous studies, fundamental for research, have led the way to later archaeological interventions such as those mentioned in Rouen, the synagogue in Besalú (with the presence until now of ritual baths without an archaeological context) or the synagogue of Santa Maria la Blanca, where the different constructive phases have been documented and greater knowledge obtained about the structure of the building. In other cases, excavations have

been done without prior documentary research, such as in the synagogue in Lagny-sur-Marne, or based on scant information, as in Lorca or Molina de Aragón, with interesting results leading to useful publications. Finally, we must consider the finding of some elements of the furnishings. This could be the *Aron Kodesh* from Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux or the liturgical cabinet from Modena, important examples of synagogue furnishings.

Given their peculiar status, the cemeteries have merited different treatment, with unequal results, despite the campaigns undertaken some years ago in Barcelona, Girona, Seville or Puente Castro (probably the most singular Jewish site) or, more recently, in Toledo, Lucena or Tàrrega. There has also been less interest in France, Britain or Germany, and only recently have excavations been done (Ennezat or York, among others), of varying size. A special case is that of Worms, with an extensive necropolis and a large number of funerary inscriptions. It is in fact a reference to consider in future archaeological park projects in a necropolis. To date, the only example of this in Spain is in Lucena, as well as the unfinished proposals for Barcelona and Girona, both of which have a notable collection of epigraphic elements associated with funerals. As in other places, the primary questions are to set the limits, ensure the Jewish adscription and establish the chronology. Only the first of these three aspects has been fully clarified.

Regarding the necropolis, excavation is essential but the difficulties this entails are enormous. An excavation supplies real data that do not always coincide with the information given by the texts, at the same time as they sometimes offer certain aspects not envisaged in those. This illustrates the importance of localisms as a source of primary information for studying the individual characteristics of each community while simultaneously emphasising the common elements.

However, care must be taken to avoid the error of considering that everything can be turned into a museum exhibition and is susceptible to be presented the same way. The difficulties related with tasks of this type should lead us to value things objectively and avoid simplifications and the easy generalisations. Wishing to compare what has been done in different places can blur the question. P. Salmona states as much when he suggests that the approach to the role of medieval Judaism has been very different in France or Spain and so the work done in Rouen cannot be criticised by comparing it with the project undertaken in Cologne. In any case, what is needed is to prioritize the documentation, study the sets, and plan future interventions globally. The more ambitious and wider this planning is, the more possibilities there will be to interpret specific remains better. However, often for very diverse reasons we can go no further. Aspects considered first class nowadays were not present a few years ago, this should always be kept in mind.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 2007, excavation began on the Jewish necropolis in Tàrrega, on the north slope of the hill known as Maset, as it was planned to build homes on that site. The work continued until December and, over these months, it was possible to confirm archaeologically that it was the Jewish cemetery and excavate

some 5,500 square metres of the area. A minimum of two hundred and twenty-eight individuals buried between the individual tombs and the six mass graves were found. That same year, which was very important in Jewish archaeology, work began on the archaeological digs in Cologne and Montpellier.

Despite the obstacles that affected its excavation, the necropolis in Tàrrega can be considered a paradigmatic case, given that this research was done very carefully, with the assistance of a number of specialists in very varied subjects and has culminated with the publication of the results obtained to date. Since 2008, those in charge of the excavation have presented the main lines of their research in conferences, congresses and symposiums both in Spain (Múrcia, Lucena) and abroad (Paris).

The archaeological dig and the posterior research over the last six years have allowed us to reach various first order targets. Thus, the approximate extension of the site has been calculated. Four types of funerary structures have been documented, including the mass graves, similar to those found in other graveyards. Very shortly before the start of the excavations based on the property registers (1501-1510), Josep Xavier Muntané had located the necropolis precisely, although the definitive confirmation was obtained with the finding of rings with Hebrew inscriptions. Some of the human remains have been studied in the Department of Animal Biology, Plant Biology and Ecology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Unit of Anthropology. The chronology of the site has been determined, running from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 15 century, based on twenty-two coins found in the necropolis and the carbon 14 analyses. A significant number of objects associated with the Jews buried have been found and these enable us to deepen our knowledge of the Jewish community of Tàrrega and Catalan Jews in general. And, as a more exceptional and remarkable fact, it has been possible to show that the sixty-nine individuals found in the mass graves were victims of a riot, the assault on the Jewish quarter in Tàrrega in 1348, and thus, the Jewish necropolis in Tàrrega is one of the few sites with archaeological evidence of this type from the medieval epoch in Europe.

As well as the scientific research, care has been taken, as it should, to conserve the site and publicise the results obtained in all media. In relation with the former aspect, a proposal was drawn up to preserve part of the necropolis (four plots) in a sector where no building was planned to make a small archaeological park that, lamentably and for various reasons, has not been possible.

The excavations in Carrer de la Font, 7-9, which, as we have been able to document, was on one edge of the Jewish quarter, has produced various materials in a silo and different strata of the levelling of a courtyard that can broadly be dated from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A multidisciplinary study has been done of these findings (remains of fauna, pottery, wood, pieces of metal, coins) that belonged, it seems, to one or more Jewish families. The importance of this work lies precisely in the complementary nature of the material found in the Jewish quarter and the necropolis, and between these and material from sites in other parts of the country.

Lastly, but no less important, emphasis has been given to the museographic proposal of a new installation in the permanent collection of the Urgell District Museum, "Tàrrega 1348", not only including elements related to the necropolis, but also those from the site in Carrer de la Font, 7-9, with a globalising idea of the Jewish presence in Tàrrega and their integration into a dominant Christian setting.

## SCULPTURES AND ARCHITECTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL ELEMENTS IN STONE

### CAPITAL

Ramon de Bianya's workshop

Stone sculpture

Around 1215-1225

38.2 x 40.5 x 39.5 cm

From Santa Maria, Tàrrega

MCUT 1611

Bibliography: unpublished

The Urgell District Museum is home to what could be the only remaining piece from the Romanesque church of Santa Maria in Tàrrega. This is a corner capital (only worked on two faces) that was added to the old museum at an unknown data. It is not whole as the lower part and one of the corners were mutilated, with traces of breakage that indicate a possible reuse. Given its format and dimensions, it may have been one of the capitals of the triumphal arch of the presbytery. Thus, it is not very probable that it was from a window or doorway.

Regarding the theme, it depicts two people wearing tunics that they hold with their left hands. One of them is holding a staff in his right hand while the other is taking him by the hand that holds this rod. The presence of a snake can be sensed at the bottom of this rod. In the background, there is a third person, whose head is all that remains. The elements described help to identify the theme, that is none other than Aaron's rod being transformed into a snake (Exodus 7,8-13). The biblical text states that the brothers Moses and Aaron (who must be identified with the main figures on the capital) went before the pharaoh, who asked them for a miracle. Paying heed to God's earlier instructions, Aaron cast down his staff and it turned into a snake. The pharaoh's magicians, who were present, followed suit and their rods also became snakes, but these were then swallowed by Aaron's. Various interpretations can be made of the theme. The basic idea is the triumph of Good over Evil and the unfaithful. Everything revolves around the rod, which became a symbol of divine authority, the supreme truth and God's mission to Moses to lead the people of Israel.

The artistic work on the capital is of high quality, with clear echoes of the old world that enable us to grant it a very specific artistic affiliation. These echoes appear in the generous folds of the clothing done from straights parallel traces, like the hair. The prominent lips and ears stand out on the faces, as do the eyes, on which a drill was used. All this suggests that the sculptor was close to the 1200 style, characterised by a revitalisation of the classic forms. The New Catalonia was important focus for this swansong of the Romanesque, and there are outstanding examples in the Lleida area.

The style of this capital is close to that of the sculptor Ramon de Bianya (as suggested by Francesca Español, who we thank for this observation), one of the most representative of the stylistic context we describe. Originally from, and active in Roussillon between 1200 and 1220, his works can be found in are Elna cathedral, Sant Joan el Vell in Perpignan and Santa Maria in Arles del Tec, some of them autographed (DURLIAT, 1973: 128-138; CAMPS, 2007: 37-38). This master's

echo reached western Catalonia. We see it in some capitals of the chancel and transept of the Seu Vella in Lleida, where it has been proposed that his workshop or someone very close to the master was working, and who at certain moments, outshines the quality of Bianya's own les productions (YARZA, 1991: 49-53, fig. 8-10; FITÉ, 2008: 417-419). In the Urgell, the sculptures of Saints Peter and Paul reused on the facade of the church in Anglesola have been directly attributed to him (DURLIAT, 1973: 138), as has the tympanum on the doorway of the church in the monastery of Vallbona de les Monges (ESPAÑOL, 1997: 578-581). In fact, the style on the capital in Tàrrega matches those in the Seu Vella, where we find an identical treatment of the faces and clothing. The sculptor in Tàrrega was undoubtedly one of those who worked in Lleida cathedral, which gives even more sense to the members of this important workshop spending some time in Lleida on a date not very far from the one proposed for the capitals in Lleida and the tympanum in Vallbona, that is, around 1215-1225.

#### ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

### SET OF FIVE APOSTLES

Master of Anglesola and collaborators

Stone sculpture

Around 1319

MCUT 2898. 203 x 62.2 x 54.3 cm

MCUT 2899. 204.5 x 57.5 x 54.7 cm

MCUT 4406. 192.5 x 61.8 x 50.1 cm

MCUT 4407. 176 x 61.5 x 63.2 cm

MCUT 4408. 164.3 x 63.3 x 66.5 cm

From the old Gothic doorway of Santa Maria in Tàrrega

MCUT 2898, 2899, 4406, 4407 and 4408

Bibliography: DURAN (1955: 354); Novell (1958: 26-27); SEGARRA and MALLA (1987: 202); ESPAÑOL (2002: 124-126); BESERAN (2003: 43); ESPAÑOL (2007b: 90); JOSÉ AND SAN JOSÉ (2008: 14-15); VELASCO (2009: 227-248); VELASCO (2011: 209-219); VELASCO (forthcoming)

In the Urgell District Museum, there are five figures of apostles from the old Gothic doorway of Santa Maria in Tàrrega. Besides these, the store of the Tàrrega museum has the remains of other figures that were part of the same set (VELASCO, 2009: 236-239). The five figures and the most important fragments have similar characteristics having been part of a common project. However, the analysis of their style shows that they were done by three different sculptors. The first was the author of the apostle with a long beard (MCUT 2898). This sculptor was skilled in the use of the technique, and this is evident in the elegant treatment of the clothing, especially the folds. The face is equally well done, with characteristic almond-shaped eyes. Another trait that personalises it is the way the hair is done especially in the area behind the ears, with a wavy appearance that is generated from the shape of the ear itself.

Earlier studies have shown that this same sculptor did the apostle that has been as Saint John the Evangelist (MCUT 2899) (VELASCO, 2009: 236). However, the conservation-restoration tasks carried out in 2013 by Adriano Casagrande showed that this figure could be a factitious assembly of head and body that should be considered old, because the sculpture appeared as such in photographs from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the apostle was at the door of the Antoninian hospital. This detail, that must be verified in the future, does not affect the stylistic consideration of the image,

given that head and body correspond to the same hand.

The second sculptor is the author of the hypothetical Saint Peter (MCUT 4406), that shows a lesser quality than the previous one (ESPAÑOL, 2007b: 90). The peculiar curls of the prince of the apostles become one of the stylemes that distance him from the first master, as does the solution adopted for certain facial traits (among which, the eyelids, much more marked in his case). The expertise the sculptor shows in the treatment of the clothing is equally inferior, as can be noted in the not very satisfactory solution of the mantle on the right of the figure (from the viewers point of view) and the way the tunic protrudes from under the mantle at the level of the waist. The folds, much heavier and artificial, are also distant from the previous sculptor's work. Despite the differences, the three figures make up a homogenous group, with figures of completely analogous dimensions and the stylemes of a common epoch.

In last place, there was a third person, who must be attributed with the two apostles acquired by Tàrrega Town Council in 2007 (MCUT 4407 and 4408). He was a master with a very personal treatment of the faces, hair and clothing, but who stands out especially, because his sculptures are smaller than the ones mentioned until now. Apart from that, these two apostles have another differentiating element: the podia or bases they rest on. Thus, while the podia of the figures by the previous two sculptors share similar decorations and morphology, these have a plain base without decoration.

The study of the set of apostles and the fragments shows that one of the sculptors, the author of the supposed Saint John the Evangelist and the apostle with the long beard (as well as other fragments stored in the museum), had a more important role than the others. This has been reaffirmed with the discovery of new sculptures by the same person, reused on the outside of the bell tower of the church of Santa Maria and surely originally from the Gothic doorway (see our text about the church in this same catalogue). This leading artist was the Master of Anglesola, a sculptor active in the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, surely of French origins, who must be considered one of the introducers of the Gothic in the Lleida area. This personality was created in 1932 by Agustí Duran i Sanpere, who attributed him with the altarpiece-frontal of the parish church of Anglesola (nowadays in the Museum of Fine Arts de Boston), as well as other works in the modern demarcations of Lleida and Tarragona (DURAN, 1932-1934: I, 25-26).

More recent research has profiled his figure attributing new works to him and reinforcing his importance in the geographical area indicated, as well as the study of other artists close to him, such as the author of the sepulchres in Santa Maria in Bellpuig de les Avellanes (ESPAÑOL, 1991a: 183-184; ESPAÑOL, 1991b: 329-330; ESPAÑOL, 2002: 124-126; ESPAÑOL, 2007b: 87-92; VELASCO, 2009: 239-245; VELASCO, 2011: 209-219; VELASCO, forthcoming). The leading role of the Master of Anglesola in the project of the doorway, almost certainly directing a team of sculptors and masons, makes us think of someone who, as well, as sculpting figures, directed the architectural works as master of works. In this sense, the other two sculptors who

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collaborated doing figures of apostles had a very similar style, also Frenchified, which surely indicates that they were done more or less simultaneously and, by extension, the existence of a common project headed by the person who we consider the main artist. One fact that we cannot yet give a reasoned explanation to is the difference in height between the two apostles acquired in 2007 and the other three (between 20 and 30 cm), that could be due to specific details that we rae currently unaware of, such as the dimensions of the places they were destined for.

About the doorway they were part of, an indirect reference allows us to place its construction around 1319, the date that could be considered a good chronological reference point for the sculptures (we again refer to the text about Santa Maria in this same catalogue). The portal, very innovative in the context of the Crown of Aragon, and especially the western lands, was built on the south side of the building, the facade that opened on to Plaça Major. We must conclude that it was an architectural body added to the Romanesque-epoch temple and that it was built as part of a great reform project for the church begun in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The portal reproduces the French model with apostles on the jambs and a Marian image on the mullion, following the model begun in this area in Tarragona Cathedral. The plausibly French origins of the Master of Anglesola could partially explain the adoption of this model from across the Pyrenees. Nor should the influence of other innovative projects that were being carried out in neighbouring areas be forgotten. These include the funeral pantheon for James II in the monastery of Santes Creus, with the intervention of French sculptors like Pere Bonhull, who cultivated a sculptural lexis similar to our sculptor: that of the radiant Gothic (ESPAÑOL, 2011a: 181-194). It is thus very possible that the doorway in Tàrrega became one of the first examples of the la penetration of this sub-style into Catalonia.

The doorway stood until 1709, when it was dismantled for the building of the new parish church (SARRET, 1926: 4; SEGARRA i MALLA, 1987: 187; GARGANTÉ, 2004: 194; VELASCO, 2009: 230-232). Some of the apostles (probably five) were reused in the new work nova, as they were installed on the outside, in the eaves of the upper part, while others underwent several changes of position and ownership until they were taken into the museum collection. In contrast, we know nothing about the Virgin that presided over the portal, nor the Christological depiction that must be supposed was of the Final Judgement and could have been part of the tympanum, two figures that were also dismantled in 1709.

Finally, an unpublished document informs us that there were ten apostles on the façade at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The data is from a manuscript in the library of the Museum of Peralada, titled *Peregrinació de la ida per Cathaluña*, written by a Franciscan inspector who passed through Tàrrega around 1586 (we thank Jaume Barrachina, director of the Museum of Peralada Castle, for this information and who is currently editing this manuscript). The data gives room for a speculation, given that matching different old references had allowed a total of twelve apostles to be counted (VELASCO, 2009: 232). For now, the only

explanation that occurs to us is that the when the friar visited the town two of the figures had already been removed and placed somewhere else inside the church.

#### ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

### CAPITAL

Stone sculpture

Around 1325-1350

30 x 44.5 x 30 cm

From the Franciscan monastery in Tàrrega

MCUT 4410

Bibliography: unpublished

This capital was found in 1996, during works to reduce the level of the site of the former Friars Minor monastery in Tàrrega. On discovery, it was donated to the Museum by Martí Pijuan, the builder in charge of the mentioned works. It is a corner capital (only worked on two faces), it is long in shape, whichindicates that it might have been part of a door. On one of the faces, there is a human figure fighting with two hybrid beasts (with the body of a lion and the tail of a dragon), which he holds by their heads. This is the submission of animals, a habitual subject in Romanesque sculpture. On the longer face, there is a man on horseback, seen side on, facing the opposite way from the pervious group and holding a lance in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. The sculptor has placed a certain interest in reproducing the harness of the knight and the horse, given that, besides other elements, we can see the scabbard, a spur and the penjants.

Being from the Franciscan monastery enables us to establish a more or less precise chronology for the work. We know that the order arrived in a Tàrrega in 1318, the year when Pope John XXII emitted the bull that granted the founding of a monastery in the town (SANAHUJA, 1959: 100; SEGARRA i MALLA, 1984: 91). During the reign of Alfonso the Benign, the community was full in stalled in the monastery, but we know that, in the times of Peter the Ceremonious (1340), the works were not progressing very well, which forced the friars to seek finance. It seems that the church was not finished until September 1365, when a general chapter of the order was held in the Tàrrega monastery, which led the councillors to convoked the townspeople to collaborate in finishing the church and refectory (SEGARRA i MALLA, 1984: 128-131).

With these data, it is feasible to place the making of the capital cap in 1325-1350. This chronology does not tie in with the theme or the style, the subject and iconography are still very close to the Romanesque. This should come as no surprise in the context of Lleida, where we see that the Romanesque tradition was of weight in the architectural sculpture of building erected in the time of the early Gothic. This is the case of the south door of Sant Miquel in Castelló de Farfanya, dated around 1313 (FITÉ i PUIG, 2009: 11 and 16-19), or some doorways still linked to models from the Lleida school that were built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, like Sant Pere in Vinaixa. This is thus an inertial sculpture indebted to the figurative and decorative proposals of the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

#### ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

### CAPITAL

Stone sculpture

 First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

35 x 48 x 24.5 cm

Unknown origins

MCUT 4412

Bibliography: unpublished

The existence of this capital has been known since the 1950s, when it was part of the lapidary collection in the Palace of the Marquises of La Floresta, together with other objects that were finally moved to the Urgell District Museum. Its exact origin is unknown, although we can suppose it comes from one of the churches of the old monasteries of Tàrrega or the church of Santa Maria.

The capital is a long corner with the two sculpted faces completely decorated. On the main one, we see a large dragon with prominent ears, wings, a reptilian tail and claws. The beast is attacking and biting the head of a person located to the viewer's right, on a kind of circular base. Another identical dragon to the person's left is also biting him, although it is only partially visible due to the morphology of the capital. The central character seizes the two animals by the neck while they hold him by the knees with their claws. There is a third dragon on the left of the capital. We can only see half its body, one wing and the tail, that intertwines with that of the first dragon. The partial depiction of this animal seems to be done on purpose and it has been considered a kind of sculptural exercise by the mason, who wanted to depict the beast half hidden. The dragons have a series of parallel folds that represent their skin, while the human figure has also been depicted simply, with a tunic of vertical folds. The prominent, circular form the character is placed on draws our attention, which corresponds to the join with a column. This detail could give some clues about the purpose of the capital, surely in the setting of a doorway.

The theme depicted, a person attacked by monsters, harks back to the Romanesque tradition, a trait that can be extended to the style of the sculptor who did it, clearly backward and poor quality. In contrast, the format of the capital is in the Gothic typology, from which we can deduce that this is an example of inertial sculpture, typical of those regions where the new proposals took root in parallel with the continuance of the earlier Romanesque language. Given all this, as with the case of the capital from the Franciscan monastery in Tàrrega studied in this same catalogue (MCUT 4410), we can call this a new example of inertial Romanesque. The sculptor in Tàrrega showed that he was familiar with the traditional depictions of the theme, as we see if we compare this capital with one of the ones on the side of the gospel in the presbytery of the Seu Vella in Lleida, by Ramon de Bianya's workshop around 1215-1225.

#### ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

### VIUGIN

Alabaster sculpture

 Third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

91 x 33.8 x 24.4 cm

From Santa Maria in Tàrrega

MCUT 4649

Deposit: church of Santa Maria de l'Alba, Tàrrega

Bibliography: MANOTE (2008: 129-135);

BANEGAS (2008: 435-453); VELASCO (forthcoming)

This is standing depiction of the Virgin Mary, with a clearly marked *hanchement*,

holding the Child in her left arm. Mary appears in a face on position, only broken by a slight inclination of her head. She is wearing a veil that covers her head that reaches down to the middle of her back, although we can see some of her wavy hair on her forehead. She is also wearing a mantle that falls from her right shoulder and that opens at the level of her chest, exposing her round-necked tunic, while half way down it forms some very well-done diagonal folds. The Child, sitting on her arm and in a frontal position, is also wearing a round-necked tunic, held by a kind of belt and with the cuffs of the sleeves turned up. His head is inclined to his left, a position that, as we shall see, is related to the fact that he is holding his foot with his right hand. Both figures have cuts on the top of their heads, done at a later date to insert metal haloes.

The oval-shaped faces denote the quality of the artist who made the image. The eyes stand out, slightly almond in shape with very marked eyelids, as well as the slight smiles on both their faces. The treatment of the hair is significant, especially in the case of Jesus, with very characteristic curls. The image is in a very good state, despite some missing parts, like Jesus' left hand and Mary's right. The material of the image is alabaster, a petrologic analysis of which has indicated a possible Aragonese origin (BANEGAS, 2008: 441).

This virgin is from the medieval church of Santa Maria in Tàrrega, from before the current building. We do not know where the image was placed in the old church, but we do know that it was in a niche on the east façade of the new one (MANOTE, 2008: 131) where the date of 1676 could be read (BANEGAS, 2008: 437). If this was the date the image was placed in the niche, we must abandon the identification of the sculpture with the Marian image that presided over the portal of the apostles (VELASCO, forthcoming), as the latter remained in its original place until 1709, when the great Gothic doorway was dismantled (SEGARRA i MALLA, 1987: 187; GARGANTÉ, 2004: 194; VELASCO, 2009: 230-232). Furthermore, we could imagine that the Marian sculpture on the main doorway would have been similar in size, chronology and material to the apostles nowadays in the Urgell District Museum.

The image, unknown until it was studied by MANOTE (2008: 129-135), has been dated from the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, based on certain typological similarities with a group of Virgins, all with the same characteristics, from Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia (CRISPÍ, 1997: 107-125). The Virgin Mary from Tàrrega does not fully belong to the subgroup made up of the Virgin Mary from the tympanum of the façade of Huesca Cathedral (ca. 1338), the Mother of God of the Helpless from the monastery of Pedralbes (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), the Virgin Mary in the MNAC (inv. num. 14524) and the one from the sepulchre of Bishop Sànchez de Asiáin in the cathedral in Pamplona (ca. 1360-1370), given that there are notable differences (MANOTE, 2008: 132). For example, we see that the Virgin has no crown and the Child is dressed ands does not cover his nakedness with Mary's mantle, habitual features of the group described. Another detail that distances this image from the mentioned examples is the frontal position of Jesus and, especially his gesture, which formally evokes the depictions of the theme of the

espinari, as we see in a Virgin Mary from the church of El Roser in Valls conserved in the Dioceses Museum of Tarragona (inv. num. 1455) (LIANO, 1992: 128). The theme comes from the ancient world and it is given negative connotations. However, in these one should see a veiled allusion to the crown of thorns and the Passion.

Despite these differences, the French influence on the image from Tàrrega is very clear, an aspect that links it to the set of works mentioned. However, no stylistic links have been detected that enable us to establish a direct connection with the group, unlike the images that make up the latter, some of which could have been made in the same workshop.

#### ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÁLEZ

### CHRIST THE JUDGE

Master of Albesa

Sculpture in stone

 Last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

47.5 x 30 x 11 cm

From the Franciscan monastery in Tàrrega (?)

MCUT 2900

Deposit: private collection

Bibliography: DURAN (1932-1934: I, 141); BESERAN (2007: 128-129, fig. 58); VELASCO and YEGUAS (2010a: 190, fig. 19)

Fragment of the predella of the altarpiece with a depiction of Christ of the Final Judgement showing his wounds. The figure, in a seated position, is wearing a cloak with gold trim that opens to the chest and letting us see the ribs, stomach and the wound on his side (highlighted with polychrome red). Christ shows the wounds to his hands, a gesture that reinforces the Eucharistic sense of the image. The treatment of his hair is outstanding, with prominent curls that flow over his shoulders down his back and he also has a forked beard. He has a cruciferous nimbus with a reticulated background with diamonds. The figure has been placed in a sort of niche covered by a polylobulate arch supported by brackets with plant forms on the spandrels.

The relief is well preserved with a bright polychrome that emphasises the expressivity. It was first published in 1932 by Agustí Duran i Sanpere, when the owner was Magí Roca i Coromines, who, according to the historian from Cervera, had found it in 1927 in the house where he lived (DURAN, 1932-1934: I, 141). Having been found in the house in Raval de Sant Agustí, it is very possible that the fragment could be from the old Franciscan monastery (later occupied by the Barefoot Carmelites and the Augustinians).

The work is attributed to the Master of Albesa, one of the leading sculptors of the Lleida school of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and who takes his name from the altarpiece conserved in the parish church of Albesa. Disciple of Bartomeu de Robió, sculptor around whom the school formed, he is attributed with works conserved in, or from, Vilanova de Segrià, Les Borges Blanques, Cubells, Àger, les Avellanes, Artesa de Segre, Vilanova de Meià, Tàrrega, Fraga (Huesca), Bellver de Cinca (Huesca), Sanui (Huesca) and Calasanzç (Huesca), as well as others of unknown origin in the Museum of Lleida (DURAN, 1932-1934: I, 86-94; ESPAÑOL, 1991a: 190-191; ESPAÑOL, 2007a: 269-273; VELASCO, 2010: 219-229; VELASCO and YEGUAS, 2010a: 183-194; VELASCO and YEGUAS, 2010b: 217-225).

There are close stylistics links between the relief from Tàrrega and the work that



### CASSEROLE OR FAT BOWL

Reductive earthenware made on a wheel

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century
13.3 x 30.9 x 27.8 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrrega)
MCUT 4485

*Bibliography:* ESQUÉ *et al.* (2012: 21-39)

Reductive earthenware piece, wider than it is higher, with the lip turned outwards and an oblique edge. It is ovoid in shape and has a spout. There are signs of its use on the fire and, although it has been identified as a bowl for keeping fat, it is also called *cassola* in a generic way.

This bowl, made with the technique of oxidative-reductive firing, has a mainly calcareous structure and golden particles visible on the surface, where the outside walls have a yellowish grey slip. Given its characteristics, this may have been produced locally. It would have a spout opposite the flat-section handle, which would supposedly have gone almost from the spout to the middle of the body. The bottom is flat, thicker round the edges and thinner in the middle. As decoration and marling the central body, there is an engraved line. Remember that in the range of domestic pottery prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> century most casseroles were iron, not earthenware, which does not preclude there having been casseroles of the latter material in some places (BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, 1995: 51).

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

### LAMP

Glazed white pottery. Wheel/hand

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century
3.8x: 10.2 x 8.9 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)
MCUT 4482

*Bibliography:* ESQUÉ *et al.* (2012: 21-39)

The piece of pottery known as a *llàntia*, *lumenera* or *gresol* is singular for having white glaze on the inside. Of clear Islamic influence, made from a cylindrical vessel, it has a low edge and a rounded lip, and a pinched spout or beak. There are parallels to this type of archaic pottery from the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the city of Barcelona (BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, 2007: 152). Oil or another fuel was placed inside with a wick that protruded from the narrow spout. In this case, we can see the blackening from the burning of the wick. Also found honey-coloured, this type of pottery, used for domestic lighting, has been classified generally around the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Although this one is broken, we have almost all the fragments. This, also seen in other pieces in the levels on this site from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, shows the sudden breakage of pottery pieces and other elements when they were still in everyday use.

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

### LAMP

Honey-coloured glazed pottery.

Made on a wheel and by hand

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century
2.8 x 7.3 x 6.5 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)
MCUT 4660

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Pottery piece traditionally called *llàntia* (lamp), although also known as *gresol*

*de lumenera*, with a clearly Islamic origin-influence (ROSSELLÓ, 1991: 174; PARERA, 1998: 119). It has a cylindrical body like an open bowl, with a low edge and pinched mouth. As in the vast majority of these recipients, the inside is glazed (in this case, honey coloured). This type if material is very recurrent in the formal repertory of the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century (AMIGÓ *et al.*, 1986: 33 and 77). Principally, these forms were used for lighting homes (the traces of the smoked mouth show its use).

The proportion of lamps is much higher than other types of pottery material in the archaeological levels in Carrer de la Font derived from the dumping of pieces and objects in use up to the moment of being thrown there in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century. These deposits have been linked to the assault on the Jewish quarter in 1348.

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

### LAMP

Honey-coloured glazed pottery.

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century
2.9 x 7.5 x 6.6 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)
MCUT 4483

*Bibliography:* unpublished

This ceramic piece generally called a *llàntia* (lamp) but also used as a pot for lamp oil. By extension, it is of Islamic influence (ROSSELLÓ, 1991: 174; PARERA, 1998: 119). It has a cylindrical body, with a low edge and a pinched mouth. Most of these pieces from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century were glazed inside (in this case, honey-coloured). Within the formal repertoire of pottery pieces, this is fairly common in the chronological context of the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century (AMIGÓ *et al.*, 1986: 33 and 77). Generally, this type of utensil was used for lighting the home. The “beak” shows it use for illumination.

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

### JAR

White glazed pottery made on a wheel

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century
10.4 x 11 x 7.3 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 162

MCUT 4659

*Bibliography:* COLET *et al.* (2009: 103-123)

Earthenware recipient with a wide mouth and cylindrical neck over a globular body and a flat ring for the base. It was designed to hold a range of products, both domestic and commercial. It is not whole, but conserves all its profile and evidence of two handles. The mouth could have had a spout (not documented) between the two handles. The jar is glazed on the outside except for the base. This guaranteed that it would be impermeable and conserved the contents better. The type of recipient and its small size indicate that it could have been used to store precious products, although, logically, it could have had various uses. Apart from holding both liquids and solids, it has been linked to the act of “donar aiguamans” (ritual hand washing) (BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, 1999: 197). In many inventories on Catalan territory, this type of pottery is called *pitxer* or *pitxell de terra blanc*.

The presence of this item in a funerary context (more specifically, one of the mass graves from the attack on the

Jewish quarter in 1348) is difficult to interpret. It could be linked to some type of ritual related with the victims of the riot buried there.

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

### LID

Glazed pottery made on a wheel

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

3.6 x 9 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 162 and 166

MCUT 4658

*Bibliography:* COLET *et al.* (2009: 103-123)

A singular piece interpreted as a lid or cover with white glaze on the outside. The clay is beige with visible reddish particles. The glazed coating is creamy white. This model, with parallels in the Islamic world, has been called *casquet amb visera* (cap with visor) (BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA, 1999: 187). There are similar pieces to this from Islamic origin, made of similar material, in the Lleida area (AMIGÓ *et al.*, 1986: 26). It has a slightly conical profile and inside, an annular peg to make it easy to fit. The handle, a solid spherical knob in the middle, is missing. It is decorated with squares made by folding and cutting.

It was designed to cover a recipient for transporting or commercialising products. Normally, the products were sealed with a wooden lid that would have fit into the mouth of the piece.

Note that fragments of this piece were found separately in the filling of two mass graves linked to the events of 1348. Similarly to the jar MCUT 4659, its presence in the necropolis is a unique.

**JORDI RAMOS RUIZ, IÑAKI MORENO EXPÓSITO AND MIRIAM ESQUÉ BALLESTA**

## METAL AND BONE UTENSILS

### KNIFE WITH A RING HANDLE

Wrought iron

Mid 14<sup>th</sup> century

54.6 x 3.9 x 2.5 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4643

*Bibliography:* unpublished

This is a long knife or short sword. Despite being broken and badly rusted, it can be said to have a broad blade with parallel sides, rectangular in section at the base but rapidly becomes triangular, sharpened edge along the outside and pointed tip. The centred tang has a hole in the middle for fixing the handle to, and includes a thick ring-shaped knob parallel to the flat of the blade. This latter characteristic indicates an oriental influence that was a beginning to make itself felt in some European countries in that epoch (mid 14<sup>th</sup> century) (LAKING, 1920: 13-16) and that later, during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially in the Iberian Peninsula, would lead to the so-called *ear daggers* (FERNÁNDEZ VEGA, 1935; RODRÍGUEZ, 1964), of which this is a forerunner. The large size of the piece is not very usual, but it is not strange to find oversized knives or daggers in that epoch, with the idea of skirting the law against carrying swords in some places or by certain classes of people. Bear in mind that Jews and Moors often had to suffer this type of restriction.

**MARC GENER MORET**

### PLATE

Cut and engraved copper alloy plate

13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century

9.6 x: 1.3 x 0.25 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4488

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Set of three overlapping sheets cut following the same rectangular profile with one end decorated with flurs-delis. The upper and lower plaques have incised decoration on one face. The first has three geometric motifs on a lined background, on the inside of the webs (a central one, with alternate zigzag bands, flanked by two lateral rhombuses). The lower sheet has another rhombus engraved, divided into four quarters that quarters alternate an empty field and a lined one.

This type of sheet that, without being strange in furniture and bookbinding, has many similarities with the heads of belts, especially those that are articulated with cylindrical head buckles. However, the sheet from Tàrrega does not have the typical U-shaped notch to facilitate the movement of the pin, nor the orifices for the parxe (AMENÓS i LORIENTE, 2013). It is worth mentioning that the notch is absent form other similar plaques, like the one found in Far Castle (BOLÒS *et al.*, 1981: 119-120, fig. 5). The lack of these elements leads us to think that it could be a partially broken or unfinished piece. It could be a set with the buckle MCUT 4661, found in the same context of materials dumped as a consequence of the riot of 1348.

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### BUCKLE

Copper alloy

13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries

1.6 x 1.5 x 0.3 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font,

7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4661

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Buckle made up of a slightly elliptic arc that holds a cylindrical head with three concentric notches. These held or supported the needle or moveable prong, which has been lost. This was a very common type in medieval Europe and appears in strata dated between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries (AMENÓS i LORIENTE, 2013). It is often accompanied by a long articulated metal plate that can have an embossed decoration on one face.

Metal buckles were used to fasten leather or fabric belts. Belts, pieces of clothing, harnesses, footwear, books or chests were all on the list of objects that could be bound with belts with buckles. The leather or fabric of the belt was called *parxe* iand had a buckle on one end and often a clasp at the other. The *platoms*, decorative metal plates in various forms, were fixed to the *parxe*. All the metal elements, including the buckle, were gilded and/or enamelled to imitate the noble materials that decorated the more luxurious belts (Amenós i Loriente, 2013; Maranges, 1991: 72-74). It could be part of a set with MCUT 4488.

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### LAMP SNUFFERS (?)

Cast copper alloy

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

6.3 x 0.6 x 0.6 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4489

*Bibliography:* unpublished

A piece made up of a straight circular stem that turns into an oval bowl at one end and a small sphere at the other. The stem, decorated with a concentric moulding in the middle, conserves remains of a coiled chain.

The purpose of this item is not sure, but it has clear precedents in the Roman world and parallels with other pieces found in other medieval sites (AZUAR, 1989: 387-393). Some of these spoons have been found together with pegs and fixed to a ring, like the ones from Marchena near Seville, dated from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Given this and other reasons, it has traditionally been associated with surgical, cosmetic and hygienic uses, although other researchers suggest that they were lamp snuffers (ROSSELLÓ, 2002).

Tweezers were used for both hygiene and lighting. Regarding this second use, it should be remembered that the written sources from medieval times mention two types of accessories: tweezers and scissors. The former were used to pull the wick in the lamp to stop the flame from going out. There are many examples associated with iron oil lamps, a frequent typology in medieval Catalan homes and well known through the historical-ethnographic studies (AMENÓS, 2008: 154). The tweezers were also used to remove the burnt wick from the candles. In the inventory of the assets of Joan de Borja, Duke of Gandia, drawn up in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there is mention of “unes morcades de mocar candeles” (*Vocabulari Farauo*: “Mordacetes” and “Mocar”).

The scissors used to cut the wick of candles are mentioned in a manuscript from 1381: “una taylladora de bleses ab lo col-tell” (COROMINES, 1980-1991: I, 836). Although we do not know their shape, it must be supposed that they were not very different from the snuffers that are depicted in a copy of the painting *Saint Jerome in his Study*, by Joos van Cleve (doc. 1511-1540). The term *esmocadores*, however is not documented until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (“Les esmocadores”, 2004).

To avoid theft and losses, the accessories for lighting (known since ancient times) were fixed to the lamps with chains (ZOZAYA, 1995: 233) or they were hung from the belt on rings. This second option, used until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, appears in other chronological and cultural contexts (*Un altre Egipte....*, 2011: 96, cat. 68).

The snuffers were used to keep the flame burning bright and to scrape off and clean the accumulated grease in the bowl of the lamps. The medieval typologies are mainly in the shape of a punch (EIROA, 2006: 72, cat. 54) and hood finished in a little cutting notch (MARTÍNEZ i PONCE, 2009: 411). Although these spoons cannot be directly linked to the lamps, there is no reason to doubt that they could have been used as snuffers for lamps and to put out lights, a tool well documented ethnographically that snuffed out the flame when pressed over the burning wick. The purpose of the little ball on the other end of the stem is less clear. The historiography associates rounded appendices with the application of creams and unguents. However, we must bear in mind other uses not related to cosmetics or lighting, such as loading the bronze cauldrons or perfumers that decorated and perfumed medieval Catalan homes (AMENÓS, 2013).

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### FRAGMENT OF A LOVE CASKET

Embossed brass

Last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century-first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century

10.3 x 8.7 x 0.5 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4648

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Fragment of brass sheet with a gallant scene stamped on it. In this embossed scene, there is a lady standing with a bow and arrow in her hands. The lady, with long flowing locks, is in front of a kneeling knight, in attitude of vassalage, who is giving her the bow and arrow. The scene is framed between curtains, in a private setting, and is inserted inside a closed frame below which there is a fragment of an inscription. The iconography refers to the allegories of courtly love from medieval chivalrous literature (PASCUAL, 2008).

The fragment of brass would have been part of a medieval love boxes. These caskets were made of wood and covered with brass sheets stamped with gallant scenes. It was part of a Catalan mass production from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century with an Andalusian formal influence formal (PASCUAL, 2005). These boxes were engagement presents for women (DURAN, 1925) or even wedding gifts as a kind of souvenir. Other present, such a s jewels, were often kept in these boxes. The love box became a symbol of engagement of the couple, like the Biblical Arc of the Covenant symbolises

the commitment between God and men (HERNANDO, 2008).

The inscription “US:PLAU” appears on the bottom of the sheet. This corresponds to a fragment of the habitual “amor mercè si us plau”. These mass-produced caskets usually had this inscription as a reference to amorous and gallant poetry, which corresponds to a plea that the knight makes to the lady to win her love and favours (PASCUAL, 2005).

Caskets with a very similar typology are found in the Episcopal Museum in Vic and the National Museum of Art of Catalonia (inventory number 005261-000).

**ROSER MIARNAU POMÉS**

### METAL FITTING

Copper alloy sheet cut and embossed

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

2.2 x 0.1 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4652

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Metal insert in the shape of an open flower with eight petals. It has small central hole with remains of the tack that attached it to the original support.

These flower-shaped fittings were very common in the medieval epoch and were part of the metal decoration of a wide range of objects: chests and other containers, belts, harnesses for horses or bindings for books.

Flowers similar to this one in shape and size decorate the brass fittings of numerous love chests, like the one in the Colomer Munmany collection (SOLER, 1994: 175-176, cat. 4). They were also used to decorate and strengthen the leather belts that both men and women wore round their waists (AMENÓS i LORIENTE, 2013).

These copper-based metal fittings imitated both the designs and technical solutions their equivalents in gold. That is why most of them were gilded and/ or coated with polychrome enamels to embellish them and protect them from corrosion.

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### THIMBLE

Copper alloy cast with a mould and dotted

14<sup>th</sup> century

2.5 x 1.75 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4647

*Bibliography:* COLET *et al* (2012: 9-19)

Conical sewing thimble decorated with dotted motifs in alternating triangular segments. There is a hole (broken) on the top. This was a common object of the times with precedents in the classic world (OLIVA, 1964: 437-440) and that co-existed with another model in the same shape, but with an open top (DÉMIANS, 1980: 464). Conical thimbles almost the same as this one have been found in various sites of similar chronology (GONZÁLEZ, 2011: 273-275). A pair was found in Voltreera Castle decorated with simple floral motifs that still had remains of gilding (BOLÒS *et al.*, 1981: 182, num. 121-122, fig. 30). Another decorated one was found in Cappont (Lleida) (Arxiu Arqueològic, RM 1418).

Thimbles were kept in little boxes or *didaleres*, a kind of cannon-shaped pouch made of noble materials (*Vocabulari*

*Farauo*: “Didalera”). A document from 1365 describes “un portador de didaleres de vorí, ab una didalera de nacra [...] VI didaleres de corn negre [...] e una didalera de cuyr e de corn” (RUBIÓ, 2000: I, 208, doc. CCXIII).

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### THIMBLE

Copper alloy dimpled and punched

14<sup>th</sup> century

2.4 x 1.8 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes

(Tàrrega). FS 164

MCUT 4453

*Bibliography:* unpublished

Thimble in the shape of a pointed hood, decorated with small circular designs on practically all the outside. Thimbles are designed to make it easier to push a needle through the fabric when sewing. This type of thimble has been linked to working with leather or plant fibres, such as esparto or wicker. Many examples have been found in Andalusia and the south-east of the Iberian Peninsula, mainly dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (EIROA, 2006: 74-76, cat. 59-62). Not so many have been found in Catalonia. Examples are the ones in the Museum of History in Barcelona or the Archaeological Archive in Lleida, among which the one found at the old portal de Magdalena (15<sup>th</sup> century) stands out. This thimble has the typical decoration of pairs of concentric circles at the base and the top (RM 1380).

The trade of thimble maker is among those documented in the various Jewish communities of medieval Catalonia (PLANAS i FORCANO, 2009: 87). This item appeared in a disturbed part of FS 164, but possibly would have been among the clothes of a victim of the assault on the Jewry buried in this grave.

**LLUÏSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### KEY

Wrought iron

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

5.1 x 2 x 0.9 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 164

MCUT 4653

*Bibliography:* COLET *et al.* (2009: 103-123)

Clau de lloba made up of a circular eye, a solid shaft and a U-shaped blade. This was a frequent typology in medieval times used to lock chests (MONREAL and BARRACHINA, 1983: 245, fig. 97).

It was found with an adult individual buried in FS 164 and very close to a pile of coins, which indicates that they must have been kept in a pouch the dead person was wearing hanging from his belt. Coins and small objects were carried in bags attached to the belts (almoiners, purses or carners) (AYMERICH, 2011: 77-78 i 205-206). The written sources also mention *percints*, a type of bag whose shape is unknown that was used to carry coins. Another document from 1459 mentions a leather pouch used for the same purpose. A scene from the altarpiece of Sant Esteve in Granollers, painted by the Vergós’ (1491-1494

## KEY

Wrought iron

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

4.8 x 1.7 x 1 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrrega). FS 164

MCUT 4646

Bibliography: unpublished

Key made up of a circular eye, a tubular barrel and ansd abroken blade. This type of key was very common in medieval times for locking furniture (boxes, chests and coffers). Similar ones have been found in other archaeological sites, such as the ones in Esquerda (*Desperta ferro*, 2006: 121, cat. 20-21).

The medieval inventories contain various types of furniture “tancats amb son pany e clau”. The keys were kept on rings, on chains with a key at each end or on key rings made from rich silk fabrics (AMENÓS, 2008: 148): a document from 1412 mentions “un clauer de seda blava clara” (ALCOVER i MOLL, 1950-1962). The iconographic sources show keys of this type strung on cords or decorative tassels trimmings that hung from the strap or belt of the preson carrying them (AMENÓS, 2006: 277, sheet. 17, B and C). The written sources also mention metal key rings: a document dated 1331 describes “un corregot de dona ab un clauer de lautó” (ALCOVER i MOLL, 1950-1962).

**LLUÍSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### CRAFTWORK OFFCUTS

Cut and polished bone

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Round piece (MCUT 4650). d: 2.6 cm; e: 0.36 cm

Long fragments of bone (MCUT 4651). 4.5 x 0.85 x 0.7 cm; 2.6 x 0.8 x 0.7; 2.2 x 0.8 x 0.8 cm; and 0.7 x 0.7 x 0.6 cm

From the site at Carrer de la Font, 7-9 (Jewish quarter, Tàrrega)

MCUT 4650 and 4651

*Bibliography:* VALENZUELA and VALENZUELA (2012: 51-67)

**ROUND PIECE:**

Fragment of diaphysis of a long bone from a large mammal (bovine or similar) cut transversally and all surfaces polished. The round form was achieved with some kind of revolving tool that has left circular lines on the surface of the piece. The surface inside the hole is polished with a maximum diameter of 1.4 cm, which suggests it may have been part of a pendant or some other object, more than being a broken button.

**FRAGMENTS OF BONE:**

Fragments of diaphysis of a long bone from a large mammal (bovine or similar) cut longitudinally and transversally. These fragments are pieces of waste from working the bone. They were cut with saws and chisels tools. Furthermore, the outside face of the bones has been polished with an abrasive surface. The similar thicknesses and widths lead us to think that they could be elements used in the decoration or fixing of objects manufactured in a craft workshop.

**SÍLVIA VALENZUELA LAMAS**

## PERSONAL AND RITUAL OBJECTS AND CLOTHING ELEMENTS

### RING WITH THE NAME BONETA (בּוּנֵיטָה)

Cast and chiselled copper alloy

14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

1 cm (at the head) x 2.1 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). Funerary structure 2

MCUT 4457

Bibliography: PIERA (2008)

This ring, with the name Boneta inscribed in Hebrew (בּוּנֵיטָה), was found in a simple, oval-shaped grave (funerary structure 2), corresponding to the burial of a female aged between forty and forty-nine. The ring was on one of the fingers of the right hand (PIERA, 2008: 12 and 36-37).

The ring, together with others in the museums in Teruel and San Juan de Duero, in the city of Soria (the latter, from Deza), all found in graves, area a very representative sample of the rings used by medieval Jews, that were made of noble materials in some cases, like the gold rings found in Barcelona (DURAN i MILLÁS, 1947: 257) and Lleida (ROMANO, 1960: 62-63).

The design of this ring is similar to MCUT 4458, with a widening on the outer face, also rhomboidal (1 x 1.5 cm), but without the wavy edges and with decoration above and below the inscription that resembles a schematised fleur-de-lis. As is usual in this type of ring, there is the name without anything else.

The fact that the body was buried with the ring with the name on it could be a reminiscence of the old custom of leaving some evidence of the dead person’s name inside the tomb.

**JORDI CASANOVAS MIRÓ**

### RING WITH A NAME ENGRAVED ON IT

Cast and chiselled copper alloy. Bronze

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

0.9 (at the head) x 2 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 164

MCUT 4458

Bibliography: unpublished

Cast copper alloy ring (possibly bronze) from UE 1141, the result of moving and mixing of part of FS 164. Accordingly, it cannot be linked to any of the bodies in the grave, which would have helped us to interpret the engraved name more easily.

This ring and MCUT 4457, also described in this catalogue, are definitive confirmation that this was a Jewish burial ground, although the documents already implied this.

The central part of the ring is in the shape of a rhombus with wavy edges (0.9 x 1.4 cm). There is a text in Hebrew in the centre along the main axis that seems to be a name inscribed in a kind of cartridge. The triangular part over and under the text is decorated with two opposing scrolls that start from the lines of the text, similar to other rings and seals.

The structure of the band (narrower to the sides of the text and then widening to both sides and decorated with incisions) is a very characteristic model from a very long period of time. Altogether, a very common design, with variants, of which there are other examples from funerary contexts, like the case of Deza (Soria) and

Teruel (CASANOVAS i RIPOLL, 1983: num.s. 568 and 570).

The letters, written in a very precise hand, are easily read thanks to the cleaning done to remove the crusts that had built up on it. However, we are unable to identify the name that appears. This is made up of the *mnrga* (מנרג), that we have not found on any lists.

**JORDI CASANOVAS MIRÓ**

### RING

Cast and chiselled copper alloy

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

0.9 cm (at the head) x 2.2 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 164

MCUT 4455

Bibliography: unpublished

Ring made up of a small circle and a round flat head, decorated with a simple open flower with eight pointed petals. Similar pieces have been found in archaeological settings from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, but decorated with other motifs (EIROA, 2006: 117, cat. 160).

The rings made from copper-based metals imitated the similar pieces in jewellery and often followed their designs. For this reason, it was frequent to apply rhinestones and decorations of polychrome enamels (MARTÍNEZ i PONCE, 2009: 406-407). The metal structure was gilded with techniques that ranged from the application of gold dust with mercury, for the higher quality pieces, to dyes and fake gold colourings (AMENÓS i LORIENTE, 2013).

Jewellery made with copper-based metals was given the name *quincalleria* (trinkets), a term described in the *Spill* by Jaume Roig (1456-1460) (COROMINES, 1980-1991: VI, 963; MARANGES, 1991: 127). Trinkets or *quincalla* (a word documented in French from the year 1268) were produced by local craftsmen or imported from other places by the trinket merchants or *quinquillers*.

It is from a disturbed sector of FS 164, so we don not know the gender of the body to which it corresponds.

**LLUÍSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### PAIR OF EARRINGS

Copper alloy, cast, threaded and soldered (with tin?)

14<sup>th</sup> century

2 x 1.7 x 0.4 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). ENT 131

MCUT 4459

Bibliography: unpublished

A pair of earrings made up of a metal hoop that ends in a large hooked clip at one end and that hols three small spheres placed equidistantly. This piece is similar to ones found in the Jewish cemetery of Montjuïc, Barcelona (DURAN i MILLÁS, 1947: 231-259; DURAN, 1973: I, 644-645). However, the earrings from Barcelona are made from silver alloy and have some morphological differences from these, such as the type of threading with one or four balls without soldering (MORA, 1999: 152). A typologically similar earring, but with a single ball, can be seen in the ear of a lady depicted in the scene of Aaron and the magicians in the Sarajevo *Haggadah* (Catalonia, c. 1350).

Silver earrings very similar in design to those found in Tàrrega were discovered in the old Jewish cemetery in Girona. One of these has three balls decorated with filigree (*La Catalunya jueva*, 2002:

72 and 75). This piece is the sumptuous version of a model that lasted (with changes) until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by the Judeo-Berber example in the Sephardic Museum in Toledo (inventory num. 1104/001).

**LLUÍSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### EARRING OR HEADBAND

Copper alloy and strung

14<sup>th</sup> century

3.2 x 2.6 x 0.35 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). Funerary structure 10

MCUT 4645

Bibliography: unpublished

Earring or hair clasp made up of a circle of metal wire, strung with nine little balls, with a hook at one end. It was found among the fragments of the cloth (UE 2154) of individual 2152 in the funerary structure 10. This cloth wrapped the cranium of an adolescent of unknown gender, near the remains of the collarbone and vertebrae. That is why it was identified as an earring. A similar piece was found among the braid that covered the skull of the body found in grave 60 in the Jewish cemetery of Montjuïc (Barcelona). The braid, with silk and gold, was linked to a wimple (DURAN, 1973: I, 645).

Although this piece has similarities with other earrings found in Jewish contexts, there is the possibility that it could be from an ornament applied to clothing, such as a headband (MARANGES, 1991: 127). The headband is a string of precious stones and pearls, but, there must undoubtedly have been equivalents with trinkets (*Vocabulari Faraudo*: “Xapellet”). In some illustrations in the *Haggadahs* from Barcelona and Sarajevo there are pearly strings that decorate the wimple or even the roll that Jewish women had to wear on their dresses and chaperons (MORA, 1999: 152).

**LLUÍSA AMENÓS MARTÍNEZ**

### NECKLACE

Jet with gold leaf and coral

incrustations. Polished

14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

jet beads. d: 1.6 cm

coral beads. d. 1 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). Funerary structure 24

MCUT 4460

*Bibliography:* PIERA (2008); COLET *et al.* (2011: 1021-1024)

Necklace made up of two types of beads. On one hand, the piece has a set of eight beads spherical jet beads, with reticular decorative motifs. These beads were made by intensive abrasive polishing of the fragments against a fine-grained passive support to make them round. Traces have been seen of the making of the decorative pattern by cutting with a tool (a flat rod or metal punch). Later, each mark was refilled with gold leaf. On the other hand, the necklace has ten spherical coral beads without decoration. The technique used to make them was an intensive polishing of the fragment of coral to give it its final form. All the beads have a central hole to hang them by, 3 mm in diameter in the case of the jet and 2.5 mm in the coral, made with a smooth circular metal drill. La perforation was done from the two sides.

The use of jet to make ornaments or amulets is significant among the Jewish communities in the Peninsula

at that time. Ornaments made of jet with geometric patterns have been in Aragonese cemeteries (*Hebraica Aragonalia*, 2004). The use of coral for ornaments and amulets at this time is widely documented and, in fact there was an important export trade from the markets of Barcelona in textile and silk, documented all around the Mediterranean, even in the form of balls or globular beads (SALICRÚ, 2005: 309-362; FERRER, 2012: 159-193). Most of the traders were Jews or converts who made and exported coral, bound books in leather, etc. (TONIOLO, 1997).

The necklace was found around the neck of a child’s body (UE 2222), of unknown sex and around seven years old, in grave 24.

**MÓNICA OLIVA POVEDA**

### NECKLACE

Jet, glass, amber, vitreous paste, silver, coral and bone. Polished/cast

14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

Large jet bead. 1.3 x 1.5 cm

Glass bead. 1.2 cm x 1.1 cm

Large amber bead. 0.85 x 0.7 cm

Large silver bead. 0.3 x 0.1 cm

Large coral bead. 0.65 x 05 cm

Bone bead. d: 0.5 cm (restitutable)

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). ENT 172

MCUT 4465

Bibliography: COLET et al. (2011: 1021-1024)

Necklace with beads made of various materials. The two globular jet beads are made with intense abrasive polishing. There are two types of perforations, done with a metal tool. For the half decorated bead it is bipolar, done from the two ends of the perforation, and for the whole bead, it is unipolar. The large bead is decorated with four concentric circular bands done by pressure and reiterated hard polishing. On being fractured, the fossil coal of the old lignite antic is visible. It has been worn and surfed impacts, and marks of use are visible on the surface and the surroundings of the hole it was hung from. The smaller piece also has marks from use from rubbing in all directions and a shiny patina from reiterated rubbing around the hole.

The glass bead has twelve faces differentiated by intensive polishing that have given it its trapezoidal shape. There is a hole through it and there are marks from the perforation with a metal or stone drill and its route through the piece. There are areas of the surface with repeated use.

The four globular amber beads are made from fossil resin. The surfaces of the beads tend to be rounded, although some have some faces that have been abraded and are irregular. They have bipolar perforations and the grooves left by the drill can be seen inside the holes. There are small fractures or impacts from use on the surface.

The necklace also has very small, almost circular solver baubles, done by molten silver. Its irregularity means the hole for hanging it is not centred and the surfaces have little undulations. There is also a damaged elongated piece that could have been a tubular bead.

The three circular and globular beads of pink or red coral are heavily worn and show remains of concretions on the original surface. We have been able to distinguish growth rings of the coral skeleton of the pieces. The central perforation is unipolar, done from one

end, or bipolar, from the two ends. They are in bad conditions and in a state of decalcification.

There are also four fragments of a globular bone bead on the necklace. Despite the pieces being broken, the polishing technique can be appreciated on the outside of all of them and the circular grooves left by the drill inside the hole for hanging them with.

The necklace was found in the individual grave of an adult female.

**MÓNICA OLIVA POVEDA**

### NECKLACE (?)

Vitreous and mineral paste or white stone ND. Stretched or modelled with a rod

14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

diameter 0.5 cm (vitreous paste beads); 0.35 cm (mineral beads)

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). ENT 65

MCUT 4461

Bibliography: unpublished

This set is made up of circular, disc-shaped beads made of vitreous paste (glass) made from a mixture of minerals like silicate, sodium and calcium, with small quantities of other minerals and then heated to a very high temperature. The colour depends on the percentage of silicates and colloidal metals, oxides and salts in the glass and that give it different hues, although its natural colour is bluish green. These pieces are probably made by stretching or modelling the glass with a rod. This technique involves winding molten glass round a metal rod and putting in the kiln. All these beads have a uniform monopolar transversal hole from this support rod.

Note also a circular mineral or white stone ND (marble, alabaster?) bead made from grinding a fragment down. The hole for hanging it from is 1.5 mm in diameter and was made with a drill (possibly metal). There are parallel lines from the polishing all over it and the at the two ends.

This possible necklace was found in the tomb of a newly-born child, with the remains of the bones in a very poor state, which means we were unable to identify its sex or where the piece was in relation to the body. The number of beads seems to suggest a necklace more than a bracelet.

Ornaments made of vitreous paste have been documented in burials in Jewish cemeteries all over the Iberian Peninsula. Some of the most outstanding ones are also linked to ornaments made of gold, jet, silver and coral in the communities on the Mediterranean coast (HINOJOSA, 2006-2008: 7-45).

**MÓNICA OLIVA POVEDA**

### NECKLACE OF AMULETS

Vitreous paste, jet, horn, coral, silver, bronze, glass and rock crystal

Polished/cast/embossed

First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

Bead 4467.1. 2 x 1.2 cm

Pendant 4467.2. 2.4 x 1.8 x 0.5 cm

Pendant 4467.3. 2.7 x 1.5 x 0.5 cm

Pendant 4467.4. 3.6 x 1.9 x 0.8 cm

Pendant 4467.5. 2.35 x 1 x 0.5 cm

Pendant 4467.6. 2.1 x 1.38 x 0.56 cm

Bead 4467.7. 1.1 x 1.3 cm

Pendant 4467.8. 5.6 x 1.3 x 1 cm

Pendant 4467.9. 3.5 x 2.1 x 0.6 cm

Bead 4467.10. 0.7 x 0.6 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). FS 163

MCUT 4467

Bibliography: COLET et al. (2009: 103-123); COLET et al. (2011: 1021-1024)

The bead 4467.1 is made of vitreous paste in the shape of a barrel or perforated olive. We can see traces of the processes of casting and slag. Polished all over. It has a transversal hole through it.

The pendant 4467.2 is made up of a silver holder and a circular fragment with a piece of jet decorated with eight homogenous circles with a central point. The circles are placed concentrically with one in the centre. This type of circular decorations in has also been found in Aragonese graveyards (*Hebraica Aragonalia*, 2004). On the technical side, it shows abrasive grinding or polishing of the surface that has left scratches in all directions, from before the decorations, done with a pressure mould and finished with incisions with a metal tool or punch.

The pendant 4467.3, with the symbol of the *hamsa*, is made up of a silver holder and a fragment (possibly of horn) cut and polished. It is decorated with two eccentric and equidistant circles with a pint cut in the centre. From the technical point of view, it has been sanded done and has fine grooves from abrasion and cuts. His decorations would have been done with a pressure mould and then, with cuts done with a metal tool or punch. The solver holder is also decorated with engraved lines and a circle.

The *hamsa* is a symbol used by many cultures and religions from ancient times. It is known from Phoenician-Punic times in the north of Africa, linked to the goddess Tanit and surely from older beliefs. It is depicted as a hand with five fingers and with the middle finger the longest. Jewish culture calls this the *Hand of Miriam*, referring to the sister of Moses and Aaron, or the *fifth hand* or *hand of Hamsesh*, that links the five fingers to the five books of the Pentateuch (the books of the Torah). In Islamic culture, each symbolises one of the fundamental commandments of Islam: belief in Allah, the angels, the prophet, the Quran and the Final Judgement; the five daily prayers; alimony to the poor; fasting for Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca. It was used as a personal amulet in the form of an ornament and on the doors of houses as a protective talisman.

The pendant 4467.4 is made up of a silver holder and a fragment of red coral ground and polished that only retains the original colour on the part in the holder. It is shaped like two long protuberances, one more so than the other, from one branch. There are concretions of the original layer and a resin stuck to the silver. Technically, it was made by intensive grinding of the surface of the fragment of coral.

The pendant 4467.5 comprises a plain bronze holder bronze and a *hamsa* made from a flat sheet of silver.

The pendant 4467.6 is made of jet and is triangular in shape with angled corners. It is decorated circles with circles points cut in the centre. Technologically, it shows heavy polishing of all the surface which has left traces lines in all directions. It is perforated on the upper part transversal lateral and from the two ends, with a metal tool or drill. The decorations are made with a mould under pressure or with incisions made with metal punch or tool.

The bead 4467.7 is spherical in shape and made from white smoked glass. It ha a central hole that was done from the two ends.

The pendant 4467.8 is made up of a silver holder and a very worn stalk of coral possibly pink or red, in a lozenge shape with four appendices or edges. It is severely eroded. It has a small natural perforation made by an insect or similar. It could symbolise a horn or the *shofar* (horn of sacrifice) of Isaac, that is a call for repentance or redemption. It depicts a Hebrew musical instrument that was made from a horn of an antelope or kid with one of the ends flattened and that makes two notes that were used in religious ceremonies. It has also been interpreted as a prophylactic amulet (ESPAÑOL, 2011b).

The pendant 4467.9 is made up of a silver holder in the shape of a decorated rectangular sheet where a polished fragment of jet is inserted. This is also rectangular with rounded corners. The silver sheet is decorated with raised dots in lines that interweave and lineal with motifs. The fragment of jet is intensely polished. This action has left traces all over the surface in the form of parallel lines that go in all directions.

The bead 4467.10 is made of rock crystal and is a squared trapezoidal shape. It has fifteen faces faceted by abrasion and one can see the route taken by the drill through the piece. Plans of preparation before doing this perforation, done from both ends, have also been seen.

The necklace appeared on a child of indeterminate gender aged between three and four, victim of the 1348 riot and buried in grave FS 163. The slight malformation of the bones on the lower limbs could explain the notable number of amulets on the necklace.

**MÓNICA OLIVA POVEDA**

### BRACELETS

Vitreous paste. Glass stretched and modelled

14<sup>th</sup> century

4 x 0.5 cm

From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrega). ENT 66

MCUT 4450 and 4451

A pair of glass bracelets from the Middle Ages

these were also found in the north of Africa in the medieval epoch. Findings of glass bracelets from the Middle Ages are concentrated in funerary contexts, especially belonging to the religious minorities who lived in the Iberian Peninsula until 1492: the Jews and Muslims.

The black bracelets from Les Roquetes imitate the colour of jet. Historically, jet has been believed to protect against the evil eye. This quality, together with shape (an endless circle that traps the evil), mean that these bracelets have a double function: as prophylactic objects and as a semi-precious object or jewellery.

**ANNA COLET MARCÉ AND INÉS BANEGAS DE JUAN**

A pair of glass bracelets from the Middle Ages

### PERSONAL SEAL WITH THE NAME INSCRIBED

Owner: Isaac Abismel
Cast and chiselled copper alloy
14<sup>th</sup> century
2 x 0.9 cm thick (with the ring)
Emblem: a horned quadruped

Inscription: text in Hebrew (אִשָּׁר אֲבִיסְמֵל בְּנֵי חַנָּה) around the emblem and framed with lines
Unknown origin (area of Tàrrrega). From a private collection
MCUT 2891

Bibliography: CASANOVAS (1999: 191-200)

Circular personal seal made of copper alloy (possibly bronze) with an emblem made up of a horned quadruped that faces left in the middle surrounded by a caption framed with lines. There is a ring on the back that can have two uses: to hang it from and to enable the user to press harder when using it.

Although the la collection of Hispano-Hebrew seals is numerically small, this personal seal belongs to the most numerous group. Although not one of the smallest, it is still not very big. These seals were used to validate documents to guarantee their authenticity or to indicate ownership of something. Thus, its owner can be considered a person with a certain weight in the community.

The inscription begins after a six-pointed star, as was frequent in the epigraphic bands of seals, with the text: “Isaac Abismel, que Déu el guardí” (יִשָּׁר אֲבִיסְמֵל וְחַנָּה אִמּוֹ). The words that appear after the name are not very common in these inscriptions, although curiously this also appears on the seal of n’Astruc Isaac Rosell found near Tarragona (MILLÀS, 1966: 103). On the other hand, FRIEDENBERG (1987: 30) proposes interpreting it in the sense of “long life!”, that was then placed after the name of the father to indicate that he was still alive.

It has not been possible to identify the owner of this seal among the names of the Jews in the Lleida area. One Abraham Avizmel documented in 1356 in Cervera is probably from the same family (SECALL, 1985: 287). MUNTANÉ (2007: 105, note 6) suggests that the names Abinçamel and Abnasmel, that appear in the documentation and correspond to Jews from Tàrrrega (and thus, closer), could be from the same family.

The choice of the symbolic element responds to the desire to illustrate the name. In this case, the figure in the emblem looks like a ram and would refer to the sacrifice of Isaac, the owner’s name del titular. Iconographically, it is very similar to the one that appears on the seal of Isaac bar Jacob (BEDOS, 1980, cat. 2,23, 14; p.224, fig. 23), dated from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

**JORDI CASANOVAS MIRO**

A pair of glass bracelets from the Middle Ages

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**PERSONAL SEAL WITH THE NAME WRITTEN**
Owner: unidentified
Copper alloy and chiselled
14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries
1.8 x 1.85 cm (upper face)/ 1.4 cm (lower face)
Emblem: castle with three towers
Legend: text in Hebrew around the main emblem
Unknown origin (Agramunt?). From a private collection
MCUT 4425

Bibliography: unpublished

Copper alloy seal (possibly bronze), with two circular faces of different diameters joined by central piece with a handhold.

This is a seal with main emblem with the shield of Castile, which represents a castle with three towers, the middle one, higher with stylised windows. As in other examples, an inscription, framed by some lines, surrounds the emblem. This type very clearly exemplifies the use of common elements among Christians and Jews. The latter, in many cases, it only differs from the others by the presence of a Hebrew inscription, as, like in this case, the use of the symbol of the castle is frequent on a good number of Christian seals in which the model used can even be very similar (FRIEDENBERG, 1992: 107).

As a very significant aspect of this piece, there is a second depiction of the castle, without inscription and slightly smaller, at the other end from the handle. The presence of the same motif at both ends seems to responds basically to an aesthetic reason, as it is difficult that this could be interpreted as representing a duality of functions by the owner.

The text of the inscription is damaged in some points. Not very carefully done, it starts, as in other cases, with a six-pointed star. Various concretions hinder the reading and identification of other elements which we have been unable to interpret and that has at times led us to ask whether this is a bilingual text. What seems most clear is that the end of name can be seen and that it can be interpreted as יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Joshua), followed by “son of”. In the current state of the piece, the rest cannot be read.

It belongs to the group of occasional finds in not very defined circumstances, always depending on reports, not always reliable, of the people who found them.

**JORDI CASANOVAS MIRO**

A pair of glass bracelets from the Middle Ages

**PIN**
Cast copper alloy
14<sup>th</sup> century
5.6 cm long. Diameter 2.5 cm (head), 0.1 cm (pin)
From the Jewish necropolis of Les Roquetes (Tàrrrega). ENT 75

Bibliography: COLET et al. (2009: 103-137)

Thin cylindrical metal pin crowned with a small ball on the end. It was found next to the ribs of the body in ENT 75. This position, together with the fact that it is slightly bent in the middle, led us to think that it could have closed the shroud the body was wrapped in (COLET *et al.*, 2009: 108, fig. 4).

More or less decorative pins have been one of the most frequent ways used to hold pieces of cloth together, wrap up bundles and fasten clothes or accesories (AYMERICH, 2011: 491). Many iconographic and manuscript sources describe their use to fix the bags and other accessories that are hung from belts, or to fasten the veil that women wore on their heads. Among the possessions of the Princess Constança,

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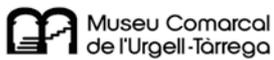
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BASSAT

AMB EL SUPORT DE:

