THE JEWS OF MAJORCA

by

A. LIONEL ISAACS

With Six Plates

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THE JEWS OF MAJORCA



THE *CALL* OF PALMA AS IT IS TO-DAY
CALLE DE MONTESION

TO

MY SISTER

KITTY

WHOSE GREAT AND LOVING SOUL

IS EVER FAITHFUL

PREFACE

MY first visit to Majorca over five years ago, excited my curiosity to learn something more of the island and its people, whose mode of life and primitive ideas appeared to me to be in strange contrast with their great ancient monuments. The vast structure of the cathedral seemed to be destined for a place of far greater importance than Majorca possesses at the present day, and above, all the beauty and grandeur of the Gothic commercial exchange, or *Lonja*, aroused visions of considerable commercial activity in bygone ages. A large stone, broken in three pieces, deposited in a corner of the *Lonja*, attracted my attention, and I detected carved on it an almost undecipherable inscription in Hebrew characters. This was the first intimation I had that Jews had existed on the island, and I decided to delve into the unknown and unearth their history in the island of Majorca. The following year I commenced my research in Palma.

The story of the Jews of Majorca forms a chapter in the history of the race that has never before been written, and as I advanced in my labours of research, the reason became more and more apparent. It is only within comparatively recent years, that material upon which a history could be based has become available. It was not until 1852 when the last two volumes of Padre Villanueva's *Viage Literario á las Iglesias de España* were published by the Real Academia de la Historia, that we had any insight into the position occupied by the Jews on the island. Those two volumes treat solely with

Majorca, and the few documents concerning the Jews printed therein, opened the door for further investigation. Previous to that year, our knowledge concerning the Jews of Majorca was scanty and not always reliable, derived mostly from the local historians Dameto, Mut and Binimelis. Thirty years later, in 1882, M. Alfred Morel-Fatio contributed a valuable article to the *Revue des Etudes juives* on the Balearic Jews, but full advantage was not taken of Villanueva's lead until 1900. In that year appeared a series of remarkable articles on the Majorcan Jews in the *Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia* of Madrid, in which the texts of one hundred and fourteen documents, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, relating to the Jews of the island, were brought to light. This collection of documents constitutes the *Privilegium Judeorum* of the Codex Pueyo, indicated by Villanueva who transcribed the first five and included them in his two volumes on Majorca. This undertaking was accomplished by two indefatigable scholars, Don Gabriel Llabrés, who spent ten years in deciphering and transcribing the documents, and Padre Fidel Fita who edited them; the historical research of the former concerning Majorca, and of the latter concerning Spain generally, are of inestimable value and well known. The nucleus thus formed and the interest aroused by the publication of these documents, inspired further research, but it was not before M. Jean Régné augmented our knowledge of the subject by the publication of the *Actes pour l'Histoire des Juifs de la Couronne d'Aragon* and the *Catalogue des Actes de Jaime I, Pedro III et Alfonso III, Rois d'Aragon, concernant les Juifs*, both of which appeared in the *Revue des Etudes juives* (1921, etc.), that any constructive history of the Jews of Majorca could be attempted. Since that date, Dr. Fritz Baer has

given us a valuable and important contribution contained in the numerous documents reproduced in his work, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, published in 1929.

Unfortunately there still remain notable deficiencies to be supplied, which only time and facilities for research may be able to achieve, and I am convinced that the various archives in Palma, both civil and ecclesiastical, could throw much light on questions that, at the present day, are unsolved problems. In the civil archives, except more or less in the Historical Archives, very little classification has been done, and none systematically; in the ecclesiastical archives research is, at present, prohibited. The various Spanish, German and French historians of the Spanish Jews, touch upon Majorca very lightly, but more recent historical reviews furnish much useful information, and a debt of gratitude is due to researchers such as Gabriel Llabrés, Fidel Fita, Estanislao K. Aguiló, J. M. Quadrado, A. Morel-Fatio and others of the past generation, for the work they have accomplished. It is a fact much to be regretted, that historical research in Majorca relating to the Jews there, arouses little interest at the present day, and has almost entirely ceased. Unless conditions change considerably, all further research concerning the Jews must depend entirely on the individual efforts of the student.

Nothing has appeared in English, to my knowledge, beyond an article in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. I, therefore, present this contribution as a chapter in the history of the Jewish race hitherto but little known; of the civilising influence of that people at the time when Majorca was a power, and whose political, commercial and cultural influences were felt all over Europe; that with their dissolution followed the downfall of Majorca, before the decree of expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

Part II treats of the Inquisition in Majorca and its obstructing influence on the moral and intellectual progress of civilisation on the island; the constant and pertinacious attitude of the Majorcan clergy in the oppression of one class of the inhabitants, solely because of their descent from Jews over four hundred and fifty years earlier. The lesson to be learned from the narrative and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom, have been based entirely on documents and facts, but the reader will form his own opinion and pass judgment accordingly.

The present history has no pretensions to be complete It must be considered as an outline to be filled in later, but I hope that a certain amount of spade-work has been achieved which has cleared the way for others who may follow me. In the List of Documents I have included every document concerning the Jews of Majorca that has come to my attention, and that should serve as a useful aid, but they leave scope for closer analysis than I have been able to give them. Several of the documents give us an insight into the social life within the Jewry; the disputes of the Jews between themselves (an unfortunate characteristic of the Jews), and their relations with the christian population without, but I have not touched upon this side of the history. It is now four years since I commenced my research, all of which time has been passed on the island, with the exception of short absences to Barcelona and elsewhere for supplementary information, but failing sight urges me to terminate before my personal satisfaction is attained, for the subject is worthy of close attention and study. In short, I have as far as is known to me, utilised all the available material in writing the following account. Where I have fallen short in the use of that material, and shortcomings certainly exist, the future historian

must rectify, and nothing will please me more than to see it done.

I cannot refrain from publicly acknowledging here, the courtesy and services rendered to me by Don Juan Llabrés, son of the late Gabriel Llabrés, and further, I desire to put on record my gratitude for the valuable aid I received from the late Don Francisco Villalonga y Fábregues, ex-Mayor of Palma. He placed his entire library at my disposal, and demonstrated his sympathetic interest in the subject in every possible way.

A. L. I.

March, 1935

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PART I

THE JEWS

INTRODUCTION

MY first idea was to call this book "The Eternal People," but, rightly or wrongly, I decided not to adopt this title. The name evokes scenes of the Ghetto, of old men with venerable beards, long coats and hooked noses; it evokes scenes of massacres, persecutions, pogroms, trails of refugees, misery and poverty, and also an ever-present question that the nations of the world have never been able to definitely settle. Ever since the rise of Christianity they appear to have constituted an Eternal Problem, and their continued existence represents an Eternal Miracle, for all has been done that could be done to strangle them out of existence, but they continue, in spite of all, and even thrive. The Eternal People exist in Eternity, for time has no meaning for them, and Eternity is beyond the power of human conception. Such are the Jews, and this volume presents a chapter in their history, hitherto unknown, depicting their life, power, culture and world-influence, in what is now an insignificant corner of the Mediterranean, the Balearic Islands. The lesson that centuries have endeavoured to teach is but now penetrating into the mind of the Spanish nation, and the cause of civilisation, so long neglected, once more asserts itself.

The awakening of Spain is a result of the psychological, intellectual and scientific development and progress of the beginning of the twentieth century, which can, and I believe will, have far-reaching consequences. Spain has aroused herself from a slumber that has endured

for five centuries. Her eyelids are still heavy with the sleep of ages, and she stumbles right and left with half-opened eyes. Sixty years ago an attempt was made to awaken her; she opened her eyes, turned round, and went to sleep again, but that sleep was troubled and disturbed. Now she is conscious of her awakening but is as yet, not quite accustomed to the new sensation. After five hundred years of catastrophic darkness and lethargy, the wonderful sun of enlightened thought is far too bright and strong not to use smoked glasses, hence the fear of advancing too far in one direction and not far enough in another has given rise to errors; but Spain is feeling her way and she will find it.

That long period of darkness and torpor has, indeed, been catastrophic, for while at the height of her power, Spain fell to the level of a country of little account, drugged with the pernicious anaesthetic of religious fanaticism and the Holy Inquisition. Each country in Europe has, in turn, been attacked by a similar malady, but has had the moral strength to overcome it, more or less, quickly. Spain, the last, is only just recovering from the anaesthetic and the danger of a relapse still exists. Moral courage, strength of will and honesty of purpose can pull her through, and she possesses all those qualities.

One of her greatest problems, if not the greatest, influencing her general welfare, was the question of religious liberty or liberty of conscience, and its full legal recognition by the State; this has now become accomplished. Prescott designated "the greatest of earthly blessings, civil and religious liberty." Tolerance is insufficient; full liberty and nothing less is necessary, for the moral, intellectual and economic results are incalculable. Further, this liberty must be enforced

against all hidden or occult influences, which are very powerful in Spain, for the country's advancement demands it. "Better be hurried forward for a season on the wings of the tempest, than stagnate in a death-like calm, fatal alike to intellectual and moral progress."

Progress ceases when religious fanaticism and intolerance govern or dominate. History amply proves this logical result, for the national mental state becomes clogged and befogged, and the nation loses its individuality. Religious influence must not govern State policy, for the State will suffer; the two spheres are opposing. Such, hitherto, has been Spain's condition. Her great epoch was between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries; her fanatical intolerance developed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and increased in proportion with her general prosperity, until the close of the fifteenth century, but ignorance of the cause of that prosperity was either real or feigned. Her decline as a great world Power began at the height of her fanaticism and was swift; it dates from that well-defined period when the Inquisition was all-powerful in the name of religion, and from the expulsion of the Jews. When that decree was signed by the Catholic Sovereigns, in 1492, Spain was doomed, for "the Jews contributed so sensibly to the wealth and civilisation of the country."

That the Jews have always contributed to the prosperity of any country that has offered them hospitality and full liberty, is now generally admitted; but history affords numerous instances where the contrary policy and the expulsion of the Jews has been fatal, causing eventually the country's downfall. It is as great an error to be voluntarily blind to the truth, as it is to act against it. The fall of the great Roman Empire itself may be said to have begun with the expulsion of the

Jews, at the time of the Emperor Hadrian. Spain and Portugal suffered the same fate from the same cause, and much later, Russia suffered from the stringent regulations that impeded full liberty to Jewish thought and activity. It might be contested that it is destiny; that power and civilisation began in the East and go to the West, which is true, for the Jews have been driven from the East, to the West, and civilisation and advancement have followed them.

From Spain and Portugal they reached Holland, and later, England, and both countries benefited by their presence. To the highly impressionable and sentimental mind, such as the Jewish, occult or supernatural influence may be assigned to the "chosen people," but to the logical, reasoning temperament it is even easier to attribute to other causes this historic fact, more in accordance with the matter-of-fact present day.

The Jewish character adapts itself with great facility to conditions—adaptability created by the force of circumstances necessitating constant change, as is proved by the history of the race, and although the natural intellectual tendency of the people inclines towards philosophy, the sciences and medicine, yet the necessities of existence forced their mental activities also into other channels. Their intelligence sought an outlet that would provide full scope for its development, and at the same time full means of existence. Thus it was that they adopted commerce. Commerce presented the many advantages of virgin soil, for among most European nations previous to the sixteenth century, and even later, trade was a despised calling. The middle and lower classes were almost wholly agricultural; the higher classes and nobility adopted military or ecclesiastical vocations, sometimes both. Trade and foreign com-

merce were almost entirely neglected. The Jews at once recognised the wide field thus left open to them in this direction and applied their full force to its development. In this manner a very great proportion of international commerce came into their hands. As a logical and fatal consequence of their expulsion from any country, that country's trade, and consequently its prosperity, suffered and declined, for there were no others to replace the expelled.

The greatest of the earliest known traders were the Phoenicians, and it is said that they were of Semitic origin. Destiny has ordained that the result of Jewish foresight and industry has become the mainstay of the world's powers of the present day.

II

The history of the Jews in Majorca presents one long record of suffering, persecution and torture, which endured intermittently for rather more than five hundred years, from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the early part of the nineteenth. It may be argued that the Jews did not exist in Majorca after 1435, but this applies to *professed* Jews only, and in 1435 there were but few left after the massacre of 1391, but in both years *enforced* conversion took place, and the persecution of their descendants continued. It is almost inconceivable that human vitality and energy could withstand such a terrible strain and drain. It is impossible to say if any other race but the Jews could have survived, for no other people has been put to the test. For five centuries in Majorca they had but little time to breathe freely; the intervals free from oppression were of short duration and of rare occurrence. The

bigotry of Ferdinand I of Aragon and the cruelty of the Jesuit priest, Francisco Garau, may be signalled as the two pinnacles, above which religious fanaticism could hardly hope to aspire; the one at the beginning of the fifteenth century (1413), and the other at the end of the seventeenth (1691), while the intervening period was full of torture and terror. The fact exists, that during the five centuries of persecution in Majorca, not one outstanding personality can be found who raised his voice against the perversion of the teachings of the catholic religion, most probably from fear of being accused as a suspect by the Inquisition, and of the terrible consequences that could result therefrom. In 1435 the whole population was moved to pity and mercy, but the whole population could not be suspected, and besides, the Church took sides with the people. It was only as late as the second half of the *nineteenth century*, when the Inquisition had ceased to exist, that that personality came forward, and from within the Church itself, as was but right; he clearly and powerfully expressed his condemnation of the practices of the Church in Majorca. That man was the priest José Taronjí, said to be of Jewish descent. He was a Majorcan by birth and his name will live in Majorcan history, as the defender of intellectual, civil and religious liberty in the island.

In 1877 Taronjí published a book entitled: *Concerning the Religious and Social State of the Island of Majorca* (*Algo sobre el Estado religioso y social de la isla de Mallorca*). This contained, with additional chapters, the controversial articles written a short time previously, between himself and Miguel Maura, a dignitary of the Church. The book created a tremendous sensation in a place like Majorca, which had persistently presented an impenetrable barrier to the approach of advanced

thought. The descendants of the converted Jews, or *chuetas* as they are called, have always been considered a despised class, and been treated with contempt, yet here a priest comes forward, with simple and logical argument, to defend the right of the despised to independent thought and social liberty. The effect on the masses was such, that it is said, the clergy bought up many copies of the book and probably destroyed them, for it has now become very difficult to find.

Taronjí preached charity and *religion*. He denounced as iniquitous and unreligious that class distinction between the catholic descendants of converted Jews, whose conversion took place over four centuries earlier (1435), and other catholics, and his condemnation of Francisco Garau is not less powerful. It is difficult to realise that the same religion could have produced two such men as Francisco Garau and José Taronjí. As a result of Taronjí's campaign the feeling against the *chuetas* somewhat diminished, but it is still acute, more particularly among the upper classes, where greater enlightenment might have been expected. It is amongst those classes that intolerance is most prevalent in Majorca. I am assured that no Majorcan would write the history of the Jews of the island. One would be tempted to ask the reason, if a knowledge of the conditions, social and religious, did not render the reply obvious.

As a general rule, indiscriminate reading of the literary products of modern thought is not encouraged in Majorca. Blasco Ibañes is almost banned, and but few have read *Los Muertos Mandan* (*The Dead Command*, in the English translation) for it treats with Majorcan life and the *chuetas* to the latter's advantage. Priestly influence is still predominant to a very great extent, but there are signs, feeble it is true, among the rising genera-

tion, of a rebellious spirit, which must eventually tear asunder the chains that are reminiscent of the black torture-cells of the Inquisition, and burst forth into the glorious light of God's sun.

"The greatest of earthly blessings, civil and religious liberty."

III

The principal accusations against the Jews of the Middle Ages and until the sixteenth century, are that they accumulated great wealth from usury and trading in slaves, and further, that the converted Jews (*conversos* or new christians) were not sincere but continued to practise their religion in secret.

It must be remembered that the world's commerce was almost wholly in the hands of the Jews, as has already been stated, and it was in commerce that they, originally, acquired their wealth; they then became the bankers of the world. They were the only people in Europe at that period who possessed the special intelligence and means necessary to be bankers. The rich nobles expended their wealth on their personal pleasures or military enterprises, which frequently impoverished them, and even kings were ruined by the same cause. It is, however, certain that high and even exorbitant rates of interest were demanded at times, but the customs and mentality of the period must not be forgotten, and generally, much depended on the borrower. What can be considered a justified rate of interest on loans, is a debatable question, and has occupied the attention of economists at various periods, without their arriving at any definite result. The difficulties of fixing a standard rate are acknowledged, and decisions varying from 30 to 60 per cent, and even higher, have been arrived

at. The distinction between what is usury and what is not usury, is not easy to define, for not only must the character of the borrower be taken into account, but also losses suffered in the exercise of the business of money-lending. In the thirteenth century, in the city of Burgos, 33 per cent was authorised and in the sixteenth century 30 to 45 per cent was almost general. The many cases of usury that one reads of, undoubtedly might support the accusation, but the majority were not guilty of the offence. In Majorca and Aragon, James I decreed that not more than 20 per cent interest could be levied on loans under penalty of losing the capital, half to go to the borrower and half to the King's treasury, and in those countries cases are not so numerous where illegal interest was charged. In 1391, the provincial people of Majorca paid only *10 per cent* to the Jews, and they specifically demanded the annulment of usurious contracts of *christians*. Although many decrees against usury were issued by the early Majorcan kings, they were applicable to christians, Jews and Moors alike.

Usury is generally considered to have been introduced by Jews who are said to have been the first to practise it. This is by no means in accordance with historic fact. As early as the twelfth century, usury was already general in all the European States. It was introduced by the Florentines, Etruscans and the Lombards from Italy, who formed themselves into companies and exploited the needy, lending their money at exorbitant rates of interest and reducing all to misery who had the misfortune to fall into their clutches. Complaints against them were heard from all countries, and they were frequently expelled from different States; this was long before there was any question of usury among the

Jews. In fact cases are known where these christian usurers received special protection from rulers, who sold them the right to practise usury and divided the profits; even the Court of Rome itself conferred this privilege to certain companies. The Lombards demanded 10 per cent per month. It was only during the thirteenth century that Jews began lending money, driven to it by the expulsions, confiscations and persecutions which took place in the various countries of Europe at the period. They were compelled to confine themselves to an occupation that did not involve the accumulation of property difficult to carry away. "It is worthy of note that the first States in which we see Jews assimilated with christian usurers are those where fanaticism persecuted them most." In Aragon in the thirteenth century, it was declared that christians were prohibited, and had renounced, usury, but that it was not intended to prohibit Jews to lend money on interest, because "*these transactions are so useful and convenient to christians.*"[1] The Jews adopted money-lending as a means of livelihood, forced to it by circumstances caused by the fanaticism or cupidity, or both, of the ecclesiastics and princes.

At that epoch the trade in slaves was a recognised branch of commerce, and slave-markets were to be found in all trading centres. All who had the means possessed slaves, whether they were christians, Jews or Moors, consequently, this accusation cannot be admitted. Slave-trading, however, becomes an accusation, *and a very grave one*, when exercised by an Inquisitor of the Holy Office, not in the Middle Ages, but as late as the early seventeenth century; and this actually occurred. There exists in London at the present day, the original

[1] Bedarride (J.), *Les Juifs en France en Italie et en Espagne*, Paris, 1861, pp.134–135, 184–185, 187–192.

Will of Claudio de la Cueva, "Apostolic Inquisitor of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Cuenca and Siguenza" dated April 26, 1611, *who dealt in slaves*!

That the converted Jews practised their religion in secret cannot, surely, be placed to their discredit, for what else could be expected? The great majority became converted with immediate torture and death as the alternative; the others, and wiser, foresaw the doom that awaited them and assumed christianity in order to avert the catastrophe while there was yet time, but in both cases the cause was identical. It proves conclusively the want of knowledge of human nature on the part of those who advocated and practised enforced conversion, or that excessive fervour for the cause of their faith over-stepped the bounds of reason. The insincerity of the so-called "converted Jews" is all to their credit, and no other result could be reasonably expected in any age. Proselytism, another accusation, by the Jews is totally unfounded; it is against the dictates of their faith, and as Dr. Lea points out in his remarkable *History of the Inquisition*, "the Talmud declares that a proselyte is as damaging to Israel as an ulcer to a healthy body."[1] If the professed Jews attempted to reclaim the conversos, it was but natural for baptism cannot change a man's opinion against his will, and the conversos were still Jews, therefore it is not proselytism. When Heine became baptised in order to enter the University, he remarked to a friend, after the ceremony, that all the waters of Babylon could not wash the Judaism from his soul, and he was right. James I of Aragon and Majorca was a wise man and a great king, and *he* believed in conversion by persuasion and not by force, yet *he* lived in the Middle Ages.

[1] *Hist. of Inquisition*, vol. i, p. 42.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY—ARRIVAL OF THE JEWS IN MAJORCA—CONQUEST OF MAJORCA BY JAMES I OF ARAGON—JEWS FAVOURED BY JAMES I —DEATH OF JAMES I AND HIS GREAT INFLUENCE IN EUROPE— ACCESSION OF JAMES II—ENMITY OF PEDRO III OF ARAGON— JAMES II DEPOSED BY ALFONSO III

THE Balearic Islands in general, and Majorca in particular, occupied a position of primary importance in the affairs of the known world, until the fifteenth century. Their geographical position accounted for this to no small extent, for they lie at a convenient distance from the shores of Spain, France, Italy and Africa, so that from the point of view of maritime commerce and communications, the possession of them was of great importance. Majorca, the largest and by far the richest of the islands, has been successively under the domination of the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Vandals, Goths, Moors[1] and Spaniards. The island prospered under all these different races, but her period of prosperity was shortest and finally terminated, under the last named.

Difference of opinion exists as to the probable period of the arrival of the Jews in Majorca. The most reasonable is that advanced by the historian Vicente Mut, who considers that it occurred after the destruction of

[1] Where the word *sarracenos* or Saracens is used in documents, I have preferred to employ the word Moors. Saracens are considered to be an Eastern race, whereas the *sarracenos* referred to came from the north of Africa. In documents the words Saracens and Moors are employed indiscriminately. "*Saracens*, from the Arabic, *Xarquin*, means people from the Xarq or the East, whereas *Moros* (from *Mauri*) means the people of Mauritania or the West."—Forster's *Chronicle of James I of Aragon*, vol. i, p. 190 note.

Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasion, and their subsequent expulsion by the Emperor Hadrian. They then became scattered over the different countries on both shores of the Mediterranean, many landing in Majorca. The liberty accorded to them by the then dominating race and the successive races that ruled there, permitted them to settle on the island, whence they developed commercial relations with the easily accessible overseas countries, with the result that Majorca eventually became the central exchange for commerce with Genoa, Marseilles, Catalonia, Valencia, Barbary and even more distant coasts. It acted as a half-way clearing-house where all congregated, and it attained a great reputation and exceptional importance. Unfortunately, piracy, which had always existed in the Mediterranean, became more prevalent as the number of merchant ships increased that plied between the different coasts, and two Catalan vessels, seized by the Moorish pirates of Majorca, later constituted the excuse for the Aragonese expedition for the conquest of the island.

The Spanish, or more correctly speaking Aragonese conquest of Majorca was accomplished by James I of Aragon, on the last day of the year 1229, when he was twenty-one years old, but notwithstanding his youth, his precocious intelligence gave great promise of that mature wisdom, which later placed him in the foremost rank of great kings. "Jayme I of Aragon, surnamed the Conqueror, was among the greatest sovereigns in an age of great sovereigns, the age of Edward I of England, of St. Louis of France, of St. Fernando of Castile, of Frederick II of Germany." The expedition was ostensibly undertaken and considered in the nature of a crusade, to establish once more and finally the catholic faith on the island. Christianity had existed there intermittently

ever since the fifth century, but the intervals were of short duration, due to the succession of different races that ruled there. Material reasons, nevertheless, very considerably influenced the execution of the project, for Majorca was reputed to be very wealthy, with prolific natural resources, and a worthy prize for a great king. Unfriendly relations had existed for some time between the Moorish King of Majorca and the King of Aragon, caused by the piratical practices of the Majorcans, and the project of an expedition for the conquest of the island appealed strongly to the imagination and spirit of the youthful James I. He was enthusiastically supported by the nobles and ecclesiastics, particularly of Catalonia, who contributed largely towards the equipment of the expedition and the supply of troops. The moment proved to be most favourable to the invaders, for Majorca was rent by internal dissension, and its ruler was harassed by continual intrigues and plots of his chiefs, and even members of his own family, against himself. Even the presence of a common enemy failed to calm completely the rival factions, and one secretly entered into negotiations with James. The capital of Majorca was well designed to sustain a long siege, and had circumstances been otherwise, the difficulties of the Aragonese would have been considerably increased. Under the existing conditions it was only after three months' strenuous fighting, that James and his army succeeded in occupying the city.

After the last assault, the soldiers of King James entered the fortified enclosure of the city by the *Puerta del Campo* which had been shattered and destroyed during the attack. Here they saw advancing towards them a crowd of men and women, old and young, and children, all imploring for mercy. They were Jews who had left

their synagogue situated near the said entrance to the city, who, fearing massacre, came to meet the invaders to attempt to calm their fury. The King not only protected their persons but also their property, and he treated them with every consideration.

At the time of the conquest, Majorca possessed a fleet of trading ships unsurpassed by any other country. Its coast offered many secure and sheltered harbours, which provided safe anchorage for the multitude of ships that arrived there, and greatly influenced the remarkable development of its commerce. Merchants congregated here from all parts; ships continually arrived discharging foreign goods, gold and slaves, which were bought, sold and transhipped elsewhere. The natural agricultural products of the island: oil, wines, fruits and an abundance of rich manufactured goods were exported, and the water-side quays presented a busy and animated aspect. New industries, delicate cloths, beautiful pottery, etc., augmented the flow of trade and the great business activity at the time of the conquest, inspired James I with the necessity of the erection of a *Lonja*, or Commercial Exchange, to facilitate the transaction of maritime commerce. The site was fixed facing the harbour and the plans were drawn up, but too long an interval elapsed before it materialised, to render it of any utility. It was not finally completed before 1451, when its *raison d'être* no longer existed, and *la Lonja* now stands as one of the masterpieces of the great Majorcan architect, Guillermo Sagrera, and as one of the most beautiful Gothic buildings of its kind. The grandeur of the building, nevertheless, indicates the importance of the transactions it was designed to promote, and conveys a strong impression of opulence and prosperity.

A number of Jews joined the expeditions for the

conquests of Majorca and Minorca, possibly to take advantage of new ground for the development of commerce in the event of a successful issue, but Bover states, that they were sufficiently numerous to form a corps, and so highly distinguished themselves, that their services were generously rewarded by liberal gifts of land.[1] King James tells us that Rabbi Babiel and his brother Don Salomon, both Jews of Saragossa, acted as interpreters between himself and the Moors on those expeditions.

The Aragonese Conquest established, the first care after the installation of the Government, was to establish the Church, and for this purpose an imposing body of ecclesiastics of all ranks had accompanied the expedition, including the Archbishop of Tarragona, Spargo de la Barca; the Bishop of Barcelona, Berenguer de Palau; the Bishops of Gerona and Vich; the Abbot of San Feliu de Guixols, and many others. Attention was then directed to the development and colonisation of the island and the King offered every facility and inducement to the Jews to settle there. James I of Aragon held the Jews in high esteem and appreciated their particular qualities deficient in the other classes of his subjects, but a valuable adjunct to the economic force of his dominions. He granted them full liberty and important privileges and their synagogues were exempted from the payment of all tribute or tax until the year 1263, when the annual sum of eighty-two Valencian libras was paid, by agreement; the contract was signed by Berenguer de Tornamira on behalf of the King, and Barhte-ben-Aron, Astruch de Marcclia and Abenain, secretaries of the Great Synagogue, on behalf of the Jews.[2] In the year

[1] Bover (J. M.), *Memoria de los Pobladores de Mallorca*, Palma, 1838, pp. 65–66.
[2] *Hist. gén. de Mallorca*, vol. ii, p. 818.

1250, he restored to the Jews the original site occupied by the Jewry at the time of the conquest, adjoining the royal palace.[1] In addition, there exist innumerable documents, edicts, decrees and privileges, indicating a decided predilection for the race and protecting them in every way from prevailing prejudice. This partiality is demonstrated not only in Majorca, but in all his dominions. Jewish belief and observances were respected and his attitude towards them was more than favourable, it was friendly. He insisted, however, on their living apart from christians, a prudent precaution in view of the popular attitude. He was well aware of ecclesiastical, and therefore popular, prejudice against them, and he took every precaution to protect them in their rights as loyal subjects, and to ensure that strict justice be enforced in all legal disputes between Jews and christians. This induced him to order that in all judicial proceedings against Jews, the accusation had to be supported by Jewish witnesses as well as christian witnesses,[2] thus reducing prejudicial influence to a minimum, but its total suppression was beyond the power, even, of James I. The fact that this order had to be repeated in several decrees, indicates the difficulty of enforcing its observance.

The establishment of the Church on a small island like Majorca, endowed the ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century with a consciousness of authority and power that they desired to render absolute. The intensity of their ardour for their faith would brook no opposition, and all who were not catholics must be suppressed. The unsatisfactory results of efforts at proselytism among the Jews created exasperation and hatred, as it did everywhere else; the situation of the Jews was rendered

[1] Document 5. See List of Documents. [2] Documents 5, 8, 11, 13, 15.

as painful as possible and their personal safety was frequently threatened. James I had on more than one occasion, to guarantee their personal security and that of their property.[1] The object of many of his decrees concerning the Jews of Majorca, was to protect them from prevailing prejudice. A notable instance of this and also of his great independence of spirit, is a decree dated 1257, which protected the Jews of Lerida against the bull of Pope Gregory IX depriving all the Jews of Spain of their religious books. In order to counteract the influence of strong anti-Jewish sentiment, he granted the Jews privileges and favours, which inspired them with the confidence that they enjoyed his protection, and at the same time, made known to his christian subjects his will, and his determination to enforce it. He considered and placed the Jews on an equality with the rest of his subjects and in the administration of justice no distinction was made.

The question of money-lending was regulated by law. The King decided that interest on loans should not exceed 20 per cent, and prohibited a higher rate to be demanded, under severe penalty[2] (1); this applied to all money-lenders, christians, Jews or Moors, but there are indications that the law was not strictly observed, for the following year (1250), the King repeated the prohibition to exceed 20 per cent interest, "at the request of the inhabitants of Majorca."[3] Four years later, he found it necessary to remind Jewish money-lenders of the royal command concerning rates of interest on loans.[4] In 1272, when James granted to the Majorcan Jews the same concessions that he accorded

[1] Documents 11, 18.
[2] Document 3. Numbers in brackets refer to the notes at the end of the book.
[3] Document 6.
[4] Document 9.

to the Jews of Barcelona, he granted his indulgence to Jews guilty of violation of the legal rate of interest[1]; but during his long reign of forty-six years over the island of Majorca, we know of no other instance where usury was sufficiently exaggerated to warrant the King's intervention. He evidently experienced and recognised the difficulties of setting a fixed rate of interest and if he consented to pardon violation against the law of interest on loans, extenuating circumstances must have been strong. There is ample documentary evidence to prove the difficulties experienced by Jewish money-lenders and merchants in collecting their debts, and of fraudulent ruses practised by their debtors to evade payment.

The King's desire for equality in the administration of justice was not always respected by his representatives. It is difficult to govern from a distance against opposing influences on the spot; Pedro IV, a century later, experienced the same difficulty and the Jews were the victims of the same opposing influence. As early as the year 1252, they had to appeal to James against the injustice and wrongs done to them by his own agents, who ignored royal decrees and the royal will. To direct the attention of his representatives in Majorca, he repeated and confirmed his decree of May 10, 1250, and further added that he granted to the Jews the right to complain to him personally of any lapse in the exercise of duty and justice, on the part of his agents.[2] This step produced beneficial results, but not of long duration.

The King's clemency and friendliness towards the Jews were regarded with increasing disapprobation by the Majorcan Church. James I was rarely in the island; his presence was continually necessary on the mainland

[1] Document 15. [2] Document 7.

for the government of his provinces there, and where the military operations against the encroachment of the Moors left him little leisure. The government of his island kingdom was administered by a Governor or Viceroy and his Lieutenant. The visits to the island by James I were few, three in all after the conquest, when his presence was considered necessary. His first visit, in 1231, eighteen months after the conquest, was occasioned by the unfounded rumour that the King of Tunis had equipped an expedition for the recovery of Majorca; the second, in 1232, completed the submission of the Moorish chief who had taken refuge in the mountains, and accomplished the occupation of Minorca; the third, and last, occurred in 1269, thirty-seven years later, to enrol recruits for a projected crusade to the Holy Land, which was eventually abandoned. The continued and lengthy absence of the personal presence of the King was not lost upon the clergy, and efforts on their part were not wanting to create disturbance and commotion against the Jewish population. In the year 1267, the Ecclesiastical Chapter decided "that the state of the Church of Majorca, and the advancement of its work, demanded the total extirpation and conversion of infidels and Hebrews."[1] The resolution was adopted with acclamation in the presence of the recently appointed Governor of Majorca, the Infante Don Jaime, second son of the King. It is extremely doubtful if the King had any previous knowledge of this resolution, for it is contrary to his principles and to the policy he had always pursued. It is more probable that advantage was taken of the presence of the Infante at the assembly, in his quality of Governor of the island, to proclaim his approbation on behalf of the King and the population. Nothing, however, was

[1] *Cronicon Mayoricense*, p. 16.

done to put the resolution into effect, which supports the belief in the King's ignorance, who when cognisant of what had taken place, immediately prevented any steps being taken to realise the project, and nothing more was heard of it.

The spirit exposed in this resolution, nevertheless, exhibits the general mental atmosphere that existed towards all who were not catholics, and in view of such mentality, the situation of the Jews was particularly delicate. The regulation of all questions concerning them required much tact and judgment on the part of the King, and during his reign the Jews not only lived peaceably in their quarter, but were protected from the exactions of royal officials and from the outrages of the christian population. Numerous documents bear evidence of his high protection. James's great ability as a ruler is well demonstrated by the manner in which he controlled the question and situation of the Jews. Strength of will and vigour to enforce his decision, even during long absence and against powerful opposition; dispensation of strict and impartial justice to all, irrespective of class or persons, and a deep knowledge of human nature, mark James I of Aragon as a king of exceptional character. His death, which occurred in Valencia on July 27, 1276, was an irreparable loss, not only to his own subjects, but to the whole world, for his influence was felt and exercised far beyond the boundaries of his own territories. Muntaner, the chronicler of James I, wrote: "The emotion and sorrow was so extraordinary and universal . . . not only in the city and in all his lands, but in all Christendom, caused by the loss of such an excellent and glorious King, whose memory has been preserved throughout the ages until now, and will be ever retained by posterity with singular praise, admira-

tion and amazement of his heroic exploits and more than human virtues."

King James was fervently religious, but in no respect a fanatic; his strong principles of tolerance were exercised even in Rome.[1] He was above all, a king and a diplomat, and incapable of committing the fatal error of persecuting or expelling the Jews, that Isabella of Castile was guilty of two centuries later. He was not alone in manifesting partiality towards the Jews. St. Ferdinand of Castile refused to persecute them, so did also his successor Alfonso X, surnamed the Wise, and during their reigns Jews occupied high positions of state and culture. These monarchs refused to sacrifice the interests of their country to a difference of conscientious belief, yet their profound earnestness for the catholic faith is undisputed. In the peninsula, it was much later with the introduction of the Modern Inquisition during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, that the intense persecution and expulsion of the Jews took place.

Both James and Isabella were great monarchs, but both employed directly opposing methods. Isabella possessed an inordinate personal ambition combined with a strong feminine susceptibility to religious influence, provided it did not conflict with her ambition. Religious influence, then, blinded her to the material interests of her country, which cause produced a mental state clouded by a fixed idea, which rendered it impervious to all else—a grave fault in her character. The logical, masculine reasoning of James could not admit these defects in a monarch. Isabella was an autocrat such as only a woman can be. James was the qualified diplomatist, peculiar to men. Isabella took the golden eggs and then killed the geese, with the consequent loss of

[1] *Congresso de la Hist. de Aragon*, Barcelona, vol. ii, pp. 831–832.

prosperity; James utilised the golden eggs and kept the geese, and prosperity increased in his dominions. Isabella's efforts consolidated Spain under one crowned head, and there lies her greatness, also her ambition, but at the enormous sacrifice of the country's future prosperity which, after continuing her fanatical policy for four and a half centuries, Spain has not yet regained. The Church cannot control the material interests of a country, nor was it Isabella's idea that it should, but here her greatness fell short for want of perception. James was undoubtedly the greater ruler, and being free from fanaticism, was the more truly sincere catholic —and he lived two hundred years earlier. The principle that guided his conduct throughout his long reign, is contained in his own words: "God loves kings who love their people."

James I bequeathed his dominions to his two sons, Don Pedro and Don Jaime. Don Pedro, the elder, inherited the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia and the county of Catalonia, which formed the greater and more important part of his possessions; he reigned as Pedro III of Aragon. To Don Jaime was allotted the Kingdom of Majorca and the counties of Rossillon, Conflent and Cerdeña, with the barony of Montpellier, and he reigned as James II of Majorca.

The Conqueror's scrupulous sense of justice and spirit of tolerance, dominated the administrative policy of his son, and James II of Majorca proved to be an admirable successor of his illustrious father. But the early years of his reign were troublous ones, the greater part passed in his continental possessions defending himself against the intrigues and injustice of his brother, Pedro III of Aragon. His natural kindliness of nature, however, endeared him to all and his reign promised to be one

of prosperity and happiness, but the difficulties created by his brother left him little time, and it was not until nearly four years after his accession (January 1, 1280) that he confirmed the privileges of the Majorcan Jews. In the meantime he had accorded them additional favours, and the decree of confirmation includes all those granted by James I and himself.[1] James II, however, was not permitted to remain in peaceful possession of his inherited provinces.

Pedro III had always considered James an obstacle to the realisation of his ambitions; he had never lived in amicable relations with him, and this was a constant source of anxiety to James I. They both possessed to a pronounced degree the proud character of their race, but Pedro was, furthermore, ambitious, jealous and vindictive. The *Conquistador* was well acquainted with his sons' natures, and his anxiety that the peaceful-minded James would become the victim of his elder brother's want of scruples, animated him to define precisely, in his testament, the territories assigned to each, to avoid, if possible, future discord and antagonism. Even on his death-bed he exhorted Pedro to adopt a more friendly attitude towards his brother, but when he passed away, his paternal influence passed with him, and his fears proved to be too well-founded. Unfortunately for James, his lands were too scattered; Majorca was too distant from his continental dominions, and a want of cohesion weakened his position. He could not command sufficient force to offer any effective defence of his inheritance, and he had to submit to the pitiless exactions of Pedro. James was forced to sign an agreement by which he acknowledged holding all his lands in fee from the Crown of Aragon; that the King of Majorca had to pay homage to the King

[1] Document 23.

of Aragon once a year, and further, that the King of Majorca was bound to aid the King of Aragon against all adversaries. It was a humiliating document imposed by strength on impotence, in direct opposition to the wishes of James I and of common justice. The one point of consideration it contained, was that it exempted James II from paying homage during his life-time.

It is quite obvious that such a contract could not be observed for any length of time. For Pedro it was the thin edge of the wedge and specially designed to create discussion and dissension. James, by no means the intellectual inferior of Pedro, would naturally rebel against such coercion when the moment was propitious, and when political events brought him in contact with Philip the Hardy, King of France, an alliance between the two resulted. This Pedro rightly considered to be a breach of contract; it furnished him, however, with the excuse he sought. Philip, at the instigation of the Pope, commenced hostilities against Pedro (1285) on the question of Charles of Anjou and the right to the crown of Sicily, and James aided the French king by permitting the French army to pass through his provinces of Roussillon and Cerdeña. Although not of long duration, the campaign was severe, and at the siege of Gerona, which practically terminated it, Philip was wounded and died shortly afterwards. On his return to Barcelona from Gerona, Pedro decided to send immediately a strong force to land in Majorca and occupy the island in the name of Aragon, accusing James of treason. A fleet was equipped under the command of the famous admiral, Roger de Lauria, and Pedro left Barcelona to embark at the port of Salou, October 26, 1285, but on the way he was prostrated by illness which prevented him from personally carrying out his project. Consciousness of his

approaching end had no effect on his enmity against James, and hastily summoning his son, the Infante Alfonso, he confided to him the execution of the expedition, ordering him to sail at once. The development of the malady, accompanied by high fever, hastened the end, and on November 10, 1285 (2), Pedro III of Aragon breathed his last, at the age of forty-six years. A special messenger conveyed the news to Alfonso, who had already landed his army in Majorca. Far from relaxing his efforts, Alfonso eagerly pushed forward his operations, and on the nineteenth of the same month, the city of Majorca, as Palma was then called, received its new sovereign, while James II was in Perpignan. The occupation of the island, however, was not accomplished without a certain resistance, for the Majorcans considered James as their legal king, and he had greatly endeared himself to the islanders.

CHAPTER II

FAVOURABLE ATTITUDE OF ALFONSO III TOWARDS THE JEWS—HIS EARLY DEATH—SUCCEEDED BY JAMES II OF ARAGON—RESTITUTION OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS TO JAMES II OF MAJORCA—MISCHIEF CAUSED BY THE PRIESTS—JAMES II FAVOURABLE TO THE JEWS—DEATH OF JAMES II OF MAJORCA

ALFONSO III was a hot-headed youth in his twenty-second year, at the time of his successful expedition to Majorca, but he was accompanied by wise councillors of great experience, Dameto mentions Don Blasco de Alagon, one of the most valiant cavaliers of the period; Don Sancho de Antillon, Conrado Lanza, Don Pedro de Moncada, Ramon de Plegamaus, and many other notable names. The occupation of the island was greatly facilitated by King James's unfortunate alliance with the King of France, for although their sympathy was for James, the Majorcans had no partiality for the French. The soldiers of Philip the Hardy had behaved deplorably when traversing King James's territories, respecting neither the lives nor the property of the population that received them; the French were, furthermore, strangers, whereas the Aragonese were of their own race. The few Majorcan nobles who remained faithful to James, left the island and joined him in Perpignan.

Violent storms and exceptionally bad weather delaying his departure for the mainland, Alfonso concerned himself with the regulation of the internal affairs of the island, and the Jews received a considerable amount of his attention. On January 5, 1286, he publicly proclaimed himself King of the Baleares, and took the oath to

respect the laws and franchises of the Majorcans, but on the 9th of the same month, when he treated with the liberties and franchises of the *aljama*[1] of the Jews, it is important to note, that only certain specified decrees granted by James I were confirmed, and no others.[2] The same day, however, Alfonso signed a second decree in favour of the Jewish community, granting it valuable concessions, many of which were designed to facilitate their commercial transactions. Royal protection for their persons and property; exemption from the payment of certain taxes and tolls; special favours to Jewish cloth dealers and brokers; permission to Jewish prisoners to pay prison fees in the same manner as other prisoners; the decree even limited to ten bed-sheets the contribution of the Jews to the loan of bed-linen supplied to the King when residing in the city.[3] Four days later, he granted an amnesty to all Jews guilty of usury.[4] Alfonso also welcomed Jews to settle in his dominions, and exempted the poor from paying head-tax,[5] but he also decreed that they should live apart from the christian population. He ordered them to choose a site which would constitute their quarter and granted them a delay of five years to transfer their residence thereto.[6] Protection of the Jews against malicious individuals and dishonest officials was a necessity[7] and to ensure the observance of these exemptions and liberties, King Alfonso took the precaution of notifying the officials of the other provinces concerned, Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia—a necessary precaution but rarely effective.[8] The friendly disposition evinced by the King towards them was greatly appreciated, and when he made an

[1] *Aljama* means a community or assembly of Jews or Moors.
[2] Document 26. [3] Document 27.
[4] Document 28. [5] Document 35. [6] Document 31.
[7] Documents 24, 25, 32, 34, 41, 42, 52, 68. [8] Document 29.

appeal for aid to meet extraordinary expenses, the Majorcan Jews granted him the sum of 10,000 *sueldos*.[1]

The King's favours were confined to personal security and commercial facilities, which were of the first importance in that age, but early in the year 1288, he decreed that no Jew could hold office in the city or island of Majorca, and a few weeks later, on March 4th, a second decree encroached on their rights, by prohibiting Jews from acquiring honours, *property* or rents (*censos*).[2] This latter decree is in violation of the privileges granted by James I on July 21, 1269 and August 25, 1273 (nos. 12 and 18) *and confirmed by Alfonso*; the former concedes to the Jews the right to buy "houses, vines and other estate property," and the latter to "purchase new houses from christians." This change of attitude towards his Jewish subjects is difficult to explain, in view of the friendly inclination he had demonstrated towards them hitherto. In 1290, the practice of usury would appear to have been prevalent, for the King commenced proceedings against the Majorcan Jews for this offence, but a settlement was arranged by which the Jewish community agreed to pay the sum of 37,000 *sueldos* on condition that the proceedings be discontinued.[3]

Efforts were not wanting at this time, to bring about an amicable arrangement between Alfonso III and his uncle, James II. Alfonso had been reconciled with the new King of France, Philip le Bel, and new treaties were concluded between them, but the French king's bad faith prevented further developments. Political events necessitated the intervention of Edward I of England, and after some negotiations, a marriage was arranged between his daughter, the Princess Eleanor, and Alfonso.

[1] Document 35.
[2] *Cronicon Mayoricense*, p. 35.
[3] Document 60.

Great hopes were now entertained that the question of the restitution of the Balearic Islands to James II would, at the same time, be finally settled by the reputed tact and diplomacy of the English king; this was in fact almost accomplished, when the sudden death of Alfonso prevented the fulfilment of the project. He died of an infection caused by an enlarged gland, on June 18, 1291, while preparations for his approaching marriage were being actively advanced. Leaving no heir to the throne he was succeeded by his brother, Don Jaime, who was proclaimed King James II of Aragon. Don Jaime was, therefore, also a nephew of James II of Majorca. Much confusion has been created by uncle and nephew bearing the same name, and the coincidence has led to incorrect statements; care should therefore be taken not to confound the two.

Don Jaime was in Sicily when the news of his brother's death reached him, and he immediately set sail for Spain with Roger de Lauria and his fleet, accompanied by an important retinue of grandees. A halt was made at Majorca, where, August 8, 1291, he confirmed the franchises of the kingdom at the altar of the cathedral, and swore never to separate the Baleares from his other States.[1] It is clear that he entertained no thought of restitution to his uncle. The negotiations and discussions that had taken place between Charles of Naples, James of Majorca and Alfonso, in the previous April, during which the restitution of the Baleares to James II of Majorca was stipulated, were now reopened, but no agreement was arrived at. The new Pope, Boniface VIII, was appealed to to use his influence, and through his mediation a settlement was concluded in 1295. James II of Aragon either did not possess the strength of character

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 149 note.

of his father, Pedro III, or he was greatly influenced by pressure from Rome, as has been alleged, or, perhaps, it was that he had a deep sense of justice; but whatever the cause, the negotiations succeeded, although the restoration of the islands did not actually take place until 1298. The event, however, was a happy one for the island and indirectly, for the Jewish population.

James II of Aragon, during his seven years' government of Majorca, was called upon to decide various Jewish questions from counterfeiters to granting facilities for finding a suitable husband for a young Jewess.[1] In 1294, a certain Salamon Abenzeyt, Majorcan Jew, denounced his co-religionists for making counterfeit money, and appealed to the King for protection against the personal risk he had incurred by the denunciation.[2] The King ordered his treasurer and private procurator in Majorca, Pedro de Focs, to arrest the forgers and not to allow a crime of such importance to pass unpunished, but should the culprits wish to compromise, he gave him full power to fix the indemnity. He also assured the said Salamon Abenzeyt of his protection. It is doubtful if the accusation proved to be true, for we have no knowledge of any criminal proceedings or compromise resulting, nor any further information concerning the affair, and it would appear to have been dropped. It is reasonable to presume that a crime of such gravity would have had serious consequences for the Jews, and had the case been prosecuted further, other documents would certainly be known relating to it. In the absence of confirmatory evidence, it may be assumed that the said Salamon Abenzeyt belonged to a class of undesirable foreign Jews who came to Majorca, and of whom the Majorcan aljama bitterly complained some years later.

[1] Document 73.

[2] Documents 69, 70, 71.

In fact but two years after this date, on October 1, 1296, King James of Aragon empowered the governors of the Hebrew aljama to expel from the *Call*[1] and even from the island, "Jews or Jewesses of bad reputation and bad company,"[2] which leads one to conclude that either Salamon Abenzeyt was one of the undesirables, or that the forgers really existed, and that they belonged to that class against whom the Hebrew aljama was later forced to take extreme measures. It is worthy of note that this same decree of October 1, 1296, which authorised the governors of the Jewish community to treat with the question of disreputable Jews, granted the Jewry further franchises and repeats the royal protection, which leads one to believe that even if the crime of forging money actually existed, further enquiry into the matter diminished the gravity of the case and absolved the Jewry, as a whole, of responsibility.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the entire population of the island could not have numbered more than sixty or seventy thousand souls; the ecclesiastics, members of the various religious orders and communities, formed a very considerable body in proportion to the actual population. The power of the Church, consequently, increased with great strides on an island distant and isolated from the personal influence of the monarch's presence and his spirit of toleration. Its zeal for the propagation of catholicism, the conversion of infidels and heretics, and the vigorous suppression of all other beliefs, occupied its sole attention, and we have seen an unsuccessful tentative effort in the resolution of the Ecclesiastical Chapter, passed in 1267. The object to be attained, however, was never lost sight of. After the conquest, James I instituted conferences where catholic

[1] *Call*, the Jewry or Jewish quarter.

[2] Document 74.

priests encountered Jews and Moors for free discussion, with the ultimate object of conversion, and although no appreciable result was obtained, the idea was continued in a modified, but not so generous a form. Priests were appointed to preach the catholic faith to the Jews, who were forced to attend. The meetings took place within the Jewry, but the preachers, dissatisfied with the outcome of their efforts, gradually enticed the Jews outside the precincts of the *Call*, and finally compelled them to listen to their sermons in churches and other places where numbers of the christian population were assembled. The result of this manœuvre was that anti-Jewish feeling could be aroused on the slightest provocation, thus placing the Jewish audience in imminent danger. These stratagems were carried so far and became so grave, that the Jews had to apply to the King for protection against the clergy's abuse of their duties, and to avert the serious trouble that threatened to break out at each assembly. King James realised the dangerous situation created by over-zealous clerics, and gave orders (October 3, 1296) that the meetings had to be held within the Jewry, and he further instructed the procurator of Majorca, the *baile* and the provost of the city, not to permit more than ten christian tradesmen to assist at these assemblies.[1] This order was respected for some time, but it will be seen that the same ruse was repeated and aggravated some years later.

The restitution of the Balearic Islands to James II of Majorca, and the complete recognition of his legal rights, took place in 1298, when he returned to take possession of his island kingdom (3), and was received and acclaimed by the Majorcans with great enthusiasm and great rejoicing. Thenceforth he concentrated all his efforts on the

[1] Document 75.

peaceful development of the island. He was eminently suitable for tranquil government; intrigue was foreign to his character, practical intelligence was well developed in him, and his ambition lay in the care and welfare of his subjects. His policy was broad, tolerant and just, and those qualities distinguished him as a dignified and wise ruler, who, although he did not attain the greatness of his father, achieved inestimable benefits for Majorca. The foundation of new towns during both periods of his reign, created important centres of cultivation and distribution; they gave an additional impulse to industry and opened up facilities of communication essential to the development of production and commerce. Of the eleven towns he founded, many have now become important industrial centres. Lluchmayor is an important centre for the manufacture of boots and the cultivation of almonds and apricots; Felanitx and Binisalem are great wine-producing districts; Santany possesses fine stone quarries, which provided the material for building the cathedral and the *Lonja*, whereas Manacor is now the second largest town on the island, ranking after Palma the capital. In addition, James II granted to Majorca the right to possess its own currency, and the high standard of gold and silver coinage introduced greatly favoured overseas trade, offering increased attraction for foreign merchants. All these various facilities and extensions enlarged the field for Jewish activity; Majorca benefited and her wealth increased.

In 1285, King Alfonso III had ordered the Jews to occupy a part of the city, to be selected by them, that would constitute their Jewry, for until that time, the majority lived in the quarter adjoining the *Almudayna*, which had been ceded to them by James I, but many others lived scattered about the different parts of the city.

They had now selected a more extensive site, which had become a necessity in order to shelter the increased Jewish population, situated on the south-east side of the city; it terminated at the Calatrava, Santa Fé and Temple Gates. It was known as the *Call* (4), the name given to the Jewish quarter in all the towns under the Crown of Aragon, and where they lived as a separate community. Fear of another forced removal, however, urged them to petition King James for his assurance that they would be allowed to occupy their quarter in peace, at the same time pointing out the great prejudice and harm that would ensue if, at any later period, they had to transfer their *Call* elsewhere. James II accorded their petition, and ceded to the Jews, in perpetuity, the site they had chosen, together with the synagogue they had commenced to erect. He further granted them the right to buy land and build houses on the adjoining sites, should the necessity arise to enlarge the Jewry.[1] He was now a man of maturer age, judgment and experience, than in 1267, when as Infante and new Governor of Majorca, he acquiesced in the suppression of infidels and Hebrews. Although King James like his predecessors considered it wiser that the Jews should live apart, and prohibited them from living outside their quarter,[2] this was a precautionary and politic measure, for he also was fully aware of the prevailing feeling against the Jews.

For some time past, the Jews of Majorca had been much disturbed and troubled by the constant immigration of a number of co-religionists of bad character, who arrived from other countries, mostly Africa, and their objectionable presence among them was a cause of much anxiety and annoyance. They consisted of a class of adventurers and vagabonds driven out of their own

[1] Document 78.

[2] Document 80.

communities as undesirable, who in Majorca continued their nefarious practices, casting disrepute and dishonour on the whole Jewish community; disseminating discord among their co-religionists and augmenting intolerance among the christians. Things came to such a pass that, in 1303, the authorities of the aljama appealed to the King to expel them from the island.[1] It has been seen that eleven years earlier Jewish counterfeiters were denounced to King James II of Aragon; now once more Jewish forgers were discovered and, this time, condemned to be hanged, and there is every reason to believe that on both occasions, the criminals were of the undesirable immigrants. On this occasion the condemned, repudiated and ostracised by their own people, were admitted to the Catholic Church after having been baptised, and accorded a religious burial.[2] Unfortunately these malefactors encouraged the anti-Jewish propaganda of the clergy, which rendered the position of the Jews more and more uncomfortable, and once they had obtained a foothold in the country, it was very difficult to dislodge them. It is quite certain that they were not all expelled, for in later years they were the cause of further urgent appeals to the King by the Jewish aljama.

Another question of great importance, also dealt with by James II of Aragon in 1296, was the dangerous conduct of the priests in the Jewry. In all cases where the Jews were concerned, the priests exceeded their duties to such an extent that they resulted in complaints to the King. Like his predecessor, James II of Majorca was called upon to deal with the same question on more than one occasion. In 1305, disturbance and scandal had been created within the *Call* by the priests, and complaints had been received by the King from the Jews.

[1] Document 82.

[2] Document 81.

He wrote from Perpignan to the Governor of Majorca, Dalmacio de Garriga, instructing him to co-operate with the Bishop "on the case of the Jews and the recent affair that has caused scandal"; to prohibit the clergy from entering the Jewry except for urgent reasons, and then only after permission had been granted; the priest, having obtained permission, had to be accompanied by a representative of the Governor's Lieutenant or of the *baile* of Majorca, and had to leave immediately his duty was performed.[1] The state of affairs created by the priests must have been very serious, and their conduct particularly disturbing, to have called for such severe measures to be taken against them. Four years later, in July 1309, the King had to repeat his prohibition, and on an enlarged scale. No person was allowed to enter the Jews' quarter to preach the christian faith without special authorisation from the Governor; and nobody whatsoever could enter there accompanied by more than ten persons, all of whom had to state their names beforehand, and had to be of recognised good repute. There is an old custom in Majorca, which exists even at the present day; on Easter Saturday the priests visit the houses and sprinkle the doors with holy water, muttering a benediction, for which service they receive a piece of money. In the markets of Palma, the stalls and market-produce are treated in the same way, resulting in a plentiful harvest of coins for the padre. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the same custom existed, but was also enforced upon the Jews, thus giving the priest an excuse for demanding gifts in kind, which at that time replaced coins. In this same decree of July 4, 1309, the King put an end to the practice where it concerned the Jews, for, he justly states, "as the Jews have no

[1] Document 85.

faith in the proceeding, it can do no good," and at the same time, its suppression did away with an excuse to enter the *Call*.[1]

The influence of the Church, although kept under control by the rulers, was slowly but surely undermining the position of the Jews. Animosity against them and their belief was inculcated among all classes, and such was the state of popular passion, that frequently incidents of small importance assumed huge proportions. All efforts were employed to keep alive this prejudice and when no cause existed it was a common practice to resort to false accusations, doubtless on the principle that something always remained, and popular prejudice never disappeared. At this time occurred an incident of this nature. A priest named Galceran spread an alarming and inflammatory report that the Jews had assassinated a christian child and thrown the body into a pool of water. Witnesses were produced who gave evidence of having seen the body and the child's clothing. Immediately there was a great outcry against the Jews and the attitude of the people became threatening; the matter was brought to the notice of the Governor, who communicated with the King. The King, however, was no stranger to such reports, for they had already occurred in different towns of Catalonia at this same period, notably in Gerona, and on enquiry all had proved to be false and unfounded. He rightly considered this affair to be of the same nature as the others, and instructed the Governor of Majorca to institute a judicial investigation, which, as on previous occasions, proved the rumours to be devoid of truth and the witnesses to be false. The witnesses and all others implicated in the false accusation were imprisoned and severely punished, and,

[1] Document 86.

further, King James ordered the Bishop of Majorca to deal with the priest Galceran with particular severity, to prove an example to others in the future (July 5, 1309).[1] This incident impressed on King James the necessity of dealing with priestly manœuvres, which threatened to disturb the peace of the kingdom to such an extent as to become a danger, and inspired the prohibition above mentioned relating to entering the *Call*, issued on the previous day, July 4, 1309. Incidents of this character were not by any means of rare occurrence in the peninsula.

James II was too desirous of promoting the welfare of the people to allow injustice to or ill-treatment of his Jewish subjects. Their value in the commercial development of Majorca was too great to be sacrificed to ecclesiastical prejudice, even had he been so inclined. During the painful period when, in 1306, Philip le Bel, King of France, expelled the Jews from his kingdom, James II extended to them a cordial welcome in his dominions, and assured them of his royal protection. The great prosperity of Majorca, which reached its height at the middle of the fourteenth century, is due in a great measure to the tolerant government of James II, and when he died on May 28, 1311, the loss to the island was irreparable. He death, which took place on the island, was the occasion for much sincere mourning, and his memory is revered to this day. His body reposes in the Cathedral of Palma, in the land he loved so well, and among the people for whose welfare he did so much. His loss to the Jewish community proved calamitous.

[1] Document 86.

CHAPTER III

ACCESSION OF SANCHO I—CONDEMNATION OF THE JEWRY OF MAJORCA—CONFISCATION OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE—JEWS ORGANISE TAXATION ON THEMSELVES—CONCESSIONS ASKED FROM THE KING—POVERTY OF THE JEWS—UNDESIRABLE JEWS—DEATH OF KING SANCHO

JAMES II left two sons, Don Jaime and Don Sancho, but Don Jaime, the elder, had entered the Franciscan order in 1278, and the succession to the throne devolved on Don Sancho, who was proclaimed king on June 4, 1311. On the 22nd of the same month he formally confirmed all the privileges of the Majorcan Jews, as was customary; accorded them his protection and renewed his father's assurance that they would never be expelled.[1]

The reign of Sancho I acquires great importance in the history of the Jews in Majorca, from a general condemnation of all the Hebrew aljama, by the King. The cause of the judgment has never been satisfactorily established. The story is related by the seventeenth-century historian, Vicente Mut, and has been repeated by all subsequent writers. In 1314, two German christians arrived in Majorca with the avowed object of becoming converts to Judaism. Their ardour and convictions must have been profound for them to have undertaken the journey for such a motive, which at the beginning of the fourteenth century was fraught with considerable danger; but it was an heroic age. They applied to the Jewish communities of Lerida and Gerona, in Catalonia,

[1] Document 89.

but were refused admission; the Jews of Majorca, however, accepted them. The event became quickly known outside the boundary of the *Call*, and the news was brought to the notice of the bishop, Guillermo de Villanova. Considering the acute feeling prevalent against them and their faith, the community showed an unpardonable want of prudence which could only have unhappy results—their brethren of Lerida and Gerona were wiser. Any construction desired, and to their detriment, could be placed upon their action, and the opportunity was eagerly seized and actively and successfully exploited against them. It was considered a crime of the first importance, notwithstanding that proselytism had not been resorted to and that the two Germans had wandered over half Europe in order to embrace, voluntarily, the faith they considered best, but the injury was too great. The mentality of the epoch must be remembered and considered. Ever since its foundation the Catholic Church had employed all its strength and power for the purpose of proselytism and the propagation of its teachings. When peaceful persuasion did not succeed, force was used. Thousands were massacred in the Crusades without any success being achieved; thousands again even in the conquest of Majorca, with very doubtful or indifferent results; and still many thousands more in every country in Europe, for the same purpose. The effect, therefore, of two catholics *voluntarily* abandoning their religion to embrace Judaism, in a catholic stronghold, and the enormity of the crime as viewed by the ecclesiastical authorities, can be well imagined. It would have been reasonable to assume that ecclesiastical wrath would have fallen on the two converts, and that they would have been duly punished by the Church they had forsaken; doubtless this was done, but the final decision

condemned the Jewish community as the guilty party and the principal culprit. After lengthy legal proceedings, King Sancho pronounced a violent sentence against the *Call*. It had all its property confiscated, personal and otherwise, including the Great Synagogue; it was deprived of all the privileges, franchises and immunities granted by the great Conquistador and James II, and a fine of the enormous sum of 150,000 libras (later reduced to 95,000) was imposed, to compensate for the crime committed (5). Of the fine, 100,000 libras was to go to the King; 5,000 to the Bishop, and 45,000 to the Church, to rebuild the chapel of Santa Fé on the site of the Great Synagogue.[1]

The extreme severity of the sentence is inexplicable on ordinary or general grounds, for proselytism had not been resorted to (6). By the judgment the Jews were left absolutely destitute, for everything they possessed had been confiscated, and they were faced with a monetary fine of 95,000 libras to liquidate; further, they were practically considered as outlaws, for all their privileges and franchises were annulled. These could be restored by the King, it is true, but there seemed small hope of that from a king who was capable of pronouncing such a condemnation. The punishment appears to be excessive; out of all proportion to the crime. Had the object been to completely suppress the Jews, more effective measures could not have been taken; but this was not so, nor was their conversion, for no mention was made of it. It is difficult to believe that the voluntary conversion of two christians, could have called forth such a ferocious punishment, even in that age. Representations were made to King Sancho to prove the impossibility for the aljama, not only to pay the fine, but even to exist

[1] *Hist. de Mallorca*, 1840–1, vol. iii, p. 384.

at all, under the conditions stipulated in the sentence. He finally consented to allow the Jews, *as an act of clemency*, to retain what was indispensable for their personal existence and the maintenance of the *Call*, he reduced the amount of the fine from 150,000 libras to 95,000 libras. It was clear that if these concessions were not made he could not reasonably expect to get anything. A notable point in this same document,[1] is that the fine includes pecuniary punishment not only for past offences, but for any *that they may commit in the future*, for, as it states, being insolvent, the Jews would be unable to pay other fines until this was liquidated; therefore, on the promise to pay this sum (95,000 libras), the King proclaimed a general amnesty for all offences that they may commit in the future, until its final liquidation, and further, declared that he extended to them his protection. Whatever may have been the cause of the proceedings against the Jews, one is inclined to believe that avarice and self-interest were prominent in the character of King Sancho. In order to pay this enormous amount, the secretaries of the community were empowered to levy taxes of all kinds on their co-religionists; the Jews of Minorca and Ibiza were also called upon to contribute, but they protested, stating that they had never enjoyed equal privileges with their brethren of Majorca. King Sancho, fearing default in payment through pure inability, decreed that they had always formed one community with Majorca,[2] and indeed he accorded to the aljama every facility to raise funds to pay the fine.

This same year (1315), the governing body of the aljama sent to the King for his approval a project for a system of taxation to be applied to all members of the

[1] Document 91.

[2] Document 103.

Jewish community of Majorca, to enable it to procure the necessary means to discharge its enormous debt to him. It also asked for certain favours in return for the heavy burden to be imposed, but many of which were destined to facilitate commerce and the collection of revenue. Later in the year the King wrote from San Feliu de Guixols in Catalonia, to his procurator in Majorca, returning the document accompanied by his comments and consent.[1] The project is detailed in the following clauses:

1. That every Jew or Jewess of more than fifteen years, who has a domicile, pay a certain sum per head, according to his or her means, to the knowledge of the secretaries and eight *prohomens*,[2] to aid the necessities of the community; they who do not possess more than ten libras will be exempt.—The King consents.

2. Item, that every Jew, man or woman, foreign or native, pay a certain sum per pound of meat, mutton, beef, lamb or any other butcher's meat, with the knowledge of the secretaries, etc., and as they will order, to aid the necessities of the community.—The King consents, on condition that they will pay their part to the common funds.

3. Item, that every Jew or Jewess who eats bread made of pure wheat or mixed flour[3] must pay a certain sum per quintal, with the knowledge of the aforesaid and as they will order.—Granted as above for meats.

4. Item, that every Jew, foreign or native, who sells Jewish wine in Majorca, pay a certain sum per *quatrer* (a measure) or per libra, whichever is best or most profitable, with the knowledge of the aforesaid, to aid

[1] Document 92.

[2] The secretaries and eight *prohomens*, or notables, formed the governing council of the Hebrew community.

[3] I.e. wheat mixed with barley.

the said necessities; and no christian, foreign or native, can sell, within or without the *Call*, Jewish wine without permission from the secretaries.—The King permits the secretaries to appoint certain persons, who alone will be authorised to sell wine to the Jews.

5. Item, that every Jew or Jewess who wears new clothes must pay a certain sum according to the cost of the clothes, with the knowledge of the aforesaid, to aid the necessities.—The King consents.

6. Item, that every Jew who buys or sells merchandise or other things in Majorca pays a certain sum per libra, with the knowledge of the aforesaid, to aid the necessities.—Granted except for foreign Jews.

7. Item, that every Jew or Jewess who lends on interest be made to pay a certain sum per libra of the capital lent, known to the aforesaid, to aid the necessities. —The King consents.

8. Item, that every foreign Jew, worker or whatever be his trade, after one month's residence in Majorca, be compelled to pay a certain sum per week, with the knowledge of the aforesaid, to aid the necessities.— The King consents.

9. Item, that every Jewish merchant or tradesman, after residing in Majorca one complete year, be compelled to pay towards the said necessities a certain sum, with the knowledge of the aforesaid.—The King consents if the said merchant or tradesman becomes a Majorcan citizen.

10. Item, that any Jew or Jewess who has houses to let that is to say, who lets them to another, pays a certain sum per libra of the rent, known to the aforesaid, and to aid the necessities.—The King consents.

11. Item, that the secretaries themselves, can make and order all the aforesaid things and others similar, for

the good and utility of the community.—The King desires that the aforesaid things, before publication, be ordered according to the advice and with the assent of the procurators.

12. Item, that no master of a ship or boat or any other vessel, dare refuse to receive in his vessel things or goods belonging to Jews, to carry them out of the country or to bring them to Majorca, but every master must receive what belongs to Jews and charge his vessel with them, the Jew, on his side, must pay him the freight.—That the procurators oblige the masters to receive and load the baggage and merchandise of Jews.

The following are the concessions that the Jews asked from the King:

1. Firstly, that no Jew or Jewess be summoned, nor judged, nor undergo punishment on a Jewish holiday.

2. Item, if a Jew be condemned to undergo corporal punishment, and a missionary (*prehicador*) or friar minor, or a priest, desires to convert him to christianity, the secretaries of the community who are in office, can, on the day of punishment, send two Jews to him in prison who will say nothing to him, but will place themselves before him, and then if the Jew wishes to become a christian, let it be done, for christianising by force is not good; and if he does not wish it, then he can continue to profess Judaism, and the said Jews will be able to go with him to the place where he will submit to his punishment, and that shall not be prohibited to them.

3. Item, that the Jews condemned to be hanged, be hanged by the neck, not because the Jews claim the same honour as christians, but because a man who is hanged by the feet delays death two or three days, and when hanged by the neck he dies at once. And so they ask that solely to relieve the penalty.

4. Item, that if it happens that a master of a boat or ship or any other vessel, transports a Jew who had not the means to pay, the master must not detain him on the ship, but must allow him to go at once, and he must not nor cannot, deprive him of his clothes.

5. Item, if any inquisitor makes inquisition against a Jew or Jewess for an affair of faith, that he cannot proceed against him or her on anything nor make any inquisition concerning him or her without the assent of the royal court, but immediately after his or her arrest, the Jew or Jewess be placed in the King's prison where the inquisition will take place; and each time that the inquisitor desires to speak to him or her, the *baile* or his deputy must be present. And when the inquisition is terminated, the Jew or Jewess be given the means to defend himself or herself and an advocate to claim his or her rights.

6. Item, if an infant Jew or Jewess of less than fifteen years wishes to be made a christian, that a delay of three days will be given to him or her, during which time any man, Jew or christian, will be able to speak to him or her. And that nobody, under penalty of certain punishment, undertakes to baptise such person before the said three days are passed. Further that nobody can baptise or cause to be baptised Jews or Jewesses of less than ten years of age, for at that age they cannot reason, under penalty of a certain punishment to be fixed by the King.

7. Item, that the said Jews, until their debt to the King be paid, will not be called upon to pay either collection or impost, royal or communal.

8. Item, that during the said time no person can be discharged of debts contracted with the Jews nor obtain

delays of payment, for otherwise they would be unable to pay what they owe to the King.

9. Item, that all merchandise outside the island belonging to Jews, that during the aforesaid period be sent to Majorca, be not seized or retained by the King or his agents on account of debt, but that it be placed in the hands of the secretaries, so that the Jews to whom it belongs be encouraged to send their goods to this country.

10. Item, that all the secretaries who be in office during the aforesaid period, have full power and full right to arrest or have arrested all who disobey them or who do not pay what is demanded of them, to absolve them or have them absolved without permission of the *baile* or any other man, to compel them to pay by seizing their property or their persons, to seize their securities and to do any other things by which means they can execute their payments to the King.

11. Item, that any Jew can purchase any goods or property put up for sale.

12. Item, that no Jew or Jewess can sell his or her house in the *Call* to a christian man or woman, but he or she can mortgage it, with the knowledge of the secretaries.

13. Item, that the *jurats* (magistrates) of Majorca or the *prohomens* of the land cannot make any ordinance on or against the Jews in particular that does not apply at the same time to all the land in general, in which case they must be understood and allowed to use all the franchises and privileges of the land as inhabitants of Majorca.

14. Item, as the Jews of Majorca have been deprived of all their franchises and privileges that had been specially given and accorded to them, without which

the Jews of Majorca could not inhabit with profit the country, nor foreign Jews come and establish themselves here, as in virtue of these privileges they came here formerly from various countries; the aforesaid Jews, inhabitants of Majorca, humbly entreat His Royal Majesty, that with his accustomed goodness he renders to them their privileges, thanks to which they can inhabit the land and attract foreigners, as they did formerly.

15. Item, as the said Jews have no synagogue and as Saturdays and other days of prayer they are separated from each other in different houses, which is for them a great vexation, they humbly entreat the King that it please him to assure and give them a place in the *Call* where they can have their synagogue, for such a large *Call* cannot exist without a synagogue.

16. Item, any foreign Jew who comes to Majorca with merchandise, and who after having paid the dues leave Majorca for Minorca, be not asked to pay dues there or any other tax.

17. Item, because the said Jews have asked to establish between themselves the aforesaid chapters of servitude, without which they would not be able, since they are without money or property, to discharge their payments to the King, the said Jews understand that the aforesaid chapters of servitude be observed between them until the Seigneur King has received all that is due to him, and after having attained the last term of payment and paid the entire sum, they understand that the said chapters of servitude be broken and annulled and that they are not used nor can be used in the future.

The first part of the above document constitutes a proposal for the creation and organisation of revenue by the Hebrew community, by which practically everything was taxed and every individual person was effected.

The constantly repeated reminder "to aid the necessities" without which they would be unable to acquit their indebtedness, was well designed to obtain his consent, for it played upon the King's self-interest. The second part informs us that Jewish criminals were treated more severely than christians; condemned Jews were hanged by the feet, whereas christians were hanged by the neck. That the early Inquisition was active and iniquitous means were employed to extort confessions, is proved by the Jews asking that co-religionists accused by the Inquisition on a question of *faith*, be placed in the civil prison instead of the ecclesiastical, and that all examinations of prisoners take place in the presence of the *baile* or his deputy. It further informs us that conversion and baptism of Jewish children of tender age had occurred, without their understanding the significance of their action. That it was not the King's desire to suppress the Jews, but on the contrary, that he welcomed them from foreign parts to settle in his dominions is indicated by clauses 14 and 16. In the covering letter to his procurators, the King authorised the erection of a synagogue to replace the one confiscated.

Unfortunately, Vicente Mut indicates no authority for his statement of the incident of the two Germans, and, as Quadrado remarks, Mut's descriptions of events of this nature are mostly unreliable; but, as Padre Fidel Fita points out, he certainly did not invent the whole story.[1] Up to the present day, in spite of diligent research in the various archives,[2] no trace can be found either of the original condemnatory judgment of 1314, or any copy of it. That legal proceedings of the gravest nature took place against the Jews of Majorca is indisputable,

[1] *Bol. de la real Academia de Hist.*, vol. xxxvi.
[2] Idem; Villanueva, vol. xxi, p. 390 note.

but of the actual cause of those proceedings, we have only the authority of Mut, who does not state his source of information. His account is, however, repeated by all later historians, including Quadrado, the most exact and authentic, for want of further knowledge. Villanueva says that he saw several documents relating to this affair, but gives us no details of their contents; since his time, they seem to have disappeared as have others relating to the same subject,[1] for no trace of them can be found by recent researchers. One is tempted to ask why documents that existed but a century ago have disappeared? In any case the condemnation was catastrophic for the Jews, and could mean nothing short of ruin; such severity would certainly have been condemned by both James I and James II.

King Sancho could not have gone further to achieve their ruin, and at the same time ensure payment of the fine, which taxed their energies to the utmost. The King was compensated by money and property, while the outrage on the Church was condoned with money and the Great Synagogue which later proved useless to it, as will be seen;—there was nothing more to take. Most of the subsequent decrees issued by King Sancho in favour of the Jews, were destined to enable them, directly or indirectly, to collect their debts or to raise funds to facilitate the payments to him.

The transformation of the confiscated Great Synagogue into the Church of Santa Fé, gave rise to the incongruous and delicate situation, as was to be foreseen, of a christian church situated in the centre of the *Call*. It must be remembered that christians were with difficulty allowed to enter there, and even the priests were forbidden to

[1] A. Morel-Fatio states that vol. i of the Royal Procuration, which covers the period of this event, has also disappeared from the archives of the *Bailia*, Palma.—*Rev. des Etudes juives*, vol. iv, 1882, p. 42 note.

do so without valid reason and then only when accompanied by an official. It is therefore quite obvious that the proximity of the church was bound to cause friction sooner or later, and could be productive of no good. Apparently this was realised, for after eight years, in 1323, Sancho, in agreement with Bishop Villanova, ordered the removal of the Church of Santa Fé to a site adjoining the Temple Gate outside the quarter, as its situation was inconvenient to both christians and Jews.[1] The building was therefore closed, its situation rendered it of no practical utility to the Catholic Church, but in consideration of the sum of 2,000 libras paid by the Jews to the fisc, and a further sum of 300 libras towards the construction of the cathedral, the King granted them the following concessions: that they could build a gate, of any size they desired, at the end of the street leading to the ex Church of Santa Fé, thus giving additional access to the *Call*; that he retains the property of the building but promises that it will never again be used for the christian cult. The community had reason to entertain hopes of eventually regaining possession of their beautiful place of worship, but King Sancho's good faith was not to be relied upon, and a few months later, in January of the following year, he issued a new decree which finally deprived them of this last hope. On the demand of the bishop, it prohibited for ever the practice of the "impure rites of Judaism" in a church that had once served the catholic ritual, thus effectively precluding the restitution of their Great Synagogue to the Jews.[2]

In 1315, therefore, the Jews of Majorca found themselves with the bare means of existence allowed to them, and a debt of 95,000 libras; the situation appeared hopeless. The secretaries appealed to their co-religionists in

[1] Document 104.

[2] Document 106.

other parts and their appeal was answered by an offer of help, but permission had to be obtained from King Sancho to allow merchandise and other property to be imported into Majorca. The King granted the permit, for it furnished extra means for the payment of the fine, and in 1316, he instructed his procurators, Pedro Figuera and Miguel Rotlán, to afford facilities to the Jews to bring anything they wished from other parts, particularly from Moorish countries, even though the King was at war with them; nothing mattered to Sancho, provided the payments were made. From this time on, the Majorcan Jews applied themselves with characteristic energy to re-establish their position and acquit themselves honourably of the heavy obligations imposed upon them. Two years later, in 1318, the King had received the sum of 65,000 libras, and the acknowledgment of its receipt bears the date, Perpignan, March 28th;[1] but the sacrifices made must have been very heavy, for the remaining 30,000 libras were not paid until *ten years later*. Sancho was greatly impressed, and he showed his satisfaction by a decree of the same date, in which he granted the possession of the *Call* of Palma to the Jews of Majorca in perpetuity, and further ordained that they never be obliged to move to another site.[2] He also allowed them to appoint their own officials, according to their ancient custom, without his consent; while reminding them that they had been deprived of all their privileges, he stated that this could be revoked by the King. The great fact, so well understood by James I, that the extraordinary energy of this race provided a source of wealth and prosperity to the country, began to dawn on the mind of Sancho. The effort made to attain this achievement must have drained the resources of the

[1] Document 94. [2] Document 95.

Jews so as to reduce them to almost absolute poverty, for the following year cases are recorded of Jews evading payment of the imposts decreed by the secretaries of the aljama, the only instances known, but on this point Sancho was severe, and he ordered his Lieutenant in Majorca to seize and sell the property of offenders.

The same year, 1319, the secretaries of the aljama were again obliged to petition the King for protection against undesirable Jews who had arrived from foreign parts. During the preceding reign, in 1303, they had to adopt a similar course, but at the present juncture, the presence of these foreigners was particularly intolerable. The events of 1314 were still fresh in the memory; anti-Jewish feeling ran high, intensified by the King's condemnation and the activity of the clergy. The Majorcan Jews required all the friendly relations they could create, to enable them to continue their existence and develop their commerce, in order to discharge their obligations. These outcasts from their own communities threatened to counteract all the good done, by disturbing the peace and creating a situation prejudicial to the interests of the community. In reply to their petition King Sancho instructed the Viceroy to adopt energetic measures against them and, if necessary, to deport them, but apparently the measures taken were not sufficiently efficacious. In 1324, the most highly respected members of the Jewry found themselves under the necessity of legally defending themselves against the calumniations of these undesirables. To add to their troubles, the Jews experienced many difficulties in their commercial transactions. Advantage was taken of their unfavourable situation by their debtors, to evade payment of pecuniary obligations. All kinds of artifices were resorted to; false assignment of property, false bankruptcies, etc. The King,

however, treated this sharp practice with vigour, for failure to recover debts due jeopardised the ability of the *Call* to meet its payments to him. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that since the payment of 65,000 libras, Sancho demonstrated a certain sense of justice and consideration towards his Jewish subjects of Majorca, doubtless profoundly moved by their remarkable effort to re-establish their honour.

On September 4, 1324, King Sancho, who suffered acutely from asthma, died in the village of Santa María de Formiguera, in the Pyrenees, where he had retired to obtain some relief from his malady. By reason of his malady he had been much given to outdoor life and much of his time when in Majorca, was passed in the mountainous district of Valldemosa. He gave freely to the Church, which bestowed upon him many favours and eulogies in consequence. He is pronounced to have been a just and good king by the early chroniclers, but his attitude towards the Jews does not confirm this. Impartiality must not be expected on any question concerning the Jews from the early native chroniclers, who were either ecclesiastics or wholly submissive to their influence.

CHAPTER IV

THE REGENT PHILIP AND JAMES III—JEWS LIQUIDATE THE FINE IMPOSED BY KING SANCHO—APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO BUILD A NEW SYNAGOGUE—*LEYES PALATINAS*—JAMES III DEPOSED BY PEDRO IV OF ARAGON—MAJORCA ANNEXED TO THE CROWN OF ARAGON—PEDRO IV FAVOURS THE JEWS—BANISHMENT FOR UNDESIRABLE JEWS—INSUBORDINATION OF ROYAL OFFICIALS CONCERNING THE JEWS—FAMINE IN MAJORCA—DEATH OF PEDRO IV, HIS CHARACTER

SANCHO I left no legitimate heir to the throne. His brothers, Don Jaime and Don Philip, had both entered religious orders, and his remaining brother, Don Fernando, died in the Morean campaign, leaving his orphaned son, Jaime, in the care of King Sancho and his wife Doña María. Jaime being the sole remaining male descendant, Sancho had appointed him as his successor, but on account of his youth, named his brother, Don Philip, as Regent, subject to the approval of his subjects. The appointment of Don Philip as Regent was approved, but not without considerable opposition from Perpignan by French pretenders. The nomination of Jaime, son of Don Fernando, to the throne of Majorca, called forth a strong protest from James II of Aragon, who, after the death of Sancho, disputed the right of the son of Don Fernando and claimed the throne for himself; he even ordered his son, Alfonso, to annex the counties of Rosellon and Cerdeña. The question of accession was eventually arranged between the Regent Philip and the King of Aragon, by an agreement stipulating the marriage of the youthful Jaime with Doña Constanza, daughter of the Infante Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso IV.

Jaime was nine years old when called to the throne,

and Philip the Regent proved himself thoroughly capable for the difficult position he had undertaken to fulfil. He was diplomatic, broad-minded, just, and tolerant, and, although belonging to a religious order, difference of religious belief did not create any discrimination between the Jews and others. Owing to the delay in the formal recognition of the new monarch and the Regent, it was not before October 26, 1325, thirteen months after King Sancho's death, that the privileges of the Majorcan Jews were confirmed. Don Philip, however, viewed the situation of the Jews of Majorca in a more favourable light, for ten days later he granted them the right of citizenship,[1] a generous act that could but prove beneficial to the community. In January 1328 the Jews finally liquidated the balance of 30,000 libras remaining of the fine, and on the 22nd of that month James III formally acknowledged the receipt. The occasion must have been one of great rejoicing to them, for the Jewry was relieved of an oppressive burden that had endured for more than thirteen years. The settlement had not been effected without much suffering, hardship, and immense effort; payments were not always made when due, and the Jewish aljama occasionally had arrears to make up, with unfortunate consequences. The governing body of the Jews was held responsible for such payments, and default meant severe punishment and imprisonment of the secretaries.[2] Fulfilment of their financial obligations having been faithfully and honourably accomplished, the Jews were re-established in their legal rights and resumed their status as before the condemnation.[3]

King Sancho's harshness against the Jews was not mitigated by depriving them of all their privileges, he also encroached on their ancient customs, respected by

[1] Document 111. [2] Document 119. [3] Document 121.

his predecessors. It had been a time-honoured tradition that no christian, not even the King himself, could form part of the administration or government of the Hebrew community, but Sancho respected neither ancient usages nor traditions. He appointed a personal representative, or secretary, on the council of the aljama, obviously to be cognisant of all proceedings and to exercise close supervision to ensure punctuality of the payments. Now, however, that the Jews had freed themselves of their indebtedness and were reinstated in their previous legal position, application was made to the Regent to repeal this abuse; the petition was favourably received and the abuse was annulled.[1]

In 1328, James III terminated his period of tutelage at the age of thirteen, when the regency of Don Philip officially and automatically came to an end, but the young king did not dispense with the counsels of his uncle. Don Philip continued to direct affairs of state with James until he attained his twentieth year (1335), as King Sancho had stipulated in his testament.[2] On October 25, 1328, James paid homage for the Crown of Majorca and his other States, to Alfonso IV of Aragon, as his feudal lord.[3] From this date, James III officially assumed full control of government, and all decrees are signed by him in full plenitude of power.

In 1331, the Jews applied for permission to build a synagogue to replace the one confiscated in 1314, but the question was not a simple one to decide. An enquiry into the whole question was made, followed by long discussions concerning ecclesiastical and civil rights and popular sentiment, and eventually permission was granted

[1] Document 123. [2] *Lecoy de la March*, vol. i, p. 393.

[3] As provided in the agreement concluded between James II of Majorca and Pedro III of Aragon. See page 26.

conditionally. It was stipulated that the building be called a *school* or *house of prayer*, to avoid fanatical clamour and scandal, and on no account must it be a sumptuous or ornate edifice like the previous one. The last condition would appear to have been superfluous, for the Jews were so impoverished that they were compelled to borrow money to provide funds for the construction of their new place of worship. Fourteen years of deprivation and strenuous effort to purge an oppressive condemnation, had reduced the Jewry of Majorca to poverty. Many years of patient application and peace of mind, free from further financial burdens, were necessary to retrieve but a part of what had been lost, yet in 1333, the Jews were called upon to pay a heavy head-tax (*cabezaje*) that they were unable to discharge. This resulted in another condemnation and penalty, but, obvious impotence to pay, forced James III to grant an extension of seven and a half years, divided into nine terms, for the payment of but *half* the penalty.[1] Individual defaulters were imprisoned or placed in the stocks.[2] This tax formed part of a system of taxation instituted by James III to pay for expensive vanity, and which reduced his Majorcan subjects to misery.

As long as James remained under the guardianship of his uncle and benefited by his counsel, all went well during the difficult period through which he passed; but once left to his own resources and having assumed the initiative of government, he proved a lamentable failure. His intellect was not equal to the task, and he was incapable of deriving all the advantages that his early training and education under his tutor, should have procured him. After the departure of Don Philip, he proved to be a vain young man, devoid of strength,

[1] Document 127. [2] Document 131.

perception, initiative. He devoted considerable time to the constitution of an elaborate system of organisation, regulating the internal arrangements of his household on a scale of pomp and ostentation, out of all proportion to his importance. This product of his vanity is fully set forth in the *Leyes Palatinas* which he compiled and issued in Majorca in 1337, and which indicates a supercilious youth and misplaced pomposity. The sad part was that such an establishment was extremely costly to maintain, and became a ruinous tax upon his subjects. Mut writes: "The Majorcans were oppressed by impositions and taxes, for King James made great extortions on the wealth of all; he treated them as a newly conquered people; the kingdom was reduced almost to slavery, groaning under the yoke of iniquitous taxation . . ."

The year 1335 proved disastrous for James III, for that year saw the departure of his adviser, Philip, and the death of his father-in-law, Alfonso IV of Aragon. The former event deprived him of the brain-power necessary for the government of his provinces, and the latter created an antagonist who accomplished his ruin, and against whom he lost his life. Alfonso IV left his son to succeed him as Pedro IV. Since the death of James I, Majorca had been a cause of dispute between the Crown of Aragon and the kings of Majorca. Aragon contended that as the conquest of the island was accomplished by the King of Aragon, it automatically became part of the dominions under the Crown of Aragon. This contention would have been reasonable had not James I made it clearly known that the conquest of Majorca was a personal undertaking, and that he considered Majorca and the adjacent islands as his personal property, to dispose of as he desired. In this James I com-

mitted a grave fault that was the cause of much conflict. A monarch cannot undertake personal conquests, for all conquests are achieved in the name of the country over which he rules, and that principle applied with even greater force in the Middle Ages. In his testament he bequeathed the Kingdom of Majorca and the other islands to his younger son Jaime, whereas the elder son, Pedro, inherited Aragon and other provinces. After the death of James I, Pedro disputed the possession of the Balearic Islands against the expressed wish of his father, and after his premature death, the dispute was continued by his son, Alfonso III, who actually occupied Majorca. Pedro IV now resuscitated the whole question; Majorca was a prize worth disputing and he was extremely ambitious. The character of Pedro IV resembled in many respects that of his great-grandfather Pedro III. Ambition in both was highly developed, neither allowed scruples to intervene in its accomplishment, and both had the same determination to annex Majorca to the Crown of Aragon. Pedro III hated his brother, James II; Pedro IV despised his brother-in-law, James III. Nevertheless, Pedro IV desired to present a plausible legal excuse to annex the islands, before the other Powers and the Pope. Quarrels, persecution, false accusations, intrigues, in fact, every artifice was resorted to to procure the desired pretext. James II, in a similar position, commanded the sympathy of all, but James III aroused none, on the contrary, he encountered passive opposition from all. Pedro IV finally openly declared war against James on a fictitious accusation of treason.

Any contest between the Crown of Aragon and the King of Majorca, was forced to be unequal and fatal to the latter. The isolated situation of the island from the continental possessions under the same ruler, constituted

its great weakness, and necessitated a strong military organisation well developed, to render the defence of both efficacious against attack. In addition, as the continental provinces adjoined those of Aragon on the one side and of the King of France on the other, much delicate diplomacy was requisite, and James III was not the man capable of either the military organisation or the diplomacy. Pedro IV was a powerful king, of high intelligence and great ability, and at a time of crisis of such vital importance, all the strength of which Majorca's ruler was capable, and above all, the absolute good will of his people, were indispensable to present any effective defence against such an adversary. James, however, had alienated the sympathy of his subjects by the misery into which he had plunged them, in order to maintain his expensive establishment. The sympathy and assistance of the population were an imperious necessity and had to be acquired, but James III could devise no better method than to pander to anti-Jewish passion in favour of christians. In May 1343, he decreed that Jewish creditors of christians, who after five years had not demanded payment of their debts before the courts could no longer claim, thus freeing christian debtors from any obligation to pay, irrespective of legal contracts held by the Jewish creditors.[1] The edict was unjust and arbitrary and was received with apathy by the general population; the only result it produced was to create greater dissatisfaction among his Jewish subjects. When, however, on May 25, 1343, Pedro arrived with a strong fleet of 116 ships of all sizes, the result was a foregone conclusion; the Majorcans, tired and oppressed by James's continual extortions, abandoned him to his fate, and Pedro encountered but little resistance. He landed

[1] *Bol. de la real Acad. de la Hist.*, vol. xxxvi.

his army at Santa Ponza and Paguera, occupied Majorca, proclaimed himself king, and the following year formally annexed it to the Crown of Aragon. James succeeded in making an undignified escape to Perpignan. Six years later (1349) he made an attempt to reconquer the island. He sold the barony of Montpellier to Philip, King of France, for 120,000 gold escudos, raised a small army of 4,000 to 5,000 undisciplined men, with the aid of the French king and Queen Joan of Sicily, and sailed for Majorca to combat the strong, well-trained forces of Pedro. It was the puerile, although brave effort of a feeble intelligence that cost him his life, for he was killed in the one and only encounter that took place, outside the town of Lluchmayor.

Any expression of sympathy for James must be of a purely negative character, as the victim of unscrupulous injustice, but one must admire that strain of innate courage, the last vestige of his chivalrous descent, displayed in the futile effort which ended in his death. More than that he cannot claim, for he possessed none of those qualities necessary in a king; total incompetence in a monarch is unpardonable and disastrous for his subjects. With the death of James III passed away the last King of Majorca as an independent kingdom; henceforth the Balearic Islands were attached to the Crown of Aragon. Pedro IV was solemnly crowned king in Palma Cathedral on June 22, 1343.

The change of ruler came as a relief to the suffering population of Majorca, and the Jews, above all, had much to be grateful for. Pedro exhibited a decided tendency in favour of the Jews. His great ambition, supported by self-confidence and a strong will, rendered him proof against irrelevant extraneous influence, and therefore free from prejudice. His material interests may

have dictated the necessity of Jewish good will and assistance as has been insinuated, but at no time during his long reign can the slightest spirit of antagonism be perceived against them. In fact, he was so desirous to acquire the good will of the Jews, that the very day following his coronation he signed a provisionary decree granting them his protection and exonerating them from the intolerable obligations imposed upon them by James III,[1] the following year (January 3, 1344), he definitely adjusted the privileges and franchises of the Hebrew community.[2]

Pedro's friendship towards the Jews of Majorca certainly cannot be attributed to necessity for their aid, for at this period, not only did he not require it, but the Jews were too impoverished by King Sancho's condemnation and by the exactions of James III, to afford help, had they wished or been required to do so. Pedro's partiality towards them, and to Jews in general, sprang from broader and more comprehensive reasons. Like his great ancestor, James I, he recognised the invaluable influence exercised in the development of his provinces, by their exceptional abilities in commerce and culture. A perusal of the decrees and privileges concerning the Jews issued during his reign, not only in Majorca, but also in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia demonstrates this fact clearly. One of his early decrees abolished the necessity of a passport or permit for the Majorcan Jews to leave or enter the island, for, as he pointed out, "the advantages and benefit to the treasury were so great, that they were recognised even by James III, who first imposed and later removed the obstacle."[3] Pedro IV was not influenced by the question of religion or blinded by religious prejudice. He realised that increased com-

[1] Document 134. [2] Document 135. [3] Document 136.

merce meant increased wealth, and consequently, greater revenue; the material welfare of his people was not sacrificed to the spiritual. Pedro's first act (June 23, 1343) was to annul all the decrees issued by James III, which he justly considered oppressive and extortionate. Nine months later (March 13, 1344), he further ordered his procurators in Majorca to return all contracts and securities held from the Jews for the payment of taxes and in addition to refund all payments made after the date of annulment in the previous year. By the decree of January 3, 1344, King Pedro restored to the Jewish community all its ancient rights and privileges granted by James I, Alfonso III of Aragon and James II of Aragon, of which King Sancho had deprived it; those granted by Majorca's rulers, James II and the Regent Philip, were also revived. These concessions and favours were of inestimable value for the development of commerce and prosperity. The liberty accorded to the Jews and alleviation from the financial burdens of the past two reigns, quickly produced beneficial results.

Unfortunately, the Jewish aljama continued to be afflicted by those objectionable co-religionists who had caused so much annoyance in previous years. Once again the monarch was appealed to, and King Pedro issued two decrees, one in 1344 and the other in 1347,[1] which seem to have been more or less effective. The first ordered that any Jew who accused another unjustly, be punished by retaliation (*talión*) thus preventing annoying and frivolous charges for base purposes; Sancho I had to treat with similar cases in 1324.[2] The second was more stringent: any Jew or Jewess condemned for infamy by the administrative body of the community, which swore on oath that the prisoner was of bad

[1] Documents 138, 148.

[2] Document 107.

character, was sentenced to perpetual banishment from the Balearic Islands, and should the condemned return then he or she to have the right leg cut off. These constant appeals for protection against worthless undesirables, denote how energetically the Majorcan Jews endeavoured to defend the good reputation they enjoyed, for the Jewish aljama of Majorca was, at this period, the centre of commerce and learning. Pedro's quick perception discerned that the Jews would, although enfeebled and destitute, speedily recover their previous prosperity, given more favourable conditions. He gave them his assistance by granting privileges which afforded them facilities to act and move freely in the pursuit of their occupations.

In 1356, began the ruinous war between Pedro IV of Aragon and Pedro I, surnamed the Cruel, of Castile. Originating from an insignificant cause, it quickly assumed great proportions, and developed into a long and costly struggle which taxed the resources of both combatants to the utmost. Majorca was called upon to make sacrifices and contribute, in common with the other Aragonese provinces, to the requirements of the forces on land and sea. The supply of the innumerable wants of the army occupied the attention of many Majorcan Jews, and a number of them went to reside temporarily in Catalonia, Valencia, Aragon and Rossillon, in prosecution of their affairs in this connection. Clothes, provisions and all kinds of necessary material, were transported by sea and land, and in this manner, many recovered much of their lost fortunes. But although the Jews benefited by the advantages thus presented to them, a good proportion of their gains went to pay the heavy contributions they were called upon to make towards the expenses of the war, which did not terminate

before 1369, when the death of Pedro of Castile brought the long struggle to an end. Majorca's troubles, however, did not cease with the war; the following year the island suffered from a terrible famine, and all were, once more, enjoined to relieve the general distress. The Jews were active in sending ships laden with wheat, from the peninsula, at their own expense; they also provided ships in Majorca to bring food from other places, some of which were captured by Moorish pirates, causing loss to the starving population and to the Jewish owners. Apart from the governing authorities, the Jewish community did most to relieve the prevailing misery, and its efforts were recognised by the King.[1]

The restitution to the Majorcan Jews of all their ancient rights and privileges by King Pedro, and the many others he conferred upon them, aroused the indignation of the ecclesiastics. Anti-Jewish demonstrations had been frequent, but now, the general distress and misery were exploited against the Jewry, and the agitation assumed a grave aspect. Numerous offences instigated by the clergy, were committed against them, coinciding with similar outbursts in Perpignan (July 1370), which encouraged the Majorcan agitation. The situation became so serious that the King had to send strongly worded orders from Barcelona to the city authorities of Palma, commanding them to preserve order with energy and by every means in their power.[2] Calumnies were propagated against the Jews, particularly by their debtors; many were robbed and wounded and a general conflagration was feared. Villanueva declares that there was violent preaching against the Jews by the auxiliary bishop of Majorca, Fray Bonanato,[3]

[1] Document 194. [2] Document 183.
[3] Villanueva, *Viage*, etc., vol. xxii, p. 8.

but the clergy never hesitated to ignore the laws of the land, in order to give vent to their hostility. Amador de los Rios declares that, concerning the Jews, the Church in Spain openly defied the laws of the State; forgot all justice and convention; disregarded even royal authority, which had declared itself in favour of the Jews all over Spain, and took under its protection the descendants of Israel. The declared motive for desiring the subjection of the Jews, was the extraordinary accusation of their having acquired the favour of princes and kings. The Church further roused the rancour of the masses, by declaring that kings had need of the assistance and services of the Hebrew race.

The machinations of the clergy can be observed everywhere, and no class of the population was neglected. Even the King's officials became contaminated and infected with a virulent anti-Jewish agitation. During the whole period of his reign over Majorca, Pedro IV experienced difficulty in imposing the observance of the rights of the Jews, and he had to exercise all the remarkable energy and will of which he was capable to keep the situation in hand. In 1344 (September 18th) he imposed a fine of one thousand gold maravedis on any functionary who failed to observe the privileges granted to the Jews, and the following day (September 19th), he forbade the Governor or his subordinates to introduce innovations to the detriment of the Jews. It had been their custom to make loans to each other simply on the honour of their oath, which meddlesome officials wished to change. In 1359, magistrates disregarded the privilege granted to the Jews, which prohibited torture to be applied to them without special permission from the King, who five years later (1364) authorised torture to be applied to the Jews, if necessary, but again, *only with*

his permission. In 1362 the Jews were exempt from the payment of certain taxes, and the following year, the King had to insist on the execution of the decree. In 1367, the municipal inspector was ordered to swear to observe the privileges of the aljama, so that he could not afterwards plead ignorance. In 1372, the King reprimanded his Intendant in Majorca, Jaime de Márgens, for having exceeded his duty in imprisoning the secretaries of the aljama and seizing the account books of the community; he was ordered to release the prisoners and restore the books to the archives of the synagogue. The following year the King ordered that all questions concerning taxes arising between the Municipality and the aljama, must be amicably arranged by the Governor or his Lieutenant and not by the inspector or any other official. In 1376 the King ordered the Governor of Majorca, that neither he nor his subordinates permit any discussion against the privileges of the Jews, unless authorised by his treasurer. In 1377, King Pedro urged the execution of his decree of January 28, 1376, concerning discussion against the privileges of the Jews, and the following year, and again in 1379, Pedro forcibly insisted on the execution of this decree, enclosing in his communication the complete document; he further threatened offenders with a fine of two thousand gold florins and deprivation of office. In 1385, the King protested against letters, derogatory to the privileges of the Jews, being issued from his chancery and that of Prince Juan, and ordered the Governor to ignore them.[1]

From the above will be seen the difficulty the King experienced in obtaining obedience to his royal authority. It is inconceivable that officials would dare to defy the

[1] Documents 141, 142, 164, 173, 187, 188, 200, 205, 206, 211, 224.

orders of the King, unless strongly influenced and supported by an equally powerful force, and the only other force capable of disobeying the King in that age, was the Church.

1374 was another year of famine; bread was scarce and the price high, and similar disturbances were feared as occurred four years earlier. Popular agitation was once more directed against the Jews, who were said to be the cause of all troubles, and the situation again became threatening. On this occasion the King considered it prudent to remind the population that the Jews were under his protection, and for this purpose he issued a confirmation of the decree of the Regent Philip in 1325, which granted them the right of citizenship. On August 1st of the same year, the Infante Don Juan wrote to the municipal authorities of Palma, to protect and defend the Jews against the hungry and excited populace, for the lives and property of the Jews were jeopardised. These measures produced good results, and the King commended the Municipality of Palma on its firm attitude in suppressing the anti-Jewish demonstrations, and on the same day he expressed his satisfaction to the Governor of Majorca. All these tumultuous disturbances and agitations were the ominous signs of the terrible catastrophe that burst upon the Hebrew aljama some fifteen years later, when, however, Pedro IV of Aragon had passed away. In times of emergency or danger to the Jews, King Pedro, on more than one occasion, had to resort to the expedient of renewing or confirming previous decrees in their favour, in order to remind the Majorcans of his determination to have them observed.

Debtors to the Jews, feeling themselves supported by the civil as well as the ecclesiastical authorities, employed all kinds of ruses to avoid payment of their indebtedness.

The many commands and edicts issued by King Pedro on this question, establish the difficulty experienced in combating abuse and dishonest practice, and the repetition of his orders shows how frequently they were disregarded. It can be readily appreciated, that under such prevailing conditions, the Jews transacted their business affairs or lent their money under great disadvantages not experienced by the christians, and cannot be condemned for protecting themselves in every way possible. Decrees against abuse by the debtors of the Jews are numerous,[1] and some enlighten us as to the methods employed for evasion, such as fraudulent concealment of property by assignment to false owners, a frequent offence that has survived until the present day and not only in Majorca; under-estimation of the value of property, with the complicity of officials, to prove insolvency, etc.; astuteness and cunning were not wanting.

The two terrible years of famine, 1370 and 1374, weighed heavily upon the Jewish community, and in spite of its great efforts to alleviate the general misery, the situation of the Jews became more and more critical. The increased burden of heavy taxation imposed by King Pedro to contribute towards the enormous expenses of the long war against Pedro the Cruel of Castile, aggravated the situation, and popular discontent was craftily directed against the Jews. To add to all these sufferings came the frightful epidemic of plague in 1375, which carried off 35,000 persons.

Pedro IV, the Ceremonious, died in Barcelona in 1387, at the age of 67, after a long and strenuous reign of fifty-two years as King of Aragon, and forty-four years as King of Majorca. Much has been written against him

[1] Documents 158, 160, 175, 181, 197, 202, 203, 213.

and little for him; the former exaggerated, the latter insufficient. He is universally condemned, and rightly so, for his unjust, and even iniquitous, treatment of James III; he is also condemned for usurping the throne of Majorca. He is accused of a great hatred of James III, but this is exaggerated and incompatible with his character. Pedro despised James, whose inanity was repugnant to him, but who demonstrated, nevertheless, a certain ability in his famous *Leyes Palatinas*, that Pedro himself did not hesitate to utilise in the compilation of a similar production. Whereas these were quite inconsistent with James's rank as a monarch, they were not so with Pedro's. Pedro was ambitious, and in the attainment of his ambition, scruples were disregarded, *if necessary*, and in that he simply adopted the methods of his epoch. The French kings, his contemporaries, were not more scrupulous, and even the Popes of the period, were not more scrupulous. The great reproach against Pedro was, and is, his treatment of James. To blame him for usurping the Crown of Majorca is also overdone. Aragon had always wanted Majorca and King Sancho left no direct heir. James inherited the throne almost by accident, and Pedro could claim practically as great a right as James, save that he had not been appointed Sancho's successor. This is the strong case for James, but such considerations did not always count between kings. Pedro was not a foreign prince, and Majorca still remained in the family. Apart from his treatment of James, Pedro IV of Aragon was a great king and a great leader of men; he was, further, a learned man and a patron of culture. The masterly manner in which he governed his dominions, and particularly Majorca, marks him as a great ruler. His handling of the Jewish question on the island is a brilliant example.

Harassed by functionaries clandestinely corrupted by a fanatical clergy; a population exhausted by taxation and the sufferings from famine and epidemic, and aroused to a high pitch of excitation by these causes; handicapped by the distance which separated him from the island and by the grave affairs in the peninsula, Pedro, nevertheless, kept the situation well in hand. His tremendous energy and his other great kingly qualities rank him, after James I, as Aragon's most illustrious monarch.[1] Had the future kings of Majorca been of the same calibre, the island would never have been reduced to the state of decadence that eventually became her fate.

[1] Pedro III of Aragon was a greater king, but he did not rule over Majorca.

CHAPTER V

PEDRO IV SUCCEEDED BY THE INFANTE JUAN—AGITATIONS AGAINST THE JEWS—REVOLT OF THE PROVINCIALS—PILLAGE OF THE *CALL* AND MASSACRE OF THE JEWS—PROVINCIALS' DEMANDS —DECLINE OF MAJORCA'S COMMERCE—DISASTROUS EFFECT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE *CALL*—DEATH OF JUAN I

THE succession to the throne of Aragon and the dependent states devolved on Pedro's son, the Infante Juan. In Majorca the situation was precarious and alarming and he assumed the government of the island under exceptionally difficult circumstances. The population was seething with discontent created by many years of hardship, natural calamities and heavy taxation; the conditions demanded much delicate diplomacy combined with energy. In consequence of the impoverished state of the people, many loans had been contracted with the Jews, above all in the country districts, and in 1387, when King Juan ascended the throne, black clouds were gathering on the horizon of the Jewry. The outlook had become so ominous that the authorities of the community judged it wisest to obtain from the new king, confirmation of all their privileges at the earliest possible moment. They appointed three of their most prominent members, Magaluf Natjar, Moxin Xulell and Magaluf Farax, who were despatched to Barcelona for that purpose. News of the death of King Pedro arrived in Majorca on January 4, 1387,[1] and on the 27th of the same month, general confirmation of all the privileges of the Majorcan Jews had been granted to their three

[1] *Cronicon Mayor.*, p. 75.

emissaries; the critical state of affairs called for immediate action. For several years previous to the death of Pedro, King Juan had assisted his father in affairs of state, and was acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Majorca. His training and the experience acquired under his father's guidance should have been invaluable, but he seemed to have been wanting in energy. Three years later (January 21, 1390), King Juan confirmed anew his father's decree of June 26, 1385, concerning correspondence derogatory to the privileges of the Jews emanating from the royal chanceries; this also was at the request of the aljama. In critical moments the Jews resorted to the expedient of petitioning for renewed confirmation of their rights, as a reminder to the authorities that they existed and that they were empowered to enforce them. At this time the precaution was imperative, for the danger was ever increasing, and the inhabitants of the *Call* lived in a continual state of vigilance and suspense. Local disturbances were frequent and the Governor, Francisco Sagarriga, had to take measures to preserve order. The Jews, at their own request, were prohibited from carrying arms or to leave their houses at night without a light.[1] In the spring of the following year the effervescence increased. In the middle of March, the Governor ordered the mayors of the towns of Inca and Sineu to adopt precautions for the protection of the Jews from ill-treatment during Easter, particularly on Good Friday, for Easter was always the provocative and dangerous period for the Jews, and fifteen years' experience had taught Governor Sagarriga the value of prudent anticipation. Matters, however, went from bad to worse; street fights were frequent between christians and Jews in the vicinity of

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 211 note 1.

the *Call*, and the Governor had to issue a proclamation in the King's name, forbidding such incidents, at the same time guaranteeing security to the Jewry (July 12, 1391). This same proclamation imposed on agitators of these "scandalous incidents" the penalty of decapitation if they were men of rank and the gallows for commoners; it further imposed a penalty of having the tongue torn out for uttering insults, and these penalties applied to all who took part in the disputes.[1] Anti-Jewish rumours were continually arriving from the mainland, which inflamed the discordant element in Majorca. There was much whispering that a Holy War was about to be declared against the Jews, and popular passion was actively worked up. News was spread around of the massacres of the Jews that had taken place during this same month of July, in Seville and Valencia, thus confirming the report circulated by unknown persons, that the general and simultaneous extermination of the Jews had been decided upon. The contagion was spreading in Majorca, and the agitation increased in an alarming manner. At the same time grave signs of revolt against the Government were observed among the population[2] in various parts of the island. Their two representatives sent to the King's cortes had not returned. It was rumoured that they had been arrested in Barcelona on their return journey to Majorca; that they had been conducted once more before the King at Saragossa and had not since been heard of, and it was openly stated that they had been put to death. Ever-increasing taxation

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 210.

[2] The Spanish word *forenses* has no equivalent in the English language. The *forenses* include all the population exclusive of the capital city, that is to say, all the provincial and rural population; the word is used in contradistinction to *ciudadanos* or citizens (of the capital). The word *provincials* will be used in the text as the nearest approach to the original, but it must be taken to include the peasantry as well as inhabitants of towns.

continued to augment the existing distress, and the non-arrival of relief to calm the deep sense of wrongs suffered, combined to intensify the prevailing discontent. Portentous sounds of the spirit of rebellion were heard in the city from all parts of the island; it was the rumbling of thunder that announced the coming storm which soon broke out. On August 2nd, at two o'clock in the morning, Governor Sagarriga was awakened and informed that an army of provincials was advancing along the Inca road towards the city to attack the *Call*.

The *Call*, or Jews' quarter, commenced at a small open space from which five streets diverged, three of which, traversed by a number of small streets, ran towards the east, south-east and south, terminating at the Temple, Santa Fé and Calatrava Gates respectively. In the *Call* there were two principal thoroughfares, known at the present day as the Calle de Montesion, where the Great Synagogue was situated in 1314, and the Calle del Sol, running almost parallel. Somewhat more towards the south was a third street called, until recent times, the Borne de Santa Clara, at the extremity of which were two other streets; that on the left, the principal one, now named the Calle de Montserrat, which is indicated in fifteenth-century documents as the chief street of the *Call*, either on account of its size or because the new synagogue was situated there. In the small square, above mentioned, was the great gate which formed the entrance to the *Call* from the city.[1]

The Governor accompanied by his Lieutenant and a number of followers, mounted and on foot, went to meet the provincials, who arrived 6,000 to 7,000 strong, and the meeting took place near the San Antonio Gate,

[1] Quadrado, *La Juderia de la Capital de Mallorca en 1391. Bol. de la real Acad. de la Hist.*, vol. xi, 1886.

outside the city walls. Here he argued, discussed and temporised with them, and he found it necessary to employ all the diplomacy of which he was capable; he exhorted and entreated the rustics to return peaceably to their homes, but to no purpose. No argument had any calming effect, but on the contrary, they became more clamorous and threatening than ever. Violent agitators such as Luis de Bellviure had thoroughly roused them, and the riot, which was obviously inevitable, broke out. In the tumult that ensued the Governor's horse was wounded under him, and his Lieutenant's horse was killed. The Governor, badly maltreated, narrowly escaped serious injury, but succeeded in reaching Bellver Castle, where he took refuge guarded by a company of archers. The flight of the Governor and his followers emboldened the rioters who followed and attempted to set fire to the castle, but without success; the massive structure, with walls many feet thick, resisted all their efforts, and their anger increased in proportion to their impotence in this direction; when suddenly nobody knowing how nor whence it arose, the cry of *the Call* went round. The effect was electric on that violent, seething mob, suffering under the wrongs of exorbitant taxation and clamouring for vengeance. The word *Call* acted like a firebrand, and *the Call! the Call!* was taken up by the crowd and passed from mouth to mouth, as they rushed back to the city. It was easier to vent their anger on the *Call* than on the impregnable walls of the royal castle.

At the city gates they were joined by a horde of ruffians from the town, all after plunder, headed by Antonio Sitjar, the famous bandit, and made straight for the Calatrava quarter where the *Call* was situated. In the uproar and confusion that followed, a boy was wounded, it was said, by an exasperated Jew, and died (7).



THE *CALL* OF PALMA AS IT IS TO-DAY
CALLE DEL SOL

This becoming known, the mob flung aside any scruples that may have remained, and threw themselves on the unfortunate and helpless victims, murdering them in their mad fury. After the short space of but a few hours, the enclosure was deserted but for the dead lying everywhere; three hundred bodies of Jewish men and women were collected from the streets and houses. The principal houses of the *Call* were pillaged; many others were broken into and robbed. Jewels, money, gold, silver, rich cloths and carpets destined for royal palaces, valuables of all kinds held on deposit or safe-keeping for noble families or as security for loans, nothing resisted the thirst for plunder; all disappeared. Gates of *patios* and doors of the houses were broken down with hatchets, and bodies were found on the staircases. How long the pillage lasted is unknown. Three christians lost their lives in the riot, either in defending the Jews or attempting to preserve order; wealthy houses outside the *Call*, including the Town Hall, were also looted, for plunder was the main object. The Jews were not the only victims of the pillage, for many wealthy families became impoverished as a result of this outrage. Many Jews escaped, some took refuge in the royal palace, but the majority succeeded in reaching the Castle of Bellver, where the Governor and city officials had sought safety.

Some days later (August 8th), the Governor succeeded in despatching an armed vessel to Tarragona with secret information for the King, who was then in Saragossa, to acquaint him with the events that had passed, but the troubles were not over. Luis de Bellviure the agitator, and probably the leader in the destruction of the *Call*, was actively sought, and orders were sent to all towns for his arrest. Andraitx and Sóller were, in particular, closely guarded, as being the most probable localities

for his flight, and in fact, it was from Sóller that he made his escape, to be subsequently arrested in Minorca. Each day brought new alarms and new dangers. On the 27th 4,000 provincials returned to the city, where they robbed orchards and vineyards and carried off quantities of food and provisions. On September 2nd, Governor Sagarriga, considering the worst over, took strong action and strictly prohibited entrance to the *Call*, under severe penalty; he then ordered two of the criminals from the city, Bernardo Matheu and Juan Bofí, to be hanged, for the part they had played in the disturbance and for wounding. This display of energy produced a good effect, and it was followed up by the *solemn* publication, on September 18th, of a Royal Proclamation, dated Saragossa, September 3rd, announcing to the population that the Monarch, in plenitude of his Royal power, took under his protection and safeguard each and all of his subjects, christians and Jews alike, and their property. All were warned not to offend, damage or prejudice the same under penalty of incurring treason and being considered as enemies of the King; but even this did not produce the desired effect. On October 2nd to 5th, several thousands again assembled on the outskirts of the city, with the avowed intention of entering it by night and sacking it, to avenge themselves on the Governor and high officials, whom they held responsible for the loss of their envoys to the cortes and for all their misery. Again much damage was caused, and large stocks of food were stolen to the estimated value of 50,000 libras. The Governor's authority or threats could have no effect where the King's proclamation was ignored; the time for that had gone, immediate relief and satisfaction were demanded. The only alternative, and to gain time, was to arrive at some accord with

the rebels, and Governor Sagarriga accordingly opened negotiations. The discussions that followed were long and acrimonious, but eventually an arrangement of a kind was arrived at. It can hardly be dignified as an agreement; it was, in reality, a demand formulated by the provincials and agreed to by an impotent governing body, contained in a lengthy document duly drawn up by a notary. It included the following clauses: Expulsion and perpetual disqualification from public duties of those who were said to be guilty of bad government and bad administration; abolition of taxes imposed by the General Council on the city and provincial districts; annulment of all credits to the Jews or conversos (new christians), and of *usurious contracts of christians*; power to redeem rents at their original price; reduction of loans in kind on the basis of 100 sueldos to the *morabatin*; moratorium for the payment of arrears. Observance of the customs of the courts of Majorca in the curtailment of lawsuits; removal of Llobera, Sala and Castell from their respective offices of assessor, syndic and notary of the republic; strict annual promotion of public officials; necessity of three-fourths of the votes for all resolutions; admission of the extra-urban syndics to the General Council, and of ten provincial *prohomens* on the smaller council of thirty members, in which four-fifths of the votes were requisite.[1]

The foregoing is but a brief summary of the clauses. Those concerning the Jews demanded the annulment of all the debts due to them, explaining that after *ten years' interest the capital had been repaid*; that the obligation to restore all money, jewels and other valuables stolen from the *Call* be revoked, and above all, charges the General Council to induce the "unfortunates" (Jews)

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, pp. 216–217.

to the christian faith by gentle means and not by violence, "which the faith rejects." It was, therefore, suggested that eight days be given to the Jews to decide between baptism and death. This last clause was, further, in direct violation of the Regent Philip's decree of 1327, prohibiting baptism by force, but doubtless the week's delay tranquillised any conscientious scruples that violence was not employed. This clause conveys a strong impression of ecclesiastical influence, for the rebels had enough troubles of their own to be redressed, to concern themselves with the conversion of the Jews. Such were the demands imposed by the provincials and to which the Governor was compelled to agree. A further proclamation was issued on November 3rd, prohibiting tumultuous meetings, but comparative calm was not restored before the end of the year.

A state of anarchy existed after the massacre in the *Call*, for every class of the population was affected by the disaster and every branch of commerce suffered. Notaries were prohibited, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, to destroy any documents concerning the transactions of the Jews or to draw up new ones;[1] a precaution that would be of great utility when order was re-established, but which proved to be futile. This was on August 9, 1391, but on September 30th, when the demands of the rebels were concluded, article 3 stipulated that notarial contracts be destroyed.[2] The exigencies of the provincials prevented any possibility of the restoration of order at an early date. On October 4th a second series of demands was formulated which included the following: that the King will pardon offences, violence and crimes committed up to date, in the various

[1] Salcet, *Chronicle*, quoted by Villanueva, vol. xxi, p. 224.
[2] Rullan, *Hist. de Sóller*, vol. i, pp. 425–426.

attacks against the Governor, the Jews and the *Call*, *all having been done in honour of the King and for the public good* (art. 35); revocation of orders sent to rectors and vicars to oblige their parishioners to return money or objects taken from the *Call* (art. 45), and annulment of debts to the Jews (art. 48). Under such conditions, the situation of the Jews became more precarious than ever, and many emigrated as a natural result, but in spite of the dangerous outlook, the majority preferred to remain, hoping that circumstances would improve. A proclamation issued on October 21st by Governor Sagarriga, called upon the conversos to declare their property in the *Call* within eight days; to state if they desired to live there or to let or sell their houses, and in reply only eight declared for sale.[1] These declarations are of particular interest, for they state the names of the declarants and the names adopted after conversion; the list was published by Quadrado in 1886.

Many arrests and executions of rebels resulted from this uprising; the principal were Bernardo Matheu, Juan Bofí, already mentioned, and Tomas Cifra, who were hanged, and Antonio Sitjar, the chief bandit, who was hanged and then quartered. Insurrection, disturbances and troubles continued with more or less severity for some seventy years longer, but so ended what may be considered as the first phase of the Peasants' Revolt of 1391, and the great disaster to the Jews of Majorca. The event was disastrous to the whole island, for it never recovered from its effects. The decline of Majorca commenced at this period, and as a direct result of the sacking and pillage of the *Call*. Quadrado states that "so disastrous were the consequences of this crime, that for more than a century after it was cited as one of the

[1] Quadrado, *La Juderia de la Capital de Mallorca*, etc.

principal causes of Majorca's ruin, and the inhabitants of the city never pardoned the provincials."[1] Eight hundred Jews had taken refuge in the castle and thus escaped the massacre. Of these some crossed over to Barbary, and many of the others, who were unable to leave, became enforced converts in order to gain time to escape later. Quadrado considers that more than half voluntarily remained, and that the fear of wholesale emigration was greatly exaggerated, in spite of the drastic measures taken to prevent it, but it is certain that many did emigrate, not only of the professed Jews but also of the conversos. The Jews who had sought security under the King's protection in Bellver Castle, were offered inducements to become converts. A promise was made to distribute the sum of 20,000 libras among the converted, to relieve their distress resulting from the destruction of the *Call*, which, no doubt, influenced many in their decision to become conversos. No record is known to exist that this promise was ever fulfilled, but we do know that as late as the month of March of the following year, the payment had not been made. On March 14, 1392, the conversos presented a petition through their procurators, asking that this relief be given to them, recalling the promise made the previous year by the jurados and councillors of the city of Majorca.[2] Bad faith added to insecurity, did not tend to create increased confidence in the unfortunate victims.

Towards the end of the year (1391), Governor Sagarriga received from King Juan an emphatic command, dated from Villafranca del Panadés, November 22nd, intimating that on no account must attention be paid to the articles demanded by the provincials and others since the beginning of the insurrection, and announcing

[1] *Forenses y Ciudadanos*, p. 29 note.

[2] Document 241.

his coming visit to the island. This was accompanied by a second communication, of the same date, authorising the Governor not to publish the order if he did not consider it prudent to do so but to hold back its publication until the opportune moment arrived; the Governor thought it wisest to adopt the latter course for the time being. On February 3rd of the following year, however, the first outburst having calmed down, the King's proclamation was solemnly announced, with the sound of trumpets and drums, revoking the whole agreement with the insurgents on the ground of illegality. Orders were given for the definite restitution to the Jews of their property, and all concerned were called upon to declare debts, loans, money, etc., due to the Jews, notwithstanding any arrangements or assignments concluded after January 15th.

It is evident that Governor Sagarriga was much disturbed by the departure of the Jews, and the fear of emigration *en masse* caused him great anxiety. During the year 1392, numerous proclamations prohibited them from leaving the island and they who had succeeded in escaping, were appealed to to return;[1] but what guarantee had they for their security? Any person who assisted them to leave without permission was threatened with the heaviest penalties. Thirty days were allowed for the absent to return and non-compliance with the order meant sequestration of their property; no protest or pleading against this proved of any avail. Such highly respected Jews as Magaluf Natjar, Aron Natjar, Struch Benini, and others, had to submit to this decision, although a vigorous and powerful defence of enforced servitude on those who were free by right, and the insecurity, vexations, and the danger of death that had

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, pp. 228–229.

forced them to abandon their native land, was pleaded on their behalf by their procurators and co-religionists.[1] They who remained were in no better plight, for these various orders, edicts, and proclamations created a multitude of restrictions, which instead of ameliorating their situation, aggravated it; they were vexatious and troublesome, and prevented a speedy recovery of peace and calm, so imperative for the restitution of order and normal conditions. There is no doubt that the emigration of the Jews, converted or otherwise, was viewed with considerable alarm.

The destruction of the *Call* led to the imposition of a fine of 120,000 florins, by Queen Violante, upon the inhabitants of Majorca; no discrimination or distinction was made between the guilty and the innocent, all were condemned. There were many who endeavoured to protect the Jews, and three christians were killed in the attempt to do so; in consequence, a sense of injustice was felt at this sweeping condemnation, and a great outcry of protest was raised without producing any immediate effect. The grave situation created and the serious consequences involved, since the beginning of the revolt on August 2, 1391, induced the Majorcans to send special envoys to the King, representing the city of Palma and the different districts of the island, to place their grievances before him and explain what had occurred. The Vicar-General, Canon Solanes, accompanied them. The result of their interview and the ensuing conference, were highly satisfactory to them, for between July 16th and 25th the King granted practically all they asked for, and at the same time the dismissal of Francisco Sagarriga as Governor of Majorca was decided upon. Hugo de Cervelló was named to succeed, but

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 229.

when, at the end of September, Sagarriga was relieved of his office, his Lieutenant, Berenguer de Montagut, was appointed. One of the first duties of the new Governor was a pleasant one for him. On October 12th he made known to the people of the Kingdom of Majorca, with all the solemnity the occasion required, the Royal pardon and amnesty to all who took part in the seditious events of the preceding year, and *in particular, to the originators of the pillage of the Call and the massacre of the Jews*; remission of the fine was also granted. This decree was drafted during the visit of the envoys, but its publication was deferred until after the installation of the new Governor. All this, naturally, encouraged outrages against the Jews, and Berenguer de Montagut was obliged to intervene to protect them. On January 21, 1393, he ordered that *caballeros* guilty of molesting Jews or causing them injury, be sentenced to the strappado, and all others to be hanged.[1]

The insurrection of the provincials must not be considered as having been primarily directed against the Jews, as most historians seem to convey. The destruction of the *Call* and the massacre of its inhabitants is baldly described by the older historians, without relating the circumstances which led up to it, thus giving a false impression. The rebellion was aimed at the governing powers that had imposed heavy levies upon the people, already crippled by the terrible results of epidemic, famine and earlier imposts. Crushing taxation has been the cause of other revolutions, and this was an early example. The massacre of the Jews was an indirect result created by the impotence of the infuriated mob to avenge itself where it desired. An outlet for the people's sense of wrong and oppression had to be found, and it vented

[1] Rullan, *Hist. de Sóller*, vol. i, p. 308 note 2.

itself on the Jews, *faute de mieux*. It must be remembered that those ignorant and illiterate provincials had been nourished for generations on a diet largely composed of acute anti-Judaism, and in addition they owed the Jews money. When, therefore, they found themselves unable to give vent to their anger on the authorities whom they held responsible for their sufferings, the mere whispered suggestion of the *Call* was sufficient, and their fury fell on the innocent objects of a traditional hatred, which existed from an entirely different cause. They soothed their conscience with the excuse of their indebtedness, an emnity existing from their birth, and the certainty of receiving absolution from the priests.

The consequences, however, were incalculable, for the inhabitants of the *Call* no longer possessed any feeling of security; their very existence suddenly became precarious, and their enthusiasm and activity were profoundly affected. Every part of the island suffered. Four years later, in 1395, we find the Actuary (*Escribano*) of the town of Inca, Pedro Salt, petitioning the King to reduce by half his annual tax of 100 libras for the concession, stating as his reason, loss of revenue due to the disappearance of the *Call*. The King acceded to his request on condition that should the town of Inca once more possess a *Call* and recover its prosperity, the annual payment revert to its original amount.[1] This is but a slight indication of the great control the Jews retained over the commercial affairs of the country. After the catastrophe of 1391, Majorca's commerce continued in a desultory way, but declined visibly. The Governor's desperate efforts to prevent emigration and to retain the Jews on the island produced little effect, for their confidence was seriously impaired in a land

[1] *Cronicon Mayor.*, p. 81.

where the monarch was incapable of enforcing their rights in common justice, or even of protecting them. Juan I was not of his father's calibre. The great reputation that Majorca enjoyed in the fourteenth century, and the inducements offered, attracted, nevertheless, one hundred and fifty Portuguese Jews to the island, who were offered every facility to establish themselves. A site was allotted to them where they could live peaceably; they were allowed to practise their faith freely and without hindrance, and the inhabitants were strictly forbidden to insult or ill-treat them in any manner whatsoever,[1] but it is doubtful if they finally settled there. A further striking example of the efforts made to induce the Jews to return to settle in Majorca for the purposes of commerce, is afforded by the *guidaticum*, or safe-conduct issued by Juan I in the same year (1395). All Jews enjoyed "immunity from judicial prosecution, payment of debts and exemption from extraordinary taxation."[2]

Juan I, surnamed the Indolent, was a weak king. His life was devoted to pleasure, whence, doubtless, his delicate state of health. His Court included many troubadours and dancers and the pursuit of pleasure appeared to occupy most of the attention of himself and Queen Violante, his third wife. Grave affairs of state necessary for the government of his territories, were neglected for the chase, music and poetry, and political questions requiring energy or strength of will were distasteful to him. This state of physical and moral debility doubtless explains the facility with which the Majorcan envoys, headed by Canon Solanes, obtained all they wanted. His one and only visit to Majorca, in 1395, ended in creating the disgust of the inhabitants, and in his

[1] Document 250. [2] Document 254.

precipitous and undignified departure from the island. He died on May 19, 1396, his death resulting from a fall from his horse while hunting. His brother, the Infante Martin, succeeded him on the throne of Aragon.

CHAPTER VI

JEWISH SCHOLARS AND JEWISH LEARNING IN MAJORCA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

MAJORCA'S greatest period was in the middle of the fourteenth century during the reign of Pedro IV. Her reputation as a commercial centre was universal, and her ports and harbours sheltered hundreds of ships from all parts, many of considerable size, whereas thirty thousand sailors lived within the city's walls. The movement and animation in the city of Majorca, or Palma,[1] bore evidence of the intense commercial activity and prosperity, created by the many wealthy companies of merchants established there, but the dominating influence issued from the Hebrew aljama. The city of Majorca was not only a centre of commerce, it was one of the most important schools of navigation in the world, and further, enjoyed a great reputation as a centre of learning and culture. Astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, jurisprudence, and the sciences generally, were highly developed in Majorca, and the most eminent in all these branches of knowledge were the Jews. Isaac Nafuci, Vidal Abrafim, Leon Mosconi, Abraham and Yahuda Cresques, Aaron Cohen, Salamon de Mallorca, Efraïm Bellshom and Simon Durán, are but a few of the names whose fame has survived until the present day. The important research effected by Señor Rubio of Barcelona, has considerably added to our know-

[1] The capital of Majorca took the name of Palma about the middle of the sixteenth century, the exact date is unknown. Previous to that period it was known as the city of Majorca. Quadrado states that the first mention of the name Palma is to be found in the year 1541.

ledge of the distinguished Jewish scholars of Majorca at this period.

Scientific knowledge in Majorca, in the fourteenth century, was almost wholly confined to the Jews, as it was in Spain generally. It was disseminated by Jewish scholars who translated scientific works from the Arabic and supplemented them by their own learning, thus acting as the intermedium from whence learning was diffused. In this manner the Jews laid the foundation of a knowledge of the sciences in the Occident. In the Middle Ages the Jews were of the greatest eminence in medicine, and they alone were in possession of the various treatises written in Arabic, Hebrew, Latin or any other language. When James II of Aragon required certain medical works to enrich the library of Lerida University, he had to apply to Jewish savants in order to procure them, for no others were sufficiently cognisant of the different works on medical science.[1] Numerous works, philosophical and scientific, were translated by Majorcan Jews. In Majorca they were pre-eminent in mathematics and cartography and excelled in the manufacture of nautical instruments and charts. The maps executed by the Jewish cartographers of the island, were masterpieces of erudition, accuracy and beauty, and it was at this period that the Majorcan school of cartography became world-famous.

Isaac Nafuci and Efraïm Bellshom, both mathematicians, were masters of nautical and astronomical instruments. Pedro IV named Nafuci the "celebrated Jew of Majorca" and preferred his instruments to those of all other makers. In 1359 King Pedro chose Nafuci "to make the clocks and sextants that we desire," and in 1362 he demonstrated his appreciation of Nafuci's

[1] Reparaz, jr. (G. de), *Catalunya a les Mars*, Barcelona (1930), pp. 46–47.

talents, by naming him "Rabbi of the aljama of Majorca," and he never wearied of singing his praises. Again in 1365, during the most critical period of the war against Pedro the Cruel of Castile, Pedro IV found time, when at the siege of Murviedro, to order payment to be made to Nafuci for a silver quadrant he had ordered from him. King Pedro was an enthusiast and patron of learning, and many instances are recorded of his favouring Jewish scholars in all branches of culture. His patronage was continued by his son, the Infante Don Juan, later Juan I, who ordered from Nafuci and his friend, Bellshom, an astrolabe and a translation into Catalan of the work of Alfragano. The Infante Juan inherited his father's predilection for learning, and the Jewish scholars of Majorca were the recipients of many honours which he conferred upon them. Vidal Abrafim was also patronised by the Infante who ordered from him several works on astrology, and it is related that Don Juan's anxiety to obtain execution of this order caused some trouble. Not receiving news from Abrafim concerning progress made, the Infante was suddenly seized with the idea that Vidal sought to leave the island, and he caused a strict surveillance to be exercised over him. The Governor of Majorca was communicated with and ordered on no account to allow the savant to leave the island until the work was finally completed.

As already stated, it was at this period that the Majorcan school of cartography attained its highest importance. Crowned heads of all countries possessed maps and charts executed by the Jewish cartographers of Majorca. It was only natural, therefore, that when the Infante wanted to procure a good chart, he should write to Majorca. In a letter to Olfo de Próxida, afterwards Governor of the island, he stated that he wanted a chart that would

represent the Straits of Gibraltar, the Atlantic coasts and the "mysterious" ocean, in the most complete form possible. The famous Catalan Atlas of the Cresques took two years to complete, but the admiration of Don Juan was unbounded. The most celebrated of the cartographers were Abraham Cresques and his son Yahuda. The family Cresques had been established for generations in Majorca, but the name is frequently met with among the Jews of Catalonia, and it is presumed that the Majorcan branch arrived at the time of the Conquest. Members of the family attained high positions and enjoyed considerable reputation. Ferrer Cresques was a well-known physician on the island during the first half of the fourteenth century, and later the name of Vidal Cresques figures prominently in documents as one of the secretaries of the aljama.

Abraham Cresques had been famous for years for his maps and nautical instruments, and Pedro IV esteemed him very highly. The Infante Juan also showed great interest in the Jewish savant, evinced much personal friendship for him, and authorised the "Master of maps and compasses" (*magistrum mappamundorum et bruxolarum*) to establish public baths in the *Call* of Palma. His great work was the Atlas which was to comprise the known world, ordered by the King of Aragon. It contained more than maps for the first two leaves are devoted to cosmographic and geographical tables and observations, which exhibit a wide knowledge of the different sciences. The title informs us that it is a "map of the world, that is to say, an image of the world and of the various states of the world and of the regions that are on the earth and the different manners of the people that live on it." (*Mapa mundi, vol dir aytant com ymage del mon i dels diversos stats del mon e de les regions qui son sus la terra e de diversas*

maneras de gens qui en ela habitan.)[1] According to Señor Reparaz, this atlas is erroneously known as the Catalan Atlas of 1375, for Abraham Cresques evidently worked on it in 1376 and 1377, as is proved by inscriptions to be found upon it. In 1381, Charles V of France sent an envoy, Guillaume de Courcy, to the Infante Juan, to express his desire to possess an atlas of the world executed by the renowned Majorcan cartographers, reputed to be so perfect and exact. Don Juan replied that he knew of none more worthy of a king than one recently completed by his Jewish cartographers, which he sent with careful and precise instructions as to its transport. This letter of instructions bears the date of November 5, 1381, and clearly states that the work was executed by Cresques, thus leaving no doubt as to the author's identity; it proves also that the work was finished in 1381 and not in 1375. It constitutes, without any doubt, Cresques' masterpiece, and is prized as the greatest treasure of its kind in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, where it exists at the present day. In a document dated from Valencia, April 1382, King Pedro speaks of "Abram Cresques and Jaffuda his son, Jews of our household" having made some works and maps for him, and the previous month he ordered the sum of one hundred and fifty gold florins of Aragon to be paid to his "Magistro de Mapamundi." The extraordinary activity of Abraham Cresques continued until his death, which overtook him at the height of his fame. He died in the beginning of the year 1387, known to the whole scientific and nautical world of his time. He had long before initiated his son, Yahuda or Jaffuda, in the complicated scientific knowledge requisite to continue his profession and to uphold the reputation of his name. Yahuda was a distinguished successor, and

[1] Buchon et Tastu, *Notice d'un Atlas en langue catalane*, etc., Paris, 1839.

the brilliant lustre of the name of Cresques became even greater if that were possible. The famous Atlas was reproduced in Paris in 1844 and again in 1881.

The death of Pedro IV in the early days of 1387, deprived the Aragonese States of their royal patron of learning, but his son, Juan I, although not of the same high intellect as his father, possessed, nevertheless, great enthusiasm and appreciation for all branches of culture. He was much perturbed by the loss of Abraham Cresques, which he feared was irreparable, but when he learned that Yahuda was equal to his father, he showed his great pleasure by immediately ordering a *mapamundi* to be made for him by the son, to replace the one presented to Charles V. The order was given in May 1387, but was not completed until 1389; the amount paid for it was 60 libras 8 sueldos, a very considerable sum for the period. (8) Henceforth Yahuda became a protégé of Juan I, and the "Jew of the compasses," as he was known in Majorca, was honoured by the King as was his father before him. "The eminent Jew," as Llabrés styles him, occupied his father's house, a sumptuous residence in the *Call*, near the Temple Gate, until 1394. After the destruction of the *Call* in 1391, Yahuda became a convert and adopted the name of Jaime Ribes, a high dignitary of the Church. King Juan repeatedly expressed his desire that Yahuda be attached to his Court, much against his favourite's wish, but he was obliged to submit to the King's insistence. In 1394 he sold his house to the famous notary Pere de Sant Pere, and joined the King in Barcelona. After the death of King Juan, Martin I continued his protection of the renowned Majorcan Jew, but when he also passed away, the throne of Aragon came under the Castilian dynasty, and circumstances changed. Cresques emigrated to Portugal, and it is

assumed with much reason, that the *Maese Jacome de Majorica*, first director of the nautical school at Sagres, was the same Jaime Ribes, or the converted Yahuda Cresques, the world-renowned Jew of the compasses of the *Call* of the city of Majorca. (9)

Judah Leon ben Mosconi, known as Leon Mosconi, although not of Majorcan birth, is generally included among the Jewish scholars of Majorca. He was born at Ocrida, Bulgaria, in 1328, and after having travelled extensively over Europe, he arrived and settled in Majorca about 1363 or 1364. He was a doctor of repute and a renowned scholar, and the list of his writings on philosophy and metaphysics is lengthy. After his death in 1377, his effects and library were sold in Palma by his executor, Astruch Durán, father of the famous Simon Durán; the inventory of the sale, with the names of the purchasers, still exists.[1] The wide range of his studies can be ascertained and estimated from a perusal of the contents of his library, which contained many works on the different sciences, theological subjects, philosophy, medicine and surgery. Aristotle, Hippocrates and Ptolomeus, whose writings were much read by the Jewish scholars of that period, were well represented, and also the great Jewish and Arabic writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the purchasers of books at the sale may be noted the names of Abram Cresques, Yahuda Cresques, Efraïm Bellshom, Bione del Mestre, various members of the Natjar family and Maimon Xulell. Bione del Mestre and Maimon Xulell were secretaries of the Hebrew community and are frequently mentioned in documents, and the Natjar family was one of the wealthiest and most respected in Majorca.

[1] *Jew. Encyclo.*: "Inventari de la Heretat y Llibreria del Metje Juheu Jahuda o Leo Mosconi." *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. x, pp. 80–91, 106–112, 140–151, 196 bis.

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Simon ben Zemah Durán, physician and savant, is at the present day possibly the best known of the Jewish scholars of Majorca of the fourteenth century, after the Cresques. He was born on the island in 1361 and came from a family of scholars. His studies covered a wide field and he was a prolific writer. In 1391, he succeeded in escaping from the massacre and, with his father and sister, reached Algiers, where he was elected Rabbi of the Jewish community after the death of Isaac Barfatts, better known as Isaac ben Sheshet. Durán and Barfatts are considered as the true founders of Judaism in Algiers. Among the numerous treatises and commentaries written by Durán, on philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, and other subjects, is an interesting work on the persecution of 1391, which was translated into Spanish and published in Madrid in 1886 in a book entitled: *Ordenamiento de las aljamas hebreas*, by Francisco Fernandez y Gonzales. Simon ben Zemah Durán died in 1444, leaving a son, Salomon ben Simon Durán, to continue the scholarly reputation of the father.[1]

The personality of Salamon of Majorca is obscure, but we know that Pedro IV, writing from Valencia on February 3, 1349, ordered from "mestre Salamó, juheu de Mallorca," a translation of an Arabic work, but the title is not indicated.[2]

Juan I insisted that the learning of the Jews be respected, and ordered that the Hebrew books of the Majorcan aljama could not be seized or attached in any manner whatsoever, and that they be considered as privileged property.[3]

It will be gathered from the foregoing, that the Jewish

[1] *Jewish Encyclo.*: "Revue des Etudes juives," vol. 16, p. 186; *Encicl. Espasa*, vol. 18, p. 2564.

[2] Rubió y Lluch (A), *Docum. per l'Hist. de la Cult. Catal. Mig-eval*, vol. 1, p. 143.

[3] Idem, vol. ii, p. 320.

community of Majorca was of great importance at the period, as a centre of learning and culture. Apart from the scholars mentioned, who had attained a world-wide reputation, the standard of learning was very high. The secretaries and notabilities of the aljama were scholars of no mean order, who eagerly purchased erudite works at the sale of Leon Mosconi's library. The fame of the renowned schools of Cordova, Toledo, Granada and Seville, which had become the admiration and envy of the world, was maintained in Majorca. The fatal catastrophe of 1391 on the island, dealt a mortal blow to the continued cultivation and development of knowledge, scientific and moral. Since that epoch, Majorca has been singularly deficient in all branches of learning, and has produced no outstanding intellect worthy of the name.

CHAPTER VII

ANARCHY IN MAJORCA—REIGN OF KING MARTIN—HIS DEATH—FERDINAND DE ANTEQUERA OF CASTILE ELECTED KING OF ARAGON—HIS BIGOTRY AND CONSTITUTIONS AGAINST THE JEWS OF MAJORCA—HIS DEATH—TOTAL CONVERSION OF THE JEWS—MAJORCA'S FINAL DOWNFALL

FOR years after the tragedy of the *Call*, Majorca suffered from calamities due to natural causes. A period of infertility commenced in 1394 which lasted for ten years, and the effects of famine became more and more acute as each year passed, augmenting the terrible sufferings of the already enfeebled islanders, without any signs of alleviation. Jewish aid was no longer available, for the Jews had not the means to offer it. In 1403 (October 14th), after two days and nights of continuous torrential rains, the Riera, a mountain torrent which at that period passed through the city to the sea, overflowed its banks and inundated a great part of the town. The water rushed down carrying all before it. Uprooted trees, branches, broken masonry, debris and people were caught in its course and dashed against the walls of the city, causing a breach through which the torrent invaded whole quarters, destroying many buildings. The old meat market, all the houses of the central market and the San Nicolas quarter were carried away. Five thousand five hundred people lost their lives and the following day the bay was covered with the bodies of the dead floating on the water. Innumerable buildings, including the Church of San Feliu, sustained great damage, and great quantities of merchandise were

lost. In 1407, heavy rains again caused the Riera to overflow, but the catastrophe of four years earlier was not repeated, although considerable damage was done in the country districts. The massacre of the Jews brought no mitigation of the people's ills. Subsequent disasters served but to intensify the general unrest that created the Peasants' Revolt of 1391 and achieved the destruction of the *Call*, and calm was far from being restored. The conversos, after the massacre, experienced exceptional hardship and misery, for the financial aid promised to them had not been forthcoming. In the year 1404, they founded among themselves a mutual aid society, and a common fund was formed to provide relief for cases of urgent necessity.[1]

During the fourteen years that King Martin reigned, nothing further is heard of the Jews of Majorca. The tremendous upheaval caused by the massacre had shaken their activity, and even their existence, to the very foundation. In the space of but a very few hours, the great edifice of general wealth and prosperity, that had taken generations to erect, fell to the ground, and the death-knell of Majorca's greatness was sounded with the cries of helpless victims being murdered. Commerce was at a standstill; discontent increased, and the governing powers appeared to be unable to cope with the existing state of chaos.

The death of King Martin in 1410 did not help matters, for leaving no legitimate or direct heir to the throne of Aragon to succeed him, aggravated the situation. A new king had to be appointed and several claimants presented themselves, each with pretensions more or less justifiable, and each with a number of interested partisans to support his claim. The principal were Ferdinand de Antequera,

[1] *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Luliana*, vol. vii, pp. 408–410.

of Castile, nephew of King Martin; Louis, Duc d'Anjou, son of King Martin's niece, Doña Violante; the Count of Urgel and the Duke of Gandia; the other pretenders had much less right or importance. An assembly was convoked of the delegates representing the different provinces under the Crown of Aragon—Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca—for the election of the new king, but great difficulty was experienced in Majorca, to name delegates or to decide on the candidate to be favoured.

The island, as we have seen, was rent by internal dissension and the situation was in a state of effervescent chaos. The antagonism between the city and the provincial authorities, openly declared in 1391, had become more and more acute. The representatives of both sections in the General Council were in continual opposition; the candidate favoured by one side was automatically opposed by the other, and no decision could be arrived at. Time passed, the date fixed for the assembly approached and decisions had to be taken; eventually after much dispute, envoys were named who departed to attend the convocation, which took place in the city of Caspe in February 1412. They were Berenguer de Tagamanent and Arnaldo de Mur, representing the city, and Jaime Albertí of Inca, representing the provincials.[1] Vicente Ferrer, the celebrated preacher and missionary, one of the representatives for the province of Valencia, was the first to vote. His great reputation, the miraculous conversions he is said to have accomplished, his personality and his influence, endowed him with a preponderant authority. When, therefore, he recorded his vote in favour of Ferdinand de Antequera, his arguments produced a considerable effect on the assembled ambas-

[1] *Hist. gén. de Mallorca*, vol. iii, p. 356.

sadors, who finally submitted to his influence, and King Martin's nephew was elected king as Ferdinand I, on July 28, 1412. On that date, Majorca passed to the dynasty of Castile. The election of the favourite of Vicente Ferrer and the extreme ecclesiastical party, could bode no good for the Jews, and subsequent events fully confirmed this. Vicente Ferrer at this period, was patronised and instigated by Pedro de Luna, later the anti-papist of Avignon, who played an active part in the anti-Jewish agitations on the Continent.

Ferdinand I reigned for four years, and his reign will be remembered in the history of the Jews for the notorious edict, issued from Barcelona on March 20, 1413, setting forth the constitutions against the Jews of Majorca. It was based on the *Ordenamiento de Doña Catalina* of 1412, and inspired by Pedro de Luna, who in 1375, on the death of Bishop Antonio de Galiana, had been elected to the See of Majorca by the Chapter, but Pope Benedict XI refused to confirm the election; he was, avowedly, an implacable enemy of the Jews. This edict contains sixteen clauses which can be summarised as follows:

1. That all Jews of the island and Kingdom of Majorca and the adjacent islands, live apart from christians on a site enclosed by a wall, which shall possess but one gate; one year is allowed for all Jews to transfer their residence to within the enclosure even should they own houses without, under penalty of confiscation of their property.

2. That no Jew can eat or drink with christians, nor christians with Jews, in their houses. That they cannot have christian servants nor christians to work in their houses, either to prepare their food on the sabbath or to light the fire, nor to carry wine or other things for

them. They cannnot have christian nurses to nourish their children, neither can they visit christian houses for marriages, funerals or other events. Under penalty of 100 florins for each offence.

3. That no Jew can carry arms such as swords, daggers, poniards, etc., but they may carry knives for cutting bread or meat. Under penalty of 100 florins.

4. That no Jew may recite any prayer from the Talmud or other of their writings against the christians, their churches or their dead, and that any such prayer be erased and rendered undecipherable in those books, within two months. Under penalty of receiving 100 lashes in public. If after two months such prayer be found or recited, a penalty of 100 florins be paid, or in default, 200 lashes in public. In addition to the said penalties, criminal proceedings be taken against the offenders for blasphemy or cursing against the holy law of the christians.

5. That no christian woman can enter the enclosure or houses inhabited by the Jews, either by day or night. Under the penalty of 50 florins for each offence if she be married; to lose all the clothes she wears down to the chemise, if unmarried; if she be a public woman 100 lashes applied in public, for each offence.

6. That any Jew or Jewess of the said kingdom or adjacent islands, who by special inspiration of the Holy Spirit, desires baptism and turn to the Holy Catholic Faith, be not prevented by either Jew or christian, nor by the husband, wife, father, mother, sister or any other person of the family. Under penalty of criminal proceedings or civil chastisement with the penalties established by law.

7. That no Jew be addressed as "Don" either in speech or writing, under penalty of 10 florins for each

offence, and further, that the Jews wear a distinctive hood or hat to distinguish them from christians.

8. That no Jew can wear long coats with broad revers as is their custom, but to avoid scandal, they may wear what they please when travelling.

9. That no Jew can sell spices, bread, wine, flour, or oil, fat, or other food to any christian, nor possess a shop for the sale of food (to christians), nor display food for sale (to christians) in any manner in public or in private; nor cereals nor vines that have not been produced on their own farms, which produce could be sold in the enclosures or quarters where they live or on their farms; and on holidays or market days, in the market-places or shops, if they have any. But they cannot inhabit or sleep in those shops longer than the exact time necessary to sell the said produce. They are also permitted to sell merchandise not prohibited by this decree, in the city, towns or other places, provided the goods are transported there by hand. Under penalty of 100 florins for each offence and the offender placed at the disposition of the authorities.

10. That no Jew can be landlord, attorney, major-domo, nor receiver of royal rents, etc.

11. It has been denounced to us that certain Jews, like the Tartars and persons of other sects, have forced others to become Jews and perform ceremonies which constitute great harm and contempt for our Holy Catholic Faith; such Jews be made prisoners and placed at the disposition of the authorities, also they who have been perverted.

12. That no Jew can visit sick christians, nor give them medicines nor syrups; nor can they bathe with christians; nor can they offer presents of cakes, spices or baked bread, nor wine nor fowl nor other meat, nor

fish nor fruit nor other comestibles. Under penalty of 100 florins.

13. That no Jew can wear clothes of scarlet nor other precious cloths, under penalty of losing all their clothes down to the shirt for the first offence; to lose their clothes and receive 100 lashes in public for the second offence; confiscation of all their property for the third offence.

14. That no Jewess can wear long cloaks; her clothes cannot be finer than herein decreed; she cannot wear gold, veils or headdress. Under penalty of losing all the clothes to the chemise.

15. That no Jew can be barber; nor tailor to any christian woman, whatever her rank may be. Under penalty of 50 lashes for the first offence, and the christian women to pay 100 sueldos.

16. It has been denounced to us that many conversos pass over to Barbary and there renounce the Holy Catholic Faith and that their children return to Majorca as Jews, which constitutes contempt for the Catholic Faith; it is, therefore, ordered that no official, under penalty of losing his office, allow conversos to enter or to leave for Barbary, but when found, to proceed against them as the law provides. All owners of ships who embark conversos or Jews, lose their ships and be treated as corsairs, without grace or mercy.

These Constitutions rendered the existence of the Jews still more difficult. Their means of livelihood were considerably curtailed and departure from the island was almost impossible. Clause 9 permits trading in goods not prohibited by the edict, which does not leave a very wide scope; the medical profession, in which the Jew excelled, was prohibited, which must have been disastrous to the christian sick. Clauses 13 and 14 struck at

Jewish love of finery and ostentation, a truly Oriental characteristic that has been the cause of much suffering to them. It has been frequently brought up against them by the old Spanish historians, and repeated even in later times. It has been said that its demonstration, not infrequently, exasperated the populace to violence against them. This may or may not be true, but the more the student reflects on the popular psychology of those ages, the more one is inclined to trace elsewhere the origin of popular violence on this account. Ostentation was the outward sign of power and wealth to the populace of that period, as it still is to the populace of the twentieth century though in a less degree. Wealthy Jews displayed their power as did the nobles, and still more, the ecclesiastics, and it is more probable that exasperation originated among those classes than among the people. It is more reasonable to suppose that needy nobles, who had squandered their fortunes on their pleasures and chivalrous reputation, and ecclesiastics seeking greater wealth either for themselves or for the "advancement of the work of the Church," would be more exasperated by ostentatious display on the part of heretics (?) than the populace, whose knowledge of Jews and heretics was derived solely from the pulpit. In that age ostentation on the part of the individual Jew would not of itself be sufficient to exasperate a population to violence, without powerful extraneous influence. No country is more ostentatious than Spain, for the Spanish temperament is more Oriental than Occidental, and until the fifteenth century was far more so, for a great part of the country was still under Moorish rule.

The publication of a decree of such importance and character must have created a great sensation, yet historians are surprisingly silent regarding the immediate

effect produced. Vicente Mut (seventeenth century) does not even mention it; Guillermo Terrassa (eighteenth century) mentions it and gives a very brief summary, reprinted in the *Cronicon Mayoricense*; Villanueva speaks of it and gives the text; Quadrado repeats Villanueva and Terrassa, etc., but all are silent as to its effect.

Torres de Castilla, alone, informs us that: "Two years later, Don Fernando de Antequera was obliged to revoke the prescriptions of this law, as its absurdities could not be put into force." Such drastic measures against the class that still held the diminished commerce in its hands, could only be productive of greater poverty and suffering where it was never intended. A small island like Majorca does not possess the wide range of resources of a country like Spain, and complete disaster was bound to result to the people as a whole. The results of the destruction of the *Call*, twenty-four years earlier, had already proved this, for the island's commerce had diminished to an alarming extent. What, however, the decree did not directly and immediately accomplish, it attained indirectly some twenty years later, for although the text may have been more or less disregarded, the spirit remained.

During the reign of Alfonso V, the Magnanimous, son and successor of Ferdinand I, at the period of Easter of the year 1435, a rumour was spread about that the Jews of the *Call* had seized a Moorish slave and forced him to represent the crucifixion, making him endure similar sufferings. Two of the principal Jews and the slave were arrested by the Bishop to be judged by the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, but the Governor's Lieutenant, Juan Desfar, claimed them on the ground that the incident came within the jurisdiction of the civil courts. A lengthy and heated discussion, which lasted eight

days, took place between the two authorities, when finally the Bishop, Egidio Sancho Muñoz, agreed to release them. His vexation and displeasure at being forced to relinquish his prisoners were unbounded, and to show his irritation and annoyance, the Bishop set them at liberty, instead of handing them over to the civil authorities. The Lieutenant, however, had taken his precautions, and shortly after they were re-arrested and conducted to the civil prison (May 6, 1435). The indignation of the Bishop at being compelled to release the prisoners, was not easily appeased. A campaign against the Lieutenant was commenced by the clergy; at first the populace was stirred up secretly, but later, they preached openly from the pulpit. Popular feeling rose to a high pitch; loud murmurs of protest were heard against the delay in the execution of justice, and the Lieutenant was openly accused of being bribed by wealthy Jews to obtain the acquittal of the prisoners, "gilt justice" as it was called. The excitement of the people, actively fomented by the clergy, increased to such an extent, that a repetition of the events of 1391 was feared, and the Lieutenant decided to constitute a special court to judge the case, at the same time relieving himself of much responsibility. It was composed of Bernardo Fornet, Canon and Vicar-General; Guillermo de Montsó,[1] Doctor of Law, Canon and one of the Bishop's officials; the *Jurados* or magistrates; the *Baile*, *Veguer* (Constable) and their assessors; four doctors of theology: Fray Antonio Marta, Dominican and Inquisitor of Majorca; Pascual Pí and Bartolomé Garcia, Franciscans, and Fray Pont, a Carmelite; the Advocate-General and the Fiscal Procurators. The Tribunal sat in the prison and shortly after the proceedings were opened, torture

[1] Mut gives the name as Donza; the *Cron. Mayor.* as in the text.

was applied to the prisoners, during which a confession was obtained from one implicating many others, most of whom were already in prison for various petty offences.

In view of the threatening attitude of the people and fearing a recurrence of past violence, a rabbi voluntarily presented himself at this moment before the Tribunal. According to past experience, the arrest of the rabbis and the principal members of the community was a foregone conclusion, and he thought to avert misfortune by voluntarily coming forward to prove the innocence of himself and his co-religionists. His pleading was so powerful and his proofs so conclusive, that the Tribunal unanimously declared him free from all guilt or suspicion. He left the prison to return to his house, well content with the success of his mission, and conscious of having fulfilled his duty. But in the street he was assailed by a crowd of boys who stoned and mobbed him, and not only was he prevented from proceeding to his home, but he was compelled to retrace his steps and seek shelter in the very prison he had just left; where he remained besieged until night. In the interval the Tribunal is said to have discovered that the rabbi was one of the chief culprits, and he was seized and accused of being more guilty than the others. The alarming news became quickly known in the *Call*, and the Jews, fearing the worst, decided on speedy action. That night they left the city and fled to the mountains near Lluch, hoping there, among the rugged crags and caves, to hide and escape the terrible fate of their elders in 1391. Their flight from the city did not avail them, for here they found themselves faced with another danger. These mountainous districts were infested by bandits who were connected, in their illegal occupations, with influential people in the city, and who had become rich by

crime and plunder; they escaped the arm of the law through the influence of their protectors. The bandits quickly seized the opportunity which could prove of great advantage to them, and having captured the refugees delivered them up to the authorities. In five days they were all brought back to the city. The four principals, the rabbi already mentioned, Struch Sibili, Farrig and Stellatar were condemned to be burned alive, but were given the alternative of being hanged and the body burned afterwards, if they consented to conversion and baptism. In consequence of this clause, the Governor sent two confessors particularly suited for the purpose, to the condemned, in order to achieve this object. They succeeded in their mission, and the four unfortunates agreed to accept conversion and baptism to avert death at the stake.

The news of their decision was announced with great clamour and enthusiasm, and their example was fully exploited to influence the rest of the *Call*. Tired and unnerved by the constant mental strain, and seeing no other prospect in view to the alternative of conversion than continued persecution, massacre and worse, with no possible hope of escape, they chose what they considered to be the lesser of two evils and decided to follow the example of their chiefs. The heart-stricken people formed a procession and marched to the cathedral, asking for baptism. The clergy could not cope with the numbers, and it is said, that in the cathedral and the Church of Santa Eulalia, more than two hundred were baptised in two days.

The time arrived to execute the sentence on the four principals, but popular sentiment had changed. The wholesale conversion had amply satisfied the people, and their anger was appeased. The sight of so much

suffering, of so many weeping women carrying children in their arms, crying aloud for baptism and *misericordia*, moved the populace to pity and pardon. The indignation of the Church against the civil authority had however in no way abated, and this favourable opportunity was exploited at the expense of the governing body. Accurately estimating the popular will, feeling sure of its sympathy which would prove advantageous to the "advancement of the work of the Church," the clergy decided to prevent the execution. They, accordingly, asked for time to baptise the condemned, as desired, and delay was accorded until the afternoon of the same day, at the hour of vespers. At the appointed hour for the execution, the priests arrived at the prison, proceeded to make their preparations and to conduct the prisoners to the place, when a communication was presented to the Lieutenant from the Bishop, protesting that according to the synodal constitution, no prisoner could be put to torture or death within three days of having received communion, and the Lieutenant was compelled to adjourn the execution of the sentence. The following day, a special mass was celebrated by the Bishop in the cathedral with great solemnity, and was attended by all the newly converted, who, at the raising of the Host, cried for mercy and pardon. The whole congregation was intensely moved, and the cry of Misericordia! Misericordia! rose and echoed in the vast pile of the Seo. After the ceremony the Bishop and Governor, the Jurados, Councillors, Ecclesiastics and Nobles, and they who constituted the special Tribunal which voted the death sentence, all assembled in the Sala Real. There the Bishop pleaded for pardon, pointing out the enormous advantage to the Church of the conversion of all the Jews. Another assembly of the special

Tribunal was held, at which the whole question was reconsidered. After due deliberation it was unanimously agreed that in view of the popular and general desire, pardon be granted; the decision was immediately communicated to the Bishop and the prisoners were set at liberty. A procession was then formed to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was sung with great fervour. The following day the synagogues were closed; all the writings, books and objects relating to Jewish ceremonies were burned. The great candelabra of the Great Synagogue, containing three hundred and fifty lights and said to have been brought from King Solomon's Temple, was transferred to the cathedral, where it still hangs at the present day. From this date, professing Jews and their places of worship ceased to exist in Majorca.

So ends the second and final great event in the history of the Jews of Majorca, which was followed by the island's ultimate complete downfall.

From whatever point of view this story is regarded, the final attitude of the Church must be commended. Although animosity against the Governor and his Lieutenant, for being thwarted in its purpose, eclipsed for the moment the hatred of the Jews, yet the most charitable interpretation should be placed on the attitude of the Church. But it is surprising to note, that no contemporary official account or document, relating to this remarkable event, is known to exist. The fact is still more astonishing, as it concerned both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, in whose archives official records should be found. The details of the above narrative are taken from an unofficial account, more or less contemporary, to be found in the Episcopal Court, which was copied about the year 1548 by Benito Espanyol in a

book entitled *Historia de fide catholica*, whence it has been recounted by subsequent historians. Quadrado, whose profound research with exceptional means at his disposal, repeats the story briefly. He states that the sole and unique contemporary official reference that he has been able to find, *which may bear indirectly* on this highly important event, is that on "May 11, 1 sou 4 dineros was paid to a porter who brought some harness from the Jewish school (or synagogue) of Struch Xibili, called Gil Catlar."[1] This entry appears in the records of that year in the archives of the *Real Patrimonio*; Gil Catlar was the name adopted by Struch Sibili after conversion. It must be admitted that this reference to what was considered an epoch-making event, is decidedly meagre. In Quadrado's opinion, the exactitude and precision of names and details, lend truth to the statement, but there would be no difficulty in giving correct names in an account written so close to the period. There can be no doubt, however, that the synagogues were definitely closed, for the decree of Queen María dated the following year, March 10, 1436, states that the island could not have a *Call* or Jewish synagogue, nor could any Jew live there longer than fifteen days.[2] This is, however, all the official evidence we possess that anything of the nature occurred.

The disastrous blow struck at Majorca's prosperity in 1391 and 1435, was mortal. Much of the wealth plundered, in the first instance belonged to christians, deposited with the Jews, as is now done with the banks. Large sums of money were also lent by christians for current business transactions; all the wealth plundered by the mob had disappeared and had never been recovered, and trade became paralysed. In addition to

[1] Quadrado, *Les Islas Baleares*, p. 251 note. [2] Idem.

all this, there continued a steady flow of clandestine Jewish emigration much accentuated after 1435; poverty was beginning to be severely felt, and a gloom seemed to be cast over the life of the city. The water-side quays, at one time so animated, were deserted; the great Commercial Exchange, *la Lonja*, now nearing completion, seemed out of place, and the outlook became more and more sombre. The impressive silence of Majorca's agony rendered the atmosphere heavy. As time went on, the situation became desperate and the Government of Majorca was thoroughly alarmed. In 1463 the Grand and General Council decided to adopt measures to resuscitate the expired commerce, and invited conversos from Valencia to settle on the island, counting on the activity and intelligence of the race to recreate what was extinct. Some few came, tempted by the new conditions offered to them, but suffering and final flight from the severity and terrors of the new Inquisition, instituted by the Catholic Sovereigns, and the disappearance of their wealth by confiscation or other means, effectually prevented any recovery. Vargas places the period of Majorca's decadence from 1400 to 1405, and states the cause as being oppression by exorbitant taxation of the kings of Aragon, and the *loss of commerce with the African coast*.[1]

[1] *Descripciones de las Islas Pithusias y Baleares*, Madrid, 1787, pp. 82–88.

CHAPTER VIII

RETROSPECT

THE history of the Jews in Majorca related in the preceding pages, proves to us the great influence the Jews exercised on the prosperity of the island. It proves that most of the kings who ruled over Majorca recognised that influence, valued the presence of the Jews, and even offered special inducements to them to settle in their lands. A notable instance of this is the decree issued by King Pedro IV, the Ceremonious, ordering the Governor, procurators and all other officials of the Kingdom of Majorca, not to demand a passport or permit from Jews desiring to enter or leave the islands, for liberty of access facilitated the arrival of Jewish families. He further states: "The advantages and benefit to the treasury were so obvious and great, that they were *acknowledged even by the deposed James III who first imposed and later removed the obstacle.*"[1] Prosperity of the Jews meant prosperity to the country, for with Jewish wealth came national wealth. The terrible condemnation by King Sancho, the precise cause of which is still unknown to us, could not enfeeble the stupendous energy of the Jews, and, subsequently, for it was in the same century, they and the island of Majorca attained their greatest importance. With the disappearance of the liberty of the Jews disappeared Majorca's greatness; the identical result occurred in Spain a century later. Torres de Castilla wrote in 1863: "The expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of the Inquisition

[1] Document 136.

obscured the brilliance of the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns, and were the origin of the lamentable policy of their successors, to whom Spain owes her decadence and the loss of her power, in struggles as sterile as they were unjust."[1] The same author expresses himself with greater emphasis later: "The expulsion of the Jews deprived Spain of able merchants at the time when, with the discovery of the New World, she had most need of them . . . the discovery of America, instead of contributing to the welfare of Spain and to the development of her prosperity, was one of the causes of her decadence, for the other countries of Europe who gave refuge and protection to the Jews derived the benefit, absorbing the treasures that the Spaniards brought from America; because our commerce being ruined we had to order, from overseas, foreign products.

"In this way one sees, with sorrow, that the more gold that came from America, the poorer became Spain, and the expulsion of the Jews far from diminishing usury, was but the occasion to increase it."[2] So long as Majorca was governed by strong and tolerant rulers, so long did the island prosper.

During the first half-century after the conquest, the Jews enjoyed full liberty. They had free access to all parts of the island and unrestrained intercourse with the rest of the population. They transacted their commercial affairs with all classes, from the King downwards, and their religious belief, observances and synagogues were respected. Baron de Tourtoulon, the most important authority on the reign of James I, the Conquistador, gives us to understand, that the King was not only tolerant towards the Jews, but acted as their protector.

[1] Torres de Castilla (A.), *Hist. de las Persec. polit. y relig.*, Barcelona, 1863, vol. i, p. 173.

[2] Idem, p. 194.

He succeeded even in persuading the Pope that their conversion was better achieved by persuasion than by severity or force. Under James II they received similar consideration and liberty.

The Jews are a highly sensitive people, whose traditions, customs and psychology are all deeply interwoven with their ancient historic faith, which was more than unsympathetic to their christian neighbours. This is one of the causes that, since the rise of Christianity, has forced them to live more or less apart, and it is only in comparatively recent times, with the progress of the spirit of toleration, that they have intermingled with their neighbours. In the Middle Ages, this aloofness was utilised as an imputation against them not only of unsociability, but as a cover for actual crime.

Majorca has now been in undisturbed possession of Spain for seven centuries, yet by the beginning of the fifteenth century she had lost all her importance and had become, historically and commercially, a land of the past. Two hundred years after the Aragonese conquest, Majorca's greatness that had endured for some fifteen hundred years of known history, faded into oblivion, and during the five centuries of Spanish dominion that remain, she has been unable to regain it. The tolerant policy pursued by Majorca's early Aragonese rulers, did much to encourage and maintain the island's development during the century and a half that followed the conquest, but during the same period, as the country became more settled after the upheaval caused by the change of régime and nationality, priestly influence grew in greater proportion and speed than was good for Majorca's prosperity, for it finally accomplished its complete commercial and political downfall. The Church in Majorca became all-powerful and its interests took

precedence over all others; more time and effort were spent on the "advancement of its work" than the advancement of the general welfare of the population. It was considered that the advancement of the work of the Church was equivalent to the spiritual welfare of the people, and therefore of greater importance than their material welfare, but from the point of view of public interest this principle has never proved satisfactory. Spiritual welfare should *supplement* material welfare.

"The merit of those who direct the ship of State is to govern their people in conformity with their beliefs and their interests; the contrary launches them into anarchy and disorder."[1]

History proves repeatedly that from the economic and commercial standpoint, the Jews have always exercised a particularly valuable influence. In Majorca and Catalonia, after the massacres of 1391 their extermination proved disastrous, and every effort was made to induce them to return. In Barcelona, where the massacre took place but a few days after that of Palma, a royal decree dated October 3, 1392, offered to all Jews who would return and live in the city, exemption from all taxes, direct and indirect, for a period of three years. Elsewhere it was the same and in all ages. In 1315, Louis X of France was forced to repeal the decree of 1306 which expelled the Jews from France, on the demand of the population. In Italy, when Pius V expelled the Jews from the Papal States, the town of Ancona supplicated that they be allowed to remain there. During the reign of Louis XIV when the Jews were not permitted to reside in France, the principality of Orange sent a deputation to the King asking for permission to recall them, for the population suffered great misery due to

[1] Amador de los Rios, *Estud. polit. y literar. sobre los judíos de España*, 1848.

the want of merchandise and certain classes of tradesmen. Don Pedro Varela, Minister of Commerce to King Charles IV of Spain, in his report on the economic and financial situation of the country, indicated the great advantages that Spain would derive from recalling the Jews. Other instances, to the same effect, can be cited from historical records, which would fill many pages and even volumes.

From the earliest times, even Biblical, the Jews were always pre-eminent in medicine. Most of the Spanish kings had Jewish physicians and surgeons attached to their Courts, and, as Baron de Tourtoulon remarks: "in spite of the prohibition of the councils (ecclesiastical) all the sovereigns of the thirteenth century had Jewish doctors."[1] A Jewish physician named Jucef Abentrevi, always accompanied James I of Aragon and Majorca, and by decree dated January 13, 1272, the King bestowed on him a pension of five hundred Jaca sueldos; at this same period another Jew named Juan Jacob, was also in the service of James I. In 1306, Omar Abnaccauhel, Jew, was physician to James II. James III (1328) attached to his Court the Jewish physician Abraham des Castlars, son of Magistro David des Castlars, and exempted him from the payment of all taxes,[2] whereas Pedro IV, even more than his predecessors, employed Jewish doctors. These are a few instances, but the list can be lengthened very considerably. "The reputation of the Jewish doctors was so great at a certain period," says an eminent professor of the school of Montpellier, "that to succeed in medicine one had to be of the Hebrew race."[3] Medicine, however, is but one branch of learning; in other direc-

[1] Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I*, 2 vols, Valencia, 1874, vol. ii, pp. 300–301.

[2] Miret y Sans (J.), "Les Medicins juifs de Pierre, Roi d'Aragon," *Rev. des Et. juives*, vol. 57, 1909.

[3] Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I*, vol. ii, pp. 300–301.

tions also, the Jews occupied primary positions. Maestro David Abnadayan was *alfaqui*[1] to the Infante Fernando, son of James I; Maestro David and Maestro Salomon were *alfaquis* to the King, and Astrug de Bonsenyor was the principal secretary for Arabic to King James I, and is mentioned many times in his *Chronicle*. In finance the Jews were as pre-eminent as in medicine, and occupied high positions of state in that branch. Very frequently indeed they were employed as administrators and collectors of taxes or rents, by kings, princes and nobles. In 1225, we find a Jew, Bondía, treasurer of Aragon, another, Abraym, treasurer of Saragossa, and in 1244, Vital Salomon was *baile* of Barcelona, but the greatest and most renowned under the Crown of Aragon, was Yahuda, *baile* and Treasurer-General of the kingdom. According to Zurita, Yahuda was the richest and most powerful Jew in the Aragonese provinces, whom the King frequently consulted on affairs of state. "He had acquired," wrote Zurita, "all the gifts of fortune, and the only thing wanting in him, was that he was not born in our faith." Even Popes employed Jews in the administration and collection of their taxes, for there are accounts in the registers of the Church, inscribed in the Hebrew language.[2]

"The twelfth and thirteenth centuries form the most brilliant period in the history of the Spanish Jews" (in Majorca the most brilliant period was the fourteenth century), "it is the epoch when the greatest number of notable men appeared amongst them, in which their scholars enjoyed deserved favour with kings, as physicians, astronomers, writers, philosophers, merchants or financiers. They rendered signal services to the country

[1] A scholar or learned man, frequently an interpreter.
[2] Block (M.), "Les Juifs et la pros. pub.," R.*E.J.*, vol. 38, 1899.

in which they lived, and to the entire cause of civilisation."[1]

Long after the Jews were expelled from Spain, we find that the King himself was pleased to receive them. A curious passage occurs in a short letter written on August 8, 1634, by a Jesuit priest, Padre Francisco Vilches, to a brother Jesuit, Padre Rafael Peyrera, and is particularly enlightening: "It is generally known that the Jews enter Spain: it is certain that they enter and leave to speak with the King and present him with reports, and to-day I saw one with a white hood at the door of the King's apartment. It gave me pain."[2] During the past two hundred and fifty years, so much has been written in all languages, in defence and in vindication of the Jews, and to prove their civilising influence in the world, that it would appear to be superfluous to enlarge on the subject, but it is deplorable to have to state the continual necessity to do so. In all countries and in all times, individuals have existed, and still exist, impervious to the refining and moral influences of civilisation or of religion; unfortunately, they always find an interested following ever ready to listen to their decadent utterances, thus impeding intellectual progress.

Let us quote a powerful passage from the already cited work by Torres de Castilla: "The Jews overpowered, persecuted, maltreated, defenceless, have emerged from the most frightful social catastrophes and disasters, and remained unharmed.

"The most arrogant races and peoples, the most overwhelming empires, that attempted to crush and exter-

[1] Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I*, vol. ii, p. 298.

[2] Colleccion de Documentos, Opús. y Antigüed., que publica la real Acad. de la Hist. Madrid, 1861.—*Cartas de algunos PP. de la Comp. de Jesús*, vol. i, p. 85.

minate the Jews with all the weight of their forces, under the double impulse of their pride and their hatred, have passed away and disappeared like rapid meteors, leaving only ruins to testify their passage on the earth, while the Jews have resisted tempests and deluge, merging with greater vitality from the abyss in which the strong and powerful have perished."[1]

One is tempted to ask what is this unknown force that enables the Jews to emerge from calamities, adversity, suffering and torture "stronger than ever." Is it not an unbounded optimism, which the Jew derives from his faith, that provides this great force? His innate optimistic confidence in his fate and the fate of his race, proves a tremendous impulsive force that carries him far, and aids him to overcome all obstacles, even the most terrible. His deep-rooted belief in his destiny of which suffering forms part; his inherent conviction that when his Messiah does come, entire humanity will know it and opinion will not be divided—the world will become better and not worse; that this is the *summum bonum* of all mankind. All this has enabled him to suffer for so many centuries, for centuries are but the atoms of eternity, and eternal happiness is, for the Jew, the end of all.

Let us glance back for one moment, at the list of concessions that the Jews asked of King Sancho in 1315. The second item (p. 48) asks that "if a Jew be condemned to undergo corporal punishment, and a missionary . . . desires to convert him to christianity, the secretaries of the community who are in office, can, on the day of punishment, send two Jews to him in prison *who will say nothing to him, but will place themselves before him, and then if the Jew wishes to become a christian, let it*

[1] *Hist. de las Persec. politic. y relig.*, vol. i, p. 126.

be done, for christianising by force is not good; . . ." Here we have an insight into what may be called the temperamental psychology of the Jewish race. The influence of the mere presence of a brother co-religionist was considered sufficient to preserve a condemned criminal in the faith of his ancestors, if any element of good was still left in him; if not, then he was unworthy to remain a Jew. This is the thought that underlies those words. That sentiment of profound sympathy, bred from so many centuries of mutual hardship, is the great moral link that attaches Jews together and proves stronger than persecutions. This request to the King constitutes, possibly, one of the most remarkable passages ever written; the extreme simplicity of the words endows them with incomparable beauty and majesty and expresses the whole philosophy, history, character, and nature even, of the Jewish people.

PART II

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE JEWS

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY INQUISITION IN MAJORCA—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MODERN INQUISITION IN MAJORCA—"EXSURGE DOMINE ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM"—HATRED OF THE INQUISITION IN MAJORCA—DISHONESTY OF ITS OFFICIALS—DISCOVERY OF A CLANDESTINE SYNAGOGUE—CALAMITOUS END OF ATTEMPTED FLIGHT OF THE JEWS

AFTER the year 1435 the history of the Jews of Majorca continues with the history of the converted and their descendants, in which the Inquisition on the island occupies a most important part. It is, even, impossible to separate the two. The newly converted were subjected to close supervision by the early Inquisition, and when the later institution was inaugurated, the surveillance over them was greatly increased. The object was the suppression of heresy, and although the methods employed for its discovery were quite lawful in the Middle Ages, they were not so in later times, and at the present day they would be considered as barbarous. However active the early Inquisition may have been, the number of sentences of capital punishment were few. Although torture was extensively employed, more consideration was given to the preservation of human life; with the later Inquisition this consideration had less influence, and it is generally recognised that the financial situation of the prisoners exercised a considerable incentive for condemnation of the accused. The Modern Inquisition inaugurated a reign of terror which is painful to relate, but which cannot be omitted from this history.

The exact date the early Inquisition was introduced

into Majorca is unknown, but in 1238 it was in operation in, practically, all the Aragonese States. The Tribunal of Majorca was dependent on that of Rossillon and Cerdeña, which appointed a representative to Majorca. Lea states that the first mention of one is on a charter dated 1332, where Ramon Durfort, inquisitor of Majorca, is named as a witness.[1] Páramo gives the same date, probably taken from the same charter, but we know now that the early Inquisition existed in Majorca in 1314. In the document published by A. Morel-Fatio[2] containing the concessions the Jews asked of King Sancho in 1315 (see p. 49), no. 5 reads: "if any inquisitor makes inquisition against a Jew or Jewess for an *affair of faith*," etc., thus proving that the Inquisition was acting in Majorca at that date and probably for some considerable time before; this document was unknown to Páramo and to Lea. We do not, however, possess the names of inquisitors before 1332. The Inquisition of Majorca continued to be a dependency of Rossillon and Cerdeña until 1413, when Pope Benedict XIII of Avignon, the famous Pedro de Luna, decided that Majorca should possess an independent Tribunal. On March 30, 1413, Ferdinand I ordered, by royal decree, its establishment in the Dominican monastery in Palma, which was then under his special protection, and from that date, the Inquisition of Majorca continued as a separate Tribunal. A list of the inquisitors of Majorca from 1332 to 1819, as far as is known at the present day, is printed in the Appendix.

We possess practically no records of the material results of the activities of the early Inquisition in Majorca. We know that it was active in 1314 but nothing further

[1] Lea, *Hist. de l'Inquis. du Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 166. French trans.
[2] *Revue des Etudes juives*, vol. iv, also Document 92.

until 1404, in which year, on February 4th, the Vicar-General and Inquisitor of Majorca, sentenced a converso named Juan Galiana, for having twice abjured the christian faith. He was handed over to the secular arm, and the *baile* of Majorca was about to pronounce his condemnation when an order was received from the Governor, Roger de Moncada, to suspend the sentence. In the evening, however, the Governor revoked the suspension, and the converso was condemned by the *baile* and *prohomens* to be publicly burned.[1] We also know that in 1435, the inquisitors were active in the arrest and trial of the accused, which led to the total conversion of the Jews. Nothing more is known until 1478 when four Judaizers were reconciled and another in 1480; from that year until 1487 the total number of reconciliations was eleven, two in 1482, one in 1486, and eight in 1487.[2]

In 1488, the first inquisitors appointed by the Modern Inquisition arrived in Majorca, and henceforth their presumptuous device: "Exsurge Domine et judica causam tuam" occupied a prominent place in the life of the people. Their first act was to issue an Edict of Grace, available for three years, to all converted Jews who confessed to the crime of heresy and apostasy, and two hundred and sixty descendants of the Jews were pardoned their guilt and readmitted to the Church,[3] on payment of fines. This first operation produced the sum of 10,560 libras 14 sueldos 8 dineros, duly audited by Pedro Odon Fullana, notary and *escribano* of the Secreto of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Majorca.[4] During

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 147. This is probably Ahim Magaluf who took the name of Jacobus Galiana after the destruction of the *Call* in 1391. Quadrado's list, no. 68.

[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquisition*, vol. i, p. 266.

[3] Lea states that 16 were reconciled, after trial, on August 13, 1488, and 338 on August 18th.—*Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, p. 266. The above number is taken from the *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 192.

[4] Idem, p. 192.

the following year, 1489, Dr. Lea informs us that "the records show seven *autos* in which there were ten reconciliations, forty-four relaxations in effigy, one of bones exhumed, and six in person."[1] In 1490, "we find only the reconciliation of ninety-six penitents, March 26th under the Edict of Grace."[2] In this instance Lea is deficient in his information, for the *Cronicon Mayoricense*, under the entry of June 2, 1490, tells us that "the Royal Procuration paid the expenses of the execution of a man and a woman burned, after having been strangled first, at the Plegadissa Gate, with the effigies of eighteen other persons, men and women. At the same epoch and on the same site, two women were burned alive and twenty-three, of both sexes, in effigy. All relaxed to the secular arm by the inquisitors, for heresy and apostasy."[3] The cost of this was 3 libras 18 sueldos 4 dineros which was paid by the Royal Procuration; the Inquisition paid nothing, for they were executed by the "secular arm." Up to the middle of 1489, the confiscations of property included some hundred houses, large and small, many orchards and much land and great wealth from rents. Quadrado states that from one prisoner alone, the sum of five hundred libras per annum was collected; all were accused of being Judaizers.[4] Even the dead were not exempt. When convenient for financial reasons, it was proved that certain persons did not die as christians, *but in appearance only*; their remains were exhumed and publicly burned, and all property left by the deceased was confiscated. Others who were fortunate enough to escape by emigration were burned in effigy, and their property, if they left any, was confiscated.

The iniquitous methods of the Inquisition left their

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, bk. i, chap. v. [2] Idem.
[3] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 192. [4] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 315.

painful effects on every class of Majorcan society, and numerous complaints were forwarded to the King by the jurados against the Tribunal. The list of grievances presented to the port by Juan Duzay, complained of the privileges claimed by the *familiars* of the Inquisition; of the violation of authority, rights and contracts existing previous to the declaration of confiscations; that the island groaned under the power that forced from the city one-third of its substance; of the wealth taken away by those who escaped; of the misery of those who remained, and of so many families, many influential, that had disappeared from the island in consequence of this pernicious Tribunal. So hot was the pursuit after wealth by the Inquisition, that the *baile* of Santany was ordered to detain a ship in the harbour, "on which were many Jews with much gold and silver," but on November 4, 1494, he announced that he had been unable to do so. So great was the misery of those who remained that, in January 1493, the jurados exposed in a petition in favour of reconciled conversos, their pitiful state of penury. It declared that "to exact from them the three thousand ducats offered for pardons granted, would have left them without clothes or bed-linen."[1] The Inquisition, nevertheless, did not receive all the benefit; His Majesty the Catholic Monarch of Spain received his proportion of the proceeds. In 1491, when the three years of grace ended, four hundred and twenty-four descendants of the Jews were imprisoned for "deceit, simulation, impenitency and perjury who had been pardoned by His Majesty (and the Inquisition on the payment of fines); they paid for the said deceit 1,500 gold ducats to the fisc and General Treasurer," which was again duly audited by the same notary as in 1488.[2]

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 315.

[2] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 194.

"Then in 1491," writes Lea, "another Edict was published, of which, on July 10th and 30th a hundred and thirty-four persons availed themselves, besides two hundred and ninety of those already reconciled in 1488 and 1490, who had relapsed and were readmitted as a special mercy." This confirms the number of four hundred and twenty-four cited above.

In March 1492, arrived in Majorca the Royal Decree expelling from Spain within four months, all Jews, their families and slaves, who did not wish to become converted, under penalty of loss of their lives and confiscation of their property. As regards Majorca, this decree of expulsion made no difference, for no openly professed Jews had lived there for fifty-seven years, but the new Inquisition showed greater zeal, if possible, against their descendants. Many had taken advantage of opportunities as they presented themselves, of leaving the island, but this did not deter the activities of the Holy Office from its main object. In fact, like the dead, it simplified matters. Effigies were made of the departed, and burned, which was all that was necessary to confiscate their property. The buried were disinterred and the bodies or bones reduced to ashes, when confiscation of all property left by the deceased became legal. Descendants of conversos who had inherited property, feared the zeal of the inquisitors, and many ruses were employed to conceal it, rendering it difficult to trace. Doubtless on the principle that half a loaf was better than no bread, "a liberal offer of 50 per cent was made to informers who should reveal or discover it."[1] The results produced by the confiscations of the property of the absent and the dead were considerable, and both the inquisitorial and royal coffers became well furnished. So satisfactory were the

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, bk. i, chap. v.

results, that in February 1499, the King ordered the receiver in Majorca, Matheo de Morrano, "to pay the receiver in Valencia two hundred gold ducats" to liquidate certain debts, and shortly after, he presented fifty florins "to the nunnery of Santa Clara of Calatayud."[1] In addition, bonuses were given to zealous officials of the Inquisition; the aforesaid Morrano received three thousand sueldos, and the notary Pere Prest, one hundred libras mallorquines.[2]

But all these proceedings of the Inquisition, the relaxations, reconciliations, condemnations, confiscations, exhumations and *autos-de-fé*, did not subdue or pacify the Majorcans, or render them more resigned to the dreaded Tribunal, particularly as it encroached more and more on the rights of the people, and usurped the civil authority. In addition, the Holy Office appointed all sorts of men as inquisitors, good, bad and indifferent, but mostly bad and indifferent; the inquisitors, in their turn, appointed *familiars* of the same character as themselves. When Charles V ascended the throne of Castile after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, the General Council of Majorca offered him a grant of five thousand ducats, or eight thousand libras, in exchange for certain favours. The first one asked for the removal of Roca, the incompetent Regent of Justice, and stipulated that the office should, in future, be filled by Majorcans. It then asked that inquisitors should also be Majorcans, for the island was reduced to a sad state by those sent over from the peninsula, above all by the friars, who were loathed by the population. Energetic complaints were made of the abuses, excesses and abominable crimes of all kinds, committed by the inquisitor Fray Navardú. Cardinal Adriano, the Inquisitor-General, ordered the prior of the Carthusian monastery to investigate the case

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, bk. i, chap. v. [2] Idem.

and punish the accused, but no remedy was expected from that quarter; the prior was the *blasé* friend, if not an accomplice, of Navardú. Bitter complaints were made against the irregular methods and vexatious privileges of the *familiars*, and the same applied to the ministers and tax-collectors of the Holy Office—censure and condemnation of their conduct were universal. "If the official complaints during forty successive years are to be considered, then they were but a flock of vultures who came to fatten on the people, and, moreover, on the defenceless country folk; they were people without fear of God or King, who dared, said the jurados, to place interdiction upon us."[1] The situation became worse, and on October 22, 1521, the infuriated populace, led by Juanote Colom, appeared before the walls of the Tribunal to seize the inquisitors, but unable to find them they set fire to the archives and liberated the prisoners. The high-handed attitude adopted by the Inquisition and its usurpation of all powers, brought it into conflict with the different authorities, including the ecclesiastical, for the Holy Office, being under the direct protection of the Pope, placed itself above all. It continued very active until 1535. After 1535, there seemed little more to do, "relaxations disappear and reconciliations become few. So insignificant had the Tribunal become that when, in 1549, the offices of fiscal and receiver became vacant" the necessity of continuing them was questioned. Lea further informs us that "between 1552 and 1567 the Tribunal had but two reconciliations to show and, during the remainder of the century, only thirty, together with a single relaxation, and of these few culprits the majority were not Judaizers."[2]

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, pp. 348–349.
[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iii, bk. viii, chap. i.

The duties of persecution were neglected on account of the "unappeasable conflicts with the ecclesiastical authorities." The Tribunal during all this period did not pay its expenses; bonuses were no longer paid to its officials and the financial outlook was not encouraging. On January 7, 1553, Pope Paul IV suppressed a canonry in order to apply the revenue for the maintenance of the Holy Office, but the Chapter opposed it. Later, however, the Inquisitor-General, in 1574, obtained confirmation from Gregory XIII. On January 14, 1575, the King, Philip II, wrote to the jurados of Majorca, expressing his intention to suppress a canonical benefice of the cathedral, the first to become vacant, in order to maintain the Holy Office of the Inquisition on the island, and charging the jurados "to advise the chapter not to oppose so just a resolution," thus obeying and accomplishing the apostolic mandates.[1] It was finally done, April 1582, when the canonry obtained by Pedro Juan Santacelia, was declared vacant after his death. The financial situation, however, was decidedly unsatisfactory and material aid became an urgent necessity if the institution was to continue. Urban VIII granted an annuity of four hundred ducats, in perpetuity (September 15, 1625), and Clement X (September 28, 1671) gave another pension of five hundred ducats. In virtue of a superior order of May 29, 1678, the salaries of the personnel of the Holy Office were paid from the emoluments of the civil court of the Tribunal; previously the salaries were considered as extraordinary expenses, and the motive given for this transfer in 1678, was that the number of prisoners absorbed almost all the income of the Inquisition.

The insolence of the Tribunal's officials, particularly

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 275.

the *familiars*, caused continual disputes with the civil authorities, for, being protected by the Inquisition, they defied all other authority. During the seventeenth century the Viceroy and Regent (President of the High Court of Justice) were excommunicated on several occasions as a result of these conflicts.[1] The source of information of the Inquisition was a system of espionage which extended over the whole population. The spies, male and female, were recruited from every class and frequented every class, alert and ever watchful for the slightest word or act that could be interpreted as being against the Inquisition or the Church. These spies were called the *familiars*, and they possessed exceptional exemptions and powers, but as judgment was not always exercised in their nomination, many were of bad character and deplorable conduct; their unscrupulousness and lawlessness became a scandal. The following passage from Lea's work on the Inquisition enlightens us on this subject: "a case occurring in 1632 is worth alluding to as illustrating the results of the *fuero* and the spirit in which it was administered by the Tribunal. Don Martin Santis was murdered by pistol-shots, while returning with some Dominican frailes in a coach from the Grao of Valencia to the city. Four notorious *familiars*, Pedro Rebert, Joan Ciurana, Jaime Blau and Calixto Tafalla, were suspected and arrested by the Audiencia. The Tribunal claimed them, a competencia was formed and the case came up before the Suprema and the Council of Aragon. The Marquis de los Velez, the Viceroy, took advantage of it to represent to Philip IV the disorders and scandals caused by the criminal *familiars* who were protected by the Inquisition. This paper was referred to the Council of Aragon which, on July 21st, pre-

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, section of the seventeenth century.

sented a consulta on the subject. There is, it says, no peace or safety to be hoped for in Valencia unless there is reform in the selection of *familiars*, for there is no crime committed there in which they are not principals or accomplices, in the confidence of escape through the intervention of the Tribunal, since there is no one, however guilty he may be of atrocious crime, who is not speedily seen walking the streets in freedom. In all disturbances, *familiars* are recognised as ringleaders and their object in gaining appointment is only to enjoy immunity for their crimes. . . ."[1] Insults, assaults, robbery, and murder were committed by the *familiars* immune from punishment by the civil courts. The power which this office conferred on its possessor, will be demonstrated from the text of a certificate of nomination of a man and his wife, to the office of *familiars* of the Holy Office, dated December 9, 1667, translated from the original document.[2]

"Inasmuch as for all affairs of the Holy Office it is convenient to have persons to whom they are charged and entrusted. Confiding in you, *Martin Mayol*, being a person of full confidence and in whom, and in *Cathelina Marcél* your wife, possessing the qualities of purity and others necessary, that with all solicitude and secrecy you will execute for Us all things that will be entrusted to you concerning the Holy Office of the Inquisition and its activity. We name, constitute, create and depute you as Familiar of it, and it is our will that you be one of those of the number of this Inquisition in the City of Palma and we exhort and notify all and whatsoever Justices, Ecclesiastical as well as secular of this said City, and of all towns and places of all the district of this Inquisition, that they accept you as such Familiar

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, pp. 446–447. [2] In the author's possession.

observing all the exemptions, privileges and liberties that according to right, use, custom and decrees of His Majesty, are due to those who are Familiars of the Holy Office, and that they can enjoy. And we give you licence and power to carry arms, offensive as well as defensive, by day and night, publicly and secretly, and we order in virtue of holy obedience and under penalty of major excommunication and of one hundred ducats for the extraordinary expenses of this H. Office, the said Justices, Ecclesiastical and secular, and their Alguacils, Executors and Ministers that they do not take from you the said arms, nor violate the rights, Privileges and Exemptions, which the Familiars of the H. Office should and can enjoy with their persons and property, nor absolve those who molest or disturb you in any manner whatsoever, under the said penalties. And we order you to write and affirm in the book, and register, where the Familiars of the H. Office write and affirm. In faith and witness whereof we order to give this certificate, signed with our names, sealed with the seal of this H. Office and countersigned by the undersigned Secretary. Given in the Inquisition of Majorca the *ninth day of the Month of December of one thousand six hundred sixty and seven Years*."

The *familiars*, according to this document, must not be molested or disturbed in any manner whatsoever; they can carry arms of any kind they wish, *offensive* as well as defensive, and no authority, ecclesiastical or civil, had any jurisdiction over them. Such a document confers on its owner absolute and autocratic power. A long account of a case in point can be found in the *Cronicon Mayoricense*.[1] On July 23, 1623, a quarrel arose between two butchers, Juan Carrió and Gabriel Bastard, the latter a *familiar* of the Holy Office; both were arrested

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, pp. 378–379.

NOS LOS INQVISIDORES APOSTOLICOS CONTRA LA HERETICA PRAVEDAD, Y APOSTASIA EN ESTA Ciudad; Reyno, y Obiſpado de Mallorca, è Islas adiacentes de todo eſte nueſtro diſtrito por autoridad Apoſtolica, &c.

POR quanto para las coſas del Santo Oficio conviene aya perſonas á quien las cometer, y encomendar. Confiando de vos *Martin Mayol*.....por ſer como ſois perſona de toda confiança, y en quien, y en *Catharina Marcel*..... vueſtra muger concurren las calidades de limpieça, y demas que ſe requieren, y que con toda ſolicitud, y ſecreto hareis lo que por Nos Vos ſera cometido, y encomendado, en las coſas tocantes al Santo Oficio de la Inquiſicion, y ſu exercicio, Vos nombramos, conſtituymos, creamos, y diputamos por Familiar del, y es nueſtra voluntad que ſeais vno de los del numero de eſta Inquiſició en *esta Ciudad de Palma*. y exortamos, y requerimos à todas, y qualeſquier Juſticias, aſſi Eccleſiaſticas, como ſeglares de eſta dicha Ciudad, y de todas las villas, y lugares de todo el diſtrito de eſta Inquiſicion, que os ayan, y tengan por tal Familiar, guardandoos, y haviendoos guardar todas las exẽpciones, privilegios, y libertades. de que ſegun derecho, vſo, y coſtumbre, y cedulas de ſu Mageſtad los que ſon Familiares del S. Oficio deben, y pueden gozar. Y os damos licencia, y facultad paraque podais traer, y traygais armas, aſſi ofenſivas, como defenſivas, de dia, y noche, publica, y ſecretamente. Y mandamos en virtud de ſanta obediencia, y ſo pena de excomunion mayor, y de cien ducados para los gaſtos extraordinarios de eſte S. Oficio á las dichas Juſticias Eccleſiaſticas, y ſeglares, y à ſus Alguaſiles, Executores, y Miniſtros que no vos tomen, ni quiten las dichas armas, ni os quebrantẽ los fueros, Privilegios, y Exempciones, de que los Familiares del S. Oficio deben, y pueden gozar con ſus perſonas, y bienes, ni ſobre ellos os moleſten, ni inquieten en manera alguna, ſo las dichas penas. Y vos mandamos eſcribir, y aſſentar en el libro, y matricula, donde ſe eſcriben, y aſſientan los Familiares de eſte S. Oficio. En fé, y teſtimonio de lo qual mandamos dar, y dimos eſta nueſtra cedula firmada de nueſtros nombres, ſellada con el ſello del S. Oficio, y referendada del infraſcripto Secretario del Dada en la Inquiſicion de Mallorca à *nueve dias del Mes de Diciembre de mil ſeyscientos ſeyenta y cinco Años*.

D. D. Joſeph Cevera

D. D. Joſeph Antonio de Cacanilles

por mandado del Santo Oficio

D. Matias Tellez Pacheco Secr.

CERTIFICATE OF NOMINATION OF *FAMILIAR* TO THE INQUISITION

by the civil courts, but the inquisitor claimed the *familiar*, although the case was one which concerned the civil jurisdiction only. A very lengthy and heated dispute followed ending in the excommunication of the Viceroy, the Regent of the Court of Justice and other civil authorities, and fines of two thousand ducats each; the fines were never paid and the affair was eventually arranged, but it proved the important consequences that could result from placing individuals of the lower classes above the authority of justice, and the appropriation of autocratic power by the Holy Office. The confusion created in the administration of justice was so great that, in 1664, Philip IV was asked to suppress the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Holy Office over all cases that did not concern the faith. Such procedure could only lead to trouble, hence the continual collisions and disputes between the Inquisition and all other authorities. (10) The Majorcans, like the Catalans, never became reconciled to the Holy Office. In 1641, when a serious uprising took place in Barcelona, the inquisitor Cotoner had to escape to Majorca with the Count of Xavellá.[1]

The prolonged inaction from persecution of the Inquisition, and its preoccupations elsewhere, created a sense of false security and freedom of speech even among the clerics. "In 1668 the inquisitor complained to the Suprema that the priests of the episcopal party talked of the Inquisition as a secret heresy, and that it was a den of robbers which should be abolished, all of which led to much licence of speech among the suspected persons who dwelt 'in the separate barrio.' "[2] It was, however, the calm before the storm. In the year 1677, information was received by the Secreto of the Inquisition, that meetings of a suspicious character were held

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 397.

[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iii, bk. viii, chap. 1.

by the inhabitants of the *Sagell* (Call), in a house situated in a garden outside the city walls, between the Pintada and San Antonio Gates. Close watch was kept and it was discovered that the house was utilised as a clandestine synagogue, where the descendants of the Jews continued to practise the cult of their ancestors. Two hundred and forty-two years had passed since the total conversion of the Jews, and after two hundred and forty-two years of close supervision, Judaism still existed with the same forms as ever. We are told that in the month of February, 1678, more than two hundred persons, all inhabitants of the *Sagell*, were imprisoned by order of the Inquisition,[1] and that these prisoners absorbed almost all the income of the Inquisition.[2] The house where the meetings took place was demolished and the ground covered with salt; (11) a stone was erected on the spot to commemorate the incident inscribed with the following inscription: "Year 1679. This garden was demolished, ploughed and covered with salt by order of the Holy Inquisition for the law of Moses was taught thereon; nobody must ever remove or break this column under pain of major excommunication" (12) (Año 1679. *Fué derribado, arado y sembrado de Sal este huerto de orden de la Santa Inquisicion por enseñarse en él la ley de Moysen; nadie quite ni rompa esta columna en tiempo alguno pena de excomunion mayor.*) This produced by far the greatest benefit made by the Inquisition. It produced the enormous sum of 1,461,276 pesos, plus 50,000 libras of rents.[3] The inquisitors erected out of the proceeds the most sumptuous and most magnificent palace of the Inquisition in all Spain. The rebuilding of the Palace of the Inquisition, with its various departments, secret and otherwise, the

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 433.
[2] See page 137.
[3] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 540.

secret cells and houses for the inquisitors, etc., cost 100,000 pesos; a further sum of 31,425 pesos was remitted to the Holy General Inquisition by Royal Order, and a capital sum of 250,000 pesos was devoted to furnish an annual income of 10,000 pesos for the endowment of the Tribunal and its ministers. This event resulted in the great *autos-de-fé* of 1679, and the Holy Office was established on a sound financial basis.

But let us cast a glance at the others who remained in the barrio. A thunderbolt had fallen on the *Sagell*; the terror-stricken inhabitants talked in whispers, in fact they hardly dared to talk at all, for walls had eyes and ears; all were watched, all were shunned, for had they not worshipped God in the manner of their forefathers and not as the Church had dictated? Life became intolerable for these wretches and escape from such a situation was imperative. For nine years they suffered and waited with patience, and when, one day in 1688, an English ship appeared in the Bay of Palma, arrangements were secretly made with the captain, and a great number decided to leave the island without the necessary permit. The passengers paid their passage-money and embarked in great secrecy. Once on board they considered themselves safe, and could not restrain themselves from giving vent to their feelings. They were loud in their expressions of gratitude to the principal organiser of the flight, Rafael Valls, who was treated as their saviour, and equally loud were their curses on their persecutors, above all on the Inquisition. So boisterous did they become that Valls had to implore them to restrain themselves, and imposed silence. "The God of our fathers," he said, "who delivered the Israelites from so many dangers, and who sent His angel to the children in the furnace of Babylon, is the same who delivers us this

day from affliction, for which let us raise our hands to Heaven from whence aid comes to us." The English captain, however, was not so sanguine; he saw bad weather coming, which at the beginning of March is not unusual, and he doubted the wisdom of departing, but the wretched situation of his passengers and their supplications prevailed. He raised anchor and set sail. In the meantime, the news of the flight was all over the city. Inquisitors, *familiars*, ecclesiastics, all were in a state of the utmost confusion; crowds watched the ship in breathless excitement, as it struggled against the gale that had sprung up. There was cause for all this commotion, for heretics, legitimate victims, with much wealth, were escaping—a catastrophe was passing before their eyes. Alas, the catastrophe was not for the Inquisition, it was for the miserable fugitives. By midday the ship had not yet succeeded in leaving the bay, and the clouds of dust raised by the storm at times hid all from view. Suddenly the gale increased in violence, huge waves crashed on the ship from all sides; the winds and currents were forcing the vessel towards the rocks threatening disaster, and in order to save the ship it was brought back to the spot where the fugitives had embarked. Immediately the officials of the Inquisition, accompanied by an armed force, boarded the vessel, seized the unfortunates and handed them over to the judges of the Holy Office. Three years passed before the investigations, trials and decisions were terminated, during which time the prisoners remained in the prisons of the Inquisition, where some found a merciful death which relieved them from further suffering. The result of the three years' deliberations was the four *autos-de-fé* of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-one.

CHAPTER II

AUTOS-DE-FÉ

THE prisoners of the Inquisition were subjected to close and severe interrogations during the period that their cases were under consideration, and all deliberations were held in strictest secrecy. Dr. Lea in his *History of the Inquisition* has described at length and in detail the procedure followed, which it is unnecessary to repeat here, but occasional extracts will be indispensable. The proceedings can hardly be dignified as "trials," for no defence in fact was allowed; had any legal person attempted the defence of a prisoner, he also would have been arrested by the Inquisition for heresy. Once a suspect was arrested he was considered guilty, and it is doubtful if any prisoner was ever acquitted and released, purely and simply; Lea says that no case is known. When a suspect was arrested, his property was immediately sequestered and any cash found was appropriated to pay for his food while in prison; accounts were kept of everything and the prisoner was responsible for the payment of any expense incurred, even the cost of his transport to the prison and his daily food.[1] The application of torture formed part of the proceedings and was always employed. "The guilt of the accused was assumed in advance; the prosecution was favoured in every way; the defence was so crippled as to be scarce more than a pretext, while the judge, who was in reality the prosecutor, was shielded by impenetrable secrecy from all responsibility except to the Suprema."[2]

[1] Garcia (P.), *Orden que comunmente*, etc., 1736.
[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iii, p. 91.

The first cross-examination of a prisoner was very searching. After having stated his name, age, place of birth and residence, occupation, etc., he had to declare the name of his parents; paternal and maternal grandparents and full particulars concerning them; his uncles, paternal and maternal; his wife and children, if any, and if they were married, full details relating to their consorts and children, if any; if he could read or write, and if so, the name of his teacher; if he had studied any particular branch of learning, and if so, who had taught him; he had to give all details as to his life and the persons he frequented; also if he had any suspicion why he was arrested by the Holy Office. The prisoner was then informed that the Holy Office was not accustomed to arrest any person whatsoever, without sufficient information that he had said, done or committed some thing that was or *appeared to be*, against "our Holy Catholic Faith and Evangelical Law, that the Holy Mother Roman Catholic Church holds, preaches, follows and teaches, or against the just and free exercise of the Holy Office." He was led to believe that he had been brought to the Inquisition as a consequence of such information, and he was exhorted to search his memory and fully confess to what he felt he was guilty of, thus freeing his conscience, and his case would be expedited with all speed and mercy.[1] In order to verify the statements made during this first examination, the prisoner had to submit to two others at intervals, before he was informed of the accusation against him. It will be observed that the interrogatory was so framed as to implicate as great a number of persons as possible, and the application of torture was very frequently resorted to for the same purpose. If when torture was administered the victim

[1] Garcia, *Orden que comunmente*, etc., fols. 9–11.

died under its application, or came out crippled, or an effusion of blood followed, or a member was mutilated, the blame was laid on the prisoner and not on the inquisitors, because he would not speak the truth; and he had been admonished to speak the truth "for the love of God."[1]

The day for the execution of the condemned was observed as a public holiday, and occasionally to celebrate an event of public rejoicing, such as the marriage of the King or the birth of an heir to the throne, and people of distinction, native and foreign, were invited to attend. The victims were led in solemn procession to the place where their sentences were publicly pronounced and the condemned to capital punishment were later conducted to the *quemadero* outside the city walls, where the sentences were executed in the presence of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the general public. The object was to impress on the populace the punishment of heresy, apostasy and similar offences, but the actual result was the development of brutality and intellectual degeneration. These executions are commonly known as *autos-de-fé*. "The Inquisitor Lorenzo Flores related that, at the great Valladolid *auto* of 1609, where there were seventy penitents, many of them reconciled or sentenced to abjuration *de vehementi*, the people murmured because the one condemned to relaxation had professed conversion in time and had thus escaped the stake, and there were many complaints that the *auto* was not worth the expense of coming to see."[2]

With the introduction of the Modern Inquisition, *autos-de-fé* came into prominence and acquired for the Holy Tribunal the unenviable reputation that has endured

[1] Garcia, *Orden que comunmente*, etc.: "Fue amonestado el dicho fulano por amor de Dios diga la verdad."

[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iv, p. 526.

until the present day. In Majorca the first *autos-de-fé* took place in 1489, in which year no less than seven were celebrated when ten persons were reconciled to the Church, six were burned alive, forty-four persons condemned in their absence were burned in effigy and one dead, condemned, was disinterred and the bones burned.[1] In 1490, there were three *autos* when one man and four women were burned alive and forty-seven absent burned in effigy. Quadrado informs us that in that year the condemnations to capital punishment of dead and absent, were sixty-nine men and forty-eight women; apart from these there were the reconciled and the condemned to perpetual imprisonment, which also meant confiscation of property.[2]

1491. May 4th, four were relaxed to the secular arm,[3] which was equivalent to being burned alive. June 3rd, four burned alive and fifteen in effigy, the expense for which amounted to 5 libras 1 sueldo 8 dineros.[4] September 4th, twenty were strangled and then burned, at the Plegadissa Gate, at the cost of 15 libras.[5] The number of relaxations given by Lea for this year is understated. The above numbers amount to twenty-eight: four on May 4th, four on June 3rd, and twenty on September 4th. Lea says "the records of 1491 show numerous *autos* in which there were fifty-seven reconciliations, eighteen relaxations in effigy and *eighteen* in person."[6]

1493. May 11th, three relaxed to the secular arm and forty-seven in effigy (Lea). June 11th, the bones of two persons and forty-seven effigies burned (*Cron. Mayor.*).

1497. A man who had twice abjured the Catholic faith and attempted to escape to Barbary a third time

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, bk. i, chap. v.
[2] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 316 and note 1.
[3] Idem.
[4] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 193.
[5] Idem.
[6] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, bk. iv, chap. v.

was arrested in Pollensa and beheaded and quartered.[1] Quadrado states that in 1498 and 1499 there were ten condemnations to capital punishment.[2]

1500. *Auto-de-fé* where several persons were burned for heresy; the number is not mentioned. The sum of "3 libras 4 sueldos 6 dineros was paid for the expenses of the execution of the wife of Rafael Tudela and of others condemned for heresy by the Reverend Father inquisitor."[3]

1501. In this year many executions took place for various crimes; among others two women for relapsed heresy, who were strangled and burned at the Plegadissa Gate.[4] It is curious and interesting to note that these two were delivered up to the secular arm by the Bishop and not by the inquisitors.

1504. September 12th; execution of ten persons relaxed to the secular arm by the inquisitors, and who were burned; it is not stated if they were strangled first.[5]

1506. *Auto-de-fé* when six persons were burned for heresy and apostasy. All were relaxed to the secular arm by the Inquisitors.[6]

1508. June 18th; solemn declaration of relapsed Jews confirmed in the Plaza de Cort; they were taken to the customary place outside the Plegadissa Gate to be burned; the number is not stated.[7] During this year, two *autos-de-fé* were held. In the first, one man and three women were strangled and burned for heresy, and in the second, four women were burned for the same offence. Doubtless these include that of June 18th.[8]

1509. September 28th; three women relaxed to the secular arm were strangled and then burned at the

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 197.
[2] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 307 note 1.
[3] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 197.
[4] Idem, p. 219.
[5] Idem, p. 220.
[6] Idem, p. 221.
[7] Idem.
[8] Idem, p. 222.

Plegadissa Gate. The inquisitor was the Rev. P. Guillermo Casellas.[1]

1510. September 27th; three relapsed Jews were relaxed to the secular arm and taken to the Plegadissa Gate, where they were strangled and burned, "and their flesh and bones reduced to ashes."[2]

1511. October 13th; five men and four women were relaxed to the secular arm by the inquisitors for heresy; they were burned, but if previously strangled is not mentioned.[3]

1513 or 1514. Two *autos-de-fé*; in the first, a man and wife were burned for heresy, and in the second, four women suffered the same penalty.[4]

1585. *Auto-de-fé* held in the Plaza del Temple where the Inquisition was then installed; there were twelve executions.[5]

1588. *Auto-de-fé* in the Plaza del Temple; the number of victims is not stated.[6]

1613. *Auto-de-fé* held in the Church of Santo Domingo; there were twenty-nine prisoners of whom twenty-six wore *Sambenitos* and *corozas* (long cone-shaped hats as a special mark of infamy), and five had halters round their necks. This *auto-de-fé* was celebrated with special solemnity; it commenced at half-past two and did not terminate until "one hour and a half after nightfall."[7]

1645. April 2nd; Easter Sunday. *Auto-de-fé* held on the Borne with great pomp. Fifteen were burned alive and four in effigy.[8]

1675. January 13th and 14th. *Autos-de-fé* held on the Borne. There were thirty-nine prisoners but only one was burned alive, a converso native of Madrid.[9]

[1] *Cron. Mayor*, p. 222. [2] Idem, p. 223. [3] Idem.
[4] Idem. [5] Idem, p. 279. [6] Idem.
[7] Idem, p. 361. [8] Idem, p. 403. [9] Idem, pp. 469–471.

1679. April 16th; on this date commenced a series of *autos-de-fé* in the Church of Santo Domingo against a "multitude of persons for the crime of Judaizing or of keeping the rites of the Israelites. The condemnations were various, including temporary and perpetual imprisonment, and all suffered confiscation of property. Many of the condemned were young of both sexes, ranging from 13 to 17 years of age."[1] April 16th; *Auto-de-fé* commenced at seven o'clock in the morning and finished at six o'clock in the evening. There were fifty-two prisoners, 26 men and 26 women; all were condemned to imprisonment, either for terms or perpetual, and confiscation of their property. April 25th; *Auto-de-fé* with fifty-two prisoners, 25 men and 27 women. April 30th; *Auto-de-fé* with sixty-two prisoners, 29 men and 33 women. May 3rd; *Auto-de-fé* with forty-six prisoners, 23 men and 23 women, among whom were many young, from 13 to 17 years. May 28th; *Auto-de-fé* with thirteen prisoners. All were condemned for Judaizing and all had their property confiscated. There were in all 236 condemned, but none to capital punishment.

1691. Four *autos-de-fé* were held on March 7th, May 1st, May 6th, and July 2nd. Two men and one woman were burned alive; thirty-three persons were strangled first and burned afterwards; two boxes of bones were burned with nine effigies.

1695. September 11th; *Auto-de-fé* in Santo Domingo, when ten or eleven effigies of Judaizers were burned at the Jesus Gate.

During the eighteenth century, *autos-de-fé* took place, but in only one instance does a descendant of the Jews appear. In 1720, Gabriel Cortes Moyanet, alias Morrut, was relaxed to the secular arm and condemned, but

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, pp. 434–435, 472.

being absent his effigy was burned on September 15th of that year. From this it would appear that Judaism was practically stamped out by the end of the seventeenth century, but it is difficult to believe that such was really the case. It is not likely, nor even possible, that in 1691 so many who practised their ancient faith should suddenly renounce it completely. The terrible persecution of 1691, and the close surveillance that followed, only rendered observance more difficult, but in the strictest family intimacy Judaism still existed. We are led to believe that Jews lived in Majorca in the middle of the eighteenth century for the Holy Office issued an order, June 21, 1756, expelling from Majorca, "Israelites resident in the island."[1] It is certain that professed Jews lived there in 1788 and were officially recognised. In that year the jurados of Majorca issued regulations concerning the tolls to be paid by butchers for the sale of meats, and paragraphs 26 and 35 relate to animals slaughtered by Jews and Jewish rabbis.[2] It is, therefore, most unlikely that the conversos had ceased the practice of their religion. Fear caused by the memory of the terrible years 1679 and 1691 masked what still existed, but no more.

In 1678, when the prisons were full to overflowing, licences were issued for the sale of meat in the house of the Inquisition, for the prisoners in the secret cells.[3] Two years later, June 5, 1680, a proclamation was posted, announcing the sale of the clothes of the victims, in the open space in front of the Inquisition.[4]

The *autos-de-fé* were conducted with the greatest pomp and ceremony, and were rendered as impressive as possible; no detail was wanting that could inspire the

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 546.
[2] In the author's possession.
[3] *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. vii, p. 338.
[4] Idem, p. 424.

populace with awe, or the power of the Tribunal. From a contemporary account of the *auto-de-fé* of April 2, 1645, we learn the *modus operandi*. A commission from the Holy Office attended on the Viceroy on March 16th, to choose the site for the *auto-de-fé* and decide on the arrangements. The following day the function was announced in the city with much ostentation, with the sound of trumpets and drums, by the secretary of the Secreto accompanied by more than eighty mounted *familiars* dressed in black. On April 1st, the procession of the Green Cross, which was the special emblem of the Inquisition in Majorca, took place with great solemnity. First came the standard of the Faith, carried by D. Pelayo Quint, of the Order of St. John, the cords of which were held by D. Mateo Gual and D. Francisco Sanjuán, of the Order of Alcantara; then followed the military orders donned in full ceremonial uniform; the regular and parochial communities with their crosses; the *familiars* of the Tribunal of the city and all other places on the island, with the *calificadores* (qualificators) dressed in black with gold crosses embroidered on the breast and capes, carrying lighted tapers in their hands. The cathedral choir chanted the *Miserere*; D. Diego Desclapes carried the Green Cross between two assistants in purple vestments. The procession closed with the Fiscal (prosecutor) of the Holy Office, accompanied by the secretary of the Secreto and the chief Alguacil. It passed through the streets of the greater part of the city until nightfall, when the cross was deposited on an altar raised on a large platform in the centre of one of the lateral sides of the Borne. A number of priests remained there all night, singing psalms and guarding the precious cross until dawn, when they were relieved by others. At six o'clock in the morning, fifteen prisoners were

brought out of the Inquisition, dressed with the *Sambenito and coroza* which were decorated with flames and little devils; with them were three effigies and a load of books guarded by troops sent by the Viceroy for the purpose. The Mayor, the deputy of the chief Alguacil, the Secretary and the Fiscal followed, who then occupied their allotted seats on the platform or stage assigned to them, where the altar was erected. The Fiscal returned on horseback to the palace of the Inquisition to take the banner of the Faith, accompanied by the Viceroy, the jurado and other civil dignitaries of all ranks, clothed in gala dress, mounted on spirited horses richly caparisoned; in all three hundred in number. The cavalcade arrived at the Plaza del Borne, where awaited, on their respective platforms, the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia, the Ecclesiastical Chapter, the prelates of the secular orders and the delegates of the secular clergy. All took their places. The inquisitors were seated on velvet chairs placed on a dais raised above the others by ten *palmos*,[1] while immediately below them were the ordinary ecclesiastics of the diocese of Ibiza, seated on chairs of black leather. Tapestries and carpets decorated the platform of the various tribunals and corporations that took part in the ceremony.

In the city a festive air reigned over all. The balconies of the houses were carpeted and crowded with ladies who represented all the grace and beauty of Majorca, attired in holiday dress; crowds occupied every point of vantage, even to the roofs of the houses that overlooked the place of judgment. Fifty men mounted on horses and fifty on foot were barely sufficient to hold back the mass of people that formed a sea of heads in the square and the adjacent streets. At eight o'clock

[1] A *palmo* is eight inches; this measure is still used in Majorca.

silence was imposed, and the Dominican prior delivered a sermon, after which the Viceroy, Audiencia and jurados took the oath to defend the Faith; then began the report of the trials and the proclamation of the sentences. The reading of the sentences of those condemned in effigy concluded, they were handed over to the Royal Audiencia (or secular arm) to be burned, together with eight sacks of books, and while this was being executed, the other sentences were read, followed by the reconciliations and absolution of the prisoners, in the customary prescribed form. The *auto-de-fé* terminated at eight o'clock at night.

The *Cronicon Mayoricense* (p. 467) also gives a short account of this *auto-de-fé*; it would appear that the procession of the Green Cross only took place on very important occasions. The above narrative spares the reader a description of the agonies of the fifteen victims burned. The Reverend Padre Francisco Garau, in 1691, was less delicate.

The *auto-de-fé* of January 13, 1675, was also held on the Borne, which at the present day is the principal promenade of Palma. The arrangements were similar to those of 1645 and included the procession of the Green Cross, in which the entire nobility of Majorca was invited to take part. On the day of the *auto-de-fé*, they were to attend mounted on horseback, and accompany the Inquisitor to the Plaza del Borne, where the ceremony took place. The erection of the tribunes with the numerous platforms to accommodate the various bodies, ecclesiastical and civil, was the same, with three altars in the form of a triangle. The canopy of the Inquisition was of red velvet embroidered with the arms of the King and the Pope; the floor where the prisoners were placed was covered with a large cloth, on which were

depicted "hideous devils." On January 12th, the day previous to the *auto-de-fé*, the procession took place. All houses on the route followed, had to be decorated, by order of the inquisitors, and the Viceroy placed at the service of the Inquisitor, a company of two hundred infantry and another of horse, to preserve order or for any other purpose. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the procession left the Inquisition. The standard of the Holy Office was carried by Francisco Cotoner and the Green Cross by the same Diego Desclapes who had performed the same duty thirty years earlier; he was clothed in a white gown and cope of rich cloth of gold, and was supported by the Rev. Bartolomeu Lladó and Dr. Vaquer. The procession closed with the Canon Juan Baptista Desbach,[1] Fiscal of the Holy Office, accompanied by the Alguacil and the Secretary; all carried lighted tapers. On the arrival of the procession at the amphitheatre on the Borne, the Green Cross was placed on the centre altar, before which candles and lamps burned all night, and twelve priests of different orders, watched. There they remained chanting the *matins* and *laudes* until dawn, when mass was sung until the arrival of the prisoners. The following morning, at six o'clock, came the clergy of the parish of Saint Nicholas, where the Inquisition was situated, with their cross; the prisoners and effigies and a condemned Jew, each with *familiars* and two arquebusiers on each side, and immediately after them, three buglers in green cloaks and caps, worn only on special occasions, and four drummers mounted on horses, dressed in the same colour. Then followed mounted *familiars*, a numerous assembly of invited persons and ecclesiastical dignitaries; Dr. Juan Baptista Desbach, Canon of Majorca and Fiscal of the Holy

[1] He was Inquisitor of Majorca two years later, in 1677.

Office, carried the standard of the Inquisition, the cords of which were held by Leonart Zaforteza and Francisco Cotoner, Fiscal Ordinary and inquisitor, wearing large hats, and after them many others. The Inquisitor himself had on his right hand the Viceroy, D. Juan Francisco Cebrian, Conde de Fuenclara, and on his left, the chief Jurado, after whom followed the other magistrates.

At 8.30 all were at their places in the Plaza del Borne. The Fiscal and his two companions seated on the first rank below the Inquisitor; the Secretary Fábregues with the others were at hand to administer the oath to the Viceroy and the jurados. A sermon occupying half an hour was then delivered, after which mass was sung and the sentences read, each prisoner, as called, standing in the centre of the stage. At midday, the Jew was relaxed to the secular arm. He was a young man, named Alonso,[1] of twenty-two years, born in Madrid; his father had been condemned and burned for Judaism, and he continued in his pertinacity, in spite of persuasion and preaching of holy and chastened men. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the sentence against the Jew to be burned alive was signed by the Audiencia; he was taken to the Jesus Gate, attached to a stake with an iron chain and placed on the pile, which was then lighted. "As this perfidious Jew was possessed by the demon in his heart as in his mouth, his last utterance was against our Holy Faith, for as the flames began to envelope him, he exclaimed with serenity (in appearance), 'Lord great God of Israel woe betide me if He has come and woe betide you if He has not come' (*Adonay gran Dios de Israel ay de mi si ha venido y ay de vosotros si no ha venido*)." With these words he died and his body was soon reduced to ashes. The reading of the other sentences continued

[1] Alonso, alias Jacob Lopez, son of Abraham —*Relac. de los Samben.*, 1755.

until eight o'clock in the evening when the abjurations and reconciliations were performed and mass was said with solemnity. At nine o'clock the proceedings terminated.

It must not be supposed, however, that the assembly remained all day without refreshment. The Fiscal had arranged a banquet in the house of the Inquisition, where seven tables were prepared, each seating thirty persons. There was great abundance of everything and fine and delicate wines of all kinds, and during the afternoon refreshing drinks were provided; but no mention is made of the prisoners; no doubt they were left to fill their stomachs with the sermon, difficult to digest. The following morning eighteen of them were trailed through the streets, each one receiving one hundred lashes. All the prisoners were once more confined in the prisons of the Inquisition; the ecclesiastics returned to their monasteries and churches; the civil authorities and nobility to their duties and houses; the Inquisitors to their palace well content with the *fiesta*, and ready to continue to judge God's cause with renewed zeal.

CHAPTER III

"EXSURGE DOMINE ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM" CONTINUED—1691—PADRE FRANCISCO GARAU AND *LA FEE TRIUNFANTE*—THE THREE MARTYRS—"EXSURGE DOMINE ET JUDICA CAUSAM TUAM" GONE MAD

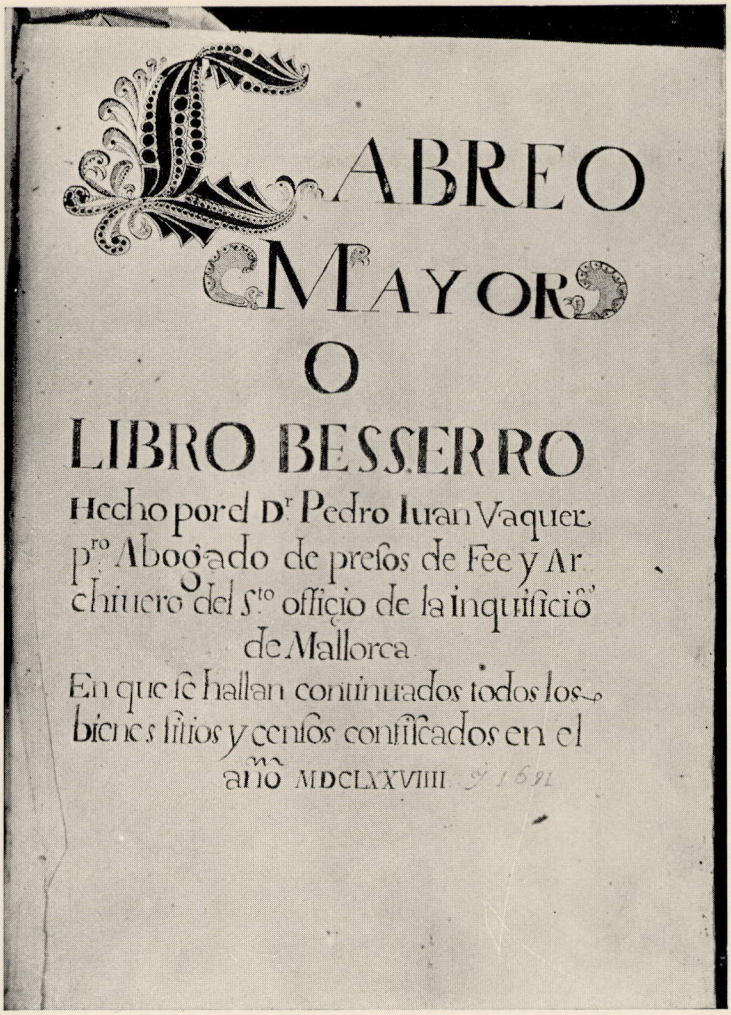
IN spite of all the pomp and circumstance with which the *autos-de-fé* of 1675 were celebrated, they produced no material results of any consequence. They were useful as a reminder that the Holy Office of the Inquisition was still working and to justify its existence before the public, but nothing more. The great epoch of the Inquisition in Majorca began in the year 1679 and continued until 1691. 1679 was the year of opulence *par excellence* in the annals of the Majorcan Inquisition. Enormous wealth was, then, acquired by the confiscation of the property of the great number of persons imprisoned in 1678, after the discovery of the clandestine synagogue, and the House of the Inquisition was rebuilt on a grand scale. But although 1679 was the most opulent year, the Holy Office of Majorca attained its greatest height for brutality in 1691, when the financial results were somewhat less. We have already related the origin of the four *autos-de-fé* held in this year, but for the descriptions of the proceedings and celebrations of them, we are indebted to the invaluable contemporary account, written and published by the Rev. Padre Francisco Garau "of the Company of Jesus, Calificador of the Holy Office," etc., and handed down to the present day.[1] The reading of this book is particularly instructive,

[1] This work is entitled: *La Fee Trivnfante en Qvatro Avtos celebrados en Mallorca por el Santo Officio de la Inqvisicion en qve an salido ochenta, i ocho reos, i de treinta, i siete relaxados solo vvo tres pertinaces. Expressada por el R. P. Francisco Garav etc. . . .* 1691.

for not only do we learn the procedure of the public *autos-de-fé*, but we get an insight into the methods adopted for the conversion of the prisoners and the arguments employed. Francisco Garau was a writer of some repute in his time, and *The Faith Triumphant* represents a typical specimen of the class of literature sanctioned by the Holy Office for perusal by that portion of the population with sufficient instruction to be able to read.

Garau informs us that twenty-four reconciled escaped with fines ranging from one hundred to five hundred libras, and which amounted in all to six thousand five hundred libras. The value of the property confiscated could not have been much less than in 1679, judging from the books of accounts kept by Dr. Pedro Juan Vaquer, archivist of the Inquisition. It presents us with a further indisputable proof of the extraordinary energy of the Jews, that, after two hundred and forty-five years of oppression, they should have regained and preserved their predominant position on the island. Baptism did not wash away their innate intelligence nor damp their arduous activity. These accounts are contained in two enormous volumes of over two thousand six hundred pages, and disclose all the property, farms, land, rents, etc., seized in 1679 and 1691, but it is impossible to enter into the details of each case in this history.[1] The twenty-four who escaped with fines were among those reconciled in 1679, a fact which confirms the assumption that wealth was the principal object. Writing of the present case, Dr. Lea says: "Remembering the prudent intimation given to inquisitors that sometimes fines were more productive than confiscation, the heavy

[1] It is hoped at a future date, that these volumes will be reproduced to enable the prosecution of more detailed historical research to be carried out.



TITLE-PAGE TO VOL. I OF THE MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT BOOKS OF THE INQUISITION OF THE PROPERTY CONFISCATED FROM THE DESCENDANTS OF THE JEWS
1679 AND 1691

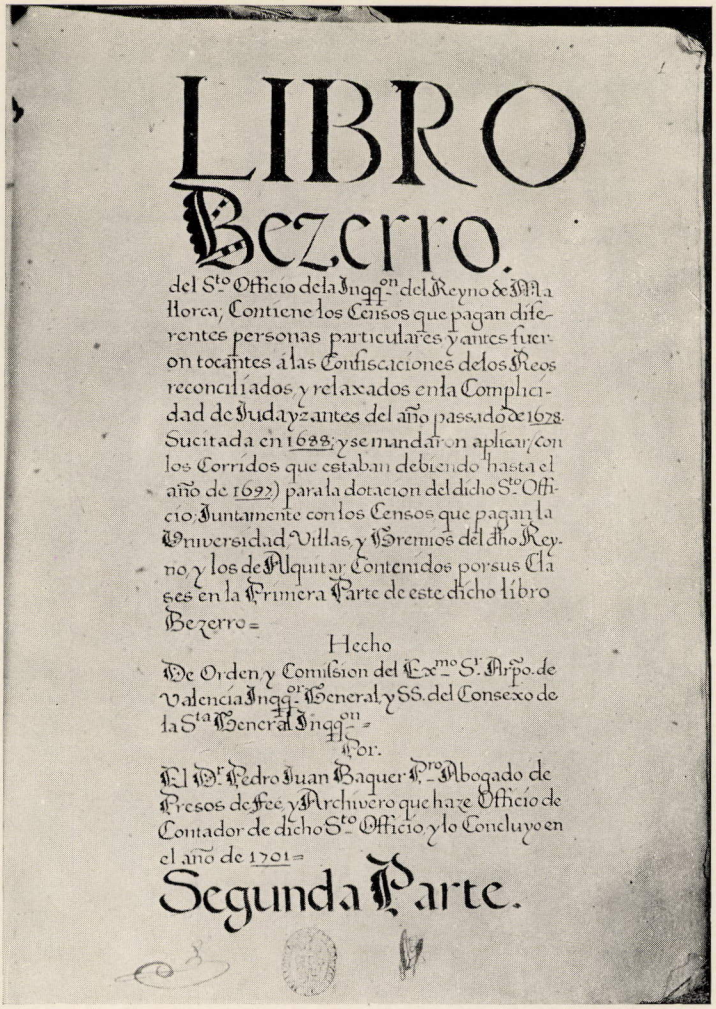
mulcts inflicted on the relapsed who were admitted to mercy, suggest that possibly there may have been financial reasons, in special cases, for benignity. We have seen the number of executions for relapse in the Mallorquin *autos* of 1691. Besides these there were twenty-two cases of those who had been reconciled in 1679 who were not relaxed but penanced in various ways, including fines ranging from one to five hundred libras. It is difficult not to recognise in this a speculative exercise of rigor or mercy."[1]

The first *auto-de-fé* of this year was held in the Inquisition Church of Santo Domingo on March 7th, the third anniversary of the fateful day when many of the unfortunate inhabitants of the *Sagell* made their unsuccessful attempt to escape from persecution and misery. Three years had passed in indescribable suffering and torture in the prison cells of the Inquisition, and during that period eighty-eight prisoners were tried and condemned. After three years passed in such conditions, the sentences came almost as a deliverance to the prisoners. All the proceedings previous to the execution of the sentences took place in the church, where tribunes were erected for the purpose. One was placed near the altar on the side of the *Epistola*, with nine steps leading to it, sumptuously adorned with a crimson canopy, under which sat the Inquisitor. Facing this was a platform with eight steps of rough wood, to place the prisoners, and inclined in such a manner as to expose them to the scrutiny and full curiosity of almost the whole church. From this platform ran a corridor called the passage of bitterness (*amargura*), through which the prisoners were conducted to hear their sentences read. Other stands were erected on both sides, but on a lower level, occupying most of

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquisition*, vol. iii, p. 207

the floor space. The first on the side of the *Evangelio* was occupied by the Viceroy and Captain-General, the Marquis de la Casta; the jurados and the other civil dignitaries. On the second, on the same side, were placed the Chapter of the Cathedral, and D. Pedro de Alagón, Archbishop-Bishop of Majorca. Opposite to these was a brilliant assembly of ladies of the nobility of Majorca, and the whole church was magnificently decorated with rich tapestries and crimson velvet. The remainder of the building was filled to overflowing with all the other notabilities of the city who had no stands allotted to them.

On March 7th, the day of the *auto-de-fé*, twenty-five prisoners were conducted in procession by a number of *familiars*, from the Inquisition to the Church of Santo Domingo. The streets were lined with a great crowd of people of all classes to witness the procession, in which took part the Inquisitors attended by an imposing retinue of *calificadores* and *familiars*. On their arrival at the church they took their seats and Mass was begun according to custom, after which the sentences were read. There were fifteen reconciliations with formal abjuration and various terms of imprisonment; two of two months, five of two years, one of two years and four years' exile, four of perpetual imprisonment, one of the prisoners receiving in addition two hundred lashes; all had their property confiscated. Seven convicted got off with abjuration *de levi* (13) and minor punishments, six of whom were each fined two hundred libras and were, also, exiled as, and where, was decided by the Tribunal. The remaining three were not Jews, but were condemned for sorcery and witchcraft; all escaped with abjuration *de levi*, banishment and imprisonment. It should be noted here that banishment or exile


LIBRO
Bezerro.
del S.to Officio de la Inqq.on del Reyno de Mal-
lorca, Contiene los Censos que pagan dife-
rentes personas particulares y antes fuer-
on tocantes a las Confiscaciones de los Reos
reconciliados, y relaxados en la Complici-
dad de Juda y antes del año passado de 1678.
Sucitada en 1688; y se mandaron aplicar con
los Corridos que estaban debiendo hasta el
año de 1692) para la dotacion del dicho S.to Offi-
cio, Juntamente con los Censos que pagan la
Universidad Villas, y Sremios del dho Rey-
no y los de Alquitar Contenidos por sus Cla-
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Bezerro=
Hecho
De Orden y Comission del Ex.mo S.r Arp.o de
Valencia Inqq.or General, y SS. del Consexo de
la S.ta General Inqq.on=
El Dor.
El Dr. Pedro Juan Baquer Pro. Abogado de
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Contador de dicho S.to Officio, y lo Concluyo en
el año de 1701=
Segunda Parte.

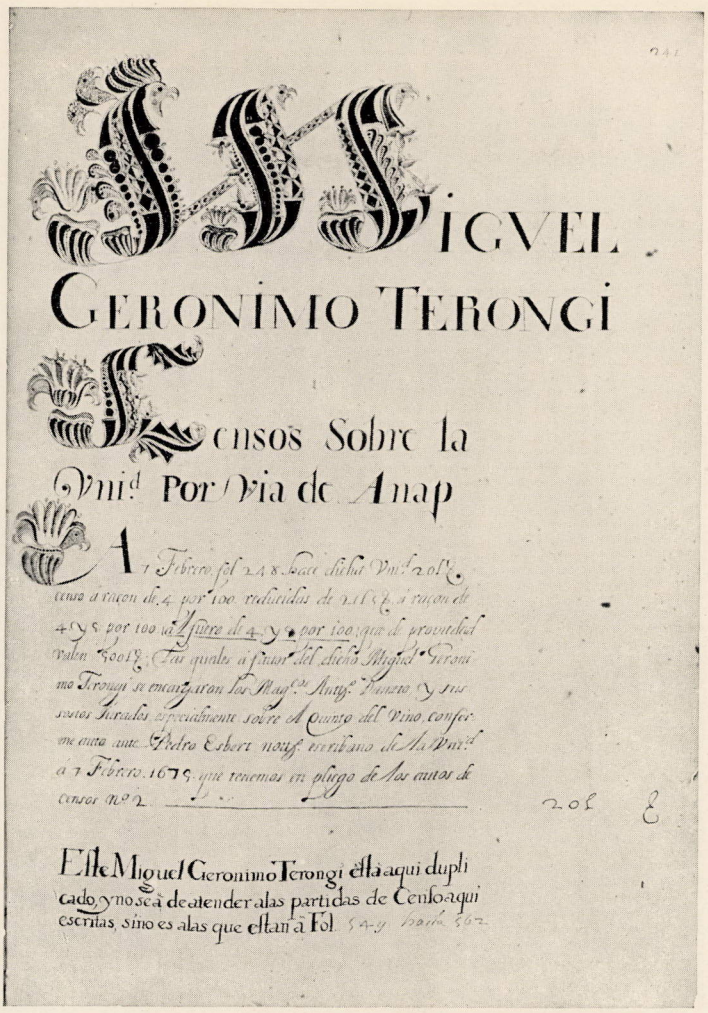
TITLE-PAGE TO VOL. II OF THE MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT BOOKS OF THE INQUISITION OF THE PROPERTY CONFISCATED FROM THE JEWS
1679 AND 1691

did not mean banishment from the kingdom, but confinement outside the city.

The ceremony concluded, all the proceedings terminated and the assembly dispersed, the prisoners were then mustered together in a room of the Tribunal and addressed by the Señor Don José Hualte in the presence of a most "qualified gathering." He propounded to them "the misery, foulness, horror and abomination of their individual crimes" with such "vigorous reasoning, gravity of style, solidity of sacred texts, courageous energy and powerful acrimony," that such "reprimand and ostracism should be to them the most painful chastisement and the most salutary medicine." Eight days later, the five condemned to be whipped were tied and mounted on asses, wearing the *coroza* and with bare backs. A procession was formed attended by the Alguacil, Don Diego Embid de Moros, and Don Juan de la Puebla, mounted on two fine horses richly adorned, and many distinguished *familiars*, which paraded through the streets while the victims were lashed. With this scene concluded the first *auto-de-fé* of 1691.

Towards the end of April, the Tribunal decided, in accord with the civil authorities, to hold a second *auto-de-fé* on May 1st. The arrangements and decorations of the Church of Santo Domingo were the same as on the previous occasion. The ceremony in the church, however, formed only a part of the proceedings, for this time there were many death sentences. On Saturday, April 28th, a great assembly was held in the Inquisition, of ecclesiastics of all the religious orders, including ministers of the Holy Tribunal, from all parts of the kingdom of Majorca. They were convoked to be present at the notification to the prisoners of their sentences, which was performed with solemnity. The "Apostolic

Inquisitor the Very Illustrious Señor Don Pedro Guerrero de Bolános" assisted by the secretary of the Secreto, Don Juan de la Puebla, opened the proceedings by entering the cell of the prisoner, Pedro Onofre Cortés de Guillermo, alias Moxina. The Inquisitor informed the prisoner that he had seen and examined his case and deliberated on it with many learned men of great knowledge, and it was decided that his crimes were of such a nature that an example would be made of him, and he was condemned to die on the following Tuesday. He was then left to the care of three priests, whose duty it was to prepare him to die "in the true faith with piety and christian courage," and two *familiars* to keep watch over him. The same ceremony was repeated twenty times more, for there were twenty-one condemned to death, and each one was left with three ecclesiastics to prepare him to die as a good catholic. Padre Francisco Garau, Calificador of the Holy Office, explains that this fatal announcement was made unexpectedly and suddenly, for all had lived in the vain hope of what was called in 1679, when all were reconciled, the piety of the Tribunal. The first sensation of stupefaction passed, the unfortunate victims gave way to outbursts of grief, particularly the women, says Garau, and they struggled with the terrible thought that in a very short time they would have to die at the hands of the executioner. One, Catalina Pomar, was an old woman of seventy-one years. The prisoners were then confided to the care of ecclesiastics whose duty it was to convince the condemned of their errors and consent to die in the catholic faith. Padre Garau informs us that "expert skill and sound reasoning eventually overcame resistance and all, save two who persisted in their obstinacy, confessed to their frenzied deceit." The two



A PAGE FROM THE MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT BOOKS OF THE INQUISITION OF THE PROPERTY CONFISCATED FROM THE DESCENDANTS OF THE JEWS
1679 AND 1691

obstinates were Pedro Onofre Cortés de Guillermo, alias Moxina, already mentioned, and Miguel Valls, alias Campos. The former was confided to the care of Garau.

On Tuesday morning, May 1st, the prisoners were conducted to the Church of Santo Domingo, but so great was the crowd in the streets, that the soldiers sent by the Viceroy for the purpose had difficulty in opening a passage for them. Padre Garau with two other priests and the obstinate Pedro Onofre Cortés, headed the procession. Garau forcibly expresses the sorrow he felt at being at the side of this "progeny of Demons." But Pedro Onofre Cortés was a rich man. The books of accounts[1] kept by Dr. Pedro Juan Vaquet for the Inquisition, contain sixteen pages devoted to him, setting forth all his possessions and rents, which were confiscated by the Inquisition. On arrival at the Church of Santo Domingo, Padre Garau exercised all his force of persuasion on his charge, who finally declared himself catholic. Miguel Valls had done likewise. They escaped the stake but not death, for they were garrotted first and burned afterwards.

The proceedings in the Church of Santo Domingo terminated, the twenty-one condemned were conducted to their execution. The choice of a suitable site had caused the authorities some difficulty. An open space was required of considerable dimensions, to accommodate the vast concourse of people expected to be present, and not too close to the city, for the smoke and stench from twenty-one burning bodies would be incommoding to the inhabitants. A convenient and eligible place was found about two miles distant on the brow of the hill on which Bellver Castle is situated, close to the seashore. Garau states that this spot was chosen so that the

[1] See p. 160.

prisoners should die in view of the place where they had embarked for their flight, as "a reminder to those who remained that God knows how to make braziers that blaze where perfidy seeks to escape." Here an enormous platform was constructed, eighty feet square and eight feet high, on which were placed twenty-five stakes, each with a small board to serve as a seat for those to be garrotted, and then to provide wood necessary for the fire. The procession to the place of execution was long and tiring, the heat was excessive and dense clouds of dust blinded. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived at the brasero where were assembled over thirty thousand people come from all parts. All the vast field was crowded with people, tents where hawkers sold their wares, carriages, carts and vehicles of all kinds, "and a gaiety reigned over all, giving promise that the celebrations would not be so dismal or gloomy." It was in these surroundings that the twenty-one victims perished in the flames. The second *auto-de-fé* of 1691 ended and all returned content to their homes.

The third *auto-de-fé* of this year was held on Sunday, May 6th. The arrangements in the Church of Santo Domingo were the same as on the two previous occasions. The death sentences numbered fourteen, which were notified to the victims on the previous Friday at 4 p.m. with the same solemnity as before, and the priests and missionaries left with the condemned "applied themselves with zeal to the salvation of their souls." In addition to the fourteen relaxed in person, there were also seven relaxed in effigy or the bones of dead to be burned. The ceremony was honoured by the presence of the Marquis de Leganes, of the Government of Milan, who chanced to be in Majorca at the time, and, says

Garau, "who dignified the *auto* with the most brilliant and most noble retinue." Eleven of the condemned obtained mitigation of their sentences by accepting catholicism; they were garrotted first and their bodies burned afterwards. Nine of the eleven were women, one of whom, Isabel Pomar, was seventy-one years old. Another, Isabel Aguiló, aged twenty-eight, aroused the compassion of all by her beauty and the apparent sincerity of her conversion, and the Marquis de Leganes was moved to intercede with the Inquisitors on her behalf to save her life, but without success; the Inquisitors replied that for "high and great motives, it was impossible." Padre Garau testifies for the truth of this for he was deputed to hand the reply of the Inquisitors. Isabel Aguiló had already been reconciled once, and was now found guilty for the second time of heresy, apostasy, Judaizer, relapsed, etc.

The pertinacity of the three remaining prisoners called forth great and loud lamentations from Padre Garau and the other Calificadores of the Holy Office. The "impertinent stupidity of their errors, clear to any reasonable intelligence, founded on badly learned texts; but what can a soap-maker or vendor of ribbons understand of the Sacred Writings?" One is led to conclude that the soap-maker was too powerful an antagonist for Padre Garau. He complains that the soap-maker took literally his "badly learned texts" instead of their spirit. Padre Garau eventually utters a cry of despair: "There is nothing more tedious for an intelligent man, than to have to argue with one who denies principles in the face of the greatest proof." The soap-maker was Rafael Valls, the man who arranged the ill-fated flight on the English ship in 1688.

Valls was a man of remarkable character, ability,

learning and integrity, who was considered by his co-religionists as their chief. Unconsciously and unwillingly, Garau renders him a high tribute. "He was a man of fortune who, to gain the reputation and position of Rabbi, had affected the doctrine of the Cynic Stoics, and the outward show of certain moral virtues such as abstinence, moderation and equity in his dealings." Padre Garau's arguments and persuasion made no impression on Valls. "I am moved to this," says Garau, "that so many arguments that have convinced the Most Reverend Padre Fray Rafael Riutort, Provincial of the Minimes, Calificador of the Holy Office and Ex-Lecturer; the Padre Presentado Fray Vicente Pellicer de Santo Domingo; the P. Jaime Custurer, Lecturer of Philosophy in the College of Montesion of the Society of Jesus, whom we assisted, but also the principal Doctors of the Church, whose arguments they were, could not convince him, alone, nor even make him doubt, as he often told me. I worked incessantly, day and night, with all kinds of reasoning, but all was frustrated by his obstinacy; *the equity of Divine Justice foresaw it and destined him, as the other Judas, to be a bloody victim of its most just vindication.*"

Rafael Valls, however, had two faithful followers, Rafael Benito Terongí and his sister Catalina Terongí, who had greater faith in their chief than in the arguments of all the Calificadores. Garau informs us that: "Almost the same passed with the Most Reverend Padre Fray Pedro Juan Nicolau, Ex-Lecturer of Theology, Calificador of the Holy Office and Ex-Provincial of this most learned Province of the Minimes; the Padre Sebastián Sabater, Ex-Professor of Theology in the College of Montesion, Calificador of the Holy Office and Rector of the College of St. Martin; the Reverend Padre Fray

Augustín Papía, Lecturer of Theology of the Order of Santo Domingo and the Reverend Padre Fray Pedro Aliaga, Capuchin missionary and Master of Novices in the monastery of Tarazona, all appointed by the Tribunal" to conduct an attack on the obstinate incredulity of a young man of twenty-one years. When confused by their arguments, Terongí referred them to Rafael Valls, who would answer for him. "He had drunk so much of the spirit of arrogance," continues Garau, "that it had almost conquered him, and being more ignorant (than Valls) he ceded nothing to him in obstinacy; but he did not know how to imitate the stoic, and the road that led to the brazier opened, so that the rage and hate that burned in his heart should go out. The same cause produced hate and fury in the pupil, and in the master a most profound melancholy and affected tranquility, but each in his manner represented to the life, a condemned." His sister, Catalina, also died obstinate without knowing why, says Garau, except for "rage and hate, for when I asked her in what she believed or what withheld her from the catholic faith or in what consisted to be a Jew, she replied that she only knew that she was a Jewess and that she wished to remain such. Until the notification of death she had been repentant, but then, one discovered that the Demon had taken shelter in her heart."

Garau terminates his account of this *auto-de-fé* with the following descriptive declaration: "Some admired to see them go to their death not only patiently but, in appearance, with content, but those who admired did not observe that not only their bodies but their hearts were possessed by the Devil, and to extract the Devil, they must be burned. . . . Let us say the truth, the condemned converted received with serene eyes the halter and sat

on the board with calm courage, but on the contrary, the impenitents, as the flames approached, began to show their frenzy, struggling with all fury to loosen the iron ring, which Terongí succeeded in doing, but he fell sideways on the same fire that he attempted to flee. His sister, Catalina, who had boasted that she would throw herself on the fire, now as the flames licked her, shrieked to be taken out, but always obstinate, she would not invoke the name of Jesus. Neither did the affected stoic insensibility avail Valls. Whilst there was only smoke he was as a statue, but when the flames attacked him, he fought and struggled until he could so no more. He was fat as a sucking pig and burned internally in such a manner, that when the flames no longer touched him his flesh burned like a brand, and, his body bursting in the middle, the entrails fell out, like Judas. *Crepuit medius et difusa sunt omnia viscera eius.* Actuum 1.18."

The somewhat extensive extracts from Garau's book, *The Faith Triumphant*, are quoted to demonstrate the manner in which the Inquisition attempted to justify its methods. Padre Franciso Garau was deputed to write his book to perpetuate the triumph of the Faith over heresy, and to immortalise the glory of the name of Majorca in consequence. It has been said that the Jews have no saints but that they have many martyrs, and their remarkable history cannot show any greater than the Three Martyrs of Majorca, Rafael Valls, Rafael Benito Terongí and Catalina Terongí, too little known but none the less great, and of whom the Jews may well be proud.

As disclosed in *The Faith Triumphant*, the Reverend Padre Francisco Garau of the Society of Jesus, Calificador of the Holy Office, Synodal Examiner of the

Bishopric, Ex-Professor of Theology of the College of Barcelona, and to-day Rector of the College of Montesion of the same Society, may be said to represent the incarnation of "Exsurge Domine et judica causam tuam" gone mad.

CHAPTER IV

FOURTH *AUTO-DE-FÉ* OF 1691—PADRE JOSÉ TARONJÍ AND PADRE FRANCISCO GARAU—HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION IN MAJORCA CONTINUED—APOLOGISTS OF THE INQUISITION

THE fourth, and last, *auto-de-fé* of 1691 was celebrated on July 2nd. Padre Garau no longer entertains us with descriptions of the scenes of festivity. "In this *auto* everything passed in the same order, brilliancy, splendour and ostentation as the others," he remarks, and so dismisses the subject. He confines himself to statistics, showing that the majority of the condemned were women; to moralising and exposing the arguments of the Jews against the Catholic Church and his refutations. In this last *auto-de-fé* of 1691 two women were burned alive, Francisca Martí, aged fifty-eight, and Magdalena Forteza, aged seventy-three; one absent condemned was burned in effigy and fifteen others, who abjured *de levi*, were condemned to the following penalties: one of three years in the galleys and two hundred libras fine; two of one year's banishment, one hundred libras fine and two hundred lashes; one of one year's banishment, two hundred libras fine and two hundred lashes; one of two years' banishment, five hundred libras fine and two hundred lashes; one of two years' banishment, four hundred libras fine and ten years in the galleys; one of two years' banishment, five hundred libras fine and ten years in the galleys; two of three years' banishment, two hundred libras fine and two hundred lashes; one of three years' banishment, two hundred libras fine and ten years in the galleys; one of five years' banish-

ment, five hundred libras fine and ten years' galleys; one of banishment (period not mentioned), two hundred libras fine and ten years' galleys; one of banishment (period not mentioned), five hundred libras fine and two hundred lashes; and one of five hundred libras fine only. All those lashed were women; banishment meant confinement outside the city, as decided by the Tribunal. A curious case occurred in this *auto-de-fé* of three Jewish prisoners who had died in the prison cells in 1678, *as catholics*. They were now, thirteen years later, formally readmitted into the Church and reconciled in effigy, but their property was confiscated.

Concerning this employment of effigies of absent relaxed or reconciled by the Inquisition, Dr. Lea writes: "It seems almost a travesty on solemn religious observances that effigies of the dead should be admitted to reconciliation, but as the grave afforded no refuge from the Inquisition this was a logical outcome of the system, when a defunct heretic had recanted and sought reincorporation with the Church. As he could not be reconciled in person he had to be reconciled in effigy, especially as the sentence was necessary to secure confiscation of his estate. The only occasion of this was the death, during trial, of a prisoner who had confessed, professed conversion and received sacramental absolution on his death-bed. His trial would necessarily be continued and result in reconciliation, and the Inquisition saw no incongruity in parading his image before the people, and performing with it the solemn farce of reconciliation. There was a somewhat inexplicable instance in Majorca of three Judaizers, who had died in prison during their trials, in 1678, after manifesting the necessary signs of repentance; they were not included among the two hundred and twelve reconciliations, in the *autos-de-fé* of

1679, but, thirteen years afterwards, their effigies were reconciled in the *auto* of July 2, 1691, and no theologian seems to have asked himself what was their spiritual condition during the prolonged interval."[1]

With this *auto-de-fé* ended the series of four of the year 1691, which marked the culminating point in the history of the Inquisition in Majorca. Although similar incidents took place all over Spain, for those of Majorca are not isolated cases, yet none other had a Calificador of the Holy Office to perpetuate them and their horrors with such crudity. *La Fee Triunfante* is now looked upon askance by the Majorcan clergy and its reading is strongly discouraged, yet it was printed and circulated as a popular book; a book for the people to read and inwardly digest; to serve as a comfort to all good and faithful catholics and as a terror to all others. It received the approbation of many dignitaries of the Church as can be seen by a perusal of the preliminary pages; a second edition was issued in 1755. Its maleficent influence was severely condemned, long after the Inquisition had ceased to exist, by another priest, Padre José Taronjí. In a book published in 1877 on the social and religious state of the island of Majorca, Taronjí devoted a complete chapter to *La Fee Triunfante* and its author, subjecting it to a searching analysis from the point of view of religion. Writing of the victims of the Inquisition, he says that "as they were rich, certain coveted persons provoked persecution against them in order to appropriate their great wealth . . . '*for*,' says Garau, '*to find some of them with very fat estates and much money*.' Instead of being the victim of their satanic intrigue, the tribunal of the Inquisition was the author."

In 1755, the Inquisition also issued a list of all those

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iii, p. 149.

persons condemned by the Tribunal for heresy, from the year 1645, together with their sentences, so that the memory of their past crime of apostasy and its punishment, be kept alive. This list was entitled: "Account of the *Sambenitos* that have been placed and renovated in this year of 1755 in the Cloisters of the Royal Monastery of Santo Domingo of this City of Palma, for the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the Kingdom of Majorca, of offenders relaxed and reconciled by the same Tribunal since the year 1645." It contains two hundred and seventy-eight names, including some few who were not Judaizers. The first one on the list is a Dutchman named Jan Anhelont, accused of being a Lutheran heretic, but being absent, his effigy was burned in his stead. Number two was a Mahometan, also absent and burned in effigy, and the list includes in all, seven protestants and sixteen Mahometans, relaxed and reconciled; all the rest were descendants of the Jews. This *Relacion de los Sambenitos* terminated with the following declaration: "All the prisoners contained in this account, have been publicly condemned by this Holy Office as formal heretics. All their property confiscated and applied to the Royal Treasury; declared disqualified and unfit to hold or obtain dignities or favours, ecclesiastical or secular, nor other public offices or honours. Nor can they wear gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, nor coral, camlet, fine cloth, nor ride on horseback, nor carry arms, nor exercise or do any other things that by common right, law and decrees of these kingdoms and instructions of the Holy Office are prohibited to similar disqualified persons. This prohibition is extended to the sons and daughters of women relaxed, and to men relaxed until their grandchildren in male line. Condemning likewise, the memory of the defunct relaxed

in effigy, ordering their bones to be disinterred and delivered to justice and the secular arm, that they be burned and reduced to ashes. All titles on their tombstones or escutcheons placed or painted on any part whatsoever, be removed and effaced in such a manner that no memory of them remains on the face of the earth but that of their sentence and execution." Although it is stated that the property confiscated was "applied to the Royal Treasury," there is strong evidence that the Royal Treasury did not receive its proportion of the proceeds. After the *autos-de-fé* of 1679, the Royal Treasury was absolutely done out of its share, in spite of strong letters and protests from the King and his procurators.[1]

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the Holy Office had lost much of its influence and its activities had greatly relaxed. A period of calm set in after the events of 1678 to 1691 and the Tribunal showed less zeal. Nevertheless occasional visits were made to different parts of the island, for the better preservation of the purity of the faith and the discovery of possible heresy. These visits were always preceded by the publication of an Edict, or proclamation, in the town to be visited, calling upon all to denounce heretics, conversos and others guilty of "idolatrous practices." Padre José Rullan quaintly remarks, in 1875,[2] that "One of those documents preserved in the archives of the Corte Real, and published in our parish (Sóller) in the middle of last century, gives us an idea of the ridiculous ceremonies practised by the sectarians of those false religions, and move us to compassion to think that in times so recent, there were men who practised a cult so absurd." He reproduced the document *in extenso*.[3] It is far too long

[1] Document 254; Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*
[2] Rullan, *Hist. de Sóller*, vol. ii, p. 447.
[3] Idem, pp. 963–973.

to reprint here, for it occupies ten closely printed octavo pages, but it is indispensable to our history to give a short summary of its contents. This "Edict of the Inquisition" is dated February 16, 1735, and after a long preamble demands the denunciation of: Any persons, living, present, absent or defunct, who have expressed heretical opinions against what is preached and taught by the Holy Mother Roman Church; or who have uttered scandalous or blasphemous words. Or any person or persons who observe the law of Moses and put on clean clothes on the sabbath, and do no work until the evening of that day, and who wash the blood from meat that is for food. Or who have eaten meat during Lent or on other prohibited days, without necessity, holding and believing that they can do so without sinning; or who have fasted on the great day of Pardon; or who say prayers of the Jews; or who observe any of the other fast days of the Jews; or who recite prayers in Hebrew. Or who give names of Jews to children born, or who, after baptism, pour oil on them; or who marry their sons in the Jewish manner. Or who, when a person dies, perform Jewish ceremonies; or any person who has said that the law of Moses is as good as that of our Redeemer Jesus Christ.

Or any persons who have said that the sect of Mahomet is good, and that no other can enter Paradise, and that Jesus Christ is not God, but Prophet; or who have observed any rites or ceremonies of the sect of Mahomet; or who have eaten meat on days prohibited by the Holy Mother Church saying that it is no sin; and who recite Vismalea; or who give Moorish names to their sons; or who have said that Mahomet is the messenger of God; or who swear by the *Alquible* or have said *Alaymincula*; or who have observed *Romadan*, giving alms

to the poor, neither eating nor drinking all the day, until nightfall; or who have observed *Alguadoc*, cleaning all the body, saying certain words in Arabic; or who say the prayer of the *Anduliley Cololaguha* or other prayers of the Moors; and who do not eat pig, nor drink wine; who sing songs of the Moors, or do Zambrats or Leylas with prohibited instruments; or who keep the five commandments of Mahomet, etc., etc.; or any person or persons who pass over to Barbary and renounce our holy Catholic Faith, or to other parts or places outside these kingdoms, to become Jews or Lutherans or Moors, or other reproved sect.

If you know that any person or persons have said, hold and believe that the false and damned sect (*damnade secta*) of Martin Luther is good; or have believed and approved of any opinion or opinions of those, saying that it is not necessary to confess to the priest, that to confess to God suffices; that neither the Pope nor the priests have power to pardon sins; that the consecrated Host is not the true body of Our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is not necessary to pray to the Saints; that there should not be images in the churches; and that there is no Purgatory; that baptism suffices for salvation; and that the Pope has no power to give indulgences, pardons or Bulls; etc., etc.

Or any person or persons, alive or dead, who have said that only the mental or silent prayer is of Divine precept, and that it includes all others; that oral prayer is of little importance; that the servants of God should not work or be employed in corporal occupations; or who say words against the sacred state of matrimony; etc.

Or any confessor or confessors, chaplains, monks or other religious person, of whatever rank or condition, who in the act of confession, or before or after, have

solicited the confessed, provoking them with dishonest acts or words, with the excuse of confessing; or make confession or the confessional or any other customary place to confess, the occasion to hold illicit and dishonest conversation or meetings, etc.

It further includes all persons who practise sorcery and witchcraft; or any persons who have books of the sect and opinions of Martin Luther, Mahomet, Bibles, or any others censured by the Holy Office of the Inquisition; or who have said that any persons condemned by the Holy Office were innocent and died Martyrs; or that their sons have occupied public offices or wore prohibited clothes or precious stones, etc. It terminates by stating that in order to bring the aforesaid to the notice of all, and that nobody can plead ignorance, the present proclamation is ordered to be published and posted.

The above is but a brief summary, for the document enters into a mass of detail concerning each class of heresy; even ecclesiastics were not forgotten and although immorality, only, is indicated, heresy existed among them also. Padre Rullan admits that "if the Inquisition had much good in its essence it also had much bad in its form," but adds that this "is a defect from which all human institutions suffer"; he says further, that "we know that heresy penetrated also in the cloisters of many monasteries of Majorca,[1] for, among the condemnations pronounced by the Reverend P. Provincial of Observants of Majorca, for crimes committed by ecclesiastics of *his* order, from the year 1619 to 1624, there are six for apostasy." Notwithstanding such demonstrations on the part of the Inquisition, it is certain that its activities were greatly relaxed, for we now know that Jews lived

[1] Rullan, *Hist. de Sóller*, vol. ii, p. 448 and note 1.

in Majorca in the eighteenth century. The tribunal continued, however, in a dilatory manner, existing on its past renown for zeal and on wealth plundered. In course of time, the political situation in Spain changed, and in 1813 the cortes decreed the suppression of the Inquisition all over Spain, and on April 25th of that year, the gates of the cells of the Inquisition of Majorca were thrown open, and the prisoners set free. Fanaticism, however, is tenacious, and when, the following year, the despotic government was re-established in Spain, the King re-established the Inquisition. The *sambenitos*, which had been carefully packed away, instead of being destroyed, were once more brought out and exposed; the effigies of the condemned for heresy were renovated, and again exhibited to the public view, to perpetuate the infamy of heretics and their "idolatrous practises." Pictures of *autos-de-fé* depicting the agonies of victims burning alive, and bearing their names, some with the skull and cross-bones to indicate that the persons depicted were exhumed and then burned, so that their crime be remembered for ever and their descendants scorned and despised. But the last hours of the Holy Office were approaching. The war of independence against Napoleon, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had a certain intellectual result, for the presence of so many English and French in the peninsula produced a beneficial enlightening influence, but which, unfortunately, did not reach Majorca, save where it affected the general political situation. In 1820, the new Constitution was formed which, on March 7th, the King swore to observe; this ordered the final abolition of the Inquisition throughout Spain, and on the 16th of the same month the news arrived in Majorca, and was received with great enthusiasm. The demolition of the magnificent and sumptuous

building, with its terrible prisons and torture cells, was commenced on June 9, 1823, and continued until it was razed to the ground, and a fish-market was built on the site!

Much, but not enough, has been written in condemnation of the Modern Inquisition. Enough will never be written, for the progress and development of every civilising influence over the human race was retarded for so many centuries by its villainous methods. Although torture was employed on criminals in the Middle Ages, the Inquisition exercised it in the name of religion, and besides, what was admitted in the Middle Ages, is unpardonable in later times. The Inquisition not only continued the use of torture, but even utilised modern inventions to render it more terrible. The Rev. H. Christmas published, in 1851, a document illustrating this. It is "A Report of the Demolition of the Palace of the Inquisition at Madrid, made by Colonel Lemanoir of the 9th Regiment of Polish Lancers, in the year 1809," and indicates some of the inventions used; describes the cells and the victims found there, and presents us with a vivid account of the building. The document is reproduced in the Appendix.[1]

The installation and methods of the Modern Inquisition in relation to the dictates of the christian religion, has been a subject of much discussion, but the cause would appear to be excessive fanaticism. Excessive fanaticism, whether religious or political, is a dangerous mental disease, and is capable of developing into insanity in its worst form. That human passions could descend

[1] Christmas (Rev. H.), *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean*, etc., 3 vols. 1851. Vol. i, pp. 320–324. As no trace can be found of the original document or of the original text, and as the Rev. H. Christmas does not state the source from which he copied it, I reproduce it in the Appendix without any guarantee as to its authenticity.—AUTHOR.

to such depths is incomprehensible from the standpoint of religion, for should not religion be a moral guide for the conduct of life, and for the development of the human intellect? Observance of the dictates of Christianity could never have produced the Inquisition, but the prostitution of the greatest good can produce the greatest evil. Presuming the object of the Catholic Church in establishing the Inquisition was sincerely to propagate the ideals of the catholic religion, it is impossible to conciliate the object with the means employed to attain it. All efforts for the attainment of an ideal, in its complete sense, must always command admiration and respect, for an ideal is the perfection of an idea destined for good, either individual or collective, even if misguided. The Catholic Church desired to convince others that its ideal of life was the most perfect, and its original sincerity cannot be doubted. That the basic ideal was similar, if not identical, with other religious beliefs, was lost sight of in the mass of ritual, ceremonial and other additions, and nothing would be admitted save the unconditional acceptance of the ideal with all its ritual, ceremonial and additional clothing. Notwithstanding this, absolute sincerity, originally, must be admitted, and consequently, command our admiration and respect. Condemnation lies in the means employed to attain the object, even after consideration is allowed for the customs of the age. That an ideal should permit such means cannot be accepted. Sincerity on the part of those who preached this ideal cannot be doubted; how, then, is it possible to accord or explain the iniquitous and unreligious means employed with the teachings of the ideal to be attained? It is a paradox which forms a curious psychological problem. All religious belief and sentiment presents a curious psycho-

logical aspect, but here is a paradox difficult of explanation. The Jesuit device that the end justifies the means may afford the explanation but it cannot be justified by the doctrine of the ideal.

Among the numerous historians who have written on the Inquisition apologists have come forth at different times attempting to justify its existence. In 1877, the same year that Padre Taronjí issued his book, J. M. Ortiz y Lara, Professor of Metaphysics of the University of Madrid, published a work in defence of the Tribunal.[1] He claims that the Inquisition saved Spain from many misfortunes that overcame the rest of Europe. In preserving religious unity it prevented wars of religion such as the Thirty Years War, the civil wars of France, England and Flanders; massacres such as those of St. Bartholomew, of Merindol and of the Cevennes; that it prevented murders such as those of Mary Stuart, Henry IV, Charles I and the Prince of Orange, etc. He further informs us that during the last three centuries, Spain has enjoyed, thanks to the Inquisition, a peace and felicity unknown to the other European nations. "The sacrifice of the present generations," he says, "to the problematical happiness of future generations might well enter into the calculations of some philosopher, but not into the calculations of legislators worthy of the name." Elsewhere he writes: "A remarkable thing! The enemies of the Inquisition . . . were and are enemies of religion. It is one of the greatest glories of that holy institution. What glory in fact so brilliant! What a sign so sure of the excellence, in the eyes of the faithful, of catholic doctrines and institutions, as to be calumniated and scoffed by men who fear not God nor know even the laws of modesty." It is difficult to reply seriously to

[1] Ortiz y Lara, *La Inquisicion*, Madrid, 1877.

such statements. This book was reprinted in 1931, but without any publisher's name.

Torres de Castilla paints another picture: "This new Inquisition founded by the Catholic Monarchs in 1481 was not definitely abolished until 1820. . . . Between both dates passed three hundred and thirty-nine years of horrors that a hundred volumes would not suffice to relate, and under the pretext of religion, caused more ruin, more tears to flow, and more shedding of blood, than the wars and conquests the most terrible and disastrous for humanity. The Spanish Inquisition was the frightful abortion, the most perfect incarnation of fanaticism, and its carnage should be set forth in all its terrible aspect, to each new generation."[1]

Dr. H. C. Lea, the most important historian of the Inquisition up to the present day, arrives at the following conclusion: "After all, the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself; he may inflict misery but, in due time, that misery recoils on him or his descendants and the full penalty is exacted with interest. Never has the attempt been made so thoroughly, so continuously or with such means of success as in Spain, and never has the consequent retribution been so palpable and so severe. The sins of the fathers have been visited on the children and the end is not yet."[2] "The vicissitudes endured by the Jewish race, from the period when Christianity became dominant, may well be a subject of pride to the Hebrew and of shame to the christian. The annals of mankind afford no more brilliant instance of steadfastness under adversity, of unconquerable strength through centuries

[1] Torres de Castilla, *Hist. de las Persec. relig. y polit.*, vol. i, pp. 632–633.
[2] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. iv, p. 533.

of hopeless oppression, of inexhaustible elasticity in recuperating from apparent destruction, and of conscientious adherence to a faith whose only portion in this life was contempt and suffering. Nor does the long record of human perversity present a more damning illustration of the facility with which the evil passions of man can justify themselves with the pretext of duty, than the manner in which the Church, assuming to present Him who died to redeem mankind, deliberately planted the seeds of intolerance and persecution and assiduously cultivated the harvest for nearly fifteen hundred years."[1]

But one more reflection from a contemporary apologist. Writing of Isabella the Catholic and the Inquisition, he says: "Isabel would have been greatly astonished if some prophetic angel had lifted a corner of the curtain of futurity and showed her the modern denunciations, sincere or pharisaical, of the court that she believed so necessary and so beneficent. She would have read that the Inquisition was responsible for almost all the imaginable ills of Spain except perhaps the cold winters and the hot summers; that it killed true religion, stifled literature and art, kept the people ignorant and brutal, crippled commerce and industry."[2] The fact that Isabel believed the Inquisition "so necessary and so beneficent," proves her want of foresight and logical reasoning, the great defect in her character, which ranked her below James I of Aragon and Majorca as a monarch. It is, indeed, sad to state that every word of this is true, but there are no "pharisaical" denunciations, all are sincere; there is one error. It kept the people ignorant, true, but it *made* them brutal. Every word is true, even in-

[1] Lea, *Hist. of Inquis.*, vol. i, p. 35.
[2] Walsh, *Isabel of Spain*, London, 1931, p. 285.

cluding the cold winters and hot summers, for the winters were, in truth, made colder and the summers hotter, for the poor unfortunates perishing in the cells of the Inquisition.

"To put a heretic to death is an unpardonable crime." (Saint John Chrysostom.)

"Use against heretics the spiritual sword of excommunication, and if this does not prove effective, use the material sword." (Pope Innocent III to the French Bishops, in 1198.)[1]

There exist abundance of similar contradictions of divergent opinions uttered by the "learned Doctors." Which is correct? That which is most convenient for the moment is adopted, hence both are correct and both useful.

1 Walsh, *Isabel of Spain*, pp. 229, 230.

CHAPTER V

THE STATUS OF THE CONVERSOS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE OF MAJORCA—CHARTER OF LIBERTY GRANTED BY CARLOS III

THE extinction of professed Jews caused by their forced conversion in 1435, created a new class among the population of Majorca. The first sentiments exhibited towards them were of enthusiasm and commiseration; enthusiasm for the great strides made toward "the advancement of the work of the Church," and commiseration for the great sufferings endured. During the first generations after the great event the conversos enjoyed considerable liberty, and they devoted themselves with their customary ardour to various occupations, particularly as tailors; many prospered, and some few actually succeeded in attaining important civic positions.[1] Recognition of their industrious activity and their importance in the commercial life of the island, forced itself upon the Majorcan authorities, and in 1463 it was proposed to invite fifty families, who had sailed from Valencia *en route* for Sicily, to settle in Majorca, and special privileges were offered to induce them to do so.

The conversos were, however, closely watched by the inquisitors, and the slightest laxity or lapse was severely punished; their prosperity was not viewed with a favourable eye by the Church and intercourse with the general population was, by degrees, discouraged. In the course of time, they found themselves more and more

[1] Quadrado, *Las Islas Baleares*, p. 314.

deserted and eventually shunned and abandoned; they were gradually forced to gather together in their old quarter of the *Call* and live apart. The feeling that had existed for so many generations towards the inhabitants of the *Call*, was resuscitated with facility, although its suppression could have been speedily achieved by ecclesiastical action to the great advantage of the Church. The incorporation of the new class in the general population was well received by the civil authorities, but the ecclesiastical authorities were not so tranquil. They became seized with the fear that the new christians might exercise a contaminating influence over the old christians, and preventive measures were taken to that end. The result of alienating the friendly disposition of the people towards the conversos, and gradually forcing the latter back to their old *Call* was fatal; the unfounded fear defeated the chief object in another direction. It prevented all possibility of them becoming sincere catholics by keeping alive the remembrance of their own faith, being in continual contact with memories of the past, and prevented that free and unrestrained intercourse with the old christians, who, on the contrary, could have exercised a great influence on their new co-religionists, so necessary to the new situation created.

It would be natural to suppose that the newly converted would be received with all kindness, consideration and encouragement, to impress them favourably with the teachings of their newly adopted faith and so become reconciled to the difference of religious thought. Although instruction was afforded, no means were taken to propitiate the conversos by gradual measures; they were expected to accept immediately everything with the faith and enthusiasm of old christians, including all the ceremonial that appeared to them ridiculous and profane.

The impossible was demanded. The predominant idea of the Church appears to have been to protect the faithful from possible infection. The only apparent result of such expedients was to alienate mutual sympathy between the old and new christians, and to maintain in the latter, the ancient religion of their ancestors. Not only was nothing done to induce them to take kindly to the faith forced upon them, but everything was done to arouse antagonistic sentiment against it.

In this manner the conversos formed a separate class as they did before their conversion, the only change was in name; previously they were Jews, now they were conversos or new christians. The Jew is naturally a thinker, particularly on philosophical and theological subjects, and every Jew, in all ages, has been accustomed to think and reason for himself, more so in the past than at the present time. The Catholic Church prohibits exhaustive study of the foundations of religious belief by the layman in general, whose knowledge of his faith is derived from what the Church considers he should know, and no more; all beyond that is prohibited. The Jews, on the contrary, demand that all should be well versed in the Scriptures which form the fundamental basis of their belief, and more exhaustive study by all desiring it, is strongly encouraged. In the fifteenth century this would have had a far greater influence than at the present day, when the catholic prohibition can be easily relaxed or, as frequently occurs, is ignored; but the ecclesiastics of that period feared that the education and learning of the Jews would prove a strong obstacle to sincere conversion. It is possible that for this reason they took no measures to achieve it, and they vented their rancour, caused by their presumed inability, in fostering animosity against the recalcitrants. Have

we not seen how, later in 1691, a soap-maker was too powerful in his learning for a "learned Doctor" of the Church?

It is certain, however, that not very many years after their conversion, the new christians were considered as a class apart, treated as such and avoided, thus obstructing their absorption by catholicism for centuries. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the conversos reverted to their old religion for the comfort and consolation denied to them by the new. As years passed, the class distinction became more and more defined, and in 1488 we find four ecclesiastics petitioning the jurados to prohibit a Jew named Isac from practising medicine, basing their requests on the Constitutions of Ferdinand I, and asking that those Constitutions be brought into force.[1] (14) The installation of the Modern Inquisition brought to light the numbers of conversos who had reverted to Judaism, the natural result of the treatment meted out to them, and which aggravated the opprobrium in which they were held. This led, eventually, to the conversos being excluded from all social life and even from all guilds and commercial corporations, and the statutes of purity (*Estatutos de Limpieza*) were later instituted. These statutes of purity prohibited, in addition, the entrance into the universities and other institutions of the sons and grandsons of all condemned and sentenced by the Inquisition.[2] In the second half of the seventeenth century, the descendants of the conversos were admitted, however, to the silk-weavers' guild, but it did not succeed, and it was found necessary

[1] *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. ix, 1902, pp. 284–289.

[2] Some of these laws existed until 1860, when the Cortes abolished the so-called purity of blood (Taronjí, p. 278), although the guilds are supposed to have been completely dissolved in 1835. (Ramonell, *Les Gremios en Mallorca.* —B.S.A.L., vol. i, No. 3, p. 4.)

to form two corporations of silk-weavers, one for the pure blood and the other for the descendants of the Jews, for "experience had taught them that they could not hold their meetings without grave and pernicious discord."

It was about this time that the descendants of the conversos received the appellation of *chuetas* or *chueytas*, which is derived from the word *xuhita* or *xuheta*, meaning a little Jew applied as a term of contempt or derision (the letter *x* in Majorcan or Catalan, is pronounced like *j*). A second, but incorrect, explanation of the origin of the word is from *chuya* meaning rind of pork, in allusion to the Jews' abstinence from the flesh of the pig; this name of derision still exists at the present day.

A century later (1770), the only trades and occupations the *chuetas* were allowed to pursue were those of silversmith, silk-weaver, glove maker, furrier, manufacturer of ribbons, hawker and shop-keeper; all others were prohibited to them. They were banned from the army and navy, and all offices of public service were closed to them. Inter-marriage with other families was impossible, for no priest would consent to perform the marriage ceremony. All intercourse between the old and new christians was confined to strict necessities; shunned, despised, insulted and ill-treated, the descendants of the old conversos to catholicism were condemned to live by themselves as in ancient times, enclosed within the walls of the ancient *Call*. In truth, catholicism did not bring them much good, nor did it alleviate the burden of their existence. The republication of Garau's book, *La Fee Triunfante*, in 1755, and the issue of the *Relacion de los Sambenitos* in the same year, by order of the Church, intensified the feeling against the *chuetas*, and a day arrived when the sense of undeserved injury and wrong,

endured for so many generations, rebelled against this injustice. In the year 1773, a petition was presented to the King, Carlos III, begging the intervention of his authority on behalf of the despised class; to protect them from insult, injury and injustice; they supplicated that they should be treated as all other subjects of the kingdom, and as such, be allowed to exercise any profession they desired and liberty to enjoy all public offices and honours, should they possess the ability to attain them. In short, they asked for what they had every right to demand; the legal recognition of full liberty that all other subjects of the Crown possessed. The petition was presented by Juan Bonnin, Tomás Aguiló, Tomás Cortés, Francisco Forteza, Bernardo Aguiló and Domingo Cortés, "natives of Majorca, Deputies of others called vulgarly of the *Barrio of the Calle* of Hebrew extraction (distant by at least the fourth degree), but Spaniards by nationality and Catholics by faith, by divine mercy."

Following the customary procedure in such cases, the various civil and ecclesiastical bodies of Majorca were invited to express their opinion for or against the Petition, and the *Audiencia* (Court of Justice) was asked to furnish details of any existing laws concerning the conversos, for or against their request. As was to be expected, the Petition of the "new christians" did not find favour with the local authorities; it aroused acute antagonism and bitter discussion. All kinds of pretexts were employed to cause delay in the hope that the matter would be finally dropped, but the petitioners were determined to pursue their legitimate claim to the end. The Audiencia forwarded its reply the following year (1774), which contained nothing of any importance against the Petition, but pages were filled with quotations

against the Jews, many extracted from Garau's book, *La Fee Triunfante*. All that could be found were some judgments against the Jews, *previous* to the date of their conversion and of their general expulsion from Spain. The Municipality, Ecclesiastical Chapter and the University of Palma, did not send their rejoinder until 1778, five years later, which was then printed and published as a *papel en derecho*. (15) Immediately afterwards, the advocate for the petitioners, Don Josef Linares Montefrio, published the complete text of the Petition and his Manifesto supporting it. (16) Of the forty-one paragraphs contained in the Petition itself, the following only are of particular interest to us:

1. They have tolerated for much time, with unutterable patience, their almost total exclusion from caste, honours, public offices and advantages, in which any native vassal should participate, who is of good behaviour in both the Ecclesiastical and Secular States; they support, at the same time, the contributions, services, establishments and other public obligations, with the only reward that the populace is permitted to apply to them the insulting name of *chueta*, allusive of their origin . . . with the most humble and faithful submission, they supplicate a remedy for these offences, confident in the Royal clemency of Carlos the Pious, and in the rectitude of the most just of Kings.

2. The aversion of Catholics for Sects that oppose in any manner the dogmas of their Religion, is very ancient and general, and it is very just; but all things have their limit on earth. It abhors a contrary religion, but not always what it gives birth to. That principle so beneficent to humanity and so consistent with reason, concerns the Church and the Republic. If a Moor, Jew, Gentile or Heretic converted to our Holy Faith has always to

be treated as a stranger and with contempt or ignominy because of his previous faith, it is to be feared that many will abandon their salvation for those worldly considerations.

3. If irreprehensible conduct, faithful service, a disposition full of piety, do not suffice to gain esteem, equal to other members of a community, in order to participate in the advantages as in the disadvantages, how many, in spite of themselves, will abandon their native land, that they consider ungrateful to its obedient children? At least, despairing of esteem and advancement (that every man of intelligence longs for his house and family) they will become idle and discouraged persons, detrimental to the commerce, agriculture, population, and the other forces of the State.

4. This is, Sire, the unhappy lot of more than 300 families of your Kingdom of Majorca, and it is a notorious injustice done to them, in offence of Religion and of the Crown. In proof of which the long statement of quotations and facts, in addition to documents justifying their christian and civil conduct, is considered indispensable.

15. In their behaviour and business affairs, they have acted lawfully, as is certified by the Accountant of the Customs, the Actuary of Tobaccos and the Commercial and Money Brokers of this Capital. To their proved integrity they owe the confidence placed in them, to have held the custody of the dies and weights of silver for many years, without the slightest fault having been found in the verification of their assays or in their fidelity to this public interest.

17. In the Marine service, military drafts and billets, they are and always have been so punctual that no other citizen excels them, meriting special mention on the

certificate of the Escribano of Marine, who states that he has never experienced any desertion from the Royal Service by the individuals called, of the *Calle*, whom the Petitioners represent.

20. As brothers of the poor of the island, they willingly contributed, in the year 1750, aid distributed to relieve the misery; and, as good gentlemen, they assisted, in the year 1765, with sums that they voluntarily expended for the maintenance of roads for the public utility of its inhabitants.

21. Finally, your Captain General of this Kingdom certifies to the peaceful and good conduct of the Supplicants and the other individuals they represent, affirming that he has never had the slightest complaint against them during all the term of his government, as recorded in the same certificates authorised by the Sindic-Archivist of the City and by the Escribano of the Municipality, that accompany this respectful request.

33. If equity, justice and policy create equality among vassals of the same Prince, governed by one law and natives of the same Kingdom, notwithstanding difference of religion, how much more equal should be the converted united with the others by Baptism? And how much more those who, like the Supplicants, are christians by birth, as were their parents and grandparents, since the year 1435 . . .? For which they should not be called new christians, neophites, or, as they say in Majorca, *cheutas*, without obvious insult. And finally, how much more equal should be those who have given so much, and such well-known proofs of loyalty, obedience, religion and public service, that they can serve as models for the best subjects.

41. It is indispensable that the powerful arm of Y.M., with his natural Paternal Clemency and all his

Royal authority, declare the Petitioners to be equal in all with the other loyal subjects and good men of these Dominions, ordering the publication of a Law by which he vouchsafes to decide that the Petitioners, those represented by them, their children and kinsmen, and all other christians, although descendants of infidels, being removed by the third or fourth degree and being of good conduct and proved, can be admitted in all the Guilds, Commercial Tribunals and other Corporations of Artisans, Tradesmen and professions, occupations of offices, from which they have been excluded until the present time, solely on account of their origin; and to enjoy all the honours and ranks of which they may prove worthy, as the other old christians and good men, and as the Royal Law previously ordered; at the same time prohibiting to designate them with the insulting name of *chuetas*, of the *Calle*, or any other appellation or taunt allusive of their origin, under severe penalties, the execution of which, the Justices of these Kingdoms be charged to rigorously enforce. . . .

The Manifesto by their advocate, Josef Linares Montefrio, justifying the request, states the case at greater length, and replies to the arguments of the opposing authorities, supported by numerous quotations from dignitaries of the Church and ecclesiastical authorities.

The Manifesto of the City, Ecclesiastical Chapter and the University of Palma, ruthlessly opposed all satisfaction being granted to the request of the descendants of the Jews. It is a lengthy document occupying seventy-four printed pages, folio size. Citations are also quoted from the Canonical Laws ,Papal Bulls, State laws, writings by learned doctors of the Church, etc., dating from the fifth century onwards; Padre Francisco Garau received special attention, and is quoted extensively. An insight

into the manner in which the matter was treated by the opposing authorities will be obtained from the headings of the subdivisions: Chapter I, Epitome of the Proceedings. On the Fundamental Principle of this Opposition. Universal Legislation on this matter. Chapter II, Statement of the Texts, Facts and arguments of the City, Chapter and University, and their apology. (i.) On the texts that in general, those Corporations allege in their favour. (ii.) Opposition of the University under pretext of the Statutes of Purity (*Estatutos de Limpieza*). (iii.) On the suspicion against the conversos caused by their recidivation. (iv.) On the suspicion of the tendency and conduct of the conversos and their descendants. (v.) On the punishment and *perpetual* exclusion of the Hebrews from all *public* offices.

The resuscitation of the *Estatutos de Limpieza* by the University was feeble and illegal, for those statutes applied only to the sons and grandsons of those sentenced by the Inquisition. Apart from the long and tedious discussion produced by quotations and counter-quotations from numerous ecclesiastical writers, certain objections brought forward in the *Papel en Derecho* are interesting. The new christians are accused of living *voluntarily* among themselves and forming a separate group from the rest of the population. In proof of which it is alleged that the conversos never went to the hospital to receive medical aid in case of sickness; that they possessed a common fund which provided all necessities and paid for the doctor, surgeon and apothecary, within the quarter.[1] It will be remembered that a similar fund was founded as early as 1404, when, after the massacre of 1391, they despaired of receiving the aid promised to them by the municipal authorities.

[1] *Papel en Derecho*, fol. 3.

"In fact, in the Kingdom of Majorca, in this same City of Palma, can be seen the spark, so to speak, of the fire that burns in all Majorcans at the thought of granting equality with themselves, to those of the *Calle*, even in things of small importance." In support of which is cited the recent litigation between the Guild of Tailors and Rafael Cortés, who was refused admission to the guild on account of his origin. The first hearing terminated in favour of the guild, but on appeal, judgment was given in favour of Cortés. The guild then informed the city authorities that, if there was no remedy, it preferred to be dissolved than to admit a descendant of the Jews. Under the title of "Universal Legislation on this matter," great prominence is given to the fact that the descendants of the Jews always lived together instead of mixing freely with the other inhabitants and becoming absorbed by them. This argument is brought forward to prove the insincerity of their conversion, but no mention is made of the influence which forced them to live apart. In the Spanish peninsula, it is stated, any one converso became speedily absorbed in the general population, so that his origin vanished, leaving no trace, but in Majorca it was different, for there were so many.[1] The principle is the same. Given the same liberty as one individual person in the peninsula, many persons in Majorca could have been absorbed in time, but their absorption by the population was prohibited. Prejudice against them was actively sustained and betrothals between them and the old christians *were declared null by the Vicars-General*;[2] how then could absorption be accomplished? In the peninsula, Majorcan insularity did not exist, nor ever has existed, and prejudice never attained the unassailable power that it did

[1] *Papel en Derecho*, fol. 12

[2] Idem, fol. 6.

on the small island. The following is another striking example of the arguments employed by the opponents: "Supposing we place an individual of the *Calle* in one of the administrations of the City, or in a canonry or in a professorship of the university, how is it possible that his colleagues treat him with the esteem and regard which is due to his position, if they are all of the firm opinion, even it be imagination, that the rank is contaminated, and that their colleague is injurious to them? Those who have to obey or to honour or esteem, how can they respect one who the previous day they looked upon as an inferior and, furthermore, as despicable? If one of pure blood on whom fortune has sparingly bestowed her favours, has his brilliancy scorned in a distinguished profession, what will be the position of one who all know counts among his ancestors a Jew, a Moor, or a condemned?"[1] These are specimens of the arguments produced in opposition to the petition; nevertheless, the opposing authorities presented an alternative suggestion. They suggested that instead of granting to the petitioners their demands, "lenient and indirect measures be adopted, to prepare the minds of the Majorcans, so that time can efface from their hearts the prejudice against those of the *Calle*."[2] There is a charming simplicity about this proposition. The proposition arrived three hundred years too late. If three centuries earlier, when the situation was most favourable, such measures had been adopted, the necessity for the present petition would never have existed. It can even be said, that three centuries earlier such measures were not required, but what was then necessary, was the *prevention of contrary measures*.

The whole question was one of great importance, for the decision had to conciliate the just demands of a

[1] *Papel en Derecho*, fols. 22–23. [2] Idem, fol. 25.

most useful class of citizens with the ancient and inveterate prejudices of the remainder; that the importance of the question was fully appreciated by the King's Council is proved by the exhaustive enquiries it demanded and the long deliberations devoted to it. But time passed and no decision was arrived at. On January 15, 1780, Rafael Cortés presented a second petition in the name of the "*individuals of the Calle*," asking that they be declared equal to the others, and referring to all the documents previously exhibited, but still no reply. Eventually, on September 18, 1781, he again insisted, reminding the Council that they had waited nine years in vain for a favourable decision to their suit. But the opposing forces were not idle and delays were caused under all sorts of pretences. The last effort they made was in October, 1782, when the Fiscal of the Audiencia presented a report, in which he proposed to demolish certain buildings and streets which, he said, were badly constructed and contrary to the law of the kingdom, and that hindered proper police control and organisation; the quarter of the *chuetas* was comprised in that part to be demolished. It then proposed to transfer all the inhabitants of the *Calle* to the newly conquered island of Minorca, as being an appropriate place, for it was originally inhabited by Jews. The report, however, contained an unnecessary accumulation of charges against the despised class, which had little concern with the subject of the project, but which aroused strong suspicion that it was a simple pretext to send them out of the island before the Council decided on the much debated question of their equality with the other inhabitants.[1] The only effect of this effort was to hasten the

[1] Paz (Julian), *Reclam. de los Mallorquines llamados de la Calle*, etc.—Rev. de Arch., Biblio. y Museos. 3a época, año x, 1907.

decision of the Council, which was determined in December of the same year.

The result of the deliberations of the Royal Council was wholly favourable to the descendants of the conversos. In 1782, the King issued a Royal Decree granting all that was asked: "I decide and order that the individuals of the quarter of the *Calle* not only be not prevented from inhabiting any other part whatsoever of the City of Palma or the island of Majorca, but that they be favoured and all protection afforded to them; that any archway, gate or other indication that distinguished them from the rest of the population be demolished, so that no vestige remains. That it is prohibited to insult or ill-treat the said individuals, or to call them by odious or contemptuous names, and still less, Jews or Hebrews and *chuetas*, or to use any offensive appellation whatever; under the penalty for those who violate this decree of four years in a fortress if of rank; as many in the arsenals if they are not, and eight years in the marine if under age." The Bishop, Ecclesiastical Chapter, the City, University, the secular clergy and the Audiencia, all were called upon to use their influence for the better treatment of the "individuals of the *Calle*," and to develop their union and good relations with the other inhabitants. A very bitter pill to swallow, and the Royal Council wisely allowed time for its absorption. On October 9, 1785, a second decree granted to the descendants of the conversos the right to all service "in the army and royal navy and any other service of the State," and the King ordered all military inspectors, commanders of the navy, commissaries, officials of finance and others, to respect and observe this decree. The following year, 1786, a proclamation was published in Majorca, by Royal Order, announcing

that no person can insult the individuals called *of the Calle*, and that they could enter into the service of the King;[1] two years later a second proclamation ordered that "the descendants of the ancient Israelites must not be ridiculed nor insulted" and that they could practise all occupations or trades.[2] These decrees constitute the great Charter of Liberty of the descendants of the converted Jews of Majorca.

The legal victory of the *individuals of the Calle* did not alleviate their condition; on the contrary, it only served to render their opponents more bitter against them. The supervision of the government of Majorca by the central government, had always presented great difficulty, due partly to its detached situation. The fanatical ignorance and narrow-mindedness of the islanders blinded them to all that exceeded the limited range of their mental vision, and they did not hesitate to disobey the laws of the land or royal decrees when in conflict with their deep-rooted prejudices. The Royal Decree was announced at a heated meeting of the municipality, and it was decided to disregard it. One old councillor rose and said in a semi-serious tone: "Gentlemen, do not argue; we can govern *these people* as we wish, providing we do not touch their women or their purse,"[3] and the edict was, for all practical purposes, relegated to the waste-paper basket; nothing changed, but the knowledge of their legal right was a great moral support to the oppressed class. Political events, however, influenced the situation in a greater degree than either laws or royal edicts. The war against France in 1808 necessitated calling up men from all parts of the provinces, and for the first time, the *Sagell* quarter contributed to

[1] *Cron. Mayor.*, p. 588. [2] Idem, p. 589.
[3] Taronjí, *Algo sobre el Estado Religioso*, etc., p. 254.

the military drafts. But the valour of the ancient Majorcans appeared to have died out, for when, February 22, 1809, one of the two battalions that formed the Provincial Regiment, was ordered to embark for Spain, it refused, declared itself in mutiny, and left the barracks with disorderly cries. Once again, as in former times, the inhabitants of the *Sagell* were the victims. The rumour was circulated among the mutineers, nobody knew by whom, as in other ages, that they of the *Calle* were the cause of the war, and, led by occult influence, a rush was made for the *barrio*.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the quarter of the *Sagell* did not occupy the same position as the ancient *Call*. It included the streets Sagell, Platería, Bolsería, Siete Esquinas, Jaime II, Colon, and others, in fact all that quarter of Palma which, at the present day, lies between the central markets and the Plaza de Cort, and which is still inhabited by the so-called *chuetas*. The riotous mutineers crowded into those narrow streets destroying everything in their passage. Defenceless men were cruelly beaten; the cries of the women and children mingled with the shouts of the mob; objects of art and valuable furniture were destroyed; jewels were thrown about with fine cloths, and wanton destruction presented a sad picture of desolation, but there was no loss of life. For more than eight days the quarter was guarded by order of the Captain-General. Patrols and bodies of military paraded the deserted streets; food was furnished to the persecuted, who did not venture out, in a basket attached to a cord and lowered from some small window, and further excesses were effectively prevented. Nobody appeared to know who promoted these excesses, and certainly nobody protested against them.[1] Such was the

[1] Taronjí, *Algo sobre el Estado Religioso*, etc., p. 255.

first attempt to incorporate the descendants of the Jews in the army, but in 1812, when the call of liberty, which came from Cadiz, echoed from one end of Spain to the other, they responded with great enthusiasm. It was not, however, until 1820, with the final suppression and destruction of the Inquisition, that legal freedom was recognised. The oppressed could then enter freely in the ranks of the National Militia, and take their place in the defence of their country. The resulting moral influence revived in them that spirit of human dignity natural to all free men; the light of day penetrated the darkness and a new era was inaugurated. The Charter of Liberty granted in 1785 was recovered from the waste-paper basket.

A new era commenced, in truth, but only for the *legal status*; popular prejudice continued as strong as ever. On November 6, 1823, following the fall of the new Constitution, fresh disturbances against the *Sagell* occurred, and the persecutions continued; but after 1830 the situation became calmer. In 1836, Onofre Aguiló was elected municipal councillor, and in 1839, Benito Cortés,[1] both *chuetas*; their civil and legal rights were, from that time, established, but after fifty years of disobedience of the law. Civil rights were established, but popular prejudice persisted. Twenty years later, in 1856, the *Circulo Balear* opposed the right of the despised class to membership and social persecution continued unabated, as a paradox. The descendants of the conversos were admitted on the local governing body, but not into the social life of the people! The obstructing influence, Padre José Taronjí tells us, was the clergy,[2] but

[1] Taronjí, *Algo sobre el Estado Religioso*, etc., p. 259.
[2] Idem, p. 260.

the clergy, who should have been the first to destroy the prejudice, were still constant readers of their poisonous text-book, *La Fee Triunfante*. Blasco Ibañes, treating of the social status of the *chuetas* of Majorca, wrote as recently as the year 1908: "The ancient population of the island was divided into various social classes, isolated and unmixable. At the top were the 'butifarras,'[1] the quintessence of arrogance; then the nobles; the 'mossoms,' a kind of intellectual middle-class comprised of lawyers, doctors, etc., and after them the citizens, shop-keepers, workmen, and countrymen who cultivated the land. Here opened an enormous interval in the order followed by God, for the creation of many others; a vast free space, that each could populate according to his fancy. Undoubtedly after those Majorcans, nobles and commoners, came, in order of respect, the pigs, dogs, donkeys, cats and rats, and at the tail-end of all these animals of the Lord, the hated inhabitants of the 'calle', the 'chueta,' the cursed descendant of the Jews. This social order still exists. He who is of the 'calle' must live and die with those of the 'calle.' It matters not if he be rich or intelligent. . . . But the most extraordinary part of this hatred that continues in spite of modern progress, is that the 'chuetas' are not Israelites by religion, but catholics, and frantic catholics, with a fervent and blind faith. . . . But the Catholic Church, that calls itself universal, is cruel and unapproachable to them in the island of Majorca, paying their adhesion with stubborn repulsion." Conditions, however, are now changing quickly, nearly one hundred and fifty years after their legal status was established by the

[1] Butifarra is a species of sausage; the nickname is applied to the highest Majorcan nobility in allusion to their stiff attitude and blown-out pride. The term originated from the Catalan word "botifler," signifying a partisan of Philip V against the Archduke of Austria in 1714.

Crown. Within the past ten years, mixed marriages occur more frequently, but *only among the people*. Among the so-called higher or better classes in Majorca, the prejudice against the *chuetas* is as acute as it was two centuries ago. Taronjí cited two cases that occurred in his time (1876) of ecclesiastical opposition to mixed marriages, both without effect. The first one concerns the sister of a country rector in Majorca, who became enamoured of the brother of a celebrated Majorcan *littérateur*, a *chueta*; the young lady was almost cursed by the rector, who refused to assist at the marriage ceremony, and he even went so far as to maintain that the curate should conduct the funeral service on the day of the wedding, and asked his relations to express their *condolence* on the marriage or *death* of his sister.[1] The second case relates to a letter written by "an individual of the high Balearic clergy" to an illustrious young lady of Spain who was to marry, and did marry, a young man of distinguished family, *but*, as Taronjí says, "of my class." In the letter, which is preserved as a relic, he said in substance, that the young man belonged to an abhorred class, unworthy to be connected with persons of rank.[2] This suffices to prove that the attitude of the clergy at the end of the nineteenth century, had in no way changed from that of the sixteenth century.

Five centuries of persecution and oppression has left its mark on the descendants of the Jews in their island prison, whose independent and proud character has been cowed, and they are now, at the present day, the greatest supporters of the Church in Majorca. But liberty gives

[1] Taronjí, *Algo sobre el Estado Religioso*, etc., p. 77.
[2] Idem, p. 78.

birth to a sense of independence and confidence, and that innate, ineffaceable sympathy that unites all Jews, even after five hundred years of suppression, perhaps because of it, may once again manifest itself, to the greater comprehension of both Jews and Catholics. Who knows? and may it be so.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

THE history of the descendants of the Jews in Majorca is inextricably interwoven with that of the Catholic Church there, and the Inquisition. It is so over the whole of Spain, but in the peninsula, outside influences were felt sooner and with greater directness. Majorca never recovered from the persecution and deprivation of liberty of the Jews. The moral, material and intellectual decadence that then set in, was later accentuated by the reign of terror established by the Modern Inquisition. The Church in Majorca considered the island as its own, to be governed according to its will, and in disregard of the supreme power, which it tolerated, because it could not do otherwise, but with ill-concealed and implacable resistance. Majorca has hitherto been the earthly paradise of the padre, and the inferno of the race that gave birth to the catholic religion. Montesquieu truly remarked, "La religion juive est un vieux tronc qui a produit deux branches qui ont couvert la terre; je veux dire, le Mahometism et le Christianism: ou plutôt c'est une mère qui a engendré deux filles qui l'ont accablée de mille plaies; car, en fait de religion, les plus proches sont les plus grandes ennemies."

In the seventeenth century, "our true middle ages," wrote Taronjí, the Inquisition rose to its highest point of barbarity, but in some respects, the virulent opposition to the charter of Carlos III, is perhaps as infamous, for the Inquisition had then lost much of its power and was on the wane. The supplicants were catholics, had

been catholics for generations, and as Blasco Ibañes points out, were "frantic catholics," but—many, many years before, their ancestors were Jews and, therefore, they were to be condemned to ostracism for eternity. "Such prejudices have no cause to exist at the present day nor can they exist but in the mind of the ignorant."[1] Oppression and coercion are not conducive to the cultivation and development of intellect, but in ignorance prejudices thrive like weeds. "This sovereign command (the Edict) is as a dead letter; it remains unobserved and it remains attacked by the conduct followed by a part of our population and in particular by the respectable class of the clergy, that rises in rebellion, not against what is ordered by religion, but against what is ordered by the supreme power of the State, which they more than anybody, are obliged to respect."[2] It was the Ecclesiastical Chapter that led the opposition, and the City, University and Audiencia that obeyed its orders.

In 1857, an attempt was made, once more, to embitter the feeling against the *chuetas* of Majorca. It took the form of the publication of a small book, issued in Valencia, entitled: *La Sinagoga Balear* or *History of the Jews of Majorca*, written by "Juan de la Puerta Vizcaino." It is a compilation which reproduced most of the *Fee Triunfante*, including the list of the condemned, also the *Relacion de los Sambenitos*; it contains nothing new and has no historical or literary value. Previous to its publication, however, Majorca was flooded with prospectuses announcing its appearance, which called forth a scathing article from Quadrado[3] and another publication in reply, by Tomás Bertran Soler, also issued in

[1] Paz (Julian), *Reclam.*, etc.—Revista de Archivos, etc., 1907.
[2] Fiol (Joaquin), *Una Preocupacion mallorquina*, Palma, 1877, p. 31.
[3] Printed in the *Diario de Palma*, Oct. 3, 1856, and reprinted by Taronjí.

Valencia, in 1858, entitled: *Vindication of the Majorcan Christians of Hebrew Origin.*[1] "Vol. I" on the title of the *Sinagoga Balear* implies a second in contemplation, but no other was published. In 1877 appeared Padre Taronjí's book which created a profound impression. José Taronjí was a Majorcan, born in the city of Palma in 1847, and said to be a descendant of the Jewish martyrs of 1691. He was admitted to the Church where his exceptional ability enabled him to rise quickly, for although his advancement was opposed by the Majorcan Church on account of his descent, he was appointed Canon of the Sacro Monte in Granada, where he remained from 1878 until 1884. In 1884 he left Granada to return to his native island, where he died in 1890. Taronjí possessed literary talents of no mean order and he gained a considerable reputation as a poet; he further collaborated in most of the publications of a literary character, that appeared in Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca. His book is not only a courageous defence of the despised class, but it is a strong attack on the clergy of Majorca, who maintained and encouraged the ignorant prejudice. So great was the effect produced by this work, not only in Majorca, but all over Spain, that the press notices were collected and issued in a separate brochure which actually attained a second edition. These critical notices were taken from every class of the Spanish press; from newspapers and literary reviews of every opinion, catholic and liberal, and all without exception condemn the Majorcans in forcible terms and the existence of such class distinction.

Taronjí's courageous effort inspired others to support him, and a number of articles and pamphlets appeared, the most important and best of which is a pamphlet

[1] *Vindicacion de los Mallorquines cristianos de estirpe Hebrea*, Valencia, 1858.

of thirty-six pages, written by Joaquin Fiol, entitled: *A Majorcan Preoccupation.*[1] Every page of this brochure merits attention. "Religious fanaticism," he wrote, "is the only force that can obscure intelligence to such a point as to oblige one to say, that one should expect the disappearance of prejudices to emanate from the clergy, but examination of history teaches us that the clergy always discovered that the principal basis of their power lay in the existence of those same prejudices." Concerning the Inquisition and the events of 1678 to 1691, he wrote: "Those times were times when fanaticism dominated over reason; when the vengeance of Hadrian destroying Jerusalem in the year 135 had numerous partisans; times when inquisitorial despotism prevailed, whose first acts were against the Moors and the Jews, and continued, submitting kings under its yoke who dared not rebel against that odious tribunal because there were *autos-de-fé* that those same monarchs attended, contemplating the convulsions and the agony of martyrs who went to meet death at the stake. Those were accursed times for our Spain; days of opprobrium in its history whose pages are filled with the name of that King who caused the ship of the Church to be navigated on a lake of blood; who filled with terror his vast empire; who bred hypocrisy and who, affecting devotion and piety, died, his conscience crushed with remorse and his body covered with repugnant putrefaction in that magnificent palace called the Escorial." "It was in those times, in 1691, when the rich and extensive property belonging to families, victims of such pitiless persecution, was confiscated in Majorca. In the short space of twelve years, from 1679 to 1691, the fortunes they had acquired by labour and industry,

[1] *Una Preocupacion mallorquina*, Palma, 1877.

amounting to the enormous sum of a million and a half pesos, were confiscated. It was divided between the inquisitors and the royal treasury, and an income was created to maintain and pay the inquisitors, and to erect the palace, archives and prisons of the Inquisition on the island. Will they ever forget, they who can remember those abominable deeds, that the edifice of the Inquisition was raised by the most vile usurpation, by the most humiliating plunder, by the most blood-stained injustice? Will they not see in those rooms the luminous rays of liberty that sufficed to undermine the foundations of that structure, erected with theft, and in whose precincts resounded the echo of the agony of so many martyrs; the voice of so many victims."

It can be truly said that the campaign opened by Taronjí exercised the greatest influence in moderating the prejudice against the descendants of the conversos, and they have every reason to preserve his memory with admiration and respect.

It is impossible to discover if any remains of Judaism still exist among the *chuetas* of Majorca. In Portugal families have been found in certain northern districts, descendants of the sixteenth-century Jews, who secretly practised a form of Judaism handed down through the centuries by oral tradition. In the course of time it, naturally, became much changed and reformed, but the spirit was there, and those peasants guarded with tenacity and heroism the belief of their predecessors.[1] If anything similar exists in Majorca, the secret is kept jealously, for all enquiry, even the most discreet, produces a blank imperturbability. The descendants of the ancient converted Jews resent all enquiry and all questions. The

[1] Wolf (Lucien), *Report on the "Marranos" or Crypto-Jews of Portugal*, London, 1926.

usual reply is that they are catholics, their parents were catholics and their grandparents were catholics, beyond that they know nothing. This attitude is quite comprehensible. Only ten years ago, any one of them would have been ruined had there been the slightest suspicion as to his fidelity to catholicism. If there are some who still retain any link with the faith of their elders, sufficient time has not yet elapsed to endue them with the courage and confidence necessary to declare it. Their liberty is but too recently acquired, and they are still regarded askance and with contempt by the "respectable" classes. The epoch of oppression is too fresh in their memory, and much time must pass before they will feel that sense of complete security, that can justify open avowal of Judaism, *should it still exist*. There is, however, an interesting custom observed among the *chuetas*, which may have some relation to the subject. Most marriages between them are celebrated in the Jesuit Church of Montesion, and this, it is affirmed, has become a tradition. This fact assumes a certain importance when it is remembered that that church was originally, in the fourteenth century, the Great Synagogue of the *Call*. Does this tradition form a connecting link with the past and maintain a sentiment of sympathetic interest with bygone ages? If so, then the sympathetic interest may be deep enough to give cause for much reflection; only time and conditions can enlighten us.

The regenerating and enlightening influences of the new Spanish republic are now penetrating into Majorca obscured by centuries of darkness. Elsewhere in Europe an attempt is being made to inaugurate a new dark age of degeneration, with another mentality thought to be extinct many, many years ago. Another form of fanaticism has arisen forcing primitive humanity to once more assert

itself, and like all fanaticism, with one bound attempts to drag a cultured and enlightened people into the abyss of barbaric degeneration. That "liberty without which life to a self-respecting man is not worth living," and which has been acquired at tremendous cost, must it be sacrificed? Surely not in this age. Will that also be permitted as was the Inquisition in Spain? If so, then it is an open avowal of the dismal failure of Modern Civilisation, incapable of defending itself against the contempt and defiance of perverted degeneracy.

APPENDIX

INQUISITORS OF MAJORCA

1332 TO 1819

1332 Ramon Durfort, named on a privilege of franchise granted in 1332 to the Majorcans by James III.

1357 Domingo Jaume.

1392 Mateu de Déu; appointed by Juan I as a reward for translations made from the Latin.[1]

1394 Pedro Rippe.

1404 Pedro Tur.

1413 Pedro Pages, last inquisitor previous to the separation.

1413 Guillermo Sagarra, first inquisitor after the separation.[2] Here Lea mentions Bernardo Moyl as the successor of Sagarra,[3] but neither Mut nor Bover and Moragues appear to have any knowledge of him. Mut gives Antonio Murta, whom Lea places after Bernardo Moyl, whereas Bover and Moragues say that Julian Talládas *is said* to have been inquisitor of Majorca, after Sagarra.[4]

1435 Antonio Murta. It is unknown when he was elected inquisitor but he occupied that office at the time of the conversion of the Jews in 1435 and was one of the special tribunal formed to judge the prisoners. He died in 1436.

1437 Francisco Miró.

Bernardo Vicens probably succeeded Miró but the date of his appointment is unknown; he died on January 23, 1462.

1460 Juan Ginard.

1477 Nicolas Merola.

1484 Rafael Gaecías.

In 1488, the New Inquisition established in Spain in 1481 by Ferdinand and Isabella, was introduced into Majorca. The list of the inquisitors on the island continues as follows:

1488 Pedro Perez de Munebrega.
Sancho Martin.

[1] Rubió y Lluch (A.), Documents, etc., vol. i, p. 374.

[2] Mut mentions a *Miguel* Sagarra, but Lea and Bover and Moragues give Guillen or Guillermo Sagarra.

[3] Lea. *Hist. de l'Inquis. du Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 177. French trans.

[4] *Hist. de Mallorca*, edit. 1840–1, vol. ii, p. 652.

1489 Juan Ramon.
1490 Juan de Astorga.
1491 Dr. Gomez de Cienfuegos.
1493 Pedro Gual.
1495 Nuño de Villalobos.
1500 Francisco de Oropesa.

About this time a noted theologian, Guillermo Casállas, was appointed but was later deprived of office.

1503 Juan de Loaysa.
1506 Dr. Juan Anguera.
1512 Pedro Vicente Alemany.
1516 Juan Navardú.
1526 Arnaldo Albertí y Campany.
1529 Dr. Bartolomé Sebastian.
1534 Juan Navardú, who held the office previously, from 1516 to 1520.
1541 Nicolas Montañas y Berard.[1]
1565 Miguel Gual.
Bishop Diego de Arnedo.
1569 Andres Santos de Herrera.
1579 Evia de Oviedo. It was Evia de Oviedo who purchased the building of the Inquisition of Majorca, that later became one of the most magnificent and sumptuous of all Spain.[2]
1580 Juan Salvador Abrines held the office during the absence of Evia de Oviedo. He was also inquisitor in 1593. He died on January 5, 1594.
1594 Antonio Reus.
1595 Francisco Ezquivel.
1605 Dr. Juan Gutierrez Florez.
1611 Antonio Creus.
1612 Isidro de S. Vicente.
1616 Juan de Godoy.
1620 Bartolomé Pizá.
1623 Pedro Diez de Cienfuégos.
1625 Andres Bravo.
1631 Blaz Alejandro de la Zaeta.
1637 Pedro Febrer.
Dr. Francisco de Gregorio.

[1] He was still inquisitor in 1564.—*Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. vi, p. 196.

[2] Bover and Moragues state that Evia de Oviedo purchased the "magnificent and sumptuous edifice of the Inquisition of this city," but as it was only made so magnificent and sumptuous after 1678, the site and original building are obviously meant.

1643 Miguel Lopez de Vitoria Eguinoa.
1649 Pedro Guerrero de Boláños.
1662 Baltazar Miguel del Prado.
1665 Francisco de Sarabía Ojeda.
1677 Juan Bautista Desbach y Martorell.
1679 Francisco Rodriguez de Cossío Bareda, dean of the Tribunal.
1684 Andres Fernandez de Ávila y Salcedo.
1693 Pablo Marina y Hugalde.
1700 (*circa*) Jorge Truyols y Dameto.
1720 Baltazar Bastero y Lladó.
1727 Matías Escalso y Acedo.
1731 Aurelio Esterripa Tranajáuregui.
1746 Hipólito Hup de Argentil y Somoza.
Manuel de Orneta.
1761 Juan Andres Alvarez y Muns.
1787 José Albert y Gil.
José Mata Lináres.
1790 Manuel Fuentes y Oñate.
1806 Juan Fernandez Legaria.
Márcos Fernandez Alonso.
Miguel Victorica, who was inquisitor fiscal.
1815 Márcos Ignacio Roselló, Honorary interim inquisitor.
1819 Pedro Larroy y Lasala.
Dámaso Bueno.
Mariamne Madramany y Calatayud.

In 1820 the Inquisition was finally suppressed and the building was later, destroyed.

II

A Report of the Demolition of the Palace of the Inquisition at Madrid, made by Colonel Lemanoir of the 9th Regiment of Polish Lancers, in the year 1809.

"Ordered by Marshal Soult, the Governor of Madrid, to destroy the buildings of the Inquisition, conformably to the decree of the Emperor, I observed to him that the 9th Lancers was insufficient for that service; the Marshal then added two regiments of infantry, one of which regiments, the 117th, was under the orders of Colonel Delille. With these troops I marched to the Inquisition, the buildings of which were surrounded with strong walls, and guarded by 400 soldiers. On my arrival I summoned the fathers to open the gates. A sentinel who was on one of the bastions appeared to converse for an instant with some one in the interior, after which he fired upon us, and killed one of my men. This was the signal for the attack, and I ordered my troops to fire upon all who appeared upon the walls. It soon became evident that the combat was unequal, and I changed the mode of attack. Some trees were cut down and made into battering-rams and two of these machines being well directed, under a shower of balls a breach was made and the Imperial troops rushed into the Inquisition.

"Here we had a sample of what jesuitical effrontery can do. The Inquisitor-General and the Father Confessors solemnly issued from their retreats, clothed in their sacerdotal robes, and with their arms crossed upon their breasts—as if, knowing nothing, they came to learn what was the matter. They rebuked their soldiers, saying, "Why do you fight with our friends the French?" They appeared to wish to make us believe that they had not ordered the defence, and hoped, no doubt, to be able to make their escape during the confusion occasioned by the pillage. They were deceived. I gave strict orders that they should be kept in view, and all their soldiers were made prisoners. We then began our examination of this prison of hell. We saw chamber after chamber, altars, crucifixes, wax tapers, in abundance; riches and splendour were to be seen everywhere. The floors and walls were highly polished, and the marble mosaic inlaid with exquisite taste. But where were the instruments of torture of which we were told, and where were the dungeons in which it was said that human beings were entombed

alive? We sought for them in vain; the holy fathers assured us that they were calumniated, and that we had seen everything. I was about to abandon my researches, persuaded that these Inquisitors were different from those of whom we had heard spoken, but Colonel Delille would not give up so easily. He said to me, "Let us examine again the floors; let us pour water upon them, and we shall see if it does not run through some part." The flags of marble were large and quite smooth. After we had poured the water to the great displeasure of the Inquisitors, we examined all the interstices to see if any oozed through. Very soon Colonel Delille cried out that he had found what he sought for. In the joinings of a flag the water disappeared very quickly, as if there was an empty space beneath.

"Officers and men set to work to raise the flag, whilst the priests cried out against the desecration of their beautiful and holy house. A soldier struck a spring with the butt-end of his musket, which disclosed a flight of steps. I took a lighted taper, four feet long, from a table, in order to explore our discovery, but was stopped by one of the Inquisitors, who gently placed his hand upon my arm.

" 'My son,' said he, with a devout air, 'you ought not to touch that taper; it is holy.'

" 'Well,' I replied, 'I require a holy light to fathom iniquity.'

"I descended the steps, which were under a ceiling without any opening except the trap-door. Arrived at the bottom we entered into a vast square room, called the Hall of Judgment. In the middle was a block of stone, upon which was fixed a chair for the accused. On one side of the room was another seat, more elevated, for the Inquisitor-General, called the Throne of Judgment; and there were lower seats for the Fathers. From this chamber we passed to the right, and found small cells extending the whole length of the edifice. But what a spectacle presented itself to our eyes! How the beneficent religion of the Saviour had been outraged by its professors! These cells served as dungeons where the victims of the Inquisition were immured, until death relieved them from their sufferings. Their bodies were left there to decompose, and that the pestilential smell might not incommode the Inquisitors, ventilators were made to carry it off. In the cells we found the remains of those who had died recently, whilst in others we found only skeletons chained to the floor. In others we found living victims of all ages and both sexes—young men, and young women, and old men up to the age of seventy, but all as naked as the day they were born. Our soldiers first busied themselves to free these captives from their chains, and then took off part of their clothes

to cover them. After having visited all the cells, and opened the prison-doors of those who yet lived, we went to visit another chamber on the left. There we found all the instruments of torture that the genius of men or demons could invent. At this sight the fury of our soldiers could no longer be contained—they cried out that every one of these inquisitors, monks, and soldiers should undergo the torture. We did not attempt to prevent them, and they immediately commenced the work upon the persons of the fathers. I saw them employ four kinds of torture and then withdrew from the frightful scene, which lasted as long as there was a single individual in that antechamber of hell upon whom the soldiers could wreak their vengeance.

"When these vaults were thrown open an image of the Virgin Mary was discovered, which, on inspection, was found to be a torturing engine. She wore, beneath her robes, a metal breastplate, thickly studded with needles, spikes, and lancets. The familiar, who was present, was requested to work the engine; and he did so. As she raised her arms as if to embrace, a knapsack was thrown into them, and, in closing them upon it, she pierced it through in a hundred places. To the living victim it would have proved instantly the embrace of death. When the victims of the Inquisition could be brought without danger from their prison into the light of day, the news of their delivery spread abroad; and those from whom the Holy Office had torn their relations or friends, came to see if there was any hope to find them alive. About one hundred persons were rescued from their living tombs, and restored to their families. Many found a son, or a daughter, a brother, or a sister. Some found no one. A large quantity of powder was placed in the subterranean passages of the building, the massive walls and towers were blown up into the air, and the Inquisition of Madrid ceased to exist."

NOTES

1 (page 20)—Documents 3, 4, 6. The rate of interest was fixed at four *dineros* per *libra* per month. The money value is identical with, and is probably the origin of, English money at the present day. There were 12 *dineros* to a *sueldo*, and 20 *sueldos* to the *libra*, hence £, s, d = libra, sueldo, dinero. With 240 *dineros* to the *libra*, 4 per month, or 48 per annum, equals 20 per cent.

2 (page 28)—Quadrado mentions November 2, 1285, as the date of Pedro's death, but does not state his authority. Desclot gives November 10th, and Muntaner, November 11th.

3 (page 35)—Sir Clements Markham (*Story of Majorca and Minorca*, page 107) gives 1294 as the date of the restoration, but Zurita states 1298. Has Sir Clements Markham taken the date of the commencement of the papal negotiations and the *proposed text* of restitution as the actual date? He cites no authority, but states that "King Jayme II of Majorca returned to his island dominions in 1294 with fifteen years of life before him. . . ." As James II died in 1311 he would have had *seventeen* years of life, so Markham seems to be wrong all round. Dameto says: "Este entrego y restitucion, *dice Zurita*, que se hizo el año 1298."—*Hist. gen. de Mall.*, 1840–1, vol. i, page 526.

4 (page 37)—The generally accepted derivation of the word *Call*, is from the Latin *callis* or the Spanish *calle*, both meaning a street, but another explanation that appears to me to be far more logical is that it is derived from the Hebrew word *kahal* (קחל) which signifies an *assembly* or *community*. The *Call* was not a single street, although it has been, wrongly, so described in documents; it was a district or quarter where the Jews assembled or lived, and where *only* Jews lived. It is, therefore, more reasonable to suppose that the name given by the Jews themselves to their own quarter, would be adopted in preference to a Latin word. The Spanish or Castillian word *calle* seems to me to be quite wrong, for Castillian was not spoken in Majorca or the Aragonese *provinces* at that period. It is obviously translated from the Latin *callis* which again was an incorrect translation of *kahal* for use in documents. This explanation of the origin of the word *Call* is further strongly confirmed by a document written in the Majorcan dialect and dated 1488, where the word "cahal" is employed to designate the *Call*. The document is a petition to the Jurados of Palma,

requesting that a Jewish physician named Isac, be prohibited from practising medicine; it was reprinted by Estanislao K. Aguiló in the *Boletin de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, Palma, 1902, vol. ix, pp. 284–289. In my opinion there is no doubt whatever but that this is the correct derivation of the name of the Jewish quarter.

5 (page 44)—I have been unable to discover what action was taken against the two Germans. Chroniclers content themselves with stating the incident and the fine imposed, without any comment.

6 (page 44)—The article on the Balearic Isles in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, says: "Unfortunately the Jews of the islands were thoughtless enough to *convert to Judaism* (1314) two christians from Germany. . . ." This conveys the impression that the Jews converted them by proselytism, which is incorrect. Mut states: "En el año 1314 llegaron á Cataluña dos cristianos alemanes, *con intento* de judaizar; y no queriendo recibirles las sinagogas de Lérida y Gerona, fueron admitidos en la de Mallorca." The *Cronicon Mayoricense* (page 41, col. 1) quoting Guillermo Terrassa, says: "dos christianos alemanes *con animo de hacerse judíos*," thus proving that the two Germans came with the previous intention to become Jews.

7 (page 80)—Vicente Mut, the Majorcan historian, states that the death of a boy started the massacre. Quadrado considers this, as well as most events described by Mut, as inexact.—Quadrado, *Forenses y Ciudadanos*, p. 97 and note.

8 (page 98)—The *Cronicon Mayoricense*, page 76, col. 2, quoting Bartolomé Jaume, says: "Este año (1389) se pagaron por la Procuracion Real 60 ls. 8 ss. á un judío llamado Benda Cresys por un Mapa-Mundi que hizo per cuenta del Rey, que se lo había mandado en carta de 26 de Mayo de 1387." No trace of a Benda Cresques can be found, but all authorities give Yahuda Cresques as the author, and there is every reason to believe the truth of that statement. The Pavorde Jaume copied from the books of the Royal Procuration of 1389, and the error would occur in his transcription of the original. Jeuda, Juda or Jahuda and Jafuda are but variations of the same name, and it is not uncommon to find in the writing of the fourteenth century, the *I* or *J* curved at the bottom *towards the right*, giving it the appearance of a *b*; the *u*, again is frequently taken for an *n*, Jeuda would read *benda* to a copyist of a much later period. I think this is satisfactorily established by Miguel Bonet in his article: "Cartas sobre Jafuda Cresques" in the *Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. vii, 1898, p. 124.

9 (page 99)—Llabrés (Gabriel), "El Maestro de los Cartografos Mallorquines."—*Bol. de la Soc. Arq. Lul.*, vol. iii, p. 310; vol. iv, pp. 158–161. Hamy (E. T.), *Les Origines de la Cartographie de l'Europe Septentrionale*, Paris, 1889; Hamy (E. T.), *Cresques lo Jeheu*: Note sur un géographe juif catalan. Paris, 1891. The bibliography relating to the Cresques is extensive, but I am indebted to a valuable little book by Gonçal de Reparaz, jr., *Catalunya a les mars*, published in Barcelona (1930).

10 (page 141)—By a *Real Cédula* dated October 3, 1747, the King decreed the number and character of Familiars necessary for the Holy Office in each town or village, based upon the number of inhabitants. This same *Real Cédula* decided the tribunals by which offending Familiars should be judged according to the nature of the offence, etc. A copy of this decree, re-issued by command on June 7, 1774, is in possession of the author.

11 (page 142)—The punishment of demolishing a house and strewing the ground with salt, was considered the most infamous of all punishments. It was only imposed for the gravest crimes of heresy or *lèse-majesté*. As salt, in great quantities, sterilises the ground, this ceremony was performed to express the hate and execration that the memory of the cause of such a punishment should inspire. This chastisement always carried with it the interdiction for any relation of the deceased to acquire any of his property or belongings, which were sold by public auction. It further prohibited the children of the condemned to exercise any public duty or office, until the fourth generation.—Rullan, *Hist. de Sóller*, vol. i, p. 315.

12 (page 142)—At a much later period, road construction necessitated the removal of the stone, and it was placed in a corner of the staircase of the palace of the Inquisition. When, however, the Constitutional Government of 1812 expelled the Tribunal, Bartolomé Valentí Forteza, a descendant of one of the martyrs of 1679, carried the stone to his house in the Calle San Miguel. In May, 1814, the Inquisition was re-established and the stone was recovered and again placed in the palace of the Inquisition, where it was seen and the inscription copied, at the beginning of 1820. In March, 1820, the Inquisition had to leave again, and the same Forteza once more took it and threw it down a deep well in his garden. Attempts were, afterwards, made to recover it, but without success.

13 (page 162)—By abjuration *de levi*, the prisoner took oath,

before the notary of the Inquisition recognising the catholic and apostolic faith as the true faith; that he abjures, detests and anathematises every kind of heresy that is against the Holy Catholic Faith and Evangelical Law, the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Church, and especially that of which he is accused; that he will always be obedient to the Pope and his successors; that all who are against the Holy Catholic Faith are worthy of condemnation, and he promises never to mix with them, but will persecute them and denounce them wherever he may be. He swears and promises to receive, humbly and with patience, whatever punishment may be inflicted upon him and submit to correction and the severity of the Sacred Canons. The complete original text is given in Garcia (Pablo), *Orden que comunmente se guarda en el Santo Oficio de la Inquisition*, etc., Valencia, 1736, folio 39.

14 (page 190)—This document raises a curious point. The term "Jew" is employed, but after the year 1435, no Jew was allowed to remain in Majorca longer than fifteen days. Can it be that the word "Jew" is lightly used for a converso? But, again, the Constitutions of Ferdinand I of 1413 were directed against the Jews and not against the conversos.

15 (page 193)—The full title is: PAPEL EN DERECHO. RESPUESTO AL MANIFIESTO, que entregaron á los Señores del Consejo los Diputados de los Individuos, llamados de la *Calle*, que habitan en la Isla de Mallorca, en satisfaccion de lo que respectivamente se opuso por la Ciudad, Cabildo Ecclesiastico y Universidad de la Ciudad de Palma, Capital de aquella Isla. A fin de Que *No se Conceda á los Descendientes de Judíos la igualdad que solicitan con los Hombres buenos del Estado general del Reyno de Mallorca, y se observen como hasta aqui los respectivos Estatutos de limpieza de aquella Isla, y la costumbre inmemorial de excluirlos de todas las Dignidades, Oficios públicos y entrada en los Cuerpos y Gremios de Mallorca.*

16 (page 193)—The full title is as follows: MEMORIAL presentado á su Magestad (que Dios guarde) por los Individuos llamados de *la Calle* de Mallorca: Y remitido á Informe, en virtud de Real Orden, á el Consejo, donde hoi pende el Expediente Instructivo formado á este fin. Y MANIFIESTO entregado á los Señores del Real y Supremo Consejo, en respuesta de quanto por la Ciudad de Palma, Capital del Reyno de Mallorca, se ha opuesto á dicho Memorial. SOBRE *que no obstante* su Estirpe Hebrea, *se les trate en todo como á los demás Vasallos Hombres-buenos del* Estado General, *por ser Christianos Católicos como ellos.*

LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE JEWS OF MAJORCA

ABBREVIATIONS

BAER	Baer (Dr. Fritz), *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien.*
B.R.A.H.	*Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia.*
B.S.A.L.	*Boletin de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana.*
Cong. Hist.	*Congresso de Historia de la Corona de Aragon,* Barcelona.
R.E.J.	*Revue des Études juives.*
RÉGNÉ, *A. de A.*	Régné (J.), *Actes pour l'Histoire des Juifs de la Couronne d'Aragon.*
RÉGNÉ, *Cat.*	Régné (J.), *Catalogue des Actes de Jaime I, Pedro III, et Alfonso III, Rois d'Aragon, concernant les Juifs.*
RULLAN	Rullan (J.), *Historia de Sóller.*
VILLA.	Villanueva (J. L.), *Viage literario à las Iglesias de España.*

JAMES I

(1230 TO 1276)

1 . . . 1232. July 1st. James I, after the Conquest of Majorca, when distributing gifts of lands to his soldiers, granted to certain Jews "alquerias" or farms, situated in Inca, Petra, Montuiri, and in the Almudayna.

(Régné, *Cat.*, no. 7.)

2 . . . 1247. Valencia, June 11th. Safe-conduct granted by James I, the Conqueror, in favour of all Jews who desired to reside in his dominions of Majorca, Barcelona or Valencia, and in particular, to Salomon ben Ammar and his family from Sujulmesa in the Kingdom of Fez. He prohibits his subjects to molest or harm them in any way whatsoever, under penalty of one thousand gold sueldos fine.

(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 327–328.)

3 . . . 1249. Valencia, July 6th. James I fixes the rate of interest on loans at four dineros per libra per month, equivalent to 20 per cent, and prohibits the Jews from exceeding this rate.
(Villa., vol. xxii, p. 301.)

4 . . . 1250. Morella, May 6th. Decree issued by James I concerning loans; equal terms for Jews and christians. Jews had the right to purchase property and to possess Moorish servants or slaves.
(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 328–330.)

5 . . . 1250. Morella, May 10th. James I confirms a privilege of residence accorded to the Jews of Majorca, and he restores to them the site situated before the royal palace. In civil and criminal affairs, he concedes that no christian will be allowed to prove his case against a Jew, unless supported by a Jew and a christian. No person who claims that securities held by a Jew have been stolen from him, can compel them to be returned, if the Jew swears that he was ignorant of the fact, until the capital and interest be previously paid. The Jews of Majorca are, further, authorised to settle their differences and quarrels between themselves, except in cases of grave offence, which must be decided by royal justice. Lastly, christians who have obtained delay for the payment of their debts, must inform the *baile* of Majorca that they will pay the amount of their debts and interest, at the expiration of the delay granted.
(Villa., vol. xxii, p. 301.)

6 . . . 1251. Lerida, August 20th. James I renews, at the request of the inhabitants of Majorca, the prohibition to exceed 20 per cent interest on loans by christians, Jews and Moors. Interest cannot accumulate to a greater sum than the capital, and when the interest attains that amount, the creditor must restore the contract of the loan and the security.
(Villa., vol. xxii, p. 302.)

7 . . . 1252. Lerida, May 8th. James I confirms a privilege accorded in Valencia and a charter issued from Morella (No. 5). The King further accords the right to the Jews to complain to him direct, of wrongs caused to them by his agents. Every Jew of Majorca has the right to settle on his wife a dowry or portion, in gold or silver, by contract drawn up in Hebrew, which contract will have the same value as if drawn up in Latin by a christian notary. Moorish slaves of Jews who became baptised at any period of the year except Easter, Pentecost or Christmas, must pay twelve morabotins to the King's *baile*. Christians and Moors are prohibited,

under penalty of 100 morabotins fine to take stones or earth from the Jewish cemetery.

(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 330–331.)

8 . . . 1252. Lerida, May 8th. James I confirms to the Jews of Majorca, that a christian cannot prove his case against a Jew, unless he is supported by a christian witness and a Jewish witness.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi.)

9 . . . 1254. Lerida, September 15th. Decrees that any Jew who does not conform to the precepts of the royal authority concerning loans and the rate of interest, will be alone responsible and punished; the other Jews of the community will not be disturbed. No inquisition will be made on the Jews to ascertain their wealth, and they will not be required to declare the debts due to them. Debtors must pay their debts on the dates due; no further delays will be granted to them.

(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 331–332.)

10 . . . 1254. Olita, December 11th. Decree exempting the Jews of Majorca from the obligation to contribute to the taxes (peyta), jointly with the Jews of Catalonia, Aragon or any other part of the kingdom, and authorises them to pay their taxes separately.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi.)

11 . . . 1269. Valencia, June 24th. The King decrees that in all lawsuits between christians and Jews in Majorca, proof of case by a christian or Moor is insufficient unless accompanied by the evidence of a Jew. He also authorises the Jews to inhabit their houses freely and without fear of being expelled.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 7.)

12 . . . 1269. Majorca, July 21st. Decree conceding to the Jews of Majorca the following privileges: 1. Right to buy houses, vines and other property within the said city and without, and to inhabit houses bought or rented. 2. Privileges concerning judicial proof and evidence. 3. A Moorish slave cannot be witness against a Jew. 4. If any Moor, slave of a Jew or of the Jews' aljama, enter a church of the city or island of Majorca to be baptised, that baptism be not conferred before the expiration of the delay prescribed, and once baptised the Moor becomes a slave of the King. 5. If the Jewish creditors of Majorca are not paid at the end of five and a half years, the term established by the King in Catalonia, they can claim in the court of Majorca, which will assist them to recover, not the capital, but the interest.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 8.)

13 . . . 1271. Valencia, July 30th. Confirms the privilege in favour of the Jews of Majorca, concerning proof in lawsuits (Nos. 8 and 12).

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 9.) This document appears to be identical with one published in the *Cong. Hist.*, vol. ii, pp. 911–912, No. cvi.

14 . . . (1271). Note of a subsidy of 52,000 sueldos granted to James I for his journey to Lyons, by the Jews of the Crown; 25,000 by the Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon (Saragossa, Huesca, Calatayud, Daroca, Teruel, Barbastro, Jaca, Luna, Egea, Tauste, Borja, Tarragona, Alagón, Montclus, Uncastillo); 25,000 by the Catalan, Majorcan, Perpignan, and Montpellier Jews (Barcelona, Gerona and Besalú, Perpignan, Lerida, Majorca and Montpellier); 2,100 only by the Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia (Valencia, Játiva, Murviedro, Alcira, Gandía).

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 483.)

15 . . . 1272. Lerida, April 12th. James I grants to the Jews of Majorca the same concessions as to the Jews of Barcelona.

The concessions granted to the Jews of Barcelona are included in a decree dated, Saragossa, December 7, 1271, which sets forth that James I accords his indulgence to the Jews of Barcelona, Villafranca, Tarragona and Montblanch guilty of violation of the legal rate of interest; he confirms their credit and authorises them to trade with christians cloth, wheat, corn, oil, hemp, flax, saffron and other commodities, on credit; he promises them not to grant more than one delay to their debtors; and lastly, that in all litigation between christians and Jews, proof of case must be made by a christian and a Jew, except concerning contracts for loans, for which evidence of two christians suffices.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 513.)

16 . . . 1273. Valencia, August 18th. Orders that christian and Jewish prisoners in Majorca be not imprisoned together, but should occupy two separate houses.

(Villa., vol. xxii, p. 312.)

17 . . . 1273. Valencia, August 25th. James I authorises the Jews of Majorca to kill animals for food, and to prepare meat according to their custom, in the christian butcher shops.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 561.)

18 . . . 1273. Valencia, August 25th. James I confirms the privileges granted to the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, particu-

larly guaranteeing the possession of the houses that they have acquired in the city of Majorca; he further authorises them to purchase new houses from christians, but prohibits them from living with the christians. He renews the privileges concerning the killing of animals for food, and also states that their Moorish slaves who become baptised remain the property of the King.

(*Cong. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 920, No. cxxiii.)

In 1359, a copy of the clause concerning the killing of animals according to the Jewish custom, was drawn up by notaries and legalised, apparently in order to decide some legal question on the subject. The extract was published by Gabriel Llabrés and Fidel Fita in the *B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 10.

19 . . . 1274. Lerida, March 12th. Prohibits Jews from lending money to slaves on security, under penalty of losing the capital and restoring the security to the masters of the slaves

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vi.)

20 . . . 1255. Anagnia, October 10th. Papal Bull issued by Alexander IV, ratifying the decree established by Canonical Law. (Decr. Greg. i. v. tit. vi, cap. 3 and 9) in favour of Jews inoffensive to the christian faith, thus following the example of his predecessors.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi.)

JAMES II

FIRST PERIOD

(1276 TO 1285)

21 . . . 1278. Perpignan, May 25th. Decrees that all Wills and Marriage Contracts drawn up in Hebrew before Jewish witnesses, are legally valid.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 11.)

22 . . . 1280/1. Perpignan, January 1st. Decrees that the Jews of Majorca be exempt from housing christians, even of the royal household (1280 old style).

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 12.)

23 . . . 1280/1. Perpignan, January 1st. Confirmation of all privileges granted to the Jews of Majorca by James I and by James II himself.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 13.)

ALFONSO III

(1285 TO 1291)

24 . . . 1285. Majorca, December 5th. Alfonso III orders R. de San Licer, lieutenant of his procurator in the Kingdom of Valencia, on this side of the Juchar, to liberate Abrafim, son of Muça Avayar, Jew of Majorca, who the said Lieutenant had arrested and whose property and merchandise had all been confiscated, in the Kingdom of Valencia. All that had been seized from Abrafim must be restored to him, for this confiscation causes grave prejudice to the Majorcans, subjects of Alfonso III.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1472.)

25 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 4th. Alfonso III has learned that R. de San Licer had arrested Muça, son of Issach Thomaçets, Jew of Majorca, because of the reprisals that his subjects and the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Majorca inflict upon each other. He orders him to release the said Muça.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1475.)

26 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 9th. Alfonso III confirms to the aljama of the Jews of Majorca the privileges that had been granted to it by James I, July 11, 1231; May 8, 1252 (Nos. 7 and 8); September 15, 1254 (No. 9); December 11, 1254 (No. 10); July 21, 1269 (No. 13); and August 25, 1273 (No. 19).
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1478.)

27 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 9th. Alfonso III, King of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia, Count of Barcelona, desiring that the Jews of the city and island of Majorca participate in the privileges that he has granted to the *prohombres* and to the inhabitants of the same territory, accords them the following concessions: 1. Liberty of weights and measures; 2. Ratification of their movable and immovable property; 3. Power for the Jews imprisoned in the civil prison of the city of Majorca, to discharge the prison fees (*carcelage*) according to the franchise of the city; 4. Royal protection for the Jews and their property; 5. Exemption of king's rights (*leude*), tolls, weights and measures, for all merchandise transported over the territory of the Crown; 6. Limitation to the fiftieth part of the sale or purchase for the right of inheritance, to be deducted from the property held from the King, and exemption of all tax of "fatica"; 7. Liberty to export from the kingdom and island of Majorca, Moors (slaves) without having to pay any export tax; 8. Use of water for watering their gardens;

9. Exemption in favour of Jewish cloth-dealers and commission agents of all taxes they would have to pay to the royal court for the present concession; 10. Power to pay quit-rents according to custom; 11. Limit to ten bed-sheets for the loan of bed-linen supplied to the King during his sojourn in the city of Majorca.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1479.)

28 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 13th. Alfonso III accords his grace to all the Jews and to the whole of the aljama of Majorca, for the proceedings that he could take against them, civil and criminal, on account of usurious loans.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1480.)

29 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 13th. Alfonso III notifies his officials of the Kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia, that he has exempted from king's taxes, tolls, weights and measures rights, all the Jews of the city and the island of Majorca, and orders them to observe this exemption towards the Majorcan Jews who proceed to the various parts of Aragon, Valencia or Catalonia.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1481.)

30 . . . 1285/6. Majorca, January 14th. Alfonso III orders his faithful Bernardo Dalmau, advocate of Majorca, to take note of the appeal, lodged by his uncle James, against a judgment rendered in the case between G. Renull and the Jew, Muça Abenfarraig.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1482.)

31 . . . 1285/6. Andraitx, January 18th. Alfonso III concedes to the *prohombres* and to the community of the city of Majorca, that all Jews of the said city should inhabit the same quarter; he orders, therefore, the said Jews to assemble on a chosen site within the delay of five years; those Jews will be endowed with a special butchery.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1483.)

32 . . . 1285/6. Valencia, February 1st. Alfonso III reminds R. de San Licer, lieutenant of the royal procurator in the Kingdom of Valencia, on this side of the Juchar, that he had already ordered him to liberate Muça, son of Issach Thomaçets, Jew of Majorca, who had been imprisoned because of reprisals employed between Aragonese and Majorcans. He commands him to restore to the said Muça all his goods and all his property.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1485.)

33 . . . 1285/6. Gerona, March 15th. Alfonso III orders G. Ebri, *baile* of Majorca, not to exact the tax of ten sueldos per head from poor Jews who arrive in Majorca to devote themselves to commerce, that he claims from them unjustly.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1499.)

34 . . . 1285/6. Gerona, March 15th. Alfonso III having learned that the Jews of Majorca were rendered apprehensive in the enjoyment of their privileges, by certain persons, orders Arbert de Mediona not to permit these outrages.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1500.)

35 . . . 1286. Barcelona, June 23rd. Alfonso III, obliged to undertake arduous enterprises, asks the Jewish aljama of the city of Majorca to furnish him with aid; he will gratefully accept anything that they can forward to Jaime de Torruella. The aljama granted him 10,000 sueldos.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1595.)

36 . . . 1286. Figueras, July 23rd. Alfonso III orders Jaime Torrecillo to claim from the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, the 10,000 sueldos that it promised to give, to help him to bear the heavy expenses that he is obliged to meet. As regards the community of the city of Majorca, it must furnish 100,000 sueldos. With the total received, Jaime Torrecillo will purchase 3,000 quarters of wheat and 3,000 quarters of barley. He will grind the wheat and mix salt with the flour to preserve it. The balance that remains available must be sent to Barcelona to the faithful P. Marchés.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1611.)

37 . . . 1286. Barcelona, August 26th. Alfonso III acknowledges the receipt of the 10,000 sueldos from his faithful Jaime Torrecilla, of the royal household, that the said Jaime has received from the aljama of Majorca.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1624.)

38 . . . 1286. Barcelona, August 28th. Alfonso III has learned that, under pretext of delay accorded to them by the King, certain citizens of Majorca refused to pay the interest to their Jewish creditors before the expiration of the delay. He orders his officials of the Kingdom of Majorca to employ compulsion concerning recalcitrants, for the interest continues to accumulate notwithstanding the delay.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1628.)

39 . . . 1286. Barcelona, August 28th. Alfonso III notifies all his officials of the Kingdom of Majorca, that if two or more debtors having bound themselves jointly to the Jews of the aljama of Majorca, and have renounced to divide, any one of the debtors can be compelled to repay the total debt.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1629.)

40 . . . 1286. Barcelona, August 28th. Alfonso III authorises the aljama of the Jews of Majorca to have special butcher shops.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1630.)

41 . . . 1286. Barcelona, August 28th. Alfonso III orders all his officials of the Kingdom of Majorca, to observe the privileges accorded to the Jews of that land.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1631.)

42 . . . 1286. August 28th. Alfonso III informs all his officials of the Kingdom of Majorca, that the Jews there can appeal against judgments pronounced against them by the said officials, providing that the usages of the city of Majorca do not oppose it.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1632.)

43 . . . 1286. November 24th. Alfonso III notifies his faithful Jewish aljamas of Aragon, that he has ordered his faithful Bartolomé de Villafranca, to defray all expenses of the royal household, each month, from the amount of the tributes paid by the Jewish communities. He orders them, henceforth, to be responsible for the advances of tribute, to Bartolomé de Villafranca.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1696.) Similar notification was sent to the Jews of the Kingdom of Majorca.

44 . . . 1286. Majorca, December 6th. Receipt for 20,000 sueldos reyals given by A. de Bastida to the Jews of Majorca.
(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1697.)

45 . . . 1286. Majorca, December 6th. Alfonso III has been informed by Mosse Ahammar, Jew of Majorca, that P. de Angeler, Bernardo Adenar and G. de Moragues de Beniforanich were indebted to the said Mosse by public charter, for certain sums that they had promised to pay on a fixed date; that they refused to recognise, on this point, the privileges and concessions obtained from the Crown. The King orders the *viguier* and the *baile* of Majorca to force the said debtors and their guarantors to fulfil their engagements, seeing that he has already ordered all his officials of the Kingdom of Majorca to employ compulsion with

regard to debtors who had renounced to benefit by the delay accorded to them.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1698.)

46 . . . 1286. Majorca, December 6th. Alfonso III acknowledges having borrowed from the secretaries and the Jewish aljama of Majorca, 20,000 sueldos reyals of Valencia, for which he has assigned to them payment from the revenues of Inca and Ginyech(?).

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1699.)

47 . . . 1286. Majorca, December 21st. Receipt for 2,000 sueldos given by A. de Bastida to the Jews of Majorca.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1704.) Should not the amount be 20,000 as in the preceding?

48 . . . 1286. Majorca, December 21st. Receipt given to the secretaries and the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, for 2,000 sueldos that the King had borrowed from them, with assignment of this sum from the revenues of Inca and Ginyech.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1703.) This appears to be the same as No. 47.

49 . . . 1287. Huesca, June 25th. Alfonso III orders his faithful Jaime Torrecillo to deduct from the 30,000 sueldos to be exacted, in virtue of aid, from the Jewish aljama of Majorca, the sums that this collector had advanced to the King.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1757.)

50 . . . 1287. Huesca, June 27th. Alfonso III notifies the Jews of the aljama of Majorca, that they will be responsible for the payment, for aid, of 30,000 sueldos reyals, to Jaime de Torrecillo.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1768.)

51 . . . 1287. Huesca, August 16th. Alfonso III has been informed of the difference that has arisen between the heirs of Issach Choen, Jew of Majorca: Jacob, David, Juceff, husband of Bonadona, and Aaron. He orders Maymó Abenvive and Issach Benabram, Jews of Majorca, to verify the age of Aaron; if the young man is major, the distribution must be effected immediately; if he is minor, his elder brothers must guarantee, on security, that they will hand over to him later the integral portion that is due to him by right, according to the Hebrew *açuna*.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1769.)

52 . . . 1288. Saragossa, April 3rd. Alfonso III has been informed by the Jewish aljama of Majorca, that the consuls of that town compelled the Jewish citizens under their administration, to contribute with them to the taxes, or royal and municipal

collections. He orders his faithful consuls, *prohombres* and the community of the city of Majorca not to assess the Jews, for these last discharge their tributes, services, etc., separately, and it would not be just to make them pay twice.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1915.)

53 . . . 1288. Saragossa, April 4th. Alfonso III has been informed that several Majorcans responsible as guarantors or otherwise, to the Jewish aljama of Majorca, had obtained from the Crown a delay of six months, claimed to benefit by it, although they had expressly renounced it in their contracts of debts. The King orders his procurator in the Kingdom of Majorca, Acardo de Muro, and to all his other officials of the city and of this kingdom, to compel payment by this category of debtors, who, in advance, had precluded themselves from this right, by special clause, to have recourse to delays of payment.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1919.)

54 . . . 1289. s.l. July 1st. Application of Çaadon Bena(r), Jew, to Bn. de Verino, *baile* of Majorca. Valencian pirates captured a cargo of shellac near Tunis, and forced another Jew to pay ransome. The *baile*, in whose power was one of the pirates, is asked to give satisfaction.

(Baer, No. 130.)

55 . . . 1289. Barcelona, September 7th. Alfonso III writes to P. de Libian to buy at a reasonable price, a Moor named Mahomet Sedeno, and his son Ali, who belong to Samuel Baendiel, Jew of Majorca, and to send them to him to Barcelona; also the wife of the said Mahomet, named Cefra alias Alfarra, and Sebey, son of the said Mahomet and of Cefra alias Alfarra; he has promised to give them to the envoy Solian Alexandria.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 1996.)

56 . . . 1289. Barcelona, December 9th. Alfonso III orders the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, to pay their taxes to Dalmaso Suyner, royal treasurer.

(Régné, *Cat.* No. 2044.)

57 . . . 1290. Barcelona, June 10th. Alfonso III has been informed on behalf of F. Lull, citizen of Majorca, that Maymo Benenono and Juceff Abenagar, Jews of Majorca, had demanded from him interest superior to four dineros, in violation of the rate fixed by the late James I. He orders the *viguier* of Majorca to force these usurers to refund all above the four dineros.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2155.)

58 . . . 1290. Barcelona, June 13th. Alfonso III notifies the secretaries and the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, of the order that he has given to P. de Libian, his *baile* of Majorca, to collect in the said kingdom the sum of 37,000 sueldos.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2159.)

59 . . . 1290. Barcelona, June 21st. Alfonso III makes known to all his officials that he has accorded a delay of one year from Christmas, to F. Lull, inhabitant of Majorca, and to his guarantors, for the sum of 5,500 Barcelona sueldos, that they owe to the Jews of the island of Majorca, Maymo Benennano, Mosse Benriono, Juceff Abenahar, on condition that they free themselves by annuities of 700 sueldos.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2162.)

60 . . . 1290. Barcelona, June 22nd. Alfonso III makes known to the Jews, men and women, of the city and Kingdom of Majorca, that an arrangement has been concluded between them and the investigators charged by the ordonnance of the court of Monzón, to open an enquiry against usurers, fixing at 37,000 royal Valencian sueldos the terms of settlement demanded from the Majorcan Jews. The King confirms this settlement and delays all proceedings against them.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2163.)

61 . . . 1290. Barcelona, November 27th. Alfonso III orders P. de Libian to send Maymon Bennuno, Sulema Bondia and Ysac Braanam, to attend the summons, made by the said Pedro, on the Jewish *Call*, on the site situated between the convents of the Friars minor and the sisters of Santa Clara, in the city of Majorca.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2252.)

62 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 2nd. Alfonso III entreated to confirm the site of the Jewish *Call*, that had been fixed by P. de Libian to the Jews of Majorca, makes known to the consuls, to the *prohombres* and to the community of the city and of the Kingdom of Majorca, that he is occupied with various affairs, and that as a result, the delegate of the community would be delayed too long to return home, for this reason he permits him to return to Majorca. Concerning Jacob Benoñon, who presented himself at the Court on behalf of the Jews of Majorca, the King authorises him to remain to arrange that affair.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2254.)

63 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 21st. Alfonso III confirms the ordonnance by which P. de Libian, chief *baile* of the Kingdom

of Majorca, in accord with the consuls and the other *prohombres* of the community of Majorca, had assigned as the site of the Jewish *Call* to the Jews of that city, on September 30th preceding, the part called Temple and Calatrava. He authorises the Majorcan Jews to construct in the *Call* a synagogue and a bake-house. He exempts them, in addition, of the obligation to lodge a stranger in their houses against their will.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2267.)

64 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 21st. Alfonso III informs his faithful consuls and *prohombres* of Majorca, that he has confirmed the ordonnance of P. de Libian. He orders them to co-operate with that functionary to build gates, doors and an enclosure, in short, all that is necessary for a single street.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2268.)

65 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 21st. Alfonso III orders the secretaries and the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, to pay without delay 12,000 sueldos in payment for the privilege authorising the establishment of the Jewish *Call*.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2269.)

66 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 21st. Alfonso III orders his faithful P. de Libian, to use force with regard to those Jews of Majorca who refuse to pay their part of the 12,000 sueldos.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2270.)

67 . . . 1290. Barcelona, December 21st. Alfonso III orders P. de Libian to urge all the Jews of the city of Majorca to build their houses on the site fixed, as well as the gates, doors, enclosures and other things necessary to the single street. If the Jews desire to have a bake-house in the *Call*, P. de Libian will permit it to them, the King's right excepted.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2271.)

68 . . . 1291. Valencia, April 10th. The Infante has learned from Azac Sibili, Jew of Valencia, that the consuls of the city of Majorca, detained him prisoner unjustly. He reminds them that he has already written to them to observe, concerning this Jew, the usages and customs of Majorca. He is astonished at the persistence of their attitude and orders them, once more, not to detain the said Jew, and to observe, regarding him, the usages and customs of Majorca.

(Régné, *Cat.*, No. 2351.)

JAMES II OF ARAGON

(1294 TO 1298)

69 . . . 1294. Barcelona, May 8th. James II having learned that certain Jews of the city of Majorca had made and used counterfeit money, he orders his faithful P. de Focs, treasurer of his household and special procurator, not to allow so great a crime to go unpunished, and to order the arrest of the forgers.
(Régné, *A. de A.*; *R.E.J.*, vol. 75, p. 152.)

70 . . . 1294. Barcelona, May 8th. If the Jewish money-forgers want to compromise, James II gives full power to P. de Focs to fix the amount for them to pay.
(Régné, *A. de A.*, idem.)

71 . . . 1294. Barcelona, May 10th. Salamon Abenzeyt, who had revealed the forging of money by his Majorcan co-religionists, running the risk of being declared *malsim* by the Jewish aljama of Majorca, James II gives him the assurance that no proceeding can be taken against him on that head, under penalty of 100 gold morabotins.
(Régné, *A. de A.*, idem.)

72 . . . 1294. Tortosa, October 14th. James II authorises Juceff Coffe, son of Salamon, Jew of Majorca, to build a bake-house in his shop in the Jewish *Call* of the city, on condition that it is not prejudicial to others, and that the new bake-house be the only one in the Jewish *Call*. This concession is accorded for the annual rent of 10 fine gold morabotins, full weight, and carries with it the right of transfer, except to knights, ecclesiastics and holy men.
(Régné, *A. de A.*, idem.)

73 . . . 1294/5. Valencia, January 26th. The Infante informs the Jewish governors and group of Majorca, that the Jewish aljama of Barcelona has granted a testimonial letter to Avigata, widow of Astruch, Jew of Barcelona, to permit her to acquire a house in their quarter, and to aid her to marry her daughter, which she was unable to do elsewhere. As the widow of Astruch proposes to return to Majorca to marry her daughter there, Don Pedro orders that the Jewish community of that town, place no obstacle for the realisation of that project.
(Régné, *A. de A.*)

74 . . . 1296. Valencia, October 1st. James II accords to the Jews of the aljama of the city of Majorca, the following franchises: 1. The community will choose every year, three fit and proper *prohombres* as governors (*adénantades*). 2. That between Jew and Jew, judgment be in the power of the governors, and that the parties cannot be condemned of *chalonge* either by the King or any private person, if it be not a case of homicide, as has been conceded to the Hebrew aljama of the city of Valencia, by the late James I. 3. That the governors can expel from the *Call* and even from the island, Jews and Jewesses of bad living, bad reputation, and bad company. 4. That if a Jew falls from a wall or into a well, or receive on his body a stone or a beam, or other accident causing death, the aljama will not be held responsible for the accident. 5. Lastly, that the Jews of Majorca benefit of royal safeguard and protection.
(Régné, *A. de A.*)

75 . . . 1296. Valencia, October 3rd. The Jews of the aljama of Majorca complained to the King, that the priests charged to preach to them the christian faith, enticed them into christian churches and other meeting-places dangerous to the Jews. In consequence of the multitude of people assembled, a great scandal might be caused and great danger threaten the Jewish audience. James II considering the justice of this complaint and seeing that by the action of the preachers, sentiment could easily be fomented, orders the procurator of the kingdom, the *baile* and the provost of the city of Majorca, not to permit more than ten christian tradespeople to assist at the preachings addressed to a Jewish audience. These meetings cannot be held without the precincts of the Jewish *Call.*
(Régné, *A. de A.*)

76 . . . 1297. Vilanova de Meya, June 7th. Reduction of 20,000 sueldos to the Majorcan Jews from the 50,000 of their tribute.
(Régné, *A. de A.*)

77 . . . 1297. At the Siege of the Castle of Ort, June 27th. Order to the *baile* of Majorca to authorise the Jewish aljama of that city to promulgate decrees, if he judges it beneficial to the interests of the Israelite community and to royal authority.
(Régné, *A. de A.*)

JAMES II OF MAJORCA

SECOND PERIOD

(1298 TO 1311)

78 . . . 1299/1300. Majorca, March 18th. Decree of James II. Whereas the Jews of Majorca who live within the quarter of the Almudayna and other parts of the city of Majorca, have transferred their domiciles to certain quarters called the Temple and Calatrava quarters, where they have established and constructed their Jewry, and that it would cause them grave detriment to compel them to leave this place and transfer their Jewry elsewhere, the King concedes to them in perpetuity the site where it is now situated and the synagogues that, with the approbation of the Bishop of Majorca, they have commenced to build. He desires, further, that, in the event of the necessity to enlarge the said Jewry, it can extend on the adjoining sites to that which it actually occupies, on the side of the house of the Temple.

(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 332–333.)

79 . . . 1299/1300. Majorca, March 18th. James II confirms and enlarges the decree dated, Perpignan, January 1, 1281, concerning the housing of Christians (No. 22).

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 15.)

80 . . . 1303. Perpignan, June 10th. James II decrees that all Jews must live in the *Call*.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vii, p. 34.)

81 . . . 1303. June 27th. James II ordains that religious burial be given to certain Jews, money-forgers, who at the moment to be hanged, had asked for and obtained, baptism.

(Villa., vol. xxi, p. 160.)

82 . . . 1303. Perpignan, June 28th. Letter from James II to Dalmau de Garriga, Lieutenant of Majorca, concerning payment of debts to the Jews. Further, the aljama asks the King to expel from the island a number of foreign Jews who had arrived from different parts, who were of bad character, creating discord between members of the community and the rest of the population.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. xix, p. 340.)

83 . . . 1303. Perpignan, June 28th. Letter from James II to Dalmau de Garriga, concerning the obligation of the Jews to live

within their *Call*, but allowing them to leave it for work and to sell their goods.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. xix, p. 340.) This letter and the preceding one, appear to be confirmations of the two Latin documents dated June 10th and July 4, 1303 (Nos. 80 and 84).

84 . . . 1303. Perpignan, July 4th. James II replies to the Jewish delegates, Jucef Ben Amar and Jucef Levi, concerning the same subject as decree, June 10, 1303 (No. 80).

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vii, p. 34.)

85 . . . 1305. Perpignan, April 4th. Letter from James II addressed to Dalmacio de Garriga, Lieutenant in Majorca, inviting him to co-operate with the Bishop of Majorca "on the case of the Jews and the recent affair that has caused scandal," and to take, with the Bishop, a decision by which no cleric will be able in future to penetrate within the Jewry nor in the houses of the Jews "to expose the sacrament in time of necessity," unless accompanied by an agent of the Lieutenant or of the *baile* of Majorca. It is, further, prohibited to bury Jews in a common fosse unless the body is first burned; the stench being dangerous to public health.

(Villa., vol. xxi, p. 165.)

86 . . . 1309. Coliure, July 4th. James II orders that a sufficient water supply be furnished to the *Call* by the city. Prohibits any person to enter the *Call* to preach the christian faith, without special permission from the Lieutenant, nor can such person be accompanied by more than ten persons who must be of good reputation and whose names must be previously stated. This decree also terminates the custom which permitted priests to enter the *Call* on Easter Saturday to sprinkle the houses of Jews with holy water, in order to demand presents of eggs, etc. As the Jews had no faith in the proceeding it could do no good.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vi, p. 306.)

87 . . . 1309. Coliure, July 5th. James II orders his Governor of Majorca to institute a judicial enquiry into the incident of false rumours, that the Jews had assassinated a christian child, and especially against those who asserted to have seen the dead child, or its clothes; that the same be imprisoned until their punishment be decided on. He further orders, that the Bishop imposes a severe penalty on the priest Galceron, who caused the alarm, a penalty as severe as the case merits.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vi, pp. 335–336.)

88 . . . 1310. Majorca, June 15th. Publication of the Judgment rendered by the King in favour of the Majorcan Jews, in the Claim and Trial brought against them by Guillermo Ortiz, priest of Santa Eulalia, on February 14, 1308/9. On September 28, 1310, the Viceroy, Pedro de Bellcastell, ordered a legalised transcript to be made of this Judgment, at the request of the Jewish aljama.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 16.)

SANCHO I

(1311 TO 1325)

89 . . . 1311. Majorca, June 22nd. King Sancho confirms all the privileges granted to the Jews of Majorca previous to this date.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 18.)

90 . . . 1311. Majorca, June 22nd. King Sancho having knowledge of a letter addressed to his father, the late James II, by the Jews of Majorca, in which they expressed the fears they felt on the proclamation of the expulsion of the Jews from France, and considering that the King his father, had given to the Jews of his kingdom the assurance that they will never be expelled, declares that he takes under his protection the community of the Jews of Majorca.
(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 333–334.)

91 . . . 1312/1313. Perpignan, March 7th. Sancho orders his Viceroy, Berenguer de Sanjuán, to maintain the franchises and immunities of the Majorcan Jews against the pretensions of certain officials of his court.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 19.)

92 . . . 1315. Majorca, September 19th. In virtue of the condemnation, the King having confiscated the property of all the Jews of the city, directs, as a pure act of mercy, to allow them what is indispensable for their maintenance. Should they after this act, commit other crimes for which they cannot be fined, being insolvent, he considers it best, under promise that they pay him 95,000 libras for past offences, to concede them an amnesty for all subsequent penalties, and directs that they be received under his protection.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 20.)

93 . . . 1315. San Feliu de Guixols, October 6th. Sancho writes to his royal procurators of Majorca, Pedro Figuera and Miguel

Rotlán, that he encloses in his letter the ordonnances and concessions accorded and countersigned by him, concerning the reorganisation of the Hebrew aljama. He also permits and authorises the Majorcan Jews to build another synagogue on a different site from the one confiscated.

(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, article by A. Morel-Fatio.)

94 . . . 1316. Perpignan, June 13th. Sancho notifies his procurators, Pedro Figuera and Miguel Rotlán, that in consideration of representations made by the secretaries of the Majorcan aljama, means be afforded to the Jews of the same, to bring all property that they may possess or acquire in other dominions, particularly Moorish, notwithstanding that they are at war with the King.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 21.)

95 . . . 1318. Perpignan, March 28th. Sancho acknowledges to the five secretaries of the Hebrew aljama of Majorca, the payment by them of 65,000 libras, leaving a balance of 30,000 due, as agreed in 1315, to discharge the pecuniary punishment pronounced in 1314. The accounts of the various sums and property are specified in the document.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 22.)

96 . . . 1318. Perpignan, March 28th. Sancho confirms the possession of the *Call* of Majorca to the Majorcan Jews in perpetuity, promising to them, for himself and for his successors, that he will never oblige them to move the *Call* to another quarter.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 23.)

97 . . . 1318. Perpignan, March 28th. Sancho grants to the aljama, in accord with the secretaries, that it can in future elect new secretaries according to ancient custom, although the sentence pronounced in 1314 deprived the Majorcan Jews of all their privileges, franchises and immunities; but this could be revoked by the King.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 24.)

98 . . . 1318. Valencia, November 7th. Report of the *baile* of Valencia to the King. Bonjuheu Dallel, representing Issach Cohen de Gaczes of Barcelona, demands restitution of a cargo of indigo which Maymon Gaczes, Jew of Majorca and partner of Issach Cohen, had sent from Moczema to Issach Bon Aaron of Majorca, and which had been captured by Valencian ships. The application is based on the fact that the applicant is a resident of Barcelona and is supported by the *baile* of Barcelona.

(Baer, No. 172.)

99 . . . 1319. Perpignan, July 21st. Sancho, on the petition of the secretaries of the aljama, charges his viceroy to repress with energy, and deport from the island, undesirable foreign Jews, who disturb the peace and create enmity and antagonism, prejudicial to their Majorcan co-religionists.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 25.)

100 . . . 1319. Perpignan, August 22nd. Sancho informs the viceroy, that he will not consent to intrigues or ruses to evade resolutions voted by the secretaries of the community.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 26.)

101 . . . 1319. Perpignan, August 23rd. Sancho to the Viceroy's lieutenant on the same question as the preceding, charging him with the distribution of the ordinary subsidy and the arrears that the aljama owes to the King. He orders him to restrain those who blame the secretaries for this.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 27.)

102 . . . 1319. Perpignan, August 23rd. Sancho to the Viceroy's lieutenant on the same question as the preceding, ordering him to oblige those by oppressive measures such as seizure and sale, who refuse to pay their part, as decided by the secretaries of the community.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 28.)

103 . . . 1319. Perpignan, August 23rd. Sancho declares that the Jews of Minorca and Ibiza always formed part of the community of Majorca, and cannot be exempt from payment of their portion of the taxes levied by the secretaries of Majorca. The Jews of Minorca and Ibiza pretend that they did not enjoy the same franchises granted to the Majorcans.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 29.)

104 . . . 1319. Perpignan, September 17th. Empowering the secretaries and council of the aljama to regulate lavish expenditure on clothes and marriage functions; to punish adultery and similar offences.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 30.)

105 . . . 1323. Majorca, July 7th. Sancho exposes how the synagogue and its adjacent edifice had been confiscated by him and transferred into the Church of Santa Fé, which by its obscure situation, inconvenient access to christians, and the hindrance to the Jews, he agrees to transfer it to the "huerta" *den Cassa*, after

having deliberated with his Royal Council and the Bishop of Majorca, Guido de Terreny. Further, the Jews having paid to the fisc a sum of 2,000 libras mallorquines, and another sum of 300 libras to aid in the construction of the cathedral of Majorca, the King promises that after the chapel of Santa Fé has been transferred to *den Cassa*, the Jews can open at the end of the road that conducts to the ex chapel, a door of any size they wish giving access to the Jewry. He engages himself never to allow the christian cult to be restored therein, and to prohibit future owners who may acquire the right of property on the said chapel, to make any openings in the wall of the building that overlooks the Jewry.
(Villa., vol. xxi, pp. 300–302; *B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 31.)

106 . . . 1323. Majorca, July 21st. Sancho stipulates that the delay conceded to the debtors of the Jews, will be accorded only to those who furnish security to pay at the expiration of the term.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 32.)

107 . . . 1323/4. Perpignan, January 2nd. Sancho, on the demand of the Bishop of Majorca, Guido de Terreny, decrees that neither the ancient chapel of Santa Fé nor its site can ever again be appropriated to the Jewish or pagan cult; that on the contrary, the site of the said chapel will always remain at the disposition, in the power of, and at the service of christians.
(Villa., vol. xxi, pp. 302–303.)

108 . . . 1324. Formiguera de Cerdaña, August 3rd. Sancho orders his Viceroy, Bernardo de Tornamira, to cease inquisitorial trials commenced against honourable Jews, vilely calumniated by others of bad origin.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 33.)

109 . . . 1324. Formiguera, August 3rd. Sancho to his Viceroy, Bernardo de Tornamira, ordering strict observance of the decree of March 28, 1318 (No. 97), concerning the election of secretaries of the aljama. He declares that nobody but the King can prevent action of the community on this point.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 34.)

110 . . . 1324. Formiguera, August 4th. Sancho orders his Viceroy, Bernardo de Tornamira, to observe all privileges granted in favour of the Jews since the year 1315, even in case of doubt, until the King himself decides with justice and reason.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 35.)

111 . . . 1324. Formiguera, August 7th. Decrees against merchants and bankers who having received on exchange or deposit, money from the Hebrew community and its secretaries, declared themselves insolvent or bankrupt. King Sancho decrees that in every case the debtors be compelled to refund to the aljama the full amount owed, notwithstanding any law, etc., to the contrary.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 36.)

THE REGENT PHILIP AND JAMES III

(1325 TO 1343)

112 . . . 1325. Barcelona, October 26th. The Regent Philip confirms all the privileges of the Hebrew aljama of Majorca.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 37.)

113 . . . 1325. Barcelona, November 5th. The Regent Philip grants to the Jews of Majorca the right of citizenship.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 38.)

114 . . . 1326. Majorca, November 18th. Agreement made by the secretaries of the aljama with the administration of the customs treasury, in the presence and with the approbation of, the Viceroy, Arnaldo de Cardailhac; stipulating that they would pay 1,300 libras on condition that they obtain suspension of legal proceedings against certain Majorcan Jews, for commercial contraband in the towns of Tremecén and Mostagane, in Barbary.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 39.)

115 . . . 1326. Perpignan, December 26th. The Regent Philip confirms the preceding document, adding some explanatory details.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 40.)

116 . . . 1327. Perpignan, March 3rd. The Regent Philip decrees that baptism by force on Jews, pagans or slaves, is prohibited.
(Villa., vol. xxi, pp. 303–304.)

117 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, January 22nd. James III, with the consent of his tutor Don Philip, acknowledges the receipt of the sum of 30,000 libras since the beginning of his reign, from the Hebrew aljama of Majorca, which amount remained to liquidate the 95,000 libras agreed to in the contracts of September 19, 1315, and March 28, 1318.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 41.)

118 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, February 11th. The Regent Philip notifies the Viceroy, Arnaldo de Cardailhac, that he does not consent that christian debtors to the Jews benefit by two delays of payment on the same debt, thus abusing what the Regent had accorded to them.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 42.)

119 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, February 11th. The Regent Philip to the Viceroy, Arnaldo de Cardailhac, Orders that christian debtors to Jews, except in the case of debt for usury, have not better conditions than Jews, in respect to detention or confinement in the Cort prison.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 44.)

120 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, February 11th. The Regent Philip to the Viceroy, Arnaldo de Cardailhac, stating that if the secretaries of the Hebrew aljama are condemned to prison for debt to the King, they are not confined with christian prisoners in the Cort prison, but in a becoming place within the Hebrew quarter, or elsewhere.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 43.)

121 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, March 8th. Concerning the purchase of a house by Abraham Malaqui adjoining the former chapel of Santa Fé, which belonged to him before the general confiscation by King Sancho. Its value is considered to have increased since that time.
(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, p. 53.)

122 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, March 8th. The Regent Philip grants the petition of the Jews of Majorca, presented by their four delegates, Abrafim Malaqui, Issach ben Aaron, Ayon Choen, Jucef Barqui, which states that, having liquidated the fine of 95,000 libras, the Jewish community of Majorca be re-established in common law, and that in future it will have to pay only 165 libras annual tribute, as previous to the condemnation. The Regent further declares, that following the example of his predecessors, he takes under his protection the Jews of Majorca and their property.
(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, p. 51.)

123 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, March 8th. The Regent Philip replies to the delegates of the aljama of Majorca, Abrafim Malaqui, Issach ben Aaron, Ayon Choen, Juceff Barqui, who solicit the permission to transfer a money factory (*fabrique monétaire*) to the courtyard (*patio*) or on the former "site of the chapel of Santa

Fé"; that if the community engages to pay the same rights of quit-rent and entrance that it pays for the present position of the said factory, and if the site of the chapel be completely closed in, he consents to cede to the Jews the courtyard and the adjoining houses, at a price to be fixed according to the value at the time of King Sancho, and on condition that the community will pay, for the redemption of the said courtyard, a certain sum every nine years. The Regent also orders his procurator to give to the Jewish community of Majorca, "a public charter of debt for one year," for the sum of 5,000 libras that it had lent to the King.

(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, pp. 52–53.)

124 . . . 1327/8. Perpignan, May 3rd. The Regent Philip concedes to the four delegates of the Hebrew aljama, the repeal of the abuse, introduced by King Sancho, to name a secretary of the community against the privileges and ancient custom of the same aljama, on whose administrative government and constitution, no christian could take part, even though he be the King. It was therefore necessary to renounce this charge and cede it to the secretary normally appointed, one of the secretaries (Astruch ben Nuno?) that Sancho had named, and the Regent maintained in this office.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 45.)

125 . . . 1327/8. Perignan, May 5th. The Regent Philip decrees that no christian can be arrested for debt or charge to the Jews, if it be of long standing or ancient.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. ix, p. 68.)

126 . . . 1329. Majorca, August 26th. James III, in full plenitude, confirms the decree of February 11, 1328 (No. 119), concerning imprisonment of insolvent debtors to the Jews, except when caused by usury. The King is moved to accord this privilege, taking into consideration that the Jews of Majorca lived, above all, by commerce and the traffic of merchandise.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 46.)

127 . . . 1331. Perpignan, August 8th. James III discusses with the Jews of Majorca, the right to build or rent a building to serve as a synagogue. He grants the permission on condition that it be called a *school* or *house of prayer*, to avoid pharisaical scandal and provided that it be not very sumptuous. Sancho's condemnatory judgment, when he confiscated their very beautiful and artistic synagogue, declared that the Jews could, if they desired, build another one within the city. James III orders the Viceroy, present

and future, to protect the Jews in their right to build or rent the said *school.*

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 47.)

128 . . . 1333/4. Perpignan, January 25th. James III grants to the delegates of the Hebrew aljama, Vidal Cresques, Abraham Malaqui, Mosé ben Ramón and Hayon Choen, an extension of payment of seven and a half years divided into nine terms, as specified in this document. The King notifies his procurators, Bernardo Jana and Bernardo de Valverde, that this extension is for half of the penalty incurred by the Jews the previous year and who had not paid the head-tax (*cabezaje*), thus rendering themselves debtors to the treasury in their persons and property.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 48.)

129 . . . 1333/4. Perpignan, January 25th. James III to his procurators, indicating to them that during the seven and a half years mentioned in the previous document, the Majorcan Jews will not be obliged to pay the *cabezaje* or the twentieth part of their property to the treasury.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 49.)

130 . . . 1333/4. Perpignan, January 25th. James III to his procurators explaining how the clauses of the two preceding documents are to be applied to the Majorcan Jews, who were absent from Majorca at the time of the condemnation the previous year, but who had returned or desired to return, to their native land.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 50.)

131 . . . 1334. Elne, March 20th. Letter from James III to the royal procurators of Majorca, charging them to examine the case of Juceff Faquin, Jew of Barcelona, who had settled in Majorca one year and a half previously, and from whom the Majorcan aljama claimed his part of a fine of 18,000 libras imposed on the community eight years earlier.

(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, pp. 53–54.)

132 . . . 1335. Perpignan, May 11th. James III to his procurators, intimating that on the petition of Vidal Cresques, delegate of the aljama, he ordered them not to place in the stocks or imprison Jews who had only surety credits which they offered to the treasury to pay the impost resulting from the condemnation, which terminated in the agreement of January 25, 1334 (No. 129). The credits against the debtors of the said Jews could pass, in virtue of this new concession, to the State. By this conversion or assign-

ment, the State would know better than the Jewish creditors how to obtain payment of the debts.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 51.)

133 . . . 1337. Majorca, January 3rd. James III confers the right on the secretaries of the aljama of Majorca, with the assistance of four learned Jews, to punish offences against religious and moral laws, but they cannot exile nor condemn to punishment which causes blood-shedding.

(Baer, No. 203.)

134 . . . 1337. Manacor, November 13th. James III replies to the petition of the secretaries of the aljama, that in case of doubts arising as to the equity of the distribution of individual payments, the question must be decided by the council of eight of the most eminent of the aljama.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 52.)

PEDRO IV

(1343 TO 1387)

135 . . . 1343. Majorca, June 23rd. Pedro IV absolves the Majorcan Jews of all the taxes that James III had imposed upon them or had collected from them by means of condemnation, including the twentieth part of their property or any other extortion. He adds that in future, nothing would be demanded from them but what was in conformity with justice.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 53.)

136 . . . 1343/4. Saragossa, January 3rd. Pedro IV confirms all the privileges granted to the Jews of Majorca by the Kings of Aragon, James II and Alfonso III, also by the Kings of Majorca, James II and his son Sancho, and further those of the Regent Philip. No mention is made of James III, whose decrees he had annulled the previous year as being oppressive.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 54.)

137 . . . 1343/4. Barcelona, March 5th. Pedro IV orders the Governor of Majorca, Arnaldo de Eril, the procurators Beltrán Roig and Bernardo de Morera, and the other officials of the Kingdom of Majorca, not to exact a passport or procurators' permit, from Jews who desire to leave the Baleares, inasmuch as this liberty facilitated the access of foreign Hebrew families. The advantage and benefit to the treasury was so obvious and great,

that it was acknowledged even by the deposed James III, who first imposed and later removed the obstacle.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, after No. 76.) This appears to be the same document that was printed in the *B.S.A.L.*, vol. xxii, pp. 69–70.

138 . . . 1343/4. Barcelona, March 5th. Pedro IV concedes to christian butchers, in conformity with the Jews, that the latter pay one dinero per pound more than the christians, for meat from the first quarters of the animal killed in the Jewish slaughter-house.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 55.)

139 . . . 1343/4. Barcelona, March 7th. Pedro IV decrees that any Jew who accuses a co-religionist unjustly, be punished by retaliation (*talión*).

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 56.)

140 . . . 1343/4. Barcelona, March 13th. Pedro IV orders that all documents and securities held by the royal procurators from Jews on account of *cabezatjes* or other condemnations imposed by James III, be returned, as those impositions had been annulled.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 57; *B.S.A.L.*, vol. xxii, p. 70.)

141 . . . (*c.* 1343). Pedro IV to A. de Erillo, Governor-General of Majorca, respecting a complaint of Alatzar, son of Magister Aym Viv(es), a German Jew, on his return from Jerusalem. In the neighbourhood of Cyprus he was attacked on the ship by which he travelled; goods to the value of about 500 gold florins were stolen, and a ransom of fifty gold florins was forced from him.

(Baer, No. 216.)

142 . . . 1344. Barcelona, September 18th. Pedro IV orders his officials and employees, to observe the privileges of the Balearic Jews, under penalty of one thousand gold maravedis for each time they fail to do so.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 58.)

143 . . . 1344. Barcelona, September 19th. Pedro IV to the Governor-General of Majorca, Arnaldo de Eril, and his subordinates, warning them not to make any innovations to the detriment of the ancient custom of the Jews to make loans to each other only on the faith of their oath.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 59.)

144 . . . 1344. Majorca, November 29th. Pedro IV to the Governor of Majorca, Arnaldo de Eril, declares that the procurators of the aljama be not required to pass any examination similar to other procurators, in order to be named and recognised as such.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 60.)

145 . . . 1345. Majorca, May 23rd. All who have claims on a box of Hebrew books belonging to Mestre Bonafos de Largencer, Jew, are summoned to appear.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. xxii, p. 214.)

146 . . . (1345). s.l. Application to the King by Astruch Jucef of Puigcerda in the County of Cerdaña, belonging to the King of Majorca, and who was one of the richest Jews of Majorca. In consequence of the continual blackmail by the deposed king (James III), he is now an aged pauper who has to support a family, and the cruel execution of his son ordered by the deposed king has rendered him almost insane. He asks for delay for the payment of debt, and that the sums due to his son should be paid to his orphans without delay.

(Baer, No. 220.)

147 . . . 1346. September 8th. Pedro IV decrees that the Jews of the town of Inca live apart from the christians.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, p. 71.)

148 . . . 1347. Barcelona, December 10th. Delay accorded to the inhabitants of Sóller for the payment of their debts to the Jews, notwithstanding the privilege obtained a short time previously by the Jews of the community of Majorca, according to the terms of which, no delay would be accorded to their debtors during a period of five years.

(Rullan, vol. i, append. 15, p. 794.)

149 . . . 1347. Barcelona, December 14th. Pedro IV imposes the penalty of perpetual banishment from the Balearic Islands, on any Jew or Jewess condemned for infamy or bad conduct by the secretaries and eight councillors of the aljama, who swear on the Decalogue of Moses before the *baile* that the prisoner is of ill-fame. Should he or she return to the islands after having been banished, then the prisoner suffer the greater penalty of having the right foot cut off.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 61.)

150 . . . 1348. Teruel, July 8th. Pedro IV orders the secretaries of the aljama to consult with eight of the principal contributors of the community, concerning charities, procurements and other expenditure of the same, and to make no payments without their consent.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 62.)

151 . . . 1348. Pedro IV to the *baile* of Majorca. The Court physician, Mag. Salomo Bofill de Petralata, complains that during his absence in the royal service, his son, Hizquia, had disposed, by testament while on his sick bed, of a quantity of oil which belonged to his father. After the death of his son, the *baile* or the chiefs of the aljama, had taken away the oil from the cellar of the owner.

(Baer, No. 239.)

152 . . . 1351. Barcelona, August 5th. Pedro IV authorises the wife of Jucef Haquim of Majorca, to sell a house which she inherited from her father, Muça ben Maymo Xulell, which had been presented to him as not alienable, and to distribute the proceeds between the children.

(Baer, No. 247.)

153 . . . 1351. Barcelona, August 16th. Pedro IV decides on the invalidity of the edict of James III (May, 1343) against Jewish creditors, concerning debts not claimed by judgment for five years, provided that the edict was not promulgated, nor came to their knowledge, or that they were unable to observe it on account of their distressful situation.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 63.)

154 . . . 1351. Perpignan, December 15th. Pedro IV to the civil servants of Majorca. The aljama complains that ship-masters frequently offered captured Jews to the aljama for redemption; that in case of non-redemption they were carried away again or ill-treated, in revenge against the aljama. The ship-masters must be compelled to release any prisoner immediately the aljama pays 30 libras each.

(Baer, No. 248.)

155 . . . 1352. Barcelona, January 24th. Pedro IV orders and declares that *from time immemorial*, the Jews of Majorca enjoyed the privilege to take oath only on the Decalogue of Moses, without assenting to the maledictions and exorcisms expressed in the codex of the *Usages de Barcelona*. The order was presented by

Salomon Jonis as procurator and in the name of the secretaries of the aljama. In virtue of which the *baile* or the royal justice of the peace, D. Pedro Unis, gave definite judgment on the validity of that privilege, Thursday, May 24th, of the same year, and ordered the present copy to be made in public form the following day.

(*B.R.A.H*, vol. xxxvi, No. 64.)

156 . . . 1353. Majorca, January 9th. D. Guillén Llagostera, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Governor of Majorca, orders the *baile* of Manacor to liquidate the price of two Moorish slaves that had belonged to Samuel de Paris, a Majorcan Jew, who sold them to Bernardo Castelló, five days before they became christians.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 65.)

157 . . . 1353. Valencia, November 8th. Pedro IV orders the Governor of Majorca to settle the litigation between Jaffuda Abenforro, a Jew from Valencia, representative of Benvenist Abencacet and other Jews (not named) of Majorca, in accordance with the Jewish law, with the assistance of Mosse Almateri. Majorcan Jew, "qui in ritu judeorum, ut dicitur, est expertus."

(Baer, No. 251.)

158 . . . 1355. Majorca, May 19th. Judgment confirming the decree of January 3, 1343/4, concerning the validity of witnesses.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 66.)

159 . . . 1355. Majorca, May 19th. Confirmatory judgment of the decree of January 3, 1343/4, on the security of debts, prolonged delay for the payment of which had been granted.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 67.)

160 . . . 1358. Barcelona, October 12th. Order of Pedro IV to the Court Physician Maestre Jucef. Referring to a decree of June 13, 1358, concerning the partition of the expenses incurred by Cresques Salomo at the Papal Curia, according to which the costs of calling the Jewish deputies from Majorca should be paid jointly by the aljama of Majorca and the representatives of the family of Cresques Salomo. Maestre Jucef will, in order to save expense, himself fix the amount payable by the aljama of Majorca.

(Baer, No. 262.)

161 . . . 1359. Bacelona, May 10th. Pedro IV decides that without delay or evasion on the part of the debtors, the Majorcan Jews can collect the interest due to them.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 68.)

162 . . . 1359. Barcelona, May 10th. Pedro IV orders, that in all the dominions under his Crown on both sides of the sea, the Majorcan Jews, strangers there, cannot be taxed heavier than other strangers in the same country.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 69.)

163 . . . 1359. Barcelona, May 11th. Pedro IV exempts the Majorcan Jews from taking oath in evidence of loans or usuries recognised and claimable before the courts.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 70.)

164 . . . 1359. Barcelona, May 12th. Pedro IV confirms his decree issued from the same city on February 15, 1356, by which he had prohibited from being elected as secretaries of the aljama, doctors and brokers who solicited this office. By the present decree he also excludes persons of bad reputation, under the gravest penalty for those who transgress this order.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 71.)

165 . . . 1359. Barcelona, June 3rd. Pedro IV orders that the privilege not to put the Majorcan Jews to the question of torture without special order from the King, be strictly observed, a privilege against which the magistrates of the courts had recently exceeded their authority.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 72.)

166 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 12th. Pedro IV grants and guarantees safe-conduct to all Jews from Africa or Barbary, who desire to settle or trade in Majorca, to enter or leave freely. They will pay the eighth part of all goods bought or sold.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. xxii, pp. 390–391.)

167 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 18th. Pedro IV promises that henceforth he will observe the privilege held by the secretaries of the aljama, not to show their books of accounts, and that the false position the King himself had placed them in, cannot serve as a precedent.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 73.)

168 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 18th. Pedro IV orders all proceedings to be relinquished against the Majorcan Jews, which could result from an examination of the books of accounts of their secretaries, and he reserves to himself to apply the result of the case to four employees of his administration.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 74.)

169 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 18th. Commission given by Pedro IV to Bernardo Vives, to decide if the Hebrew aljama should or not contribute with the Municipality of the city, in the payment or service of three hundred armed cavalry against Castile on the frontiers of Valencia or Aragon.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 75.)

170 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 20th. Pedro IV to the *baile* of Majorca. The second wife of the late physician Mag. Juda ben Samun, complains against the heirs of the first wife, because they dispute the right to a house of her husband which is not even sufficient for the payment of her dowry, although, according to Mosaic law, the second wife has preference in the widow's property.
(Baer, No. 264.)

171 . . . 1359. Majorca, August 25th. Pedro IV grants a commission to the said Bernardo Vives to decide if the Jews of the city were included in the municipal tax on the import and sale of wine.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 76.)

172 . . . 1360. Saragossa, June 8th. Judgment of the Court of Appeal in the case of the Municipality of the city of Majorca against the Hebrew aljama. In consequence of this decisive judgment, Pedro IV ratified the decision of Bernardo Vives favourable to the Jews.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 77.)

173 . . . 1362. Barcelona, October 27th. Pedro IV concedes to the aljama that it does not pay the sixtieth part of the business transacted and the great expenses that the subsidy of the war against Castile will incur, and the public utility of the same Corporation.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 78.)

174 . . . 1363. Barcelona, July 23rd. Pedro IV insists that the preceding decree be fulfilled.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 79.)

175 . . . 1364. Saragossa, September 16th. Pedro IV authorises torture to be applied to the Jews of Majorca, if necessary, but only with his permission.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, p. 115.)

176 . . . 1365. Tortosa, March 13th. Pedro IV grants to the aljama, that no concession of respite, suspension or stay of pro-

ceedings on the pretext of war by land or sea against Pedro I of Castile, or any other pretext, that can obstruct the secretaries and other persons of the same aljama, from exacting payment due on loans and deposits that they had made, or debts they had commenced to collect, before the said concessions were granted.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 80.)

177 . . . 1365. Tortosa, March 13th. Order of Pedro IV to the secretaries of the aljama of Majorca. Jucef Faquim, his brother and his sons, complain that the Municipality compels them to make a declaration for the purposes of taxation, although all their property consists in goods dispersed all over the world, on land and sea, and is, therefore, uncertain property. The secretaries will, with the assistance of two respectable Jews above suspicion, fix a valuation.
(Baer, No. 273.)

178 . . . 1367. Barcelona, February 3rd. Pedro IV orders the Bishop of Majorca to deliver to the royal jurisdiction, the Jew, Issach Analdi, whom he has imprisoned for blasphemy.
(Baer, No. 275.)

179 . . . 1367. Barcelona, February 10th. Pedro IV orders the inspector of weights and measures (*almotacén*) of the city of Majorca, under grave penalty, to swear to observe the franchises and privileges of the aljama of the Jews, that he cannot give the excuse that the Inspectorship of weights and measures was not included in the functions of the royal magistracy.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 81.)

180 . . . 1368. Barcelona, May 22nd. Pedro IV orders that the decree of July 23, 1363 (No. 174), be observed, concerning exemption of payment of the sixtieth part, and that violators or collectors in the name of the Council be repressed, who do not consent to appeal on this point on the part of the Jews.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 82.)

181 . . . 1368. Barcelona, August 22nd. In reference to the baptism of Moorish slaves of the Jews, this document confirms that of July 21, 1269 (No. 12), and corroborates that of January 3, 1343/4 (No. 136).
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 83.)

182 . . . 1369. Barcelona, February 14th. Pedro IV orders to respect the decree of May 10, 1359 (No. 161), concerning the

debtors to the Jews on the loss, expense, interest and delay granted on loans.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 84.)

183 . . . 1369. Valencia, July 27th. Pedro IV ordains that the Majorcan Jews can have Turkish or Tartar slaves, but he imposes the condition that they revert to the King, should they become converts to Judaism.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 85.)

184 . . . 1370. Barcelona, September 25th. Pedro IV orders the authorities of Palma, that they aid with a strong hand and public proclamations in the restitution of order, disturbed by calumnies spread against the Jews, particularly by those who were indebted to them. No few individuals of the aljama had been robbed and wounded by the incited populace, and others have been put in prison by order of those who should have defended them. That these malevolent disturbances do not increase as is to be feared, and not to soil the honour of the protection that the monarch gave to such inoffensive subjects, he desires that the course of justice extinguishes with all speed and efficacy a great conflagration.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 86.)

185 . . . 1370. Barcelona, September 26th. Pedro IV orders his treasurer to pay the sum of 400 libras to Jucef Faquin, Jew of Majorca, for a cargo of grain which the Vice-Admiral of Sardinia had captured near Cagliari and used for his troops.

(Baer, No. 301.)

186 . . . 1370. Barcelona, September 29th. Pedro IV orders that copies of decrees granted to the Jews, confirmed in due form by the signatures of three notaries before the Deputy Governor of Majorca, have the same value as the originals.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 87.)

187 . . . 1371. Valencia, May 20th. Pedro IV orders Astruch Duran, Jew of Majorca, to settle a lawsuit between the parties named who had appointed Jucef Faquin as arbiter, but who was prevented from acting. Judgment must be pronounced within one month, under penalty.

(Baer, No. 305.)

188 . . . 1372. Barcelona, June 23rd. Letter from Pedro IV to his head butler (*repostero*), Jaime de Márgens, who had exceeded his duty as Royal Intendant in Majorca. He had seized the secre-

taries of the aljama and other Jews, exacted from them sureties and guarantees; extracted and examined the books of accounts taken from them, of the previous secretaries. The King orders him to stop all proceedings until further order, to set the prisoners free, to return the books to the archives of the synagogue and place his seal on the box or cabinet where they are kept.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 88.)

189 . . . 1373. Barcelona, January 12th. Pedro IV orders that in case of questions arising between the Municipality and the aljama, concerning taxes exacted by the former's lessors or collectors, appeal must be made not to the inspector but to the Governor of Majorca or his Deputy, who will judge summarily and completely the litigation that exists.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 89.)

190 . . . 1373. Majorca, June 1st. The Jews of the aljama of Majorca, having complained that certain of them who had become christians were baptised with precipitation and before the time prescribed by the canon law, the Bishop of Majorca, Antonio de Galiana, caused investigation to be made, and found that according to ancient custom, three days must pass before baptism. In this document the Bishop orders this custom to be observed.
(Villa., vol. xxii, p. 253.)

191 . . . 1373. November 13th. The Governor of Majorca, Olfo de Práxida, annuls a decision of the *baile* of Sóller, according to which no butcher nor any other person, can sell Jewish meat in the public butchers' shops, contrary to the decrees of the Kings Jaime and Pedro of Aragon, which authorised the Jews to kill animals and to sell the meat in the christian butchers' shops.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 37 and note 2.)

192 . . . 1374. Barcelona, January 11th. Pedro IV confirms the decree of the Regent Philip of November 5, 1325 (No. 113), granting the right of citizenship to the Jews of Majorca.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 90.)

193 . . . 1374. Barcelona, January 24th. Pedro IV introduces modifications in the internal administration of the aljama of Majorca. He directs that, to the four secretaries and council of thirty named by free election, others be appointed who recommend themselves as elders and principal contributors.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 91.)

194 . . . 1374. Valencia, August 1st. Prince Juan writes to the Municipality of Palma, charging it to strongly protect and defend the Jews against a hungry populace, turbulent and excited by the scarcity and dearness of bread.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 92.)

195 . . . 1374. Barcelona, August 22nd. Pedro IV writes to the Municipality of Palma on the same subject, extolling the firmness that that corporation had demonstrated, thus preventing the Jews, who had done their duty to alleviate the famine, from being injured and cast out. They had paid their part to remedy the situation; they had obtained galleys laden with corn which sailed from Barcelona, and had equipped others in Majorca to bring it from various places.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 93.)

196 . . . 1374. Barcelona, August 22nd. Pedro IV writes to the Governor of Majorca on the same subject.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 94.)

197 . . . 1375. Lerida, June 9th. In virtue of the decree of January 3, 1343/4 (No. 136), expounded in that of May 10, 1359 (No. 161), and confirmed by that of February 14, 1369 (No. 182), Pedro IV declares null the judgment of the *baile* of Majorca, who pretended to exclude from the securities, whose real owner was uncertain, pieces of cloth, basing his action on an ordonnance of King James II of Majorca, which is not registered in our codex.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 95.)

198 . . . 1375. Lerida, June 9th. Pedro IV orders strict observance of the decree of March 13, 1365 (No. 176), so that the debtors of the Jews can not avail themselves of any later remission or delay that may be granted.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 96.)

199 . . . 1375. Barcelona, June 13th. Pedro IV to the jurados of the city of Majorca. The city owes 40,000 sueldos to the aljama of the Jews which it had borrowed for the purpose of importing grain. It also owed to individual Jewish merchants of Majorca, the price of a cargo of biscuits which it had seized by force from their ships near the port of Sevilla. The city must pay these debts, otherwise the aljama which also suffers from plague and famine, cannot pay its tributes.

(Baer, No. 311.)

200 . . . 1376. Barcelona, January 24th. Pedro IV confirms the following clauses of an agreement concluded between the aljama of the Jews of Majorca, and the representatives of the villages of the island, concerning the repayment of the latter's debts: 1. The debtors undertake not to ask for a moratorium during four years. 2. To pay the arrears of interest. 3. In the event of a sale of the property of a debtor on the request of a christian creditor, the Jewish creditor shall have the right of defending his interests. 4. All legal claims of the Jews arising out of "comanda" agreements, to remain intact.

(Baer, No. 313.)

201 . . . 1376. Barcelona, January 28th. Intimation to D. Francisco Sagarriga, Governor of Majorca, that neither he nor his subordinates permit any exception against the privileges of the Jews, unless countersigned by the King's treasurer.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 97.)

202 . . . 1376. Majorca, February 7th. The Viceroy, Francisco Sagarriga, protects the Jews of Porreras, against the insults and abuse of the populace.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. vii, p. 96.)

203 . . . 1377. Barcelona, March 10th. Pedro IV orders that the Courts adopt the ordinary procedure of the tribunals respecting the Jews, and that they do not consent that the debtors of the same, for the reason of trust or charge, who have bound their persons and property in security for what they received, to liberate themselves under the pretext of privileged exemption; but that the creditors can have them arrested and detained in prison until they receive just satisfaction, allowing them for sustenance 8 or 12 dineros per day, according to the price of the quarter of wheat being less or more than twenty sueldos.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 98.)

204 . . . 1377. Barcelona, March 10th. Pedro IV decides a complex case prejudicial to the creditors of married men, who had mortgaged with their possessions, the dowries, marriage portions and other property that their wives had brought them, appraised by the ordinary assessor lower than the real value. He enacts the proceedings to be followed, which, without injury to justice, will remedy the past, provide for the future, and counteract all kinds of fraud in this direction.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 99.)

205 . . . 1377. Barcelona, March 10th. Pedro IV learns that the maritime tribunal of Palma declined to admit in judicial proceedings, procurators named by Jews, and that these not being well acquainted with Latin or forensic language, frequently suffered prejudice. The King desires that his own procurator and advocate, or one of the two, be admitted to represent and defend cases concerning the same Jews.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 100.)

206 . . . 1377. Barcelona, March 10th. Pedro IV urges the execution and fulfilment of the decree of January 28, 1376 (No. 201).

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 101.)

207 . . . 1378. Barcelona, April 2nd. Pedro IV insists on the execution of the preceding decree.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 102.)

208 . . . 1378. Barcelona, April 10th. Three documents: 1. Pedro IV to the aljama of Majorca, informing it that Mosse Faquin had submitted to him several questions for settlement. After hearing Faquin and the representatives of the aljama, he issued certain regulations which the aljama had to comply with. The points not settled by the King to be decided by the Governor. 2. Pedro IV to the Governor. The King sends the said regulations to be executed and that the Governor will settle other questions himself with discretion, "as it is a matter on which the existence of the aljama depends, and you have to deal with subtle and crafty people." 3. Regulations of the King: i. distribution of taxes in the aljama: the Governor appoints 51 persons, 17 from each of the three groups of the aljama. The three groups, each in a closed room, will fix the share of each member of the community in the contribution of 1,000 libras. The Governor will add the totals obtained and divide them by three. The quotas thus obtained will be valid for the levy of taxes for the two following years. ii. Re-election to the office of secretary is allowed only after the expiration of two years. iii. In the case of near relatives sitting together on the Council of the aljama, their votes are to be combined. iv. The present regulations do not counteract previous regulations and customs.

(Baer, No. 318.)

209 . . . 1378. Barcelona, April 15th. Pedro IV to the secretaries and Councillors of the aljama of Majorca. Although Jucef Faquin had been exempted from the obligation of municipal offices, he should be asked to assist at all the Council's meetings, for he is

aged and had always attended to the affairs of the community to its great advantage.

(Baer, No. 319.)

210 . . . 1379. Barcelona, February 25th. Pedro IV to the Governor of Majorca. With reference to the decree of April 10, 1378 (No. 208), concerning the statute of the aljama of Majorca, the delegate has proposed the following alteration: The old statute should be reinstated, the new method of valuation for taxation purposes presented difficulties of execution. The number of persons who elected assessors should perform their duties jointly and not separately. The valuation lists should be handed to the Secretaries of the community only, and not to the Governor. The King therefore decrees as follows: The number of electors be reduced to 30. The three assessors shall be isolated. One copy of the valuation list shall be handed to the Secretaries, and a second copy, furnished with the seal of the Governor, shall be kept in a box with two locks, of which one key shall be kept by the Governor and the other by the Secretaries. The Governor is empowered to alter these regulations jointly with a Council of Jews appointed by him.

(Baer, No. 323.)

211 . . . 1379. Barcelona, March 16th. Pedro IV renews the safe-conduct of Salomon Abenlup, his wife and son, Jews from Castile resident in Majorca, whose presence is necessary in connection with Court affairs.

(Baer, No. 324.)

212 . . . 1379. Barcelona, March 22nd. Pedro IV, after enclosing in his letter all the preceding document (No. 207), again insists on the same threatening offenders not only with the irremissible fine of two thousand gold florins, but with deprivation of their office.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 103.)

213 . . . 1379. Barcelona, August 15th. Pedro IV to the *baile* of Majorca. Magaluff Natiar has sued Mosse Faquin for repeated injurious accusations for which he deserves the stigma of *malsim*. In the event of the *baile* being requested by Magaluff to do so, he will order the secretaries of the aljama to appoint three judges who will decide whether Mosse Faquin is to be considered *malsim*. In the affirmative he shall be punished in accordance with the law, privileges and customs of the Jews.

(Baer, No. 328.)

214 . . . 1380. Barcelona, March 30th. Confirms the decree of March 10, 1377 (No. 204), ordering prison for certain debtors of the Jews, and thus restraining the fraudulent abuse of concealing property owed, by assigning it to false owners.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 104.)

215 . . . 1380. Barcelona, April 26th. Pedro IV to the Governor of Majorca concerning the litigation between the Faquin and Natiar families, which causes great harm to the community as the administration of the aljama depends entirely upon the two parties, who are the most influential Jews of the community. He shall make peace between them and ask for guarantees. They who refuse to accept these terms shall be arrested and detained until they submit.
(Baer, No. 331.)

216 . . . 1380. Monastery of Poblet, August 25th. Pedro IV orders his procurator in Majorca, to leave the aljama in peace, and not to interfere by asking for accounts of loans contracted for the construction of the synagogue.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 105.)

217 . . . 1380. Barcelona, December 15th. Prince Juan revokes the procedure that he had introduced some time before, concerning the assessment of the *talla* (tax), by which the Governor of the kingdom and his advocate mediated with increased salary. He resolved that the old method be reinstated as being less complicated and freer.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 106.)

218 . . . 1381. Saragossa, January 9th. 1. Pedro IV confers on Salamo Benafrahin (Benabrafim?) the sole right of the manufacture and sale of soap in the City and Kingdom of Majorca for a period of ten years, on the payment of an annual tribute of 60 morabotins. This right is granted in consideration of his services as *Mostaçaf* of the Jews of Majorca, and of his services to the Court. 2. Pedro IV further confers on him the office of Rabbi to the Jewish aljama of Majorca, for a period of ten years on payment of an annual tribute of 20 morabotins. He has the exclusive right, personally or by a suitable representative, to slaughter the animals required by the Jews of the city and to collect the usual taxes. All other regulations of the aljama concerning the office of Rabbi are hereby annulled.
(Baer, No. 335.)

219 . . . 1381. Saragossa, March 26th. Confirmation of decrees of November 5, 1325 (No. 113), and January 11, 1374 (No. 192), in virtue of which the Majorcan Jews enjoyed all the rights of citizenship.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 107.)

220 . . . 1381. Saragossa, November 7th. Pedro IV confirms all the privileges of the aljama, declaring that they cannot in any manner prejudice those conceded to the Balearic christians.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 108.)

221 . . . 1382. Játiva, June 21st. New confirmation and declaration of the decree of March 26, 1381 (No. 219).
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 109.)

222 . . . 1382. Valencia, October 13th. The Infante Juan orders the aljama of Majorca to exempt the physician, Aron Abdalhac, from the tenure of municipal offices, in order that he may devote himself undisturbed to his profession.
(Baer, No. 350.)

223 . . . 1383. Tortosa, April 25th. Pedro IV grants to the aljama of Majorca, whose delegate, Biona del Mestre, has presented him with a sum of money, the following requests contained in its petition: i. No extraordinary commissioner shall interfere with the jurisdiction of the aljama. ii. Four secretaries, jointly with five jurats appointed by them, shall have the right to sentence denouncers to exile, bodily mutilation and death. iii. Liberty to dispose of property by testament, and the laws of succession shall not be altered. iv. Officials shall not institute investigations against the dead in order to confiscate their property, on the pretext of crimes committed. v. Jews shall not be compelled to hold debates with baptised Jews. vi. The Jews of Majorca shall not contribute jointly with the municipalities of the kingdom, to the supply of beds for the Court nor to the royal menagerie. vii. No Jew of Majorca shall be exempted from municipal taxes or be subjected to exceptional taxation; none shall claim the right to municipal office or exemption from any, when possessed of such.
(Baer, No. 356.)

224 . . . 1384. Lerida, March 22nd. The Infante Juan in reconsidering the ancient privileges, grants to the Secretaries and to four learned members of the aljama, the execution of the criminal law in the sense of the Jewish and Roman codes.
(Baer, No. 367.)

225 . . . 1385. Gerona, June 26th. Pedro IV transmits to the Viceroy of Majorca, D. Francisco Sagarriga, copy of the document of January 11, 1374 (No. 192), and of a testimonial letter from the Municipality of Palma (February 22, 1385) sent on the petition of Maimon Xulell, to the Prince Juan, in virtue of which, the King intimates to the Viceroy, that although he receives or had received letters derogatory to the privileges of the aljama, issued from the chancellery of the King or of the Prince, in no case does he allow them to be put into execution. The delegate of the aljama, *Biona del Mestre*, solicited the present decree as the delegate, *Salomon Susen*, had obtained the decree of January 11, 1374 (No. 192.)

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 110.)

226 . . . 1385. Gerona, June 26th. In virtue of the decree of August 16, 1351 (No. 153) and other antecedent documents, Pedro IV decides the proceedings or claim commenced by the Jew, *Magaluf Natjar*, against the merchant Pedro Morey, debtor, who was condemned.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 111.)

227 . . . 1385. Gerona, July 24th. Confirmation of the decree of June 21, 1382 (No. 221), by Pedro IV, on the petition of Biona del Mestre, envoy or delegate of the aljama.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 112.)

JUAN I

(1387 TO 1396)

228 . . . 1387. Barcelona, January 27th. General confirmation of all the privileges of the Hebrew aljama of Majorca, granted by King Juan, on the petition of its representatives, Magaluf Natjar, Moxin Xulell and Magaluf Farax.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 113.)

229 . . . 1390. Barcelona, January 21st. King Juan confirms the decree of June 26, 1385 (No. 225), at the request of Bonseñor Gracián and Maimon Xulell, sindics and representatives of the aljama.

(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xxxvi, No. 114.)

230 . . . 1390. Majorca, November 28th. Order of the Governor of Majorca prohibiting Jews from carrying arms within the Jewry, or to go out of their houses without a light, four hours after sunset.

(Rullan, vol. i, p. 419.)

231 . . . 1391. Saragossa, January 30th. Juan I orders the *baile* of Majorca to investigate the following accusations made by the Procurator Fiscal against Mosse Faquin, a Jew of Majorca. 1. Mosse Faquin has sued his own father, Jucef Faquin, for the "discovery of a treasure." 2 and 3. Has, in mockery of the catholic religion, by assisting at Mass and by other deeds and words, conveyed the impression that he intended to become converted to the christian faith. 4. Notwithstanding, he went barefooted on the fast day of the 9th of Ab like other Jews. 5 and 6. In contempt of the Jewish religion, he has repeatedly drunk christian wine and eaten pork. He has carried money, bought cattle and instituted legal proceedings, all on the Sabbath. 7. He has, in contempt of the christian and Jewish religions, said Mohammedan prayers with his Moorish slaves. 8. He has repeatedly denounced other Jews.
(Baer, No. 401.)

232 . . . 1391. Majorca, July 12th. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca guaranteeing the security of the Jewry, and to stop disputes and fights within or in the neighbourhood of the *Call*.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 419 and note 2.)

233 . . . 1391. Majorca, September 30th. Article 3 of the capitulations concluded between the Governor of Majorca and the rebels: "All the debts of the island contracted with the Jews or the converted, and the usuries of christians, be redeemed in ten terms of payment, at the rate of two sueldos per libra and without interest. The delegates further demand, that the notarial agreements be destroyed."
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 425.)

234 . . . 1391. Majorca, October 4th. The new articles concluded between the Governor of Majorca and the rebel peasants (October 4, 1391), include the following: Art. 35 . . . The King will pardon offences, violence and crimes committed, until this date, and in the various attacks against the Governor, the Jews and the Jewries, all having been done in honour of the King and for the public good. Art 43. . . . Obligation for the Jews to embrace christianity without delay. Art. 45 . . . Revocation of orders sent to rectors and vicars, to oblige their parishioners to return the money and objects taken at the pillage of the Jewries. Art. 48. . . . Annulment of debts contracted with the Jews in the last ten years and of the usuries of the christians.
(Rullan, vol. i, pp. 430–431.)

235 . . . 1391. Majorca, October 21st. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca, Francisco Sagarriga, calling upon all conversos to present themselves at the Governor's office, and make declaration of their property in the *Call*; if they desire to continue to live in the Jewry or to let their houses to Jews deprived of domicile. Inhabitants of Majorca who have in their possession doors taken from the Jewry, must return them to the cemetery of Santa Eulalia, where the cost of tranport will be paid to them.
(Quadrado, *B.R.A.H.*, vol. ix.)

236 . . . 1391. Majorca, October 24th. Two proclamations issued by the Governor of Majorca, concerning the property of the Jews and conversos of Majorca, after the pillage of the *Call*.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, p. 441.) These appear to be the same as the preceding, divided into two parts. Quadrado has modernised the autography, but there are slight textual differences.

237 . . . 1391. Majorca, November 8th. Proclamation concerning the reorganisation of the community of the Jews of Majorca.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 433.)

238 . . . Art. 1 of the regulations for the weaving of wool and the manufacture of cloths and covers, issued by Francisco Sagarriga, Governor of Majorca. The article terminates as follows: "The converted to the christian faith of the lineage of the Jews, are admitted to exercise the trade of weaver, which will be taught to them, even though they be of the lineage of infidels."
(Rullan, vol. i, append. 25.)

239 . . . 1392. Proclamations issued by the Governor of Majorca, Francisco Sagarriga, relating to the emigration of the Jews and conversos, after the massacre in the *Call*, 1391.
1. January 3rd. Letter from the Governor to the Mayor of Alcudia, concerning liberty to leave Majorca.
2. January 12th. Proclamation closing exit from the island to all the inhabitants.
3. May 25th. An appeal to the Jews and absent conversos to fix their residence in Majorca.
4. May 31st. Order prohibiting any person from conducting conversos out of the island.
5. June 7th. Proclamation calling upon the conversos to present themselves at the Royal Castle.
6. September 10th. New Proclamation repeating all the prohibitions.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 55–57.)

240 . . . 1392. Majorca, January 18th. Proclamation calling upon all who are in possession of money, gold, silver, precious stones, precious cloths, books or other property taken from the *Call*, to restore and deposit them in the Royal Castle.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 441–444.)

241 . . . 1392. Majorca, March 1st. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca granting delay for the restitution of property taken from the *Call*.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 441–444.)

242 . . . 1392. Majorca, March 14th. Petition of the conversos for the payment of 20,000 libras promised to them after conversion, to relieve their distress after the destruction of the *Call*.
(*B.R.A.H.*, vol. xl, pp. 152–153.)

243 . . . 1392. Majorca, March 23rd. Proclamation of the Governor on the same subject as No. 241.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 441–444.)

244 . . . 1392. Majorca, June 3rd. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca offering a reward of 100 florins to the person who discovers the author of forged receipts to the detriment of the Jews.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 34.)

245 . . . 1392. Majorca, June 30th. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca calling upon all persons who possess property (houses) in the *Call*, to declare it within six days.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 441–444.)

246 . . . 1392. Majorca, July 2nd. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca concerning contracts and debts to the conversos.
(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 441–444.)

247 . . . 1392. Pedralves (Catalonia), July 16th. King Juan accords a general pardon to all who participated in the troubles of the year 1391, and in particular, to the authors of the pillage of the Jewry and the Massacre of the Jews of Majorca.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 435.) This pardon was not published in Majorca before October 11th of the same year.

248 . . . 1393. Majorca, January 21st. Proclamation of the Governor of Majorca, prohibiting christian inhabitants of the island from molesting the Jews under penalty, for gentlemen, to be condemned to the strappado, and for others, to be hanged.
(Rullan, vol. i, p. 308 note 2.)

249 . . . 1393. Majorca, April 5th. Proclamation by Berenguer de Montagut, Lieutenant of the Governor of Majorca, against conversos who still practise Judaism.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, p. 64.)

250 . . . 1393. Majorca, May 20th. Proclamation by Berenguer de Montagut, Lieutenant in the Kingdom of Majorca, prohibiting damage to be done to the *Call*.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, p. 381.)

251 . . . 1395. Valencia, March 26th. Granting permission to 150 Portuguese Jews to establish themselves on the island; prohibits any person from ill-treating them either by word or act; allows them to practise Jewish ceremonies as did the Jews before the destruction of the *Call*, and allots to them a site where they can live.

(*Almanaque para las Islas Baleares*, 1888. Printed by M. Bonet.)

252 . . . 1395. Majorca, October 17th. Guidaticum for all Jews native and foreign, especially those who during the great persecution of the Jews, had, against the royal decree, emigrated to Moorish countries, and particularly those who, at the instance of the Majorcan conversos and Jews, have returned to Majorca for the purpose of commerce and trade in the Kingdom of Aragon. This guidaticum includes immunity from judicial prosecution, payment of debts and exemption from extraordinary taxation.

(Baer, No. 461.)

FERDINAND I

(1412 TO 1416)

253 . . . 1413. Barcelona, March 20th. Constitutions against the Jews of Majorca.

(Villa., vol. xxii, pp. 258–264.) Villanueva states that: "This is copied from the authentic copy that existed in 1814 in the Archives of the Dominican Monastery in Palma, the same doubtless, that was used by the Inquisitors of this kingdom, who lived in the monastery."

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254 . . . 1448. Majorca, February 21st. Safe-conduct issued by the Lieutenant of the royal procurator of Majorca, to Mardufex Rancandel, Jew of Tenés, to go to Majorca and to reside there.

(*R.E.J.*, vol. iv, pp. 55–56.)

255 . . . 1682–3–7. Madrid. Three letters from the King demanding the payment by the Inquisition of his dues from the property confiscated from the Jews of Majorca.

1. To D. Diego Geronim. Costa, Advocate of the Kingdom of Majorca, dated, Madrid, June 23, 1682.

2. To D. Manuel de Sentmanat, Lieutenant and Captain-General of Majorca, dated, Madrid, January 31, 1683.

3. To the same, dated, Madrid, July 9, 1687.

(*B.S.A.L.*, vol. viii, pp. 94–95.)

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