

The Urban Structure of the Jewish Quarter of Girona

Introduction

The first study on the urban history of Girona, entitled “Els jueus i la ciutat de Girona” (CANAL *et al.* 1995), was published in 1995. This highly specific topic had been proposed by the mayor at the time, Joaquim Nadal. It represented quite a challenge for us, since, although archaeological and documentary research had already begun several years earlier, this was the first serious attempt to transfer the unwieldy mass of data we had gathered on the urban aspect onto paper in comprehensible form. Now, a decade later, our knowledge of the urban structure of the city in ancient and medieval times has been significantly enriched and methodology has become more accurate and efficient (fig. 1). The study we are now presenting complements the previous one, contributing new information but also rectifying, qualifying and adjusting many aspects that lacked definition. In any case, this study does not intend to dramatise the history of the Jews in Girona. As the title indicates, the object of research is the Jewish Quarter, or “*el Call*”, the physical space where the Jews settled and which has been so called since the twelfth century, according to documentary sources. What was in this area? What conditions were necessary for a specific area to be considered part of the Jewish Quarter? Finding the answers was not an easy task, as the boundaries had to be ascertained, the network of streets rescued from oblivion and the lines of expansion and regression analysed and marked out.

The Period before the Existence of the Jewish Quarter (10th – 11th Centuries)

Dolcerella, Bell, Blancucia, Ricsaló, Bonafilla, Niqueu, Gog, Vives, Isaac, Jacob, Raquel and Maïr—these are some of the names of members of the Jewish community in Girona between the tenth and eleventh centuries. Because—and we are absolutely convinced of this—during the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Jews comprised a recognised and organised community in Girona, though it is difficult to identify due to the dearth of written sources and archaeological remains from that time.

The studies that have been carried out to date on the tenth and eleventh-century Jewish community are rather few, in contrast to research done on the community in the twelfth century and thereafter, where documentary and archaeological sources abound. And it can certainly not be said that there is a lack of studies on the history of the Jews of Girona, which is basically limited to Medieval times; one only needs to read the table of contents of the second volume of *Per a una història de la Girona jueva* (ROMANO ed. 1988) to find some forty studies contained in the volume's nearly eight hundred pages, including papers by Lluís Batlle, Fidel Fita, Enrique-Claudio Girbal, Jaume Marquès, Josep Maria Marquès, Josep Maria Millàs and Santiago Sobrequès, to name but a few. Moreover, the editor had to exclude over a dozen papers, some of a generally informative nature, others on literary or palaeographic aspects too far removed from the aims of the compilation. And if one considers all the studies published on Medieval Girona in which Jews are not the main subject but are mentioned, then the list would become much longer. The bibliography on the Jewish community in Girona has certainly expanded since 1988, with new contributions such as those presented at the symposium on Jewish history in Catalonia, published in 1990 in *Jornades d'Història dels jueus de Catalunya* (Girona). In 1995, in this same publication series—*Història urbana de*

Girona. Reconstrucció cartogràfica—, we ourselves contributed the first volume, *Els jueus i la ciutat de Girona*, a brief paper some thirty pages in length designed to show the evolution of the urban structure of the Jewish Quarter between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, with some brief references to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Nevertheless, with the exception of the articles published by Jaume Marquès in the journal *Sepharad* in 1963 and 1965, focussing on the history of the Jews in Girona in the ninth and tenth centuries and in the eleventh century, respectively, there is generally very little research available on the Jewish community in Girona in those earlier times. On the other hand, we have a rich documentary heritage on the Jews in the city's archives, the majority of which was published in 1992 in *Documents dels jueus de Girona. 1124-1595*, where Gemma Escribà and Maria Pilar Frago compiled over 1,200 documents, but none of them from before the twelfth century. Due to this deficit, the dearth of references on the history of the Jews in Girona in the Early Middle Ages and eleventh century is not surprising. For instance, in *Història de Girona*, published in instalments by ADAC from 1991 to 2000, Sílvia Planas could only devote two pages to the Girona Jews from the ninth to the eleventh centuries (PLANES 1992, 130-131). Furthermore, the *Quaderns d'història de Girona* series devotes two volumes to high medieval history. In the first of these volumes, Gabriel Roura dedicates two pages of his *Girona carolíngia* (785-1000) to contextualising and commenting on the only document that indirectly mentions the Jews in Girona in the ninth century (ROURA 1988, 84-85), whereas the volume on Girona from the year 1000 to 1190, *Girona comtal i feudal* (1000-1190), makes some general comments on this community in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (CANAL *et al.* 1996, 70-71).

When David Romano presented his study, *Les juifs de Catalogne aux alentours de l'an Mil* (ROMANO 1991, 317-331), in addition to indicating the difficulty of Jewish studies focussing on that period, he also expressed the lack of references to the presence of Jews in the copious documents from the ninth and tenth centuries existing in the archives of La Seu d'Urgell and Vic, which limited information on the Jews to the city of Girona and the city of Barcelona and the surrounding area, that is to the two cities that during this period were located on the former *Via Augusta*, between the Pyrenees and the Moorish territory of *Al-Andalus* to the south of Barcelona. Romano had already stated in the *Revista de Catalunya*, in his essay on the periodization of the history of the Catalan Jews, that there was a first stage "from the year 876 to 1214, with few and isolated references showing no cohesion." With regard to Girona, our sources are limited to some twenty documents, ranging from the second half of the tenth century to the end of the eleventh century, though some references point to a Jewish presence in Girona in the late ninth century

Were There Jews in Girona Before the Tenth Century?

The first record of a Jewish community in Girona is found in a document from the year 983, which refers to events occurring up to a century earlier. It is a copy of the proceedings of a trial held in 983 in Besalú on a dispute over the jurisdiction of the district of *Coscolio*, also known as *Iudicas* (Juïgues), between the Monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll and the inhabitants of this district. To document his claim, the Abbot of Ripoll's lawyer argued that Count Delà had acquired the allodium from the Jews living there, whom he relocated to the city of Girona. "...Prescriptus vero Dela ipsos iudeos que inibi habitaberunt in sua civitate Ierunde locavit et ipsum alodem que dicunt Iudaicas cum suo terminio de ipsis iudeis adquisivit" (MARQUÈS 1963, 30). The allodium was first

passed on by the count to his daughter, Vírgila, who in turn, in 941, gave it to her sister Rarló, who was abbess of Sant Joan. In 956, she bequeathed the allodium to the Monastery of Ripoll (MARQUÈS 1963, 327-329). The document's authenticity has been questioned, as the original was lost. There are two remaining copies: one kept at the Chapter House Archives of Girona Cathedral and published by Jaume Marquès in the work referred to above; and an identical version transcribed by Father Olzinelles from a copy kept at the Monastery of Ripoll, which has since also been lost; the excerpt is held at the Library of Catalonia and was transcribed and annotated by Pròsper de Bofarull in the nineteenth century (BOFARULL 1836 I, 107-108). Although the document does not mention the date the allodium was acquired by Count Delà, this occurred in the late ninth century, as various documents mention measures taken by the count in places within the Counties of Besalú and Empúries between 881 and 893; it would therefore seem reasonable to assume that the acquisition of the allodium and the relocation of the Jews took place within that time period (CANAL *et al.* 2003, 23-24). It should be borne in mind that the stated allodium and district were located within the County of Besalú and a small part of the County of Girona, to the west of the district of Sant Marçal de Quarantella, their bounds being indicated repeatedly in the stated documents; they are therefore not to be confused with the district of Vilajuïgues in the former County of Peralada, as has occurred in the past.

Should the arrival of the Jews from *Iudicas* in Girona be considered as the founding date of their community there? There is no evidence for this assumption; for instance, the document mentioning the relocation of the aforementioned Jews to Girona by no means states that they were the founders of a new community. Different authors analysing this document have expressed diverse opinions. Pròsper de Bofarull cited the document and emphasised its relevance, but he declined to make specific judgements, as this would give rise to "...many reflections that are not appropriate here, but very conducive to the history of the Counties of Empúries, Besalú and Girona" (BOFARULL 1836 I, 107-108). Botet i Sisó deals with the document in his study, *Los condes beneficiarios*, where he dedicated several pages to the stated Count Delà (BOTET 1890, 42-46), though he simply quoted what Bofarull had said half a century earlier. It was the canon, Jaume Marquès, who researched the document in depth, although some of his interpretations seem disputable today; specifically, Marquès believed that a group of Jews from Girona or Besalú had settled in Juïgues in the first half of the ninth century, taking advantage of the measures fostering repopulation of uncultivated land, and were thereafter transferred to Girona under Count Delà and Bishop Teuter, where they occupied the homes that the canons had vacated when they reorganised the See's canonical life (MARQUÈS 1963, 28-29). According to Marquès, this took place in 882, a date which has now been moved up to 887 (MARTÍ 1997, 83-85). Marquès argued that the *censos* paid by the Jews to the bishop and the See, as indicated in the Papal Bull of 1002 discussed below, were weighty evidence in favour of this hypothesis; we will later see how this opinion should be qualified.

Beyond this isolated information, the matter of the existence of a Jewish community in Girona in the ninth century or even earlier remains to be elucidated. In the absence of direct data, perhaps a more contextualised analysis will reveal new information. With regard to the presence of Jews in the Western Christian world, and more specifically, in the north-eastern sector of the Iberian Peninsula, which had become a March of the Carolingian Empire by the end of the eighth century, there are significant references in Carolingian legislation of the eighth and ninth centuries regarding the existence of groups of Jews throughout the realm as well as data on the activities of Jewish merchants

in many reaches of the empire. The role played by the Jewish community of Narbonne in the eighth and ninth centuries leads us to believe there were significant settlements along the major commercial thoroughfares such as the former *Via Augusta*, which at the time connected the Frankish Empire with the *Al-Andalus* Emirate. That fact has been frequently recalled by historians of the Early and High Middle Ages such as Georges Duby, who stated that “The progressively bustling activity on the roads leading to Spain produced a more precocious development of cities in the Narbonne region ...its Jewish quarter served as stopover points for exotic goods along the route” (DUBY 1980, 177). The locations of Girona and Barcelona along this route can help to better contextualise the meagre references to Girona and Barcelona Jews in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The Jewish Community of Girona around the Year 1000 (fig. 2)

The first references to an organised, powerful Jewish community can be found shortly before and shortly after the year 1000 in two highly significant documents. The first reference is in a document from the year 988, a rather poor transcription of the deed of purchase of the count's palace of Girona by Bishop Gotmar, which was located in what is now the part of the episcopal palace bordering the Cathedral and the Plaça dels Apòstols. The surviving document is a copy of the original, now lost, that Roig i Jalpí transcribed in 1604 with so many errors that it has at times been questioned or directly attributed as false (MARTÍ 1997, 160). Despite the obvious errors by the transcriber, who did not correctly read or understand some of the formulas used in a much earlier style, we believe the document to be authentic, as we explained in the preceding volume of this series and which we will not repeat here (CANAL *et al.* 2003, 207-208). What is of interest here is the document's references to the boundaries or limits of the stated count's palace, as it states that the western façade was bounded by the *synagoga iudeorum*, whereas it bordered on the Cathedral of Santa Maria to the north (MARTÍ 1997 160-161). The boundaries leave no room for doubt—it was located on a corner of the current Plaça dels Apòstols, between the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral, an area that was already built up at the time and which underwent successive remodelling processes from the late tenth century to the seventeenth century, when it acquired its current physiognomy, that of a baroque square (MARQUÈS 1948, 226-245). Apart from providing information on the urban layout of this city sector that later sources confirm, the document is also interesting for its reference to a Jewish synagogue, which implies an organised Jewish community on apparently good terms with the highest Girona authorities; otherwise it would be difficult to explain its location next to the Palace of Count Borrell II and the Episcopal See. No other news has been found on this building, which may have been affected by the construction of the new Episcopal Palace and the Romanesque Cathedral, begun in the late tenth century. The exact or approximate date of the synagogue's removal to another location is unknown, but it must not have been much later than the onset of the aforementioned construction work, as it would hardly be in keeping with the remodelling and transformation of the intermediate level on the old city's rising slopes into an episcopal area—with its canonry, temple, palace and xenodochium—to maintain a building as far removed from Christianity as a synagogue on its grounds. We therefore suggest its hypothetical displacement to the lower sector of the city, the future Jewish Quarter, in the early part of the eleventh century, in the same sector where later synagogues are documented to have existed.

The second reference dates to almost immediately thereafter, in the year 1002, and can be found in the Papal Bull granted by Pope Sylvester II to Bishop Odó, which indi-

cated all of the rights and possessions of the Girona See, including “terciam partem de ipsa moneta de civitate Gerunda simul cum ipso censu de ipsos iudeos”, where it seems obvious that the *iudeos* referred to are those of the *civitate Gerunda*, mentioned along with “...terciam partem de ipso teloneo de ipsos mercatos...” (MARQUÈS 1993, 70). Hence the existence of a Jewish community in Girona seems even more evident. The original document has survived and its authenticity has never been questioned, among other reasons, because the same pope issued Bulls to different Catalan ecclesiastical institutions in that same period (SOBREQUÈS 1961, 3-4). The importance of this reference is even greater if we consider that the *censos*, in this case exacted of the Jews, were not a payment related to property, but a territorial and personal tax common in Catalan documents from the ninth and tenth centuries. Therefore, the Papal Bull confirmed the allocation to the Girona See and its Bishop of the rights—mentioned among other fiscal rights—to levy a tax known as the *moneta* or mintage tribute, to which bishops had been entitled since 934, and to a third of the *teloneos* or market duties. This confirms that the Jews were recognised as a differentiated community, which was subject to a tax system different to that of the Christian community and perhaps administered by the Jews themselves, though the latter can only be assumed. In any case, it is another acknowledgement of the personality of the Jewish community of Girona, whose existence in the religious sphere is manifest through the reference to their synagogue in the previous document, written fourteen years earlier. The date when the Girona bishops first obtained the right to receive *censos* from the Jews is unknown, but it must have been later than 922, when the Girona bishops received the last royal decree from a Carolingian monarch; a decree in which the stated *censos* were not indicated among the fiscal rights allotted the See (MARQUÈS 1993, 37). In any case, it was not a royal donation—by the tenth century, the Carolingian monarchs had lost all of their executive powers—though it could have originated as a county donation, like the *moneta* rights to the County of Girona that Bishop Guiu received from Count Sunyer in 934 (MARQUÈS 1993, 43).

Jewish Property within the City

Remarkably, the first documents that provide information on houses in Girona and its immediate vicinity are full of references to Jewish owners. These documents allow us to gain more detailed knowledge on the Jewish community, which was well established in Girona around the year 1000, as the references reveal. Between the years 963 and 1036, there are half a dozen references to Jewish properties and buildings, some located within the city ramparts, others in the suburbs or immediate vicinity.

In 963, there is a reference to the first real estate transaction carried out within the walled city and recorded in the Cathedral Archives; specifically, it is contained in the first document of the *Llibre Gran de la Sagristia Major* (Major Book of the Main Sacristy), at a date probably not much later than that of the constitution and endowment of the post of Sacristan within the episcopal canonry. The first explicit reference to sacristans can be found in 970 (MARQUÈS 1993, 56). The real estate transaction document refers to the sale by a layman named Borrell Bonhom to the Miró and Undilça matrimony of a building with a courtyard bordering on the house of a Jewish woman called Dolcerella and to the north, bounded by a street that lead to the city gates (MARTÍ 1997, 136-137). The comparison of this document with another, slightly later one, from the year 979 (MARTÍ 1997, 147), confirms that this property is very close to the southern gates of the city and its ramparts, on one of the narrow streets running east-west and leading towards the street currently called Carrer de la Força. It is highly significant that in the first real estate

transaction documented in Girona, the name of the Jewish woman, Dolcerella, is already mentioned in an urban sector that was later to become the southern edge of the Jewish Quarter. Yet in the vicinity of the Dolcerella home there are Christian landowners such as the aforementioned purchasing couple and the clergymen Sunifred and Borrell; the mixed Christian-Jewish ownership indicates that the period of segregation of the Jewish community had not yet arrived, a notion that is confirmed by references from slightly later years.

At the onset of the eleventh century, in 1010, the second reference is made. It consists of a document that was kept at the archives of the Sant Cugat del Vallès Monastery for reasons to be discussed below. The document refers to the donation of certain buildings that Sunyer de Cervià made to the Sant Cugat del Vallès Monastery. These buildings bordered to the south on a building owned by Salamir, probably a Jew, to the west on the buildings belonging to a Jew called Bell or Bellhom, and to the north on the buildings belonging to a woman called Blancucia, whom we will discuss later (RIUS 1945-46, 70-71). In any case, the three owners mentioned as bordering the stated property may have been Jewish, though only one was Jewish for certain. Once again, we see a mixture of Jewish and Christian landowners, this time in a sector slightly to the east of the area mentioned in the 963 document but also close to the southern ramparts, between the current Carrers Bellmirall and Claveria. The person making the donation was a Girona magnate, Sunyer de Cervià, who donated all or some of his property within the ramparts, most likely so that the monks from the Sant Cugat Monastery near Barcelona would have a place to stay when travelling to Girona to settle monasterial matters. The monks of Sant Cugat did not seem in the least bothered by their Jewish neighbours.

A third reference allows us to broaden the image of the Jewish properties within the city around the year 1000. In 1036, the Archdeacon Arnau sold to the priest Teufred a building of his located "infra muros civitatis Gerunda", which abutted to the south on the ramparts, to the east on the houses of Grimau and the Jewish woman, Blancucia, and to the north on the houses of "Iacob hebreo et de Blancutia hebreia" (MARTÍ 1997, 220). According to these indications, the building was located just next to the ramparts along today's Carrer de les Ballesteries and therefore quite close to Carrer de la Força, the city's main street at the time, and therefore in the same sector that would later become *el Call* or Jewish Quarter. It is clear that in the first half of the eleventh century the Jewish Quarter did not exist because the document mentions Jewish property owners such as Jacob and Blancucia alongside Christian owners such as Grimau and the clergymen Arnau and Teufred. Hence this is yet another document revealing the coexistence of Jews and Christians in the same area. It seems likely that the importance of the Jewish buildings in this lower sector of the city may have fostered a process of concentration of other Jews around them, whether out of conviction or by an induction effect. In any case, by the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century, the term "barri d'Israel" (Israeli Quarter) was already used to refer to this area of the city (MARQUÈS 1963, 11).

On the basis of the scarce yet significant data available, it can be affirmed that the Jewish homes or properties within the ramparts were scattered throughout the city and mixed with the rest of the population, with a concentration towards the southern and western areas, where the majority of the general population living inside the city walls continued to live in subsequent centuries. As we have seen, it seems certain that the community existed and was recognised at the time, and we can therefore surmise that the community was not yet living in an integrated, segregated manner, in a space separate from the rest of the population. Apparently, segregation would be the case only later, in the twelfth century.

On the other hand, there is hardly any information on the economic activities of the Girona Jews, beyond their condition as urban and rural property owners, as we will see below. The only certainty is that in 1071, the testament of the sacristan, Bonuç de la Seu, mentioned a debt he owed the Jew, Maïr (MARTÍ 1997, 334-335), though it is unknown whether the latter was from Girona.

Suburban Jewish Property

The properties of the Girona Jews were not only within the city but also in its immediate vicinity. These properties were significant enough to assume that the Jews represented an important percentage of the rural landholders scattered about the immediate environs of the city at the beginning of the eleventh century. This can be observed in the following information from documentary references:

In 1010, Jewish landholders sold to the sacristan, Bonhom de la Seu, an allodium they owned, located along the city ramparts near Sant Martí Sacosta. The allodium consisted of a house with annexes, a courtyard or corral and some enclosures with diverse species of tree. The area was (and is) very rocky, that is, there was an abundance of stones, and the sale also included the stones found there, which were most likely used as construction material. The property was adjacent to properties held by Christians on either side, to the south it bordered on the street that ran upwards towards Sant Martí Sacosta, and to the north, on the ramparts and one of the rampart towers (MARTÍ 1997, 166). The allodium consisted of a small landholding of limited agricultural use, as it was on steep terrain just under the southern ramparts, yet strategically located at the southern gates of the city, which is why the sale price was 5.5 *mançosos*, above the market price considering its size and agricultural potential. This information reveals that Jews had properties outside the city walls, a fact that is confirmed by the data indicated below.

When Count Ramon Borrell died in 1018, probably in the month of September, his wife, Ermessenda, was the main person in charge of executing the stipulations in his will. One of the most significant was the endowment of a new convent that was to be built on the plot where the Church of Sant Daniel had once stood, which the Counts had purchased from Bishop Pere three years earlier (MARQUÈS 1997, 61-62). Many of the allodia donated by the Counts to the new convent consisted of land they had purchased or repurchased in the Girona vicinity a few years earlier; among the most significant of these, Ermessenda cited the one that “emi de Vives ebreo qui est ante Ierunda civitate id sunt casas cum curtes et ortos, terras et vineas cultas et eremas, arboribus maioribus et minoribus” (MARQUÈS, 1997, 65). The exact location of the allodium that the Countess purchased from the Jew Vives is uncertain, as the will simply indicated that it was located ‘before’ the city of Girona. In any case, it seems clear that it was located in the immediate vicinity and very close to the ramparts. The allodium may even have consisted of plots of land and buildings scattered throughout the vicinity, but the characteristic imprecision of wills such as this one does not allow further elucidation.

The first information on Jewish landowners in the nearby valley, the Vall de Sant Daniel, appears in 1020. It regards the donation made by Guillem *Scutarii* or Escuder (i.e. Squire) to the Monastery of the Vall de Sant Daniel of plots of land and vineyards he owned at the base of Mount *Miralias* or Montjuïc, next to the River Galligants, land he had acquired from the Jews *Nicheu* and *Gog* and that abutted on the land of two other Jews, *Isaach* and *Bonafilia* (MARQUÈS 1997, 67). Apart from the surprising case of a person whose surname is related to a profession or activity, probably a *ministerialis* of some lord, another remarkable factor is the normalcy with which transactions between

Christians and Jews seemed to be carried out. In 1040, other Jewish properties in the Vall de Sant Daniel were also mentioned, when the Jewish woman Raquel sold to Elies, most likely also Jewish, a *quarterada* (c.7,000 m²) of a vineyard she had in Vall Bascona (MARTÍ 1997, 241-242), which was what the innermost, rugged-most part of the Vall de Sant Daniel was called at the time.

The existence of suburban Jewish property across the River Onyar is also likely, though less certain. In 1031, two laymen sold the clergyman *Deusdedit* a plot of land that bordered to the east on the River Onyar, to the south on the Cuguçac Irrigation Channel and to the north on land belonging to *Blancutia* (MARTÍ 1997, 218-219). In principle, there is no explicit reason for considering Blancucia a Jew; perhaps she is the same woman mentioned five years later as living inside the city. We do know that later, in the thirteenth century, this space located to the south of the Mercadal Quarter, in the same area known by the name of Hort de Fontanilles from the twelfth century onwards, there were Jewish landowners such as the Asday family, who built the first establishments and put up houses there beginning in mid-century (ACSG, 13th Century Manuscripts). We cannot be certain that the Asdays of the thirteenth century were the heirs of the eleventh-century Blancucia, but it seems plausible.

Possible Evidence of Anti-Semitism in Eleventh-Century Girona

Attempts to ascertain the characteristics of relations between Jews and Christians in Girona in the tenth and eleventh centuries have run up against a lack of data that could provide orientation. After the period of references to early medieval legislation, such as the strongly repressive laws of the Visigoths and the more permissive ones of the Carolingians, one cannot go very much beyond the generic observations put forth on the Jews in high medieval Europe. Naturally, all possible indications of anti-Semitism—perhaps it would be more accurately described as anti-Judaism—emerged from the world of the Catholic Church, and on this point we do have some highly significant information.

In the first place, we will focus on Oliba, the abbot of Sant Miquel de Cuixà and bishop of Vic, one of the key figures in Catalonia in the first half of the eleventh century. He was a good friend of Countess Ermessenda and it is therefore not surprising that he visited the county and city of Girona several times. On one of these visits, Abbot Oliba gave a sermon at the Cathedral of Santa Maria, the so-called *Sermó de Sant Narcís*, the written version of which was considered false by various authors until a thorough study was carried out by Anscari M. Mundó, published in 1975, which asserted its authenticity (MUNDÓ 1975, 97-114). The document is of interest here for its anti-Jewish expressions, as the author of the sermon denounced the influence of the Jewish peoples, defined as “fumestam, sacrilegam atque perversam hebreorum... plebem”. Although this rebuke can be interpreted as ritual and therefore decontextualised, there is no doubt that Abbot Oliba was sending his Girona audience a message that was profoundly rooted and enjoying a wide consensus among the Christian population, especially the clergymen, who had the best command of Latin.

Moreover, in the years 1068 and 1078, two ecclesiastic councils took place in Girona by initiative of the Holy See to promote the reform advocated by Archdeacon Hildebrand—who had become Pope Gregory VII by the Second Council—aiming to root out the corruption that had become customary in the Church from the tenth to eleventh centuries (GONZALVO 1994, 36-39). At the Council of 1068, presided by Counts Ramon Berenguer and Almodis, and attended by Cardinal Hug Cándid, Pontifical Legate, and by

many bishops and abbots, one of the many issues discussed was the general possibility of restoring ecclesiastical heritage and income, for instance those of parishes, some of which had been usurped by the nobility. More specifically, the problem was discussed of property acquired by religious minorities such as the Jews, who, it seems, refused to pay tithes or other religious tributes. On this matter, Canon 12 decreed that the tithes on the land *that the detestable malice of the Jews has purchased or will purchase from Christians* be given to the church of the parish in which it was located, as if the land were farmed by Christians, as it was unfair that the Church had lost all of the rights it had had *before the Jews came here* (MARQUÈS 1994, 85). It seems evident that this was a concern of the clergy in all dioceses with a significant presence of Jewish communities, since due to their condition as a religious minority they were not obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the Christian religion, which must have represented a significant financial loss, probably even more so in the vicinity of Girona, where we have seen some examples of agricultural property owned by Jews. With regard to the nature of the language used, note the clearly hostile reference to “*detestanda iudeorum... perfidia*”, which can be compared to expressions used by Abbot Oliba some years earlier, such as “*sacrilegam atque perversam hebreorum corripite plebem*”.

These references, though few, indicate a rather significant anti-Jewish attitude among the upper echelons of the church establishment in Girona, which would have had an influence among the generally Christian population. Beyond this, there are no indications that this attitude had led to anti-Jewish measures or actions, though the wave of anti-Jewish pogroms that had spread throughout Europe in the late eleventh century, instigated by the first Crusade to the Holy Land, demonstrates that there was very fertile ground.

The “Baptised”—Jewish Converts to Christianity in Eleventh-Century Girona?

Among the diversity of data provided by eleventh-century documents from Girona, an important factor is the mention of various people designated or labelled as *Batejats* or *Baptised*, namely, three individuals from Girona known as Bregon the Baptised, Gausfred or Guifré the Baptised and Pere the Baptised, a factor that has not been considered in any studies that we know of to date, but which would suggest the existence of *conversos*, or converts to Christianity, possibly of Jewish origin, in Girona in the High Middle Ages. Below is a brief review of these references.

In 1021, one of the various transactions took place involving donations and sales in the Vall de Sant Daniel, specifically the conveyance or granting of an emphyteutic lease on a vineyard by the sacristan, Bonhom de la Seu, to the married couple Guadamir and Gonadrod. This vineyard was bounded to the east and west by another vineyard belonging to *Iozfredo Baptitzato* (MARTÍ 1997, 204-205). This may be the same individual cited in 1039 as *Gaucefredo Baptitzato*, who, along with his wife, *Elsava*, sold a building they had in the city of Girona, south of the cathedral staircase and at the time flanked by buildings on either side, to a certain Gausbert (MARTÍ 1997, 239-240). In any case, this may not be the same person, as the name *Gaucefredus* eventually evolved into Gausfred, whereas *Iofredus* seems to have later become Jofre or Guifré. These may therefore be two different *Baptised* individuals.

Shortly thereafter, other individuals appeared with the same epithet or surname. In 1040, for instance, there is news of a Jewish woman, Raquel, selling another plot in the Vall de Sant Daniel to Elies, probably also Jewish. The plot bounded to the east on a

vineyard belonging to *Iohannis Udalgari* and *Bermundo Baptitzad*, who seem to be co-owners (MARTÍ 1997, 241-242). Later, towards the end of the century, *Petro Baptitzato* is cited on two occasions. The first of these is in 1083, when Berenguer Eldemar de Sant Gregori granted an emphyteutic lease to Pere Baptised on a building with a courtyard behind the small Church of Santa Maria de les Puelles, just near the Gate and Castle of Sobreportes (MARTÍ 1997, 399-401). This transaction was fully in keeping with the new feudal social order, as the donor was acting as liege to Guillem Ramon, seneschal to the Count and a lord by his own right as the castellan of the aforementioned castle, the emphyteutic property being under the jurisdiction of the castle. The same place and individuals are cited in 1094, specifically in Berenguer Eldemar's will, in which he bequeathed to his sons, Ramon and Guillem Berenguer, his portion—that is, his rights—to the said house held in lease by the married couple Pere Baptised and Joaneta (MARTÍ 1997, 463). The name of this individual is cited on half a dozen more occasions between the years 1071 and 1100, generally as a signatory. This individual, Pere Baptised, therefore does not seem at all negligible, as he maintains economic relations with the clergy and nobility, among them one of the most prominent feudal lords of Girona in the late eleventh century.

To what point can we believe that the *Baptised* may have been Jewish converts to Christianity? This cannot be said for sure, as there were also Muslims in Girona, generally slaves, some of whom had been baptised and set free by their masters, as occurred with the slaves mentioned by the precentor, Ponç de la Seu, in his will of 1064, which stated that “his Saracen man and Saracen woman” should be baptised (RIUS 1928, 362). This would thus be another quite probable way of gaining the epithet or status of *Baptised* held by certain Girona inhabitants cited in the eleventh century, which moreover reveals one of the various channels for social ascension open to some of the members of the lower social strata.

The Jewish Quarter or El Call (12th – 14th Centuries) (fig. 3)

As of 1160, urban references expressly referring to the Jewish Quarter of Girona in relation to the vicinity of Carrer de la Força become increasingly frequent. As indicated earlier, in the early eleventh century a high concentration of Jews could be detected around Carrer de la Força, though mixed with Christian inhabitants. We believe the crystallisation of the lower reaches of the old city into a Jewish Quarter in the twelfth century should be interpreted as the culmination of a gradual process of concentration of Jewish residents in that specific sector of the city, coupled with a simultaneous process of major urban expansion beyond the city ramparts.

The documentary information we have consulted never indicates the prerequisites or decisive mechanisms by which a block of houses or a specific street became part of the Jewish Quarter. It would seem that the defining element was not so much the neighbourhood itself but the condition of the families living there. A fact that would confirm this hypothesis is that the physical boundaries of the Jewish Quarter were hardly ever fixed. The Jewish Quarter gradually expanded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to Jews purchasing properties and settling in houses that were further and further away from the hypothetical centre, in a dynamic that did not stop until the fourteenth century, when it reached the height of its expansion.

The best example of this process of concentration can be found in 1160, when Bishop Bernat of Tarragona, who was also the Chief Sacristan of Girona Cathedral, approved the ownership of several buildings that *Morcai ebreo* had received from his father, Bailiff

Mosse, in the *calle judaico*, and which bordered to the east on other buildings owned by his father and by *Bonum ebrei*, to the south on the houses of *Bonysach* and *Sancto*, to the west on an allodium owned by this same *Morcai*, which had previously belonged to Pere Gerald, and to the north on the buildings belonging to *Caravita* (ACSG, Llibre Gran de la Sagristia Major. fol. 8). Note that the concentration of Jews was already significant in this sector of the *Call* or Jewish Quarter, as the half dozen owners mentioned in the document are all Jewish, but it is also clear that this was a process that was underway, as one of the properties has recently belonged to Pere Gerald, most certainly Christian. Everything seems to indicate that this process was the result of the desire of the Jewish people to group together, rather than a decision imposed by the 'Christian' authorities in order to create a 'ghetto'.

Another noteworthy point is the presence of Bailiff *Mosse*, who had already been referred to by that title nine years earlier. In 1151, the *Capbreu* or description and inventory of the count's rights and honours in the districts of Palau Sacosta, Quart and Castellar de la Selva, took place, presided over by the said *Mosse* by virtue of his position as Bailiff of Girona (SALRACH 1993, 37). Clearly, certain members of the Jewish community were influential enough to attain such prominent posts relating to county finances by the mid-twelfth century.

In general terms, the Jewish Quarter of Girona occupied the lower reaches of the *Força Vella* or old city. The natural limits were comprised by the ramparts running above Carrer de les Ballesteries to the west and the Gate of l'Areny to the south, whereas to the east and north, the boundaries were more fluid, with a tendency in the northern sector to expand towards Mercadell Square and the Castle of Sobreportes (in the vicinity of what would now be Plaça de la Catedral and the building called Casa Pastors), and towards Carrer de la Ruca to the east (now Pujada de la Catedral and Carrer Claveria). The main street was Carrer de la Força, which medieval documents refer to as Carrer Major del Call (Main Street of the Jewish Quarter). It cut through the neighbourhood from south to north, from the Gate of l'Areny (currently Plaça del Correu Vell) to Mercadell Square. A multitude of narrow streets and alleyways converged on it, running both east-west and north-south and comprising a dense urban fabric that was fairly different to the current one. Documentary, archaeological and cartographic research, along with the analysis of the building façades in the area, have allowed us to reconstruct the urban fabric. All the details are thoroughly explained and substantiated in a previously published work. Hence we will not repeat the exercise here, though we will refer to the paper constantly (BURCH *et al.* 2000, 11-28).

The Second Synagogue (Figs. 4, 5 and 6)

Some time ago, we designated as the second synagogue the one located on the western side of what is now Carrer de la Força (CANAL *et al.* 1995, 16), which we distinguished from what was presumably the first one, documented in the tenth century and located at the Plaça dels Apòstols (*supra*). At that time, we believed it to have been halfway down the street, across from the small square that now leads to the street called Escales de la Pera. There are only a few documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that refer to it, and the references are tangential. In fact, the texts that define it and its location most clearly begin on 12 July 1492, only a few days before the deadline established in the decree of expulsion. By that time, it had been out of use for over 50 years and had been substituted by the third synagogue, located on the eastern flank of the same street. Nonetheless, the Jews had retained ownership of the building until

then, most likely for its sentimental value. Obligated to sell (and surely to sell at a loss), the new owners successively bought and transferred the buildings and courtyards of the former synagogue, as well as the adjacent real estate, in an intense process of speculation. The documents generated provide an unwieldy mass of data on the town's structure that reflect the situation in the first half of the sixteenth century, but they also, indirectly, allow the structure it may have had in the fourteenth century to be traced. Hence we were obliged to begin in this later period and work our way back. The data on the urban structure has been transferred onto a map in order to render a clear cartographic image of this highly interesting historical process, which we shall comment on below (fig. 4).

1 and 2. This was the space occupied by the synagogue. In 1492, the *Aljama* (Jewish Community) sold the former synagogue (No. 1) to Pere Gerald de Terrades, Chief Sacristan of Girona Cathedral (MARQUÈS 1987, 229). The purchaser transferred the plot to Nicolau Roca, but he reserved the right to the construction materials—beams, scantling, roof tiles, stones and ironwork—should the building be demolished or fall into ruins. This implies that the synagogue building had remained more or less unaltered until then and that it could not have survived in such a state for very much longer, perhaps until 1494, when mention is made of the ruined courtyards next to the former school buildings (No. 2) (BATLLE 1988, 246). By 1498, it seems that the synagogue had already collapsed because reference is made to some sort of courtyards that had once belonged to the Jews (MARQUÈS 1987, 246). In 1527, Geroni Roca, heir to Nicolau Roca, sold the plot as well as the one adjacent to the north (No. 2) to Pere Ribot. The document describes some sort of courtyards in ruins where there were two wells and the Jewish baths or mikveh (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992 No. 1206). As always, the border to the west was the Ballesteries Rampart, specifically, the property was said to run the length of ten merlons. As we will see later, and though not indicated, the mikveh was located beyond the ramparts, near Carrer de les Ballesteries. A late indication of this can be found in the documents from a sale effected in 1593—all traces of the synagogue had disappeared and a house with a garden had been built in its place—where the eastern and western boundaries were defined as Carrer de Sant Llorenç (now Carrer de la Força) and Carrer de les Ballesteries, respectively, with the ramparts in between (ACSG. Repertori Pontic, 254).

3. Building next to the synagogue. In 1492, it belonged to Dalmau Mercader, a formerly Jewish *converso*, or convert to Christianity (MARQUÈS 1987, 229). In 1498, it had become the property of Bernat Ripoll. The same owner is recorded in 1527 and 1557 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1199), (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247) and (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1210).

4. Building owned by the former Jew and *converso*, Dalmau Mercader, in 1492 (MARQUÈS 1987, 229). In 1498, Bernat Pascoll sold certain rights to the building to the *Almoina* or Almshouse at Pla de la Seu (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1199). In 1527, it belonged to Pere Honrat (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247).

5. Before 1498, the formerly Jewish *converso* Bernat Sampsó had dominion of the building on either side of a covered alleyway. From 1498 to 1527, the property was in the hands of Sebastià Campassol (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1199) and (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247). In 1593, the building had become the property of the canon, Miquel Costa (ACSG. Repertori Pontic, 254).

6. Building belonging to Nicolau Roca in 1492 (MARQUÈS 1987, 229). In 1527, it belonged to Geroni Costa and in 1593, to the canon, Miquel Costa (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247) and (ACSG. Repertori Pontic, 254).

7. Alleyway south of the synagogue. It is first mentioned in 1527 and should be understood as a roofed passageway providing access to neighbouring buildings (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247). In 1593, it is referred to as a covered, blind alleyway (ACSG. Repertori Pontic, 254).

8. The first reference dates back to 1493, where it is referred to as a dead-end street (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 4, 246). In 1527, it is described more or less as a covered, blind alleyway to the north of the synagogue (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. 5, 247).

9. Block of houses to the north of the synagogue. In 1492, it consisted of a single property that the Jew Bonastruc Beuenist transferred to Joan Almar (MIRAMBELL, 1978, 5-19). Shortly thereafter, the new owner divided it into two parts, one of which was purchased by Benet Simon in 1493 (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 4, 246). The other part remained in the hands of Pere Falcó, possibly a formerly Jewish *converso* who was condemned as a heretic in 1497 (ADG. Pergamins Pia Almoia, No. 301). The two parts were apparently reunified in 1527 under the dominion of the Benefice of Santa Maria dels Claustres (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 5, 247). At that time, the property consisted of a house with a courtyard as well as a rampart tower that the beneficiaries of Saint Feliu sold to Joan Ribot, a Foixà knight. The boundaries are unequivocal, but the most conclusive evidence is a deed of sale from 1492, by which this same Ribot acquired the aforementioned house belonging to the Benefice of Santa Maria dels Claustres. To the west, it bounded on the ramparts and tower (fig. 4, No. 13). The tower was called the Tower of Can Boschmonar after the family that owned it, and their heirs still retain its ownership. This means that the synagogue occupied the place where the current building is located at Carrer de la Força, No. 21, because in 1558 the house of Joan Ribot bounded to the south on the house and garden of Francesc Roca, descendent of Nicolau Roca, who had acquired what had been the synagogue in 1498 (see Nos. 1 and 2) (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO, 1992, Doc. No. 1211). Finally, another point to keep in mind is that in 1593 Joan Ribot of Foixà still retained ownership of the house (ACSG. Repertori Pontic, 254).

10. Alleyway mentioned in 1493 (BATLLE 1988, ap. Doc. No. 4, 246). Later documents indicate that it ran from Carrer de la Força to the path alongside the ramparts and the drainage hatch that can still be seen today in the fourteenth-century tower (see No. 13). In 1557, the General Bailiff granted Joan Ribot permission to wall it in and incorporate it into his property. At that time, it measured 50 paces in length and 12 spans in width (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1211). In 1558, it was referred to as an alleyway that had formerly led to the ramparts. A section of the alley may have already been privatised.

11. Block of houses. Between 1557 and 1558, the following owners are indicated: Gabriel Saüc, thereafter his widow, Francesca, the heirs of Andreu Vidal, and then Joan Bosch (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. Nos. 1210 and 1211).

12. Ballesteries Rampart.

13. Rampart tower built in the fourteenth century, under the reign of King Peter III. In it is a hatch made of sandstone blocks which predates the tower and served to allow the water flowing down from the old city and accumulating behind the ramparts to drain off (fig. 5).

The synagogue was the centre of religious life but also served as a civic centre for the Jewish community. This translates into architectural complexity, a building with different spaces for specific uses that invariably appear: the prayer hall, courtyard, school-rooms and mikveh. Moreover, synagogues were subject to certain regulations that conditioned their layout. According to tradition and rabbinical laws referring to the

synagogues of the diaspora, one of the walls had to be oriented towards the east, that is, towards Jerusalem (ESTANYOL 2002), the entrance should be to the south (PALOMERO, 1998, 143-180) and the synagogue was to be accessed by a courtyard or atrium that also led to both the prayer hall and the other community halls (MORENO KOCH, 1996, 135-142). The strict Christian legislation deprived the synagogue architecture of any monumentality, obliging it to be discrete (RIERA, 1985, 58-60). Nonetheless, inside the building, the situation could be quite different.

No physical vestiges remain of the second synagogue. Documentation from the end of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries reveal the location and the overall proportions of the synagogue building, as well as the courtyard with two wells between the ramparts and the school (probably the prayer hall), but nothing more. An analysis of the urban fabric of the old city allows us to determine that the synagogue occupied a modular foundational city block with a maximum north-south width of less than 11 metres (BURCH et al, 2000, 17).

By pure coincidence, new data has come to light allowing a better vision of the distribution of the spaces comprising the synagogue. It all started with two notarial instruments from the year 1343 from the Arxiu Comarcal d'Olot (Archives of the County of Olot), which were compiled and transcribed by the ill-fated Manuel Grau while studying the Jewish Quarter of Besalú for his doctoral dissertation. The posthumous publication of his work did not include these documents, but the fact that Grau's personal archives were donated to the Arxiu Municipal de Besalú (Municipal Archives of Besalú) allowed us to find one of the transcribed texts in an original copy of his dissertation (GRAU, 1975, Vol. II, 155-158) and the second text in a handwritten transcription, the main body of which is faithfully reproduced here, with no changes:

(...)Jego Anna uxor prima Juceffi Bonafeu condam judei Gerunde et nos Priçosa filia dictorum Juceffi Bonafeu condam et Anne coniugum uxorque Astruchi Assachi judei Bisulduni et ipsem idem Astruchus Issachi maritus dicte Prissose et Astruchus Jacob judeus dicti loci Bisulduni anus dicti Astruchi Issachi et Aster mater dicti Astruchi Issachi de voluntate et expresse consensu dicte Anne omnes insimul non vi dolo metu nee ab aliquo circunuenti (?) set motu proprio et me liberalitate per nos et nostros presentes atque futuros gratis et ex certa scientia vendimus et titulo pure et perfecte venditionis corporaliter tradimus vel quasi tradimus vobis Beuenist Bonjube judeo bisulduni et vestris si quibus volueritis perpetuo pro puro libero et franco alodio medietatem totus directi dominii scilicet omnium terciorum laudismiorum et forescapiorum emperarum firmanentorum juris faticarum et juris retinendi et omnium aliorum et singulorumque ed directum dominium pertinere nostritur tocus eiusdam hospitii existentis in carrario ballistiarum Gerunde in loco vocato de fabriciis quod hospitium fuit A. çes Coromines condam ferrarii Gerunde et postera domine Brunissendis condam filie eiusdem uxorque P. (Pere) de Vilardello pictoris Gerunde et nunc est Guillerme filie et heredis dicte domine Brunissendis condam quod hospitium affrontat aboriente in cortali hospitii vestri dicti Beuenist Bonjube siti in parte supra murum Calli judeorum Gerunde quod hospitium nos dicti coniuges Astruchus Jacob et Aster vobis anno presenti vendidimus. A meridie in domo Balneorum aliame judeorum Gerunde ab occidente in rivo undaris et in dicta carraria vocata de ballistariis et a circio in hospicio Bartholomei de Hoscha spaerii Gerunde. Item vendimus vobis et vestris et quibus volueritis perpetuo per libero et francho alodio medietatem unius morabani flamagantis boni et fini auri rectique pensi annualis et censualis quod morabatinum tenetor dicti hospicii superius confrontati mihi dicto Astrucho Issachi et Bonanascho Scapati judeo castilionis soluere et prestare tenetur annuatim perpetuo in festo Nathalis domini pro censu dicti hospitii. Item vendimus vobis

et vestros perpetuo omne aliud ius nobis seu alteri nostrum simul vel diversi competens aut competere delens ratione predictae venditiones in et super toto dicto hospicio vel contra quoscumque ratione eiusdem hospicii seu directi dominii predicti ratione quorumcumque terciorum laudisimiorum et forescapiorum nobis seu alteri nostrum debitorum pro quibuscumque venditionibus donationibus aut aliis alienationibus factis huc usque de dicto hospicio in quibus firma nostra vel alterius nostrum vel predecessorum nostrorum in dicto directo dominio non intervenerit et etiam omne aliud jus nobis pertinens et pertinere debens nunc vel in futurum de jure vel consuetudine in hospicio antedicto ratione predictarum medietatem nostrarum. Ita quod a modo vos et vestri et quos volueritis habeatis et percipiatis annuatim perpetuo in dicto festo medietatem dicti morabatini censualis atenectoribus dicti hospicii et habeatis in eodem hospicio medietatem totius directi domini pro libero et francho alodio et totum aliud jus per nos nobis supra venditum et predictam omniam (fol. 69) per nos nobis ut promittitur vendita supra nostra propria et nostrorum et perpetuo volueritis pro libero et francho alodio titulo et ex tam huius presentis venditionis quam venditionem dicte medietatis directi dominii et unis morabatini flamegantis boni et fini auri rectique pensi annualis et consualis vobis et vestris et quibus volueritis perpetuo facimus prop puro libero et francho alodio prout melius et utilius ad vestrum vestrorumque bonum et firmum ac sanum intellectum possit intelligi atque dicti precio videlicet quadringentorum octuaginta sol. Barchinone de terno quod a nobis non spe future a numerationis confitemur hacuisse numerando (...) (ACO, Besalú, Vol. 62, Year 1343, fols. 68-69). The archive reference corresponds to an earlier cataloguing system different to the one in use today. Therefore, it is difficult to find the original parchment. See also: (Arxiu Municipal de Besalú / AMB, Bequest of Dr. Manuel Grau Montserrat, manuscript file) (fig. 6).

The first document deals with the transaction between Priçosa, daughter of Jucef Bonafeu and wife of Astruc Isaac, and Beuenist Bonjuhà, the former having sold the latter a building in the Jewish Quarter of Girona, located immediately north of the synagogue, between the ramparts and the present-day Carrer de la Força (fig. 6, 1). To the east it bordered on the house of the Jew Bonanat Scapat (fig. 6, 2), to the south, *in sinagoga aliame judeorum gerunde et in scala balneorum eiusdem aliame* (fig. 6, 3), and to the west, on three houses. One of these three houses had belonged to the then deceased Francesc Coromines, a blacksmith, which was then inherited by his daughter, Brunissenda, wife of the painter, Pere Vilardell, and which then went to Brunissenda's daughter, Guillelma, upon her mother's death (fig. 6, 4). One of the other houses belonged to Bartomeu d'Osca, a swordsmith (fig. 6, 5) and the other one to Francesc Exemins, a quilter (fig. 6, 6).

In the second document, the parents of Astruc Issac, Issac and Ester, also sold the rights they had on the house that had belonged to Francesc Coromines. The boundaries are clear: to the east, the property bounded on the courtyard of the house previously sold to Beuenist Bonjuhà (fig. 6, 1), located at the wall to the Jewish Quarter (Ballesteries Rampart), to the south, *in domo balneorum aliame judeorum gerunde* (fig. 6, 7), to the west, on the River Onyar and Carrer de les Ballesteries, and to the north, on the above-mentioned building owned by Bartomeu d'Osca (fig. 6, 5). This indicates that the mikveh was located near Carrer de les Ballesteries and below and to the west of the synagogue, which was above and to the east of the ramparts. The two spaces were linked by a set of stairs that cut through the ramparts.

The ramparts above Carrer de les Ballesteries became a transcendental element in the history of the synagogue. These ramparts were part of the Roman fortifications and had been reinforced towards the end of the eighth century (CANAL *et al.*, 2003, 145-148).

Under the reign of King Peter III, in the second half of the fourteenth century, new ramparts were built and the perimeter of the former ramparts was restructured, this area coming to be called the Força Vella. Between the ramparts and the houses inside the city was a path dating back to Roman times (MARTÍN 1977, 335-338). In the Middle Ages it was constantly invaded by the neighbouring houses, whose owners were tempted to expand. It was precisely in the context of the improvement of the ancient fortifications in 1386 that the *Jurats* of Girona ordered the demolition of any buildings and walls of the Jewish Quarter directly adjoining the ramparts (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 648). An Exception was made with the synagogue, where doors were to be inserted to allow passage. This could only have been possible if the area in question was the courtyard of the synagogue, as they would hardly have put doors in the prayer hall in order to cross through it. Therefore, the synagogue courtyard must have been adjacent to the eastern face of the ramparts. Inside the courtyard were one or perhaps two wells and the staircase leading down to the mikveh (figs. 7a and 7b).

The prayer hall was between the courtyard to the west and a row of houses fronting on Carrer del Call (now Carrer de la Força) to the east. The aforementioned narrow streets, adjacent to it to the north and south, allow reconstruction of the general dimensions of the building, which was rectangular and slightly over 10 metres in length. The prayer hall was reached from the courtyard. The inside was structured into a minimum of two differentiated sections: the *scola inferiori* and the *scola maiori*. Indeed, in 1373, Astruc Issac, the uncle and guardian of the children of the then deceased Bonjuhà Issac, sold the seat that had belonged to Bonjuhà Issac, his brother, in the *scola maiori* of the synagogue of Girona, with a view to providing for the orphaned children (PLANAS 1999, Vol. I, 493-503). We believe this 'major synagogue' was the space reserved for men. The synagogue of Castelló d'Empúries, for instance, was designated as the *sinagoga seu scola superior sive judeorum masculorum* (PUJOL 1991, 75). From the indications, it can be deduced that the seat was part of a bench seating three against the eastern wall of the synagogue. The benches were distributed in rows, with at least three benches in each row, oriented lengthwise, in a north-south direction. This same Astruc Issac also sold the seat that had belonged to the mother of his nephews. It was located in the 'lower synagogue' of Girona. This seat was also part of a bench seating three against the northern wall of the synagogue. These rows of benches (consisting of at least three benches each) were oriented crosswise, in an east-west direction, forming two or possibly more rows. The neighbouring seats were primarily the property of Jewish women, which leads to the conjecture that, in reality, the 'lower synagogue' designated the area reserved for women. Similar terms were used to allude to this section in the synagogue of Castelló d'Empúries, where *scola inferior*, *scola mulierum* and *domus dominarum* are used indistinctly to designate the space in the synagogue reserved for women (PUJOL 1991, 75-76). In the Girona synagogue, the women's section may have been raised, as on an inner balcony overlooking the prayer hall or men's synagogue and within the same building, as was the case in the Besalú synagogue as well as in the aforementioned synagogue of Castelló d'Empúries (PUJOL 1991, 75-76) (fig. 8).

The Baths

Salomon ben Abraham Adret was a Barcelona rabbi of the thirteenth century who enjoyed enormous prestige during his life in questions of religious law. He was frequently consulted by Jews from far and wide, as he was considered an authority and his opinions were held to be highly pragmatic. Through his *responsa*, we know that the

Jews of Girona questioned the correct supply of water for the public baths they used as a mikveh (FELIU 1989, 71-72). It would thus seem that they did not have their own private baths. The public baths of Girona were founded in 1194 (MARQUÈS/MIRAMBELL/SAGRERA 1994, 28-32) and were perhaps used by the Jewish community from that time on. But the facilities used by the Jews before this are unknown. Nor is the date yet known when they established their own mikveh located near Carrer de les Ballesteries and mentioned in 1343. Nevertheless, an analysis of the particular history of Carrer de les Ballesteries indicates it was built between 1320 and 1343 (fig. 9).

In the early thirteenth century, construction began on the street then called Carrer de les Fàbregues (today's Carrer de les Ballesteries). First houses were built along its eastern flank and, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, houses were built on its western side, next to the river. Several institutions, such as the *Almoina* or Almshouse of the Girona See, acquired rights over certain sectors. Through their archives, the entire process can be followed. Hence we know that the Almshouse had dominion over a series of houses that, in the eighteenth century, covered the section of the street between the second and third rampart towers, that is, between the tower that is still there but now hidden within the building at Carrer de les Ballesteries, No. 26, and the previously-mentioned Tower of Can Boscmonar. These were the houses that remained below the area where the synagogue had once stood. Fortunately, the Almshouse's *capbreuacions*, or inventories of rights and honours, went back to the end of the thirteenth century. Between 1319 and 1320, the Almshouse effected a *capbreu*, or inventory, of the houses where its deputies claimed to possess property: Pere Fuià (fig. 10, 1), the cutler, Pere Guillem (fig. 10, 2), the painter, Pere Vilardell (fig. 10, 3), Jaume Camps, heir to Guillem Camps (fig. 10, 4), the heirs of the deceased Ramon Sala (fig. 10, 5), the crossbow maker, Pere Ros (fig. 10, 6), another house owned by Pere Vilardell (fig. 10, 7), Brunissenda Pla, the wife of Guillem Puig (fig. 10, 8) and, finally, Pere Crespià (fig. 10, 9) (ADG. Llibre d'Arxivacions de la Pia Almoina, Nos. 828, 829, 830, 831, 883 and 884). In 1355, Guillem Rovira declared that he owned a house adjoining to the house of Jaume Camps to the north and the house of Guillema, daughter of Pere Vilardell, to the south. Guillema was the granddaughter of Francesc Coromines and daughter of Brunissenda. The latter was most likely the same Guillema who, as you will recall, had a house next to the baths, to which the parents of Astruc Issac had sold their rights to Beuenist Bonjuhà (*supra*) (ADG. Pia Almoina, Vestuari, No. 11, Year 1355). In the inventories of 1319, the baths would correspond to the house of Brunissenda, wife of Guillem Puig (fig. 10, 8), though the baths are not mentioned at all. This leads us to surmise that they had not yet been built. In 1346, Grau de Sant Dionís, doctor of medicine, recognised the rights of Bonanasch Vidal, procurator of the Jewish Almshouse, to the house that he had bought from Pere Crespià, which was already mentioned in 1319 (fig. 10, 9) (ADG. Pia Almoina, Girona, No. 1097 sub.). To the north it bordered on a property held by the Jewish Almshouse, which had previously belonged to Christian owners. Though it is not mentioned, it must have been the location of the Jewish baths (fig. 10, 8). In any case, the mention of the Jewish Almshouse leads to the inference that it was, in fact, the mikveh (fig. 10).

West of Carrer de la Força (fig. 11)

In the eleventh century, numerous Jewish residents can already be detected, but the majority of the extant documentation from the period of the Jewish Quarter refers to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As we have seen, the synagogue was located in the

very centre, between Carrer de la Força and the ramparts. In the southern sector, the houses built along this street projected towards the ramparts and were contiguous to one another, forming an unbroken façade as a continuous block of houses. There were no secondary streets in between; at least no mention is made of them, among other reasons because the ramparts and the street in question gradually converged, coming together at the Gate of l'Areny. Hence the depth of properties gradually decreased as one moved further south along the street. In this sector, not far from the synagogue, Abraham Ravaia, Bonastruc de Blanes and Rubèn Samuel owned houses in 1363. This is indicated in the documents relating to the purchase made by the city *jurats* of the stones of the Ravaia House, to be used for the rampart construction work (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 426). In reality, the house was to be partially demolished because it obstructed the public zone between the houses and the ramparts. In exchange, the *jurats* allowed the owner to rebuild the house 13 spans back from the ramparts. Another Jew may have resided in the same sector, a certain Vides, whose property is referred to as bordering on the ramparts in 1346 (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 1097 sub.).

To the north of the synagogue, the street network was more complex. Several narrow streets linked Carrer de la Força to the path along the ramparts, separating and determining several blocks of houses comprised of different dwellings. These secondary streets complemented the functional structure of the city and were vital for accessing the houses without doors opening onto Carrer de la Força. The alleyways were partially covered in arches and vaults, as is clear from subsequent documents (*supra*). Fortunately, the archives provide more generous information. Recall that, just across from the synagogue and referring to one of those alleyways, a first block of houses was documented in 1343 as belonging to the following three individuals: Beuenist Bonjuhà, who purchased a house from Priçosa (fig. 11, 1), Bonanasc Scapat (fig. 11, 2) and Benet Bellshom (fig. 11, 3) (GRAU 1975, Vol. II. 155-158). Two years later, the house of Bonanasc Scapat apparently belonged to Maimó Momet, a Jew from Perpignan residing in Peralada at the time (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 187 sub.).

Immediately north of this was another block of houses, framed by two narrow streets, one to the north and the other to the south, the ramparts to the west and Carrer de la Força to the east (fig. 11, 4). In 1373, Aaron Jucef bought a house from Lorca, the wife of Jucef Issac, and their children, Issac Jucef and Esther. The sale document indicates some of the neighbouring properties, namely those of Abraham Soy and Morfoday Botim (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 214 sub.).

The urban configuration changed substantially at the area now occupied by the City History Museum. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were two blocks of houses, interconnected via arches and vaults covering one of these alleyways, which no longer exists but which then ran in a north-south direction, its northern end leading to the small square where the museum entrance is today (fig. 11, 15). In 1927, Millàs i Vallicrosa published the deed of sale from 1284 of a large property in the sector in question (fig. 11, 16), by which Tolsana and her husband, Jusuè ben Zerahia and Dolça and her husband, Nathan Salomó Xaltiel sold the stated property to the married couple Goig and Jusuè Haleví (MILLÀS, 1927, Doc. 1, 72-74). This document provides invaluable information for understanding the urban layout of this corner of the Jewish Quarter, comparable only to the fortunate circumstance that a deed of sale from a few years later (1296) on the same property, though at the time even larger through acquisitions of neighbouring land, has survived down to the present day (AHCG. Hospital, No. 208). In this case, it was Adela, widow of Salomó, son of Maïr de Cabanes, who sold Issac Cordoví a hospice, tower (fig. 11, 22), houses and courtyards (fig. 11, 16). The descriptions of the land referred to in both docu-

ments perfectly coincide and have allowed us to draw up this detailed map. Beginning in the south, there were three houses fronting on the narrow street that went from Carrer de la Força to the ramparts (fig. 11, 24). In 1284, Issac Haleví owned the western of these and in 1296 it was owned by Bellshom Scapat (fig. 11, 5), along with the adjacent one (fig. 11, 6). The eastern house belonged to Astruc Momet in 1296 (fig. 11, 7 and 8). Other documents indicate that the property changed hands. In 1341, Vidal Ravaia is indicated as the owner (ADG. Pia Almoina, Girona, No. 13), while in 1372 it was Benet Bellshom (fig. 11, 7) (AHCG. Hospici, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 213). Moving northwards on the map, in 1296, the owners to the next houses were stated as being Mosse Cabrit (fig. 11, 9), whose descendant was the recorded owner in 1373 (ADG. Pia Almoina, No. 214 sub.), and Mosse Astruc (fig. 11, 10). To the west resided Jusuè, son of Efraïm (fig. 11, 13) and the aforementioned Mosse Cabrit (fig. 11, 14). The large property sold on 1284 and 1296 (fig. 11, 16) comprised over 750 m² of surface area and included a rampart tower (fig. 11, 22). The location coincided with the bell tower of the capuchin convent founded in the eighteenth century and which is now part of the City History Museum facilities. On a purely speculative note, it may have been the same tower called the "Tower of the Jew", the rights to which Jucef Abrahe settled in 1397 (AHG, Girona, Not. Pere Despont, 250, fol. 1875-1885).

This side of the northern end of the Jewish Quarter consisted of a group of houses bounded by streets to the east, west and south (fig. 11, 11 and 21) and the Mercadell Square or a street adjoining Mercadell Square to the north. The most characteristic element was the small church of Sant Genís, mentioned in the same location in the tenth century (fig. 11, 20) (MARTÍ 1997, Doc. No. 88). Although the presence of Jews in this area can be detected in the fourteenth century, it is uncertain whether it belonged to the Jewish Quarter. In 1322, the Jew, Maimó, son of Bonastruc des Mestres, rented a house to Sibil·la, wife of Joan Daltdemar, a barber of Girona, (fig. 11, 19) (AHG. Not. Vol. II. Pere Massanet, fol. 65r). To the south, it bordered on the home of A. Sigrany (fig. 11, 18) and to the east, on that of the daughters of this same Sibil·la (fig. 11, 17). The church and the pre-eminence of Christian inhabitants would indicate that it was not part of the Jewish Quarter at that time. To the east, it bordered on the end of Carrer de la Força, which documents of the period always referred to as (Carrer) Major del Call (i.e. Main Street of the Jewish Quarter). A 1322 deed indicates that there was a square at the 'Portal del Call' (Jewish Quarter Gate), that is, that the street ended in a gate that enclosed and protected the Jewish Quarter. It seems that the gate was not at the very end of the street, because before reaching Mercadell Square itself there was a broader section or 'square'. Other documents recall the existence of the gate—also known as the Upper Jewish Quarter Gate—just off Mercadell Square, as for instance a sale deed from 1356 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 369) and (CANAL *et al.* 1995, Map 2, No. 81).

Though it is uncertain whether the houses around Sant Genís belonged to the Jewish Quarter, the evidence refutes this hypothesis due to the neighbouring properties to the west. Flanked by a street that is today on private property (fig. 11, 21), these houses were located north of Issac Cordoví's house (fig. 11, 16). In 1296, documents first mention a house that the Monastery of Camprodon had in Girona (fig. 11, 25) and that it most likely still owned in 1339 (AHCG. Hospital, No. 208), (ADG. Notularum Vol. II, 848). Next to this was the bakery of the Castle of Sobreportes (AHCG. Hospital, No. 242) (fig. 11, 26) and the house of Estruga de Sant Llorenç, mentioned in 1296 and 1305 (fig. 11, 27). According to the boundaries indicated in the above documents, the border between the Jewish Quarter and the rest of the old city is revealed as set back and not very uniform. In our opinion, it implies variable boundaries changing according to variations in real estate ownership rather than following previously defined limits.

East of Carrer de la Força (fig. 12)

This sector was delimited by the Castle of Cabrera / Requesens to the south, Mercadell Square to the north and Carrer de la Ruca to the east. Its southern edge bordered on the feudal castle that was built in the eleventh century near the Gate of l'Areny, first called Castle of Cabrera or Girona and later, beginning in the fourteenth century, Castle of Requesens. This allowed a series of houses to be built that were the object of a transaction in the first half of the fourteenth century. In 1326, Astruc Samuel returned the ownership of the house located on the corner between Carrer del Call and the one leading up to the Castle of Requesens to his father Samuel Astruc (fig. 12, 1) (AHG, Notularum, 65. Not. Pere Massanet, Vol. VI, fol. 81v). To the east and north, it bordered on the house of Issac Ravaia. It seems that Astruc Caravida acquired the houses owned by Issac Ravaia a few years later (fig. 12, 2). Furthermore, in 1330, Caravida bought the rights to lighting, tribute and water for a courtyard located between the houses of Caravida and Samuel Astruc (AHG, Notaria G5, Protocol IX, Pere Massanet 1330) (fig. 12, 3). Caravida's property was ample and spacious. His widow, Bonadòmina, passed it on to her daughters in 1341 (AHG, Notaria G5, Prot. XXII, Pere Massanet 1341). The notarial instrument indicates that it reached a street outside of the Jewish Quarter to the east (fig. 12, 4) and that it spanned another street, one inside the Jewish Quarter, creating a vault (fig. 12, 5). That same year, 1341, Bonafilla and Ester, two of Bonadòmina's daughters, sold their part to Bonastruc Vidal (AHG, Notaria G5, Prot. XXII, 1341). In reality, Bonastruc Vidal made a poor deal as shortly thereafter, the city *jurats* ordered the demolition of the house, adducing surprising reasons, namely: "due to the harmful coexistence of Jews and Christians and the danger of flooding in case of rain" (AHCG, Ordinacions dels jurats, Lligall IV, Vol. 1340-41, fol. 64r).

North of these houses, there was a street running down towards Carrer de la Força. Today, a short section of it still exists at the bend in Carrer Miquel Oliva Prat (fig. 12, 8). At the top of the street, a gate closed it off as part of the Jewish Quarter. The agreement signed by Astruc Caravida and his neighbour, Mossé Ravaia, in 1330 (fig. 12, 9), by which the former committed himself to replacing the gate he had demolished and the latter allowed him to widen it six inches can be interpreted in this sense (AHG, Notaria G5, Prot. VII, Pere Massanet, 1330, fol. 51r). Continuing to the north, it becomes difficult to reconstruct the urban structure and owners of the sector in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not so much due to a lack of documents, but rather the difficulty of ascertaining the location of the elements mentioned. Nonetheless, the urban structure in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is well-known, allowing an accurate reconstruction of the location of certain streets that no longer exist today (fig. 12, 10-12).

Beyond the current-day Carrer de Sant Llorenç (fig. 12, 13), indications are once again quite explicit. At this point, a large house with a tower still stands, where, despite the alterations suffered over the course of time, the main structure and its different wings date back to between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (fig. 12, 14 and 15) (SAGRERA/SUREDA 2001, 243-260). In 1267 it belonged to Astruc Ravaia, a prominent figure who attained the post of Royal Bailiff (ACSG, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 3, Doc. 4). The property was divided by his heirs and in 1328 Astruc Jacob sold a large part of it to Bonjuhà Bedoç (fig. 12, 14) for 6800 *sous barcelonesos de tern* (a unit of currency).

(...)quod fuit Astrugui Ravallie et eius filii Mosse Ravalia a quibus dictus Issachus Caravita judus Gerunde / uerunt dictum hospicium una omni alia parte eiusdem que ex causa divisionis postea in de facto d/ rant ad parte dicti astrugui Caravite et dictum hospicium dicte divisionis prout ad me dictum Astruchum Issachi quod hospicium quod

vobis vendimus affrontatur ab oriente partim in sustro quendam domorum partis dicti Astrugui Caravita et etiam partim in carraria existentim extra callum et partim in carraria que est inter hoc hospicium et quoddam hospicium aliud dicti Astrugui Caravite a circio in hospitio heredis Belshom Astrugui quondam judei Gerunde et in hospitio Bonastrugui Asmies judei Castilionis ab occidente in carraria publica callis a meridie in dicta parte dicti Astrugui Caravita (...) (ACO, Besalú, Vol. 18, 1328) and (GRAU, 1975, Vol. II, 142-143).

The boundaries indicated in the document state that the property stretched from the current Carrer de la Claveria, which was outside the Jewish Quarter, to Carrer de la Força. Through it passed a public street, which must have been covered (fig. 12, 15). To the north it bounded on the houses of Bellshom Astruc, then deceased, and Bonastruc Asmies (fig. 12, 16-17) near the mentioned properties and part of the block of houses. (fig. 13).

Between Carrer Cúndaro and Pujada de la Catedral (fig. 14)

The urban area occupied today by the Girona Chapter of the Architects' Association of Catalonia consisted, until the fifteenth century, of four blocks of houses delimited by several alleyways that have been archaeologically researched and are well documented (BURCH et al. 2000, 67). There are plenty of references to the two most northerly of these blocks. The cathedral bakery, better known as La Ruca, was located in the north-east (fig. 14, 1). It was already mentioned in the twelfth century in close relation to the Calvet family, who had significant real estate interests at the Mercadell, the square now known as Plaça de la Catedral (fig. 14, 2) (ACSG. Sagristia segona, Llibre d'Arxivacions No. 5, Doc. 123). To the south was the mouth of the street that was often described in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the street passing by the bakery (fig. 14, 7) (AHG. Hospici, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 36). A bit farther in the same direction was a block of houses to which the Aiguaviva Militia (Knights Templar) claimed allodial rights up to the early fifteenth century. The copious documentation compiled demonstrates that, until the late thirteenth century, it remained outside the Jewish Quarter and, in fact, the most northerly houses in the block were never a part of it (fig. 14, 3). In this area, the houses and gardens or rear courtyards were linked to the Ruca Bakery. Between 1200 and 1254, three different owners are indicated, all of them Christian: Bernat Guillem, Jaume d'Olives and Arnau de Cassà (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 9 and 10) and (AHG. Hospici, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 37). The last owner bequeathed the houses to the See's Almshouse, as was confirmed in the laudation made by the canon, Ramon d'Avinyó, in 1250 on behalf of the Second Sacristy of the See, which held eminent dominion over them. They remained forever more under the Almshouse's dominion (AHG. Hospici, Llibre d'arxivacions, No. 49). To the south, it bounded on two houses that had belonged to Christians until the end of the second third of the thirteenth century (fig. 14, 4 and 5). In 1271, on the other hand, the owner was Jewish, namely Issac Navarra (fig. 14, 5), according to the deed regarding the sale of a house by Jaume d'Olives to Ferrer de Coc. The southern edge bounded on the building of the Jewish Almshouse (fig. 14, 6). The northern bounds of the Jewish Quarter on this side must have been this building. Nonetheless, references indicate that the limits were the result of a recent advance of the Jewish Quarter in this direction, consolidated during the first half of the thirteenth century. If in 1197 the entire sector belonged to Berenguer Cosidor, by 1222 part of it had already been acquired by a Jew (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 10).

To the west of the two blocks of houses analysed above were another two, practically symmetrical to these (fig. 14, 7 and 9), divided by a street mentioned as early as the twelfth century (doc. 1197). The religious affiliations of the inhabitants of this sector are uncertain, though in 1197 a Christian is mentioned, and a deed of sale from 1222 specifies that to the west of the street (fig. 14, 8) was the wall to the Jewish Quarter (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 10 and 24). This reveals a significant expansion of the Jewish Quarter towards the north in the early thirteenth century. Nonetheless, the northern-most block (fig. 14, 9) was still in the Christian zone at the end of the thirteenth century, at least partially because by the twelfth century they were residing in the general vicinity (ACSG. Llibre Gran de la Sagristia Major, fol. 50). This was where the Escala family, founder of the Christian Almshouse, had established residence. Between 1275 and 1276, the property went from the Escala to Guillem Gausfred and Guillem de Vilanova (ACSG. Sagristia segona, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 5, Docs. 126, 127 and 129). Texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries give the impression that the limits of the Jewish Quarter were fluid and not well defined, which implies that the separation between Christians and Jews in 'border' areas was more a *de facto* situation rather than a systematic, planned policy. In the fourteenth century, these two blocks of houses were fully incorporated into the Jewish neighbourhood. Indeed, in 1322, mention is already made of the Portal del Call, or Jewish Quarter Gate that closed off the upper end of Carrer de la Força (Carrer Major del Call), a circumstance which perforce indicated Jewish dominion on both sides of the street (fig. 14, 10) (AHG. Not. 65, Vol. II. Pere Massanet, fol. 65r). The sale of the aforementioned Forn de la Ruca (Ruca Bakery) made by the Second Sacristy of the See to the Head of the Almshouse in 1322 is even more precise, as the deed indicates the bounds to the south and west directly as the Jewish Quarter, that is the Jewish neighbourhood at that time extended to the current-day Pujada de la Catedral, occupying the entire area today belonging to the Girona Chapter of the Architects' Association of Catalonia, except, of course, for the small area where the Ruca Bakery was. (ACG. Sagristia mitjana, Llibre d'Arxivacions, 5, Doc. No. 171). (fig. 15).

The Fifteenth Century

The pogrom of 1391 marked a turning point for the Jewish Community of Girona. As we have stated, anti-Semitism had been present throughout the Middle Ages, and there are numerous examples testifying to this. There had even been sporadic or recurring outbursts of violence, such as the habit of throwing stones at houses in the Jewish Quarter from the cathedral bell tower and clergymen's homes, or that of Christians storming the Jewish Quarter after the bells were rung, with the bishop's consent (ACSG. Thirteenth Century Parchments, 1278). Nonetheless, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Crown's economic crisis and the prevailing social instability—especially in the countryside but also in cities such as Girona, which were undergoing serious demographic and economic recession—were channelled towards open anti-Semitism. The famous sermon, incensed and full of intolerance against the Jews, which Friar Vicenç Ferrer pronounced in 1404 before a crowd gathered at the stairs to the Monastery of Sant Domènec, perfectly exemplifies the belligerent scenario that undermined the royalty's disposition to defend the Jews and ensured the ambiguity of the city *jurats* vis-à-vis royal orders to protect the Jews. The Congress of Tortosa, under the auspices of the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII and the Bull that the pope issued on 11 May 1415, which was very harsh towards the Jews, were determining factors in the future of the Jewish Quarter.

In compliance with the order decree, the synagogue was closed at the end of October 1415 in Girona, with the argument that it occupied the same place where the Chapel of Sant Llorenç had once stood (MASIÀ 1953, 294-302). The houses of the Jews residing on the western flank of the Carrer Major del Call, which was renamed Carrer de Sant Llorenç, were also stormed. Nonetheless, the following year the Jews obtained royal licence to reopen the synagogue, which was to function for a few years longer (BATLLE 1988, 229). Nevertheless, the inexorable transfer of a large part of the former Jewish Quarter into Christian hands had begun—this was the start of the enclosure and reduction of the Jewish Quarter.

In fact, this process had presumably begun some years earlier, when the See's Almshouse gradually bought from the Jewish Community and from Jewish individuals buildings and plots in the area now occupied by the Architects' Association of Catalonia's Girona Chapter, which, as stated above, had become the most northerly sector of the Jewish Quarter. The purchase of property by the Almshouse cannot be considered a direct consequence of the Bull of 1415, because the process had begun in the fourteenth century, even before the Pogrom of 1391, but it is evident that this process was enormously fostered by this Bull.

The dispossession of the Jews from houses near Carrer Major del Call was not an immediate or easy task, even more so due to the street's very name (currently Carrer de la Força). In 1418, an edict was proclaimed by which the *jurats* demanded that the Jews brick up all doors and windows opening onto this street, as cohabitation with Christians was prohibited and the stated street officially no longer belonged to the Jewish Quarter. Shortly thereafter, the synagogue suffered an assault when a religious procession went down the street, renamed Carrer de Sant Llorenç, "que és vuy tot de cristians" (i.e. "which today belongs wholly to Christians", GIRBAL 1988, Vol. I, 67-68). Nonetheless, the land to the west of Carrer de la Força was still overwhelmingly in Jewish hands, some of whom most probably still lived there. In 1421, Queen Mary granted the Jews licence to sell houses and land on that side of the street to the Almshouse. Indeed, the Almshouse bought a great amount of real estate there as of 1423 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. Nos. 945, 942, 952). Nevertheless, the segregation of this part of the Jewish Quarter was not yet complete, because, despite the *jurats* reiterating in 1431 that the former main street of the Jewish Quarter was off limits to Jews, the institution had to issue a new edict in 1442 reminding the Jews of the prohibition of residing on Carrer de Sant Llorenç, as it was no longer a part of the Jewish Quarter, and insisting that they were to brick up all doors and windows opening onto this street (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. Nos. 1074 and 1081). The strongest blow was to be the definitive closure of the synagogue located near the Ballesteries Rampart, which led to the founding of a new one to the east of Carrer de la Força, within the walled Jewish Quarter. It was in 1434 when the *Aljama*, or Jewish Community, decided to build a new synagogue in several courtyards located in what is now the Centre Bonastruc ça Porta (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1016). From then on, the reduction of the Jewish Quarter can be considered to be a consummate reality, though the *jurats* were obliged to repeatedly issue decrees, specifically, in 1444 and 1445, reminding the Jews of their obligation to brick up windows and doors opening onto Carrer de Sant Llorenç (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1988, Doc. No. 1074) and (AHCG. Registre No. 58, Manual d'acords any 1445, 28). Today, different sections of the wall that physically enclosed the Jewish Quarter can still be seen, especially along the eastern perimeter at Carrer de la Claveria, then called Carrer de la Ruca. A blind wall over four metres in height with bricked-up openings provides the most striking testimony (fig. 16 and 17).

The reduction of the Jewish Quarter must have been excessive because the space assigned was insufficient and on 4 September 1448, the *jurats* ordered that the street called Carrer de la Ruca (currently Carrer de Claveria) should be incorporated into the Jewish Quarter and that it be walled off next to the house of the prebendary, Jaume Anglès, and at the end near the Castle of Requesens. According to these stipulations, the bastion was included within the new limits of the Jewish Quarter, as well as the narrow street, Carreró del Forn, where a gate was to be installed (AHCG. Registre No. 60, Manual d'acords, 1448, 77). In reality, the main concern of the *jurats* focused on expelling the Jews from Carrer de la Força and ensuring that no alley or door opened onto this street. The problem was critical for the Jews, as they were deprived of the most natural and principal access to the Jewish Quarter. Most likely the municipal proposal of expanding the Jewish neighbourhood up to Carrer de la Ruca was an attempt to compensate for the conflict relating to access. Keep in mind, though, that the application of these court orders had only relative success. Thus in 1449 Queen Mary rejected the regulations passed the previous year, as she considered the Jews were wholly under royal jurisdiction (AHCG. Cartes reials, caixa No. 5, (1440-1479)) and (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1988, Doc. No. 1112). The *jurats*, though, in 1452 again decreed that doors, shops and passages of houses on Carrer de Sant Llorenç be bricked up, and in 1456 the *jurats*, along with the Bishop of Girona and the inquisitor, Pere Comte, agreed to expand the Jewish Quarter towards Carrer de la Ruca in order to distance the Jews from Carrer de Sant Llorenç (AHCG. Manual d'acords, registre No. 62, 1452, fol. 81) and (MADURELL 1975, Doc. No. 8). This situation of alternating demands and concessions lasted, in practice, until the royal decree of expulsion of the Jews, which reached Girona on 31 March 1492.

The Urban Expansion of the Almshouse of the Girona See (fig. 18)

The singular history of the physical expansion of the Almshouse began in 1322. That year, Jaspert Folcarà, Second Sacristan of the Girona See, took possession of the Ruca Bakery, which had belonged to Pere de Miars, Head of the Almshouse, in exchange for direct dominion over certain houses in Girona (ADG. Pia Almoïna, No. 12, sense sub.), see also (ACG. Sagristia Mitjana, Llibre d'arxivacions, 5, Doc. Num. 171). From then on the Almshouse controlled the Ruca Bakery. The interest most likely lay in the production of bread, which was basic to an Almshouse. In fact, the most common names found in documentation referring to the Almshouse are "l'Almoïna dels pobres" (or Poorhouse) and, more often, "l'Almoïna del pa de la Seu de Girona" (literally, Almshouse of the Bread of the Girona See). Nonetheless, the physical location of the Almshouse facilities at the time is unknown. Fifty years would pass before the Almshouse directors showed an interest in settling in the vicinity of the Ruca Bakery, which would eventually become their operative headquarters, from which the establishment gradually expanded by purchasing neighbouring real estate.

Indeed, in 1372 Abraham Issac and his wife, Bellaire, daughter of Jucef de Cresques, sold to Dalmau de Riba, Provost of the Almshouse, several houses they had under the dominion of the Aiguaviva Militia (at this time they were Knights Hospitalers). (fig. 18, No. 9). To the east, they bordered on two houses, the first of which already belonged to the Almshouse (fig. 18, No. 8). It is probably the same house described in the mid-thirteenth century as Almshouse property. According to the delimitations indicated in the text, it would seem that the narrow street that entered Carrer de la Ruca from the south half a century earlier had disappeared. The space was now occupied by the Almshouse, which had already expanded its dominion far beyond the strict limits of the Ruca Bakery (fig. 18, No. 4). Its headquarters may already have been located in this sector of the city.

In 1412, Priçosa, widow of Astruc Savarra, sold a house with a garden on Carrer de l'Ardiaca (currently Carrer Cúndaro) to Pere Bergadà (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 826). Pere Bergadà was the provost of the Girona See as well as head of the Almshouse. According to the boundaries, it can be surmised that the Almshouse had expanded even more from 1372 to 1412 (fig. 18, No. 6).

As of 1415, purchases were effected systematically and follow the regulated protocol. The Jews that were affected sold their property particularly to the Governing Committee of the Jewish Community, which then sold it to the Christian Almshouse at a price jointly negotiated and fixed by both institutions. Evidence of these multiple-stage transactions abound in documentation from 1415 and 1416, the point at which this first stage ends (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 858, 859, 860, 886, 889). The objective sought by the charitable institution was made public in 1416, when the *jurats*, meeting at the Llotja Nova with Pere Bergadà, read the royal authorisation for the construction of a new Almshouse building located in a courtyard near the house of Bonastruc des Mestre, that is in the area in question here (fig. 19). The truth is that the house of this Jew had also been acquired shortly before with this intention (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 889). The dynamic was unstoppable. Hence in 1417 the Bishop of Girona authorised the construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Matthew in the new Almshouse (ADG. Pia Almoïna, No. 46) and in 1427 the process was completed when the Almshouse purchased the house and courtyard belonging to Pere Bosch, a Jew converted to Christianity who had formerly been called Bonet Asdai (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 961) (fig. 20).

The wealth of documentation has allowed us to draft a detailed map of the block of houses bounded by Carrer de la Força, Carrer Cúndaro and Pujada de la Catedral between the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth. We believe it is a good tool for understanding the process of dispossession of that part of the Jewish Quarter in favour of the Almshouse (fig. 18).

1. Block of houses along the southern side of the Cathedral staircase. They are mentioned from 1035 onwards.

2. Currently the street called Pujada de la Catedral. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was known as Carrer de la Ruca.

3. Small square near the Ruca Bakery. It is mentioned as one of the boundaries in a transfer of the bakery done by Jaspert Folcarà, Second Sacristan of the See, to Pere de Miars, Head of the Almshouse of the See, in 1322 (ADG. Pia Almoïna, No. 12, no sub.) and (ACG. Sagristia Mitjana, Llibre d'arxivacions, 5, Doc. No. 171). It should be understood as a slightly wider section of the same street.

4. Former canonry owned by Bernat Güell in 1322 (ADG. Pia Almoïna, No. 12, no sub.) and (ACG. Sagristia Mitjana, Llibre d'arxivacions, 5, Doc. No. 171). In the early fifteenth century it was included as part of the property of the Christian Almshouse.

5. Bakery of the See of Girona. It is mentioned as early as the eleventh century. In 1322 it was acquired by the Christian Almshouse by exchange and from then on the almshouse institution gradually expanded until it occupied the entire block.

6. Houses that belonged to the See Almshouse in the early fifteenth century.

7. Garden mentioned in 1372 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 515). It may have been the remains of a former alleyway that once went past the Ruca Bakery but had later been privatised. It is thus referred to, for instance, in a document establishing an emphyteutic lease in 1222 (AHG. Hospici, Llibre d'Arxivacions, No. 5, Doc. 123).

8. House owned by the Almshouse since 1250, when Arnau de Cassà donated it in his will (ADG. Pia Almoïna, Girona, No. 9 and 10).

9. House that Abraham Issac and his wife, Bellaire, daughter of Jucef de Cresques, sold in 1372 to Dalmau de Riba, Procurator of Pere Dalmau, Provost of the See's Almshouse. It had previously belonged to Adret Abinai. After his death, the executor of his will sold it to Saura, widow of Bernat de Borredana, which was why the building, which was in a ruinous state, was known as "na Borredana" (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 515).

10. In 1372, this house belonged to the prebendary, Jaume Albert (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 515). By 1412, it was already part of the facilities of the Ruca Bakery (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 826).

11. Garden owned by Abraham Issac in 1372 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 515), whereas in 1409 it belonged to Pere Bonet. Three years later, in 1412, this space corresponded to the Benefice of the Altar of Sant Iu (Saint Ivo). (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 826).

12. Street of Roman origin mentioned in various documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1409, it is described as a blind alley (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 812).

13. Arcade that originally flanked the forum area of the Roman city of *Gerunda* along its southern perimeter. A deed for a sale carried out in 1276 describes it in significant detail (CANAL et al. 2003, 166-170). It endured as a public space until it was demolished in 1416 in order to build the Almshouse or Pia Almoïna building, today the headquarters of the Girona Chapter of the Architects' Association of Catalonia. (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 858, 859, 860, 886, 889).

14. The square currently called Plaça de la Catedral was known throughout the Middle Ages as El Mercadell.

15. At the top of the current Carrer de la Força there was a gate closing the street off. Documentary sources from the fourteenth century refer to it as the Portal sobirà del Call (Upper Jewish Quarter Gate). The section of the street between the gates and El Mercadell is mentioned in a lease document from 1322 as a square called Plaça del portal del Call (ACG. Sagristia Mitjana, Llibre d'arxivacions, 5, Doc. No. 171). It must have existed until 1415, when the Girona *jurats* decided to banish all Jews from Carrer de la Força.

16. The present-day Carrer de la Força was the main street of the Jewish Quarter, called Carrer Major del Call in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The application of the Bull that Avignon Pope Benedict XIII issued in 1415, which was very harsh against the Jews, led to the Christianisation of the street and an official name change to Carrer de Sant Llorenç. Nonetheless, many documents appearing after this date continued to refer to it as the Jewish street.

17. House that belonged to the Jewish des Mestre family since 1352, when the Governing Committee of the Jewish Quarter sold it to Reina, widow of Caravida Ravaia, and her daughter, Tolsana, who was the wife of Issac des Mestre (LOEB, 1885, 108-122). In 1416 Bonastruc des Mestre sold it to Pere de Bergadà, Head of the Almshouse, for 55 sous. The house was in such a ruinous state (probably due to destructions during the Pogrom de 1391) that the document states the object of sale was a courtyard (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 886).

18 and 19. House and courtyard that Samuel Salomó de Foix had purchased in 1397 and which he sold in 1403. In 1415 the owner, then Bonastruc des Mestre, sold the ruined house and courtyard to the Governing Committee of the Jewish Community and they, in turn, transferred it to the Almshouse the same year (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 858, 860).

20. In 1415 Mosse Estruc and his wife Dolça sold the Jewish Community a small courtyard measuring 2x2 *canes* (equivalent to a surface area of approximately 10 m²), which Dolça had bought in 1403 from Samuel Salomó de Foix (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 859).

21. House that Estruc Savarra sold to the Jewish Community in 1416 for the construction of the new Almshouse building (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 889).

22. In 1417, Mosse Estruc sold this house to the Jewish Community, along with a courtyard that was located opposite the house, on the other side of Carrer de la Força (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 898). That same year, the Almshouse received a licence from the Bishop to build the Chapel of Sant Mateu (ADG. Pia Almoïna, No. 46).

23 and 25. Courtyard and house belonging to the Asdai family since before 1403 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 797). Bonjuhà Asdai was succeeded by Bonet Asdai, who appears as the owner in documents from 1415 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 858). It seems that he converted to Christianity in about 1412, adopting the name Pere Bosch (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 826). In 1416 he sold to the Almshouse the right to exact tribute on his house in a document that refers to his Jewish past (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 896). Finally, he sold the property to the Almshouse in 1427 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 961).

24. House that Estruc Savarra owned in 1416 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 889). Although there is no existing deed of sale, documents do indicate that the house became the property of the Almshouse in approximately 1416.

26. House that had belonged to Vidal Bondia. In 1409 Andreu Cornell, Justice of the Jewish Community, sold it by auction to Estruc Savarra (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 812). Three years later, Priçosa, widow of Estruc Savarra and guardian of her son, with the same name, sold the property to Pere Bergadà, Head of the Almshouse of the Girona See. (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 826). In 1432, the Almshouse had Jaume Faja, a prebendary of the Girona See, settle there (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 986). Although not entirely certain, it is highly probable that by 1439 the house belonged to the prebendary Bernat Sagrera, who had a cistern built in what was then his courtyard in order to collect rainwater (this deposit should be situated at No. 24 of the map).

27. In 1409 this was the house and courtyard of Vidal Benet (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 812). A document from 1432 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 986) recalls that, at an unspecified time, Vidal Benet sold the property to the Almshouse, which had Asbert Bonet, a formerly Jewish *converso* (perhaps it was this same Vidal Benet) settle there by 1427 (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 961).

28. In 1427 this was the house of Mosse Bellshom de Blanes, a Girona Jew (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 961).

29. The current Carrer Cúndaro originated in Roman times (fig. 15). In the early fifteenth century it was called Carrer de l'Ardiaca (fig. 21).

The Third Synagogue

Any explicit references to the last known Jewish synagogue in Girona are found at the time of the expulsion of the Jews. Boundary indications allow its location to be identified as having been in part of what is now the Centre Bonastruc ça Porta. Nevertheless, this synagogue was founded on 10 November 1434, when the *jurats* granted Bonastruc des Mestre, Astruc Aninay (Abinai) and Bonastruc Jucef license to build several buildings on land that the Jewish *Almoïna* or Almshouse had purchased from Elionor Conversa (a

former Jew converted to Catholicism) and which had earlier belonged to Nassim Rubèn (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1016).

In July of 1492, the Jews had to sell their last possessions, among which was the synagogue. The numerous real estate transactions occurring in those years and up to the mid-sixteenth century always recall the area's Jewish past, and this has allowed the urban sector to be mapped in significant detail (fig. 22).

1. House that belonged to Astruc Abinai in 1434. His descendant, Lleó Abinai, sold it in 1492 to Miquel Escolà, beneficiary of the cathedral (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

2. House that belonged to Bonastruc Benavist until 1492.

3. Alleyway mentioned in 1492 but no longer in existence.

4. Houses and garden of the Piera family in 1492. Vidal Piera sold the part that had belonged to Joan Sarriera, a formerly Jewish *converso*, and which belonged to Salvat Jacob before that. In 1492 Jucef Piera sold to Antoni Baldomar and Joan Saguer the part that had belonged to Lluís Sala, a merchant and former Jew who had converted to Christianity (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

5. Street that is mentioned in 1434 and again in 1492.

6. Synagogue or Jewish school that the Jewish Community sold to Jordi Rafart, a prebendary who died in 1492, along with the women's house, the hospital and the baths (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

7. Jewish butcher's shop (ACSG. Repertori Pontich, I, 258).

8. In 1434 this was the courtyard of Jaume Falcó, a formerly Jewish *converso*. From 1492 to 1496, his descendent, Francesc Falcó, who was condemned as heretic and expropriated, is indicated as owner. In 1497 it was acquired by Francesc Romaguera (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 1197).

9. Houses of Bellshom Mahir Caracosa purchased by Antoni Ferrer (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

10. House belonging to Abraham del Portal, who sold it in 1492 to Bartomeu Feliu (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19). One corner of the property belonged to Bernat Guillem, a formerly Jewish *converso*, and was bought by Joan Sampsó, who sold it to Francesc Fortià in 1493 (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

11. In 1492, this was a blind alleyway (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

12. House belonging to the doctor, Lluís Climent, in 1493 (MIRAMBELL 1978, 5-19).

Conclusion

Though rare, the documentary evidence on the Jews of Girona in the High Middle Ages is enough to sustain the existence of a well-rooted, structured Jewish community there before the year 1000. The first data goes back to the ninth century and points to the arrival of Jews of rural origin from the Juigues allodium, although this is most likely not the founding date of the community, which we consider older. In any case, indications become meagre in the vicinity of the year 1000, when the first references are made to a religious community revolving around a synagogue and structured via a differentiated tax system.

As of the beginning of the eleventh century, specific data describes Jews and Jewesses as owners of houses and land inside the city as well as in the immediate vicinity. The normalcy of their relations with Christian inhabitants is rather surprising, as areas are of mixed ownership and there are no indications of an exclusively Jewish neighbourhood or sector. Nonetheless, diverse documents reflect a religious-based anti-Semitism. In this regard, the anti-Jewish imprecations of Bishop Oliba and of the various Catholic Councils

held in Girona in the second half of the eleventh century seem conclusive. Finally, the issue of *conversos*, or converts to Christianity, must also be considered, manifest through the different *Batejats* or 'Baptised' mentioned in Girona in the eleventh century, although it is not certain whether their previous religion was Judaism or Islam.

By the twelfth century the Jewish Quarter of Girona was already acknowledged and consolidated in the lower sector of the old city. The boundaries consisted of the ramparts to the south and west, more specifically including the Castle of Cabrera / Requesens and the Gate of l'Areny to the south, and to the west the rampart section running north to south along the eastern side of Carrer de les Ballesteries. To the east and north, the limits were vaguer, though Carrer de la Ruca, currently Pujada de la Catedral, Carrer de Claveria and Carrer d'Oliva Prat, formed its outermost perimeter. To the north, the limits were less precise and in fact advanced and receded several times. With regard to the urban structure, today's Carrer de la Força was its main thoroughfare and the central axis around which it was organised. Medieval documents themselves acknowledge its transcendence for the Jewish community by qualifying it as the main street of the Jewish Quarter (i.e. Carrer Major del Call).

In general, and strictly in terms of urban structure, the Jewish Quarter of Girona expanded in the thirteenth century (fig. 23). This is corroborated by the houses under Templar dominion, where Jews and Christians were neighbours in an area that was outside of the Jewish Quarter in the early thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, on the other hand, they had become part of the Jewish Quarter. In fact, the entire sector now occupied by the Girona Chapter of the Architects' Association of Catalonia (Architects' Association of Catalonia) was part of the Jewish Quarter in the fourteenth century (fig. 24).

Although the ramparts of the Força Vella or old city marked a boundary of the Jewish Quarter to the south and west, the Jewish community was never closed off and isolated from the rest of the city. Numerous windows, balconies and doors were created in the ramparts, connecting Jewish gardens and houses located outside the walls along Carrer de les Ballesteries. Even more evident were the connections with the rest of the city on the eastern and northern sides of the Jewish Quarter, where the façades of Jewish houses were built directly on Christian or outer streets. It is true that by the thirteenth century frequent reference is made to the wall or walls of the Jewish Quarter. We consider these geographic allusions indicating that such and such a wall belonged to the Jewish Quarter, but not as explicit evidence of a wall separating the two communities. In the fourteenth century, documents refer to gates closing off streets, such as the Portal Sobirà del Call (Upper Jewish Quarter Gate), located at the top of Carrer de la Força. Other street gates along the perimeters of the Jewish neighbourhood are also known to have existed. The construction of gates designed to close off streets should be considered a common preventive measure in certain areas of the city, especially the most vulnerable ones, such as the Jewish Quarter, and unprotected though not specifically Jewish areas, such as the Mercadal Quarter.

Social relations between Jews and Christians were quite fluid in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The material prosperity of the Jewish Quarter at this time seems to corroborate this. Moreover, many Jews had property outside of their neighbourhood, and indiscriminate transfer between Hebrews and Christians of emphyteutic leases on real estate fully within the Jewish Quarter was also a fact. The well-known document from 1372, for instance, indicates a sale made by Abraham Issac to the Almshouse of a house that had earlier belonged to Adret Abinai and then became the property of Saura, wife of Bernat de Borredana, a Christian (ESCRIBÀ/FRAGO 1992, Doc. No. 515).

In l'Areny and Mercadal Quarters they had houses, workshops, mills and gardens. At the marketplace, they operated stalls for commercial transactions and the sale of produce or wares. Nonetheless, anti-Semitism should not be underestimated, growing ever stronger, from the fourteenth century onwards.

The fifteenth century brought the decline of the Jewish Quarter. The reduction and enclosure imposed in 1415 represented a loss of over 50 percent of the surface area of the Jewish Quarter and the closure of the synagogue (fig. 25). The Jewish Community struggled against it with some success, such as the reopening of the synagogue until the 1430s and their resistance to withdrawing from Carrer de la Força, which lasted nearly until the edict of expulsion. With regard to the urban structure, the most significant occurrence was the bricking up of doors, alleyways and windows and the construction of a blind wall enclosing the Jewish Quarter, turning it into an authentic 'ghetto'. Evidence of this process can still be seen today, especially at Carrer de la Claveria.

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Captions

- Fig. 1. Current map of the Old City of Girona.
- Fig. 2. Map of the Força Vella or Old City of Girona in the tenth century.
- Fig. 3. The former Carrer Major del Call (Main Street of the Jewish Quarter) is now called Carrer de la Força.
- Fig. 4. Map of the sector where the second synagogue had once been, corresponding to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
- Fig. 5. Boscomonar Tower. This tower was built in the fourteenth century near the mikveh.
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- Fig. 7a and b. General view and detail of an arched portal with an aperture for the mezuzah. The Hebrew inscription led to the belief that this had originally been the main doorway to the synagogue courtyard. It was later sold and removed to an ancient house in the municipality of Fornells de la Selva, now the town hall.
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Abbreviations:

- ACG: Arxiu Diocesà de Girona (Diocesan Archives of Girona)
- ACO: Arxiu Comarcal d'Olot (Notarial Archives of Olot)
- ACSG: Arxiu Capitular de la Seu de Girona (Chapter House Archives of the Girona See)
- AHCG: Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona (Historic Archives of the City of Girona)
- AHG: Arxiu Històric de Girona (Historic Archives of the County of Girona)
- AMB: Arxiu Municipal de Besalú (Municipal Archives of Besalú)

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