

# MITTELMEERSTUDIEN

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CULTURAL BROKERS AT  
MEDITERRANEAN COURTS  
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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## Mendicants, Jews and Muslims at Court in the Crown of Aragon: Social Practice and Inter-Religious Communication

The court of the Crown of Aragon during the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century was not only Mediterranean due to its concrete physical setting, but also because it was a nodal point within a trans-maritime spatial network.<sup>1</sup> This was constituted by several Mediterranean courts with which the house of Barcelona was connected via diplomatic and other ties, thus contributing to Mediterranean “connectivity”.<sup>2</sup> The extant sources of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries show the Medieval Crown of Aragon maintaining contacts with each and every one of the courts studied and presented in this volume, from Constantinople to Cairo and Granada, from Venice, Rhodes and Cyprus to Toledo.<sup>3</sup> The changing intensity

<sup>1</sup> Cilja HARDERS, Dimensionen des Netzwerkansatzes: Einführende theoretische Überlegungen, in: *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext*, ed. Roman LOIMEIER, (MISK 9) Würzburg, 2000, pp. 17-51; Alex COWAN, Nodes, Networks and Hinterlands, in: *Cities and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400 - 1700*, ed. Donatella CALABI / Stephen Turk CHRISTENSEN, (Cultural exchange in early modern Europe 2) Cambridge, 2007, pp. 28-41; Christian STEGBAUER, *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie: ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*, (Netzwerkforschung 1) 2nd ed., Wiesbaden, 2010, particularly: Steffen ALBRECHT, Netzwerke und Kommunikation. Zum Verhältnis zweier sozialwissenschaftlicher Paradigmen, in: *ibidem*, pp. 165-178; Hillard VON THIESSEN / Christian WINDLER, *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, (Externa 1) Köln, 2010. Many thanks are owed to Nikolas Berghoff, Eileen Bergmann und Alexandra Cuffel (Bochum) and Josep Muntané (Nantes) for hints and corrections.

<sup>2</sup> The concept and notion of connectivity, introduced into historical research by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, has meanwhile become firmly established in area studies: Peregrine HORDEN / Nicholas PURCELL, *The corrupting sea: a study of Mediterranean history*, Oxford, 2000; Francis M. MORRIS, *North Sea and Channel connectivity during the Late Iron Age and Roman period: (175/150 BC - AD 409)*, (International series 2157) Oxford, 2010; *Furthering maritime connectivity: India and Southeast Asia*, ed. Uday BHASKAR, Chitrapu/New Delhi 2011; *Translocal ruralism: mobility and connectivity in European rural spaces*, ed. Charlotta HEDBERG / Renato Miguel DO CARMO, (The GeoJournal library 103) Dordrecht, 2012; Judith SCHEELE, *Smugglers and saints of the Sahara: regional connectivity in the twentieth century*, (African studies 120) Cambridge, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen und spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaumes II. (1291-1327)*, I-III, Berlin, 1908-1922; Heinrich FINKE: Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu den Acta Aragonensia (I-III), in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 4 (1933), pp. 355-536; Aziz Suryal ATİYA,

and distribution of these links, their relative weakness or “thickness” over certain periods of time still need to be determined, but there can be no doubt that particularly in the Late Middle Ages the courts of Barcelona and Valencia in particular were important nodes within a Mediterranean diplomatic network. Furthermore, the court of the Crown of Aragon constituted a centre in more than one sense of the word: It was not only a political, social and economic centre but also a cultural, intellectual and religious one. On a functional level, it acted as points of gravitation that attracted extremely diverse “commodities”: both individual and institutional agents, ideas and notions, both material and intangible resources. The miscellaneous input that was received in this way was handled and often modified during its presence at court. In some cases, particularly in the cultural field, this alteration was marked by acceleration and intensification, because courts also acted as dynamic generators. Certain notions gained momentum when irradiating from a royal court. In these cases,

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*Egypt and Aragon: embassies and diplomatic correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D.*, (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 23,7) Leipzig, 1938; Ángeles MASÍÁ DE ROS, *La corona de Aragón y los estados del norte de África: política de Jaime II y Alfonso IV en Egipto, Ifriquia y Tremecén*, Barcelona, 1951; Charles Emmanuel DUFOURCQ, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-I-Hasan (1331)*, (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Hispaniques Fasc. 37) Paris, 1966; Miguel Angel OCHOA BRUN, *Historia de la diplomacia española 2*, (Biblioteca diplomática española. Sección Estudios 6) Madrid, 1991; Peter M. HOLT, *Early Mamluk diplomacy (1260 - 1290): treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian rulers*, (Studies and texts 12) Leiden, 1995; Pierre GUICHARD, Avant Tordesillas: La délimitation des terres de reconquête dans l'Espagne des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, in: *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel BALARD / Alain DUCÉLLIER, (Série Byzantina Sorbonensia 17) Paris, 1998, pp. 453-460; Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond BRAGA, *Cooperação e conflito - Portugal, Castela e Aragão: séculos XV - XVII*, Lisboa, 2002; Stéphane PEQUIGNOT, Enregistrer, ordonner et contrôler: les documents diplomatiques dans la 'Registra Secreta' de Jacques II d'Aragon, in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 32 (2002), pp. 431-479; *Negociar en la Edad Media = Négocier au Moyen Âge* (Anejo 61), ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, Barcelona, 2005; Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, *Entre la paz y la guerra: la corona Catalano-Aragonesa y Castilla en la baja edad media* (Anuario de Estudios Medievales. Anejo 59) Barcelona, 2005; Flocel SABATE I CURULL, États et alliances dans la Catalogne du bas Moyen-Âge, in: *Du contrat d'alliance au contrat politique: cultures et sociétés politiques dans la péninsule ibérique de la fin du Moyen âge*, ed. François FORONDA, Toulouse, 2007, pp. 297-360; Roser SALICRÚ LLUCH, *El sultanato nazarí de Granada, Génova y la corona de Aragón en el Siglo XV*, (Biblioteca de bolsillo 56) Granada, 2007; Nikolas JASPERT, Interreligiöse Diplomatie im Mittelmeerraum. Die Krone Aragón und die islamische Welt im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert, in: *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie. Zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Claudia MÄRTL / Claudia ZEY, Zürich, 2008, pp. 151-190; Stéphane PEQUIGNOT, *Au nom du roi: pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*, (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velazquez 22) Paris, 2009; Dominique VALERIAN, Les agents de la diplomatie des souverains maghrébins avec le monde chrétien (XIIe-XVe siècles), in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 38 (2008), pp. 886-900.

the court of the Crown of Aragon during the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century was not only a “node”, but a true “hub” within Mediterranean cultural networks.<sup>4</sup>

In what follows I will centre on one aspect of courtly communication and transfer: Christian clerics’ interactions with Muslims and Jews – mostly from the viewpoint of the politically dominant religious group, i.e. Latin Christians. The article will focus on medieval Catalonia, making only passing reference to the other components of the medieval Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Majorca and Valencia). I will attempt to approach the subject in five steps: The first is dedicated to the court personnel in general and the second to the mendicants in particular. I will then address the court as a place of inter-religious contact and cultural brokerage and finally try to delineate the role both mendicants and the court played within this field. The objective of the paper is first of all to re-evaluate the presence of the regular clergy at court by defining a variety of activities and circumstances which caused mendicants to stay at court for a shorter or longer period of time; mendicants are long known to have played a role in the development of political cultures in pre-modern societies, which is however generally reduced to their activities as spiritual advisors and theologians. A similar differentiation might also be achieved with regard to “monastic life” in the Middle Ages: Placing religious Medieval experts within the particular social context of mediaeval courts and thus juxtaposing mendicants’ activities at court to religious life within the monastic setting might lead to a more nuanced view of the medieval regular clergy. Furthermore, and regarding the mendicants’ stance towards other creeds, a detailed analysis of their multiple engagements with Aragonese and Catalan Muslims and Jews might widen the traditional focus on polemics and persecution and thereby broaden our conception of inter-religious brokerage. And finally, addressing Mendicants, Muslims and Jews simultaneously as cultural brokers from a similar perspective, that is, with respect to the social practices they developed on various levels in a shared space, the royal medieval court, might help cross the borders of academic research traditions, usually confined to studying one of these societal groups at a time.

## 1. Court personnel

When attempting to reconstruct the structures and modes of operation of mediaeval courts, historical research has traditionally centred on certain particu-

<sup>4</sup> COWAN, Nodes, Networks and Hinterlands, (as n. 1); Nikolas JASPert, Contacts between the major religious traditions during their expansion: An introduction, in: *Dynamics in the history of religions between Asia and Europe: encounters, notions, and comparative perspectives*, ed. Volkhard KRECH / Marion STEINICKE, (Dynamics in the history of religions 1) Leiden, 2012, pp. 165-176, especially pp. 170-172. Cf. the thoughts on nodes and hubs in the introduction to this volume.

larly explicit types of sources. Ceremonials in particular give a vivid, normative vision of a medieval court's organisation, representation and functioning.<sup>5</sup> The rules set down by James II of Majorca in 1337 and later elaborated by Peter the Ceremonious of Aragon in his famous *Ordinacions* of 1344 are a case in point<sup>6</sup>. They name a vast spectrum of employees, from the stableboys, water bearers and musicians to the messengers and barbers down to the officials in charge of warming the wax with which the royal documents were sealed. The ceremonial also names the clergy that served the King at court: It expressly mentions the royal confessors, the major chaplain and other members of the royal chapel, including the schoolboys thereof, as well as the almoners and their pupils.<sup>7</sup> For each and every official, the exact nature of his or her duty is laid out, making the Majorcan and Aragonese court ceremonials the most elaborate of their time within Latin Christendom.

<sup>5</sup> On court ceremonials in general see Oliver MATTEONI, *Servir le prince: les officiers des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Age*, (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 52) Paris, 1998; *Höfe und Hofordnungen 1200 - 1600: 5. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Sigmaringen*, ed. Holger KRUSE / Werner PARAVICINI, (Residenzenforschung 5) Sigmaringen, 1999; *Herzog Philipp der Gute: 1407-1467*, ed. Holger KRUSE / Werner PARAVICINI, (Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund 1; Instrumenta 15) Ostfildern, 2005; Elisabeth LALOU, Les ordonnances de l'hôtel (début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle), in: *La cour du prince: cour de France, cours d'Europe, XII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Murielle GAUDE-FERRAGU, (Etudes d'histoire médiévale 13) Paris, 2011, pp. 29-38 and the bibliographical notes on pp. 545-632; forthcoming: *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Alexander BEIHAMMER et alii.

<sup>6</sup> Francesc CARRERAS CANDI: Ordenanzas para la Casa y Corte de los reyes de Aragón (Siglos XIII y XIV), in: *Cultura Española* 2 (1906), pp. 327-338; Carl Arnold WILLEMSSEN, *Zur Genesis der mittelalterlichen Hofordnungen. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Leges Palatinae Jakobs II. von Mallorca*, (Personal- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Staatlichen Akademie in Braunsberg) Braunsberg, 1940; JAUME, III, *Leyes Palatinas*, ed. Lorenzo PÉREZ MARTÍNEZ / Gabriel LLOMPART / Marcel DURLIAT / Miquel Pascual PONT, (La Isla de la calma: Serie mayor 17) Palma de Mallorca, 1991; Bonifacio PALACIOS MARTÍN, Sobre la redacción y difusión de las Ordinacions de Pedro IV de Aragón y sus primeros códices, in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 25 (1995), pp. 659-680; Gisela DROSSBACH, Hof ohne Herrschaft? "Haus" und "Hof" in den "Leges Palatinae" König Jakobs III. von Mallorca und in der "Yconomica" Konrads von Megenberg, in: *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne*, ed. Gert MELVILLE / Peter VON MOOS, (Norm und Struktur 10) Köln, 1998, pp. 639-669; Gottfried KERSCHER, Die Strukturierung des mallorkinischen Hofes um 1330 und der Habitus der Hofgesellschaft, in: KRUSE / PARAVICINI, *Höfe und Hofordnungen*, (as n. 5), pp. 77-89; Marta VAN LANDINGHAM, *Transforming the state: king, court and political culture in the realms of Aragon (1213 - 1387)*, (The Medieval Mediterranean 43) Leiden, 2002; Gottfried KERSCHER, *Architektur als Repräsentation: spätmittelalterliche Palastbaukunst zwischen Pracht und zeremoniellen Voraussetzungen: Avignon - Mallorca - Kirchenstaat*, Tübingen, 2000; Pau CATEURA BENNASSER, *Jaume II i les ordinacions de l'any 1300*, Palma de Mallorca, 2002; *Ordinacions de la casa i cort de Pere el Cerimoniós*, ed. Francisco M. GIMENO, (Fonts històriques valencianes 2) València, 2009; Gottfried KERSCHER, Jacobi III Regis maioricarum: Leges palatinae - Ein Zeremoniell als Statut? in: *Von der Ordnung zur Norm: Statuten in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Gisela DROSSBACH, Paderborn, 2010, pp. 265-280. Forthcoming: Gisela DROSSBACH / Gottfried KERSCHER, Zeremoniell und symbolische Kommunikation in der Handschrift der Leges Palatinae.

<sup>7</sup> JAUME, *Leyes Palatinas*, (as n. 6), pp. 102-106, 121-128, 159-164, 178-183.



In these magnificent documents two social groups are notably absent: The King's non-Christian subjects and the mendicants, the two groups this paper will be dealing with. But the ceremonials deserve closer scrutiny. Perhaps they can provide some relevant clues despite their apparent silence. We are fortunate that a contemporary manuscript of the Majorcan court ceremonials – the *Leges Palatinae* – has been preserved in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels.<sup>8</sup> It is the first European ceremonial manuscript and is acclaimed for the beautiful and expressive miniatures with which the text was illustrated. Here one can discern the officials just mentioned at work: The stable boys, water bearers, the musicians, the messengers, the barbers and the officials sealing the royal documents. It is also well worthwhile to take a look at the illustrations of the ecclesiastics. One encounters secular clergymen – priests such as the chaplains and the almoners or their pupils. But one also finds regular clergy such as canons. And one recognises mendicants. For example, in the miniature showing the “directors of the King's conscience” one can discern a bishop, a priest and a friar.<sup>9</sup> More prominently, the chapter dedicated to the king's confessor is preceded by a miniature showing the king confessing to a Franciscan.<sup>10</sup> These illustrations seem to be in line with the findings of modern research, which stresses the role of regular clerics at late medieval courts.<sup>11</sup> That being said, the number of clerical court officials was ultimately limited,

<sup>8</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169. The illustrations are reproduced in Jaume, *Leyes Palatinas*, (as n. 6).

<sup>9</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169, fol. 38v. Despite this article's focus on mendicants, the court ceremonials and other sources demonstrate that many different religious experts frequented the Royal Court or were even employed there with fixed positions. The Cistercians for example were represented by the chief almoner who was traditionally a monk from the Cistercian abbey of Santes Creus; secular priests acted as chaplains, and later in the Middle Ages other regular institutions such as the Celestines were charged with services at the Royal Chapel.

<sup>10</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169, fol. 41r.

<sup>11</sup> *Les évêques, les clercs et le roi: (1250 - 1300)*, ed. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Paris, (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 7) Toulouse, 1972; Georges MINOIS, *Le confesseur du roi: les directeurs de conscience sous la monarchie française*, (Nouvelles études historiques) Paris, 1988; *I canonici al servizio dello stato in Europa: secoli XIII - XVI*, ed. Hélène MILLET, Modena, 1992; Martin KINTZINGER, *Viri religiosi et literati. Kleriker am Fürstenhof im späten Mittelalter*, in: *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz J. FELTEN / Nikolas JASPERT, (Berliner Historische Studien 31 = Ordensstudien 13) Berlin, 1999, pp. 543-562; Claudie DUHAMEL-AMADO, *Clercs et moines dans la sphère courtoise: (XIIe - XIIIe siècle)*, in: *Église et culture en France méridionale: XIIe-XIVe siècles*, (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 35) Toulouse, 2000, pp. 127-136; *Courtly literature and clerical culture. Höfische Literatur und Klerikerkultur. Littérature courtoise et culture cléricale: selected papers from the tenth triennial congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Universität Tübingen, 28. Juli - 3. August 2001*, ed. Christoph HUBER / Henrike LÄHNEMANN, Tübingen, 2002; Frédérique LACHAUD, “La figure du clerc curial dabs l'oeuvre de Jean de Salisbury”, in: *La cour du prince: cour de France, cours d'Europe, XII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Murielle GAUDE-FERRAGU, (Études d'histoire médiévale 13) Paris, 2011, pp. 301-320; Étienne ANHEIM, *La chapelle du roi de France du milieu du XIIIe à la fin du XIVe siècle*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 399-416.

as it was determined by their respective duties within the courtly structure. However, if one extends one's understanding of the court in order to encompass those who only came into contact with it for a shorter period of time and if one differentiates between a "narrow" and a "wide" court as recent research has<sup>12</sup>, then one gets a more realistic and balanced impression of the friars' presence at court. The extant sources of the medieval Crown of Aragon enable such an approach.

## 2. The friars at court

Archives in Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia in the North East of present day Spain have one outstanding trait: their wealth of administrative sources preserved in the countless registers kept in the Crown Archive of Valencia and particularly in that of Barcelona. Thanks to the exceptionally dense documentation preserved, we are able to identify some of the personnel employed at the Arago-Catalan courts of the Middle Ages. Systematic and exhaustive analysis of the royal registers in Barcelona – both in the sections *Cancilleria Reial* and *Reial Patrimoni* – would enable us to reconstruct the kings' entourage down to minor officials and even to conduct prosopographical studies.<sup>13</sup> Some exemplary work has been done in this field, but a general survey remains a desideratum.<sup>14</sup> The Crown Archives' holdings could even be complemented by fur-

<sup>12</sup> Peter MORAW, Über den Hof Johanns von Luxemburg und Böhmen, in: *Johann der Blinde: Graf von Luxemburg, König von Böhmen, 1296 - 1346*, ed. Michel PAULY, (Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg 14) Luxembourg, 1997, pp. 93-121, especially p. 99 and the introduction to this volume.

<sup>13</sup> On the Archive and its holdings see: Frederic UDINA MARTORELL, *Guía histórica y descriptiva del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, 1986; *La Brújula: guía del Archivo Real de Barcelona de Pere Benet (1601)*, ed. Pere BENET / Rafael CONDE Y DELGADO DE MOLINA, Madrid, 1999.

<sup>14</sup> Lope PASCUAL MARTÍNEZ, Los oficios en la corte de Jaime I, in: *Jaime I y su época. X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Comunicaciones 2*, Zaragoza, 1979, pp. 497-513; Hans SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der sizilianischen und aragonesischen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 26 (1971), pp. 201-349; Hans SCHADEK, Spielleute als Familiaren am Hof Peters IV. und Johanns I. von Aragon, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 28 (1975), pp. 350-364; José TRENCHS / A. M. Aragó, *Folia Parisiensia 1: Las cancellerías de la Corona de Aragón y Mallorca desde Jaime I a la muerte de Juan II*, (Publicaciones de la Institución "Fernando el Católico" 915) Zaragoza, 1983; Hans SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft - Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 32 (1988), pp. 1-148; Josep TRENCHS ODENA, *Casa, corte y cancelleria de Pedro el Grande (1276-1285)*, (Sezione di Studi Storici "Alberto Boscolo" dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura 3) Rome, 1991; María Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, El Consell reial durant el regnat de Martí l'Humà, in: *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón, siglos XIV-XVI*, (XV Congreso de

ther sources. For example, by chance the register of the Royal almoner Guillem Deudé has been preserved in the Cistercian monastery of Poblet, where Guillem was a monk.<sup>15</sup> The manuscript only covers a period of seven years, from 1378 to 1385, but thanks to the Cistercian monk's conscientiousness and his talent for accounting, the register conveys an impressive insight into the comings and goings at a late medieval court. Though limited to those individuals who received some form of charitable donation from the almoner in the King's name, the register fills over 330 pages in the printed edition, with over 1700 names and short descriptions of the applicants' plights. The petitioners' places of origin cover an enormous spatial radius, ranging from Portugal in the West to Greece, Cyprus and Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean and even Germany. The range of needy individuals is also staggering. By far the largest group are pilgrims who stopped over at court in order to receive some donation in the form of money or food; but there are many others: parents asking the King for a marriage endowment, blind, dumb or otherwise disabled subjects or visitors, former prostitutes wishing to begin a new life with the help of the King, male and female victims of different forms of violence, be it random Muslim or pirate attacks, be it official warfare. As for the group focused on in this paper, mendicants crop up again and again among the visitors at court, sometimes receiving money for a new habit, sometimes simply because they are needy; Franciscan tertiaries in particular abound.<sup>16</sup> Such sources as Guillem Deudé's register convey the impression that no form of regular life was more numerous represented at court than the mendicants. The friars – particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans – appear to have been what German medievalism has coined "herrschaftsnah": both physically and functionally close to the ruler and his power. At the same time, mendicants at court were cultural brokers in a wide sense of the word, as they entered a culturally alien sphere by visiting or serving this very specific, largely mundane system.<sup>17</sup>

To date, no complete analysis of the abundant Royal registers of the 14<sup>th</sup> century has been undertaken in order to precisely determine the role of the fri-

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Historia de la Corona de Aragón 2) Zaragoza, 1996, pp. 173-190; VANLANDINGHAM, Transforming the state, (as n. 6); Navarro Espinach, Germán, Consejeros influyentes y personas de confianza en el entorno cortesano de los reyes de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV), in: *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia (1208-1458): La monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. José Ángel SESMA MUÑOZ, (Colección Garba 4) Zaragoza, 2010, pp. 130-181.

<sup>15</sup> Agustín ALTISENT, L'Almoina Reial a la cort de Pere el Cerimoniós: estudi i ed. dels mss. de l'amoïner fra Guillem Deudé, (1378 - 85) (Scriptorium Populeti 2), Poblet, 1969.

<sup>16</sup> ALTISENT, L'Almoina Reial a la cort de Pere el Cerimoniós, (as n. 15), pp. 29, 34, 35, 133, 173, 176, 191, 209-210, 248. The tertiaries are countless. See the regulations in the Majorcan Ceremonial of 1337 describing the regular payments to the mendicants during the King's sojourn in the Roussillon and Majorca: – JAUME, Leyes Palatinas, (as n. 6), pp. 128, 185 ("Volumus insuper ordinibus paupertatis terrae nostrae elemosynas elargiri per modum qui sequitur [...]").

<sup>17</sup> Cf. The typology of cultural brokers in the introduction to this volume.

ars at court.<sup>18</sup> A recent study has identified 56 Franciscans at the Aragonese court from 1276 to 1458<sup>19</sup>; this naked figure needs concretization, and indeed, an exhaustive reading of the most relevant editions and *regestae* produces such ample findings that a general picture could safely be drawn, although no more than a preliminary sketch can be offered here. Large-scale, future research still needs to be conducted in order not only to identify the friars, but also in order to situate them in their social contexts: We know, for example, that many Catalan friars came from families within the mercantile urban elites and several had relatives in the kings' service; such familiar and economic ties belong to the "informal structures" well worth taking into account when studying courts in general and mendicants at court in particular.<sup>20</sup> As in Guillem Deudé's codex, the royal registers provide insight into both the "narrow court" comprising the family, the ruler's entourage, the officials and regular collaborators and the "wider court" which included visitors and passing members. Amongst the latter, mendicants regularly appear as beneficiaries of royal donations or intercessions<sup>21</sup>, often in order to travel or study abroad.<sup>22</sup> Other en-

<sup>18</sup> Despite some thorough modern Studies: Jill R. WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real a la historia de los frailes menores durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 53 (1993), pp. 525-548; Jill R. WEBSTER, *Els Menorets. The Franciscans in the realms of Aragon from St. Francis to the Black Death*, (Studies and Texts 114) Toronto, 1993, pp. 81-102.

<sup>19</sup> Paolo EVANGELISTI, *I Francescani e la costruzione di uno stato: linguaggi politici, valori identitari, progetti di governo in area catalano-aragonese*, (Fonti e ricerche 20) Padova, 2006, pp. 10-11 and tab. 6-7. Cf. the methodological reflections in: Jorge DÍAZ IBÁÑEZ / José Manuel NIETO SORIA, Élités y clientelas eclesiásticas en los siglos XIII al XV: una propuesta metodológica a partir del caso castellano, in: *Elites e redes clientelares na idade média: problemas metodológicos*, ed. Filipe Themudo BARATA, (Biblioteca: estudos & colóquios 2) Lisboa, 2001, pp. 109-139.

<sup>20</sup> WEBSTER, *Els Menorets*, (as n. 18), pp. 97-99; Jill R. WEBSTER, Un repertorio biográfico y bibliográfico de los frailes menores de la Corona de Aragón: método y ejemplos, in: *El Franciscanismo en la Península Ibérica: balance y perspectivas*, ed. María del Mar GRAÑA CID, Barcelona, 2005, pp. 403-418, especially pp. 407, 412; *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche III zur Theorie des Hofes*, ed. Reinhardt BUTZ / Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL, (Vita curialis 2) Berlin, 2009.

<sup>21</sup> Antonio RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* 2, (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica / Institut d'Estudis Catalans 54) Barcelona, 2000 (Orig. 1921), p. LXXXV-XCIX; WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real, (as n. 18); *Documents de cancelleria i de mestre racional sobre la cultura catalana medieval*, ed. Josep TRENCHS ÒDENA, (Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica 88) Barcelona, 2011, p. 110, num. 188, p. 246, num. 852, p. 269, num. 939-940, p. 379, num. 1444.

<sup>22</sup> *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval* 1, ed. Antonio RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica / Institut d'Estudis Catalans 54) Barcelona, 2000 (Orig. 1908), p. 63, num. 55-56, p. 113, num. 95; p. 277, num. 300; p. 282, num. 306, p. 285, num. 309, p. 312, num. 342; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 2, (as n. 21), p. LXXXV-XCIX; p. 302, num. 311; TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria*, (as n. 21), p. 97, num. 119; p. 118, num. 235; p. 126, num. 278, 279 and 282; p. 183, num. 603; p. 224, num. 770, p. 227, num. 783, p. 228, num. 786-787, p. 246, num. 852, 856, 857; pp. 254-255, num. 885-887, p. 267, num. 928, p. 272, num. 949-951; p. 315, num. 1143; p. 434, num. 1708, p. 500, num. 2004, p. 533, num. 2155.

tries refer to mendicants who are ordered to attend the court for unspecified reasons.<sup>23</sup> A recent survey of the King's fiscal administration during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century has provided references to 322 payments to Franciscan Friars alone.<sup>24</sup> In this sense, the Aragonese court indeed functioned as a node of confluence, attracting mendicants of diverse hue and functions.

Turning to the "narrower court", mendicants acted as officials or at least regular members in several functions: They emerge from the records as chancellors and other administrative experts and are sometimes referred to as royal counsellors or as members of the royal chapel.<sup>25</sup> The survey conducted here shows that from 1280 to 1380, twenty-two friars – but altogether only few in comparison to the secular clergy<sup>26</sup> – were declared the king's *familiar*, thus expressing their particularly close relationship to the respective ruler.<sup>27</sup> In oth-

<sup>23</sup> TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p.299, num. 1069, p. 303, num. 1092, p. 320, num. 1167, p. 601, num. 2483-2484. In general on donations, payments and other concessions see WEBSTER, Els Menorets, (as n. 18), pp. 85-92; WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real, (as n. 18).

<sup>24</sup> WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real, (as n. 18), specially pp. 533-547.

<sup>25</sup> Francisco DIAGO, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores: desde su origen y principio hasta el año de mil y seyscientos*, Barcelona, 1599 (reed. 1999), 15r, 159r; Pedro SANAHUJA, *Historia de la seráfica provincia de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1959, pp. 105-132; José GARCÍA ORO, *Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval*, Santiago de Compostela, 1988, pp. 474-476; Trenchs / Aragó, Las cancellerías, (as n. 14), pp. 43, 53; María José CARBONELL BORJA, El servicio religioso de la casa y corte de Pedro III, in: *La societat mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro. IX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón = Congrès d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó, Comunicazioni 2*, Palermo, 1984, pp. 321-332 (however, without references to mendicants); VANLANDINGHAM, Transforming the state, (as n. 6), pp. 101-104; Robin J. E VOSE, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the medieval crown of Aragon*, (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought. Ser. 4, 74) Cambridge, 2009, pp. 83-85; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 108, num. 176 (Martí de Eixea, OFM). On the Chancellor see JAUME, Leyes Palatinas, (as n. 6), pp. 100-101, pp. 157-158.

<sup>26</sup> From the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Augustinians and Carmelites as well as many members of other religious orders appear more and more often, whereas the number of Dominicans and particularly of Franciscans diminishes considerably – SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 103-146.

<sup>27</sup> Pere de Janua OFM to Peter the Great, Ferrer de Apilia OP, Jordà de Castell OP, Jaume OESA and Guillem de Muret OP to James II – SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der sizilianischen und aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 343-348; Jaume Corts OESA, Jaume Domenech OP, Francesc Esteve OFM, Berenguer Amorós OFM, Nicolau Rosell OP, Bernat Solà OP, Bernat de Boxeda OESA, Pere Curubí OESA, Felip de Castell OFM, Joan de Fornell OFM, Jaume Domenech OP, Pere Bramón OCarm, Bernat de Manso OESA, Joan Lledó OFM, Bernat de Castellpor OP, Daniel de Castellnou OFM, Bernat de Saragossa OESA, Ramón Durán OESA, Francesc Despujol OCarm, Francesc Cervià OCarm., Pere Rovira OCarm., Guillem Bruch OCarm to Peter the Ceremonious – ibidem, pp. 25-27, pp. 105-125 ("Familiaren Peters" num. 15, 20, 42, 45, 56-57, 78, 168, 196, 228, 234, 566, 624, 665, 723, 757); Juan Rodríguez de Januis OESA, Jaume Domènech OP, Francesc de Pontons OP, Jaume Ayats OP, Miquel Scrivà OESA, Pere de Gallifa OESA, Francesc Despuig OFM, Francesc Marinany OP, Bartolomeu Sanoltorera OESA, Joan Bayona OP, Joan Esteve OESA, Antoni Canals OP, Antoni Pradell OESA, Ferrer Martol OP to King John – ibidem, p. 126-140 ("Familiaren Johannis I." num. 95, 154, 213, 272, 298, 299, 372, 452, 471, 526, 533, 535,

er cases, friars were employed to work as chroniclers contracted in order to elaborate on the house of Barcelona's official memory and textual representation.<sup>28</sup> Other brethren produced political treatises characterised by Franciscan ideals of Christomimesis: The Minorite theologian and royal confessor Francesc Eiximenis, for example, laid out his notions of ideal kingship and administration in his *Dotze del Crestià*, and the royal Franciscan infant Peter wrote a *Mirror of Princes*.<sup>29</sup> In this context of literacy and learning, Aragonese Kings of the Later Middle Ages also repeatedly charged mendicants with purchasing and copying books or acquiring manuscripts for the royal collection.<sup>30</sup>

The friars' activities transcended the physical setting of the court on other occasions, too. They were employed as diplomats, as ambassadors to other rulers, and sometimes even as envoys to Muslim sovereigns and thus as cultural brokers in the narrow sense of the word, i.e. as mediating go-betweens<sup>31</sup>: Friar Desideri repeatedly served as James's I ambassador<sup>32</sup>; Romeo Ortíz was

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556, 580). In this article, personal names are generally given in their Catalan form, as most persons mentioned came from this area.

<sup>28</sup> Such is the case of the Dominican Pere Marsili, the translator of the *Llibre dels Fets*: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 58, num. 47, or his brothers Jaume Domenech and Antoni Ginebreda, charged with a *Compendi Historial* by Peter the Ceremonious: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), pp. 328-329, num. 363-364, p. 333, num. 370, for which Ginebreda incidentally used Ramón Martí's *Pugio fidei*: ibidem, pp. 333-334, num. 371. See also Laureano ROBLES, *Escritores dominicos de la Corona de Aragón: (siglos XIII-XV)*, Salamanca, 1972, pp. 87-91, 143-148.

<sup>29</sup> David J VIERA, Francesc Eiximenis and the Royal House of Aragon. A Mutual Dependence, in: *Catalan Review* 3 (1989), pp. 182-189; Curt J WITTLIN, La sisena part del Dotzè de Francesc Eiximenis com a complement ètic a les "ordinacions de la Cort" del Rei Pere el Cerimoniós, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 50 (2005), pp. 231-248; EVANGELISTI, I Francescani e la costruzione di uno stato, (as n. 19); Alexandra BEAUCHAMP, De l'action à l'écriture: le "De regimine principum" de l'infant Pierre d' Aragon (V.1357-1358), in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 35 (2005), pp. 233-270. Cf the dedications of several theological works to King Martin and his wife, Queen Mary, as well as to Queen Violant, King John's widow (by Antoni Canals): ROBLES, *Escritores dominicos de la Corona de Aragón*, (as n. 28), pp. 183, 185, 186.

<sup>30</sup> JASPERT, Interreligiöse Diplomatie im Mittelmeerraum. Die Krone Aragón und die islamische Welt im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert, (as n. 3), especially p. 175; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), p. 84 names several Dominicans (Pere Alegre, Bernat de Tolosa, Martí de Casuis, Martí de Portell, Guillem Pelegrí and Jaume de Olzina), to whom one can add Sanç de Mur, Ramón de Masquefa, Pere d' Artasona – TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 139, num. 359; p. 153, num. 436; Franciscan book-buyers on behalf of the Kings: ibidem, p. 189, num. 632; p. 200, num. 679; p. 204, num. 690, p. 222, num. 764; p. 226, num. 777, p. 378, num. 1434.

<sup>31</sup> José Antonio DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon* 1, Zaragoza, 1703 (reed. 1991), pp. 95-114; Jayme COLL, *Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, de la regular observancia de nuestro padre S. Francisco*, Barcelona, 1738, pp. 149-151; Jill R. WEBSTER, Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón doña María de Luna (1396-1406), in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* Ser. 2 42 (1982), pp. 81-123; WEBSTER, *Els Menorets*, (as n. 18 ), pp. 81-82; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), p. 233.

<sup>32</sup> Anastasio LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 16 (1929), pp. 145-240, especially p. 146.

a frequent envoy of Peter the Great<sup>33</sup>; James II sent Ramon Masquefa, Pere Marsili, Arnau Amill, Domingo de Jaca, Arnau Canelles, Pere de Forn, Sanç de Miravet and Pons Carbonell to Castile, Sicily, Granada or Avignon<sup>34</sup>; Sancho López de Ayerbe represented King Peter the Ceremonious's interest before Pope Benedict XIII (1338)<sup>35</sup>; Guillem Conill (OP) was sent to "different parts of the world" by King Peter<sup>36</sup>, who also repeatedly employed the royal Minorite Peter of Aragon (1305-1381) for diplomatic missions.<sup>37</sup>

In many more cases, mendicants served as preachers at court and as confessors to the King, the Queen or other members of the royal family.<sup>38</sup> The Majorcan ceremonial specifically mentions the sermons held before the king<sup>39</sup>, and we have already seen from the illustrations of the Brussels manuscript that mendicants were considered the archetypical royal confessors; prosopographical studies corroborate this and show that many royal mendicant confessors

<sup>33</sup> WEBSTER, Un repertorio biográfico y bibliográfico, (as n. 20), p. 409.

<sup>34</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1, (as n. 31), p. 114; LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32), p. 163; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 121, num. 248.

<sup>35</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1, (as n. 31), p. 110; WEBSTER, La contribución de los registros del Patrimonio Real, (as n. 18), pp. 527-528, 533, 540; WEBSTER, Els Menorets, (as n. 18), p. 82; WEBSTER, Un repertorio biográfico y bibliográfico, (as n. 20), p. 411.

<sup>36</sup> TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 304, num. 1094.

<sup>37</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1, (as n. 31), pp. 95, 111; COLL, Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, (as n. 31), pp. 105-107.

<sup>38</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1, (as n. 31), pp. 95, 101, 109, 110, 113, 114; COLL, Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, (as n. 31), pp. 149-151; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 22), p. 257, num. 274, p. 325, num. 359-360; LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32); Thomas KAEPPEL, Dominicana Barcinonensia. Assignationes librorum. Professiones novitiorum (s. XIII-XV), in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1967), pp. 47-118, especially p. 55, p. 67, p. 69, p. 70; TRENCHS / ARAGÓ, Las cancellerías, (as n. 14), p. 101; ORO, Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval, (as n. 17), pp. 474-476; VIERA, Francesc Eiximenis and the Royal House, (as n. 29); Nuria SILLERAS-FERNÁNDEZ, *Power, piety, and patronage in late medieval queenship: Maria de Luna*, New York, 2008, p.126; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), pp. 82, 84; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 134, num.328, p. 155, num. 446, p. 226, num. 777, p. 591, num. 2437. Franciscan confessors of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries: Pere Sacosta, confessor of Peter the Great; Arnau de Canals / Arnau Canelles and Joan de Montfort – Alfonso the Mild; Arnau Batlle, Nicolás de Termens and Joan de Montfort – Queen Leonor (Alfonso the Mild's wife); Sancho López de Ayerbe, Joan de Aragó, Pedro de Cima, Joan Fornells, Francesc Eiximenis, Nicolau Agut – Peter the Ceremonious; Ombert Messeguer – Maria of Navarra (Peter the Ceremonious' wife); Arnau de Pelegrí – Sibilla de Fortià (Peter the Ceremonious' wife); Francesc Eiximenis, Francesc Rafart and Tomás de Olzina – John I; Nicolás Sacosta – Violant de Bar (John I's wife). Dominican confessors of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries: Ramón de Penyafor, Miguel de Fabra, Arnau de Segarra, Berenguer de Castellbisbal – James I; Guillem de Aranyón, Martin d'Ateca, Pedro de Portillo, Guillem of Aragon, Joan de Llotger – James II; Andrés de Albalat – Blanca, wife of James II; Vicent Ferrer – Violante de Bar.

<sup>39</sup> JAUME, Leyes Palatinas, (as n. 6), p.170: "Plane religiosi quicumque in mensa nostra sedeant comedentes, illis diebus quibus coram nobis contigerit praedicare [...] merito honore magis quam diebus ceteris decorantur".

were elevated to bishoprics in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> One should remark however that being a royal confessor could also be a dangerous business, as the Dominican Ramón de Castellbisbal experienced, part of whose tongue was cut out after he had disclosed some of King James' I secrets.<sup>41</sup> But in general, the relations between mendicant confessors and their monarchs were close. The ties between the house of Barcelona and the Franciscan order can still be discerned at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1398), when King Martin decreed that all confessors of the Aragonese Kings and Queens, both present and future, should be members of the Franciscan order.<sup>42</sup> One reason for this proximity might have been that in some cases Franciscan confessors were not only close to the King, but even members of the Royal family: Several illegitimate sons of Aragonese monarchs or the offspring of such royal bastards took monastic vows.<sup>43</sup>

These royal friars were the clearest expression of a very special relationship that marked the house of Barcelona and the Franciscans during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. During the period between 1250 and 1350, several European dynasties showed a certain proximity to the mendicant orders in general and the Minorites in particular, very striking cases being the house of Anjou and the Capetians.<sup>44</sup> In other countries, members of the Royal family joined the Franciscans, in certain exceptional cases even converting to Latin Christianity

<sup>40</sup> LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32), pp. 152, 167: "Los confesores franciscanos de D. Pedro el Ceremonioso han sido varios, y todos ellos fueron después promovidos a la dignidad episcopal"; WEBSTER, Un repertorio biográfico y bibliográfico, (as n. 20); Similarly in the case of Dominicans: VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> Jaime VILLANUEVA, *Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. IV, Madrid/Valencia 1806, pp. 155-60; LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32), pp. 146-149.

<sup>42</sup> COLL, Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, (as n. 31), pp. 66-68 (text); LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32), pp. 209-212 (trans.).

<sup>43</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1, (as n. 31), pp. 95; COLL, Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, (as n. 31), p. 150; LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Aragón, (as n. 32), p. 176-181: Peter of Aragon and Juan of Aragon as confessors for Peter the Ceremonious.

<sup>44</sup> Friedrich Albert GROETEKEN, *Die Franziskaner an Fürstenthöfen bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1915, particularly pp. 24-40 (but without references to Aragon); Gábor KLANICZAY, Königliche und dynastische Heiligkeit in Ungarn, in: *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen PETERSOHN, (Vorträge und Forschungen 42) Sigmaringen, 1994, pp. 343-364; Gábor KLANICZAY, *Holy rulers and blessed princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe*, Cambridge, 2002; Sean L. FIELD, *Isabelle of France: Capetian sanctity and Franciscan identity in the thirteenth century*, Notre Dame, 2006. See also: José Manuel NIETO SORIA, Franciscanos y franciscanismo en la política y en la Corte de la Castilla trastámara (1369-1475), in: *Anuario de estudios medievales* 20 (1990), pp. 109-131; *Könige, Landesherren und Bettelorden: Konflikt und Kooperation in West- und Mitteleuropa bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, (Saxonia Franciscana 10) Werl, 1998, esp. Matthias WERNER, Landesherr und Franziskanerorden im spätmittelalterlichen Thüringen, ibidem, pp. 331-360; Bertrand SCHNERB, Les ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois et les frères mendiants une approche documentaire, in: *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Nicole BERIOU, (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales 21) Lyon, 2009, pp. 271-320.



in the process.<sup>45</sup> But in a comparative analysis one might say that hardly any European ruling family of the Middle Ages was as strongly marked by mendicant ideals as the Aragonese monarchs and their relations.<sup>46</sup>

The beginnings of the strong presence of mendicants at the Aragonese courts can be discerned during the rule of James I, under whom Dominicans in particular entered the Royal entourage.<sup>47</sup> Some of James' successors like James II also showed a predilection for the preachers, but on a general level, the house of Barcelona was particularly influenced by the Franciscans. The starting point for this development seems to have been marked by the presence of Queen Constance of Hohenstaufen, wife of Peter the Great, in Catalonia.<sup>48</sup> The Sicilian princess generously endowed the Franciscans in her last will<sup>49</sup>, a

<sup>45</sup> The last Muslim ruler of Valencia, Abu Zayd, entered a Minorite monastery, while his daughter became a nun, and King Hethum of Armenia chose a similar path: Robert Ignatius BURNS, Daughter of Abu Zayd, last almohad ruler of Valencia: The family and christian seignior of Alda Ferrándis 1236-1300, in: *Viator. Medieval and renaissance studies* 24 (1993), pp. 143-187; Claude MUTAFIAN, Hét'oum II, roi franciscain d'Arménie (1289-1307), in: *Byzance et ses périphéries: hommage à Alain Ducellier*, ed. Bernard DOUMERC / Christophe PICARD, (Collection Méridiennes) Toulouse, 2004, pp. 263-282.

<sup>46</sup> Mercedes VAN HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou während der Höhe des Armutsstreites*, (Abhandlungen zur Mittlere und Neueren Geschichte 38) Berlin/Leipzig, 1912; Nikolas JASPERT, Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty: the House of Barcelona in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, in: *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650-1450*, ed. Demetrios A. AGIOS / Ian R. NETTON, (International Medieval Research 1) Turnhout, 1997, pp. 105-135; Raphaela AVERKORN, Adlige Frauen und Mendikanten im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Macht und Religion. Studien zur Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter, in: *Imperios, sacros, monarquías divinas = Heilige Herrscher, göttliche Monarch*, ed. Carles RABASSA VAQUER / Ruth STEPPER, (Col·lecció Humanitas 10) Castelló de la Plana, 2002, pp. 219-268; Dieter BERG, Königshöfe und Bettelorden. Studien zu den aragonesischen und kastilischen Herrscherhöfen im 13. Jahrhundert, in: *ibidem*, pp. 121-160; Raphaela AVERKORN, Representing nobility, charity and sainthood: aspects of the European movement of the Mendicant Orders in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, in: *Histoire, images, imaginaire*, ed. Pascal DUPUY, (Clio's workshop 5) Pisa, 2002, pp. 97-116; Nikolas JASPERT, Els descendents piadosos de una princesa hongaresa: Heretgia i santedat en la casa de Barcelona durant els segles XIII i XIV, in: *Princeses de terres llunyanes. Catalunya i Hongria a l'edat mitjana*, Barcelona, 2009, pp. 291-306; Nikolas JASPERT, El perfil trascendental de los reyes aragoneses, siglos XIII al XV: Santidad, franciscanismo y profecías, in: *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia (1208-1458): La monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. José Ángel SESMA MUÑOZ, (Colección Garba 4) Zaragoza, 2010, pp. 183-218, especially pp. 196-210.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Ignatius BURNS, The spiritual life of James the Conqueror, king of Aragon-Catalonia, 1208-1276: portrait and self-portrait, in: *Catholic Historical Review* 62 (1976), pp. 1-35, pp. 12-13.

<sup>48</sup> COLL, *Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cataluña*, (as n. 31), pp. 269-274; E. L. MIRON, *Las Reinas de Aragón, sus vidas y sus épocas*, Valencia, 1929, pp. 67-73, 98-110; Ferran SOLDEVILA, *Pere el Gran. Primera Part: l'infant*, (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica / Institut d'Estudis Catalans 48) Barcelona, 1995 (Orig. 1950), pp. 143-175; Stefano Maria CINGOLANI, *Pere el Gran. Vida, actes i paraula*, Barcelona, 2010, pp. 469-475.

<sup>49</sup> *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran 1: Cartes i Pergamins (1258-1285)*, ed. Stefano CINGOLANI, (Diplomatari 62) Barcelona, 2011, num. 4, pp. 30-40; on the realisation of these legates see

document which shows that the queen surrounded herself with friars and semi-religious “tertiaries”.<sup>50</sup> Constance also seems to have strongly influenced her sons, practically all of whom developed intense spiritual ties to the Minorites. It might suffice to point out that of these four Aragonese princes, all but one chose a Franciscan monastery as their burial place, in at least two cases even joining the order on their deathbed in order to be buried in the habit of Saint Francis; their wills show how much they stressed their desire to be recognized as Franciscans during the burial rites.<sup>51</sup> In fact, in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Franciscan monasteries of Barcelona and Lleida housed the remains of at least 15 Aragonese queens, kings, princesses and princes.<sup>52</sup> King Alfonso the Mild even decided to break the promise he had given his father to be buried in the Cistercian Abbey of Poblet and acquired an apostolic absolution in order to receive burial in a Minorite convent.<sup>53</sup> Some of his relatives decided to join the

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Jill R. WEBSTER: La reina doña Constanza y los hospitales de Barcelona y Valencia, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano Ser. 2*, 51 (1991), pp. 375-390.

<sup>50</sup> “Item, legamus sorori Benigne triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Iacobe triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Constancie triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Berengarie triginta uncias auri. Item, sorori Margarite quadraginta uncias auri. Monemus et ortamus in Domino predictas quinque sorores nobiscum commorantes quod intrent aliquid monasterium ordinis sancte Clare in quo serviant Deo et rogent Deum pro anima nostra, vel saltem vivant in castitate et penitencia sicut nobiscum usque modo vixerunt”, CINGOLANI, *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran*, (as n. 49), num. 4, pp. 33-34.

<sup>51</sup> Alfons the Liberal: “fratrem minorem simpliciter tumuletur... Mandamus nichilominus quod cum corpus nostrum deferatur ad locum seu conventum prefatum discohoperte aporetur, ita quod habitus beati francisci quem induere debemus omnibus aparet manifeste”, *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Varia n. 21[3], 5-IV-1296; Infant Peter: “quod non fiat tumulus regnis [sic] in quo sepeliatur corpus nostrum, sed tumulus fratris minoris in quo sepeliatur”, Antoni M. UDINA I ABELLÓ, *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó: de Guifré Borrell a Joan II*, (Textos i documents 33) Barcelona, 2001, num. 27-29, pp. 170-176, especially p. 175; Frederic of Sicily: *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Perg. Alfons III, num. 794 – Giuseppe LA MANTIA, *Il testamento di Federico II aragonese, re di Sicilia*, in: *Archivio storico per la Sicilia* 2-3 (1938). Even the body of King James II, though later buried in Santes Creus, was first brought to the Franciscan convent of Barcelona: *Jaume I; Bernat Desclot; Ramon Muntaner; Pere II., Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran SOLDEVILLA, (Biblioteca perenne 26) Barcelona, 1983, p. 1016; Josep BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Enterrament de Jaume II a Santes Creus l'any 1327*, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 20-21 (1999-2000), pp. 323-343.

<sup>52</sup> *Crónica del racional de la ciutat de Barcelona (1334-1417)*, in: *Recull de Documents i Estudis* 1 (1921), pp. 113-192, pp. 142 (num. 97), 148 (num. 119), 154 (num. 146), 167 (num. 199), 178 (num. 238); DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon* 1, (as n. 31 *Cronica de la provincia*), pp. 99-100; COLL, *Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña*, (as n. 31), pp. 49-59; WEBSTER, *Els Menorets*, (as n. 18), pp. 92-94; Federico UDINA MARTORELL, *Tombes reials dels nostres reis catalano-aragonesos*, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 47 (1999-2000), pp. 367-376; JASPERT, *El perfil trascendental de los reyes aragoneses, siglos XIII al XV: Santidad, franciscanismo y profecías*, (as n. 46), pp. 196-200.

<sup>53</sup> UDINA I ABELLÓ, *Els testaments dels comtes*, (as n. 51), pp. 201-217, num. 34: “Et eligimus sepulturam nostram in monasterio fratrum minorum civitatis Ilerde, non obstante quod dum monicionibus serenissimi domini regis bone memorie nostri genitoris inducti, voverimus et sollemniter super missale posito in altari in presencia abbatis et monachorum Sanctarum

order in early years and became fully fledged Minorites, the most celebrated of them being the above-mentioned infant Peter of Aragon, who was held in high esteem by his nephew King Peter the Ceremonious and who wrote a number of treaties, some of prophetic character.<sup>54</sup> Aragonese queens and princesses, too, show a predilection for the Franciscans: Isabel of Aragon, later canonised as Saint Isabel (1609), was married to King Dinis of Portugal, where she not only acted to establish peace between her new home and that of her youth, but also patronised the Franciscans by founding a Clare monastery in Coimbra, which she joined as a tertiary in later life and where she was buried.<sup>55</sup> Eleonore of Aragon, Queen of Cyprus<sup>56</sup>, was as stout a backer of the

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Crucum iuramento ad Sancta Dei Evangelia manibus nostris corporaliter prestito firmaverimus, quod in dicto monasterio nostram eligerimus sepulturam et corpus nostrum faceremus inhiberi sepeliri". See the chapter on "La dynastie contre la famille" and "Les choix personnels" in: Xavier DECTOT, *Les tombeaux des familles royales de la péninsule ibérique au Moyen Âge*, (Histoires de Famille 7) Turnhout, 2009, pp. 193-202.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. 37 and Martí DE BARCELONA: El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* 11 (1913), pp. 132-136; Martí DE BARCELONA: El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* 12 (1914), pp. 129-141, 434-438; Martí DE BARCELONA: El infante fray Pedro de Aragón, in: *Estudios Franciscanos* 13 (1915), pp. 204-215; José María POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII - XV)*, (Espejo de Clío 9) Alicante, 1996, p. 308-396; José M. MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1948, 1, pp.158-161; Martin AURELL, Eschatologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282-1412), in: *Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIIIe - début XVe siècle)*, (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 27) Fanjeaux, 1992, pp. 199-235, especially pp. 203-205; Daniel GENÍS I MAS, Les profecies de l'infant Pere d'Aragó (1305-1381): el comtat d'Empúries en l'inici del joaquimisme a Catalunya, in: *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos* 35 (2002), pp. 119-140; BEAUCHAMP, De l'action à l'écriture, (as n. 29); Lluís Cabré, L'Infant Pere d'Empúries i la tradició familiar: estampes en el setè centenari del seu naixement, in: *Mot so razo* 4 (2005), pp. 69-84

<sup>55</sup> A.G. RIBEIRO DE VASCONCELLOS, *Evolução do culto de Dona Isabel de Aragão*, 2 vols, Coímbra, 1894; Félix T. LOPES, *Actividades pacificadoras de S. Isabel de Portugal nos dissídios entre Castela e Arago de 1300 a 1304*, Braga, 1967; Félix T. LOPES, Santa Isabel na contienda entre D. Dinis e o filho 1321-1322, in: *Lusitania Sacra* 8 (1970), pp. 57-80; Angel CANELLAS LÓPEZ, Una carta-relicario de Santa Isabel de Aragón, reina de Portugal, in: *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB*, vol. 2 (Studia Silensia 4) Silos, 1977, pp. 137-144; Robert FOLZ, *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en occident: (VIe - XIIIe siècles)*, (Subsidia hagiographica 76) Bruxelles, 1992, pp.145-158; Ivo Carneiro DE SOUSA, A rainha D. Leonor e a introdução da reforma coletina da ordem de Santa Clara em Portugal, in: *Archivo-Ibero-Americano* 54 (1994), pp. 1033-1070; Gulia ROSSI VAIRO, Isabella d'Aragona, Rainha santa de Portugal, e il monastero di Santa Clara e Santa Isabel di Coimbra (1286-1336), in: *Collectanea Franciscana* 71 (2001), pp. 139-169; Gulia ROSSI VAIRO, Isabella d'Aragona, "Rainha Santa de Portugal", ambasciatrice di pace nella conferenza di Torrellas (1304), in: *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII-XVI & VII Centenari de la Sentència Arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004: XVIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, vol. 2, ed. Rafael Narbona VIZCAÍNO, Valencia, 2005, pp. 2205-2214; Stéphane BOISSELLIER, La 'Vie de S. Isabelle de Portugal' en langue vulgaire: présentation et traduction annotée du texte original, in: *Revue Mabillon* 18 (2007), pp. 217-252.

<sup>56</sup> COLL, *Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña*, (as n. 31), pp. 116-118; Enric BAGUÉ, Notes sobre la reina Elionor de Xipre, des del seu retorn a Catalunya fins a la seva mort, in: *Estudis universitaris catalans* 22 (1936), pp. 547-554; María Teresa FERRER

Franciscans as Elissende of Montcada, James's II wife.<sup>57</sup> The latter founded the Clare convent at Pedralbes, where she lived for 37 years after her husband's death. During the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, newly founded or reformed religious institutions slowly displaced the mendicants, as donations, wills and foundation charters show. But for the period under review, the Aragonese court was without a doubt particularly close to the mendicants.

Even stronger and better known than the Franciscan orientation of the main trunk of the House of Barcelona is that of its Majorcan branch.<sup>58</sup> While princess Sancha of Majorca became one of the order's most ardent benefactors, giving shelter to Franciscan dissenters during the order's major crisis of the 1330s<sup>59</sup>, her brother Philipp even joined and then apparently led a group of

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MALLOL, La cort de la reina Elionor de Xipre a Catalunya, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 25 (2003/04), pp. 347-373; Eusebi AYENSA PRAT, Entre cel i infern: la meravellosa història d'Elionor d'Aragó, reina de Xipre (c. 1333-1416), in: *Estudi general* 23 (2004), pp. 83-96; Eusebi AYENSA PRAT, Eleonor de Aragón, Reina de Chipre, en la tradició historiogràfica franciscana, in: *Hispania sacra. Revista española de historia eclesiástica* 56 (2004), pp. 103-134. Eleonore was the daughter of Peter, an Aragonese prince turned Franciscan (as n. 37 and 54).

<sup>57</sup> COLL, Chronica seráfica de la Santa Provincia de Cathaluña, (as n. 31), pp. 334-339; Jesús Ernesto MARTÍNEZ FERRANDO, *Biografía de Elisenda de Montcada "regina de Pedralbes"*, Barcelona, 1953; Francesca ESPAÑOL, Un cert perfil d'Elisenda de Montcada, in: *Elisenda de Montcada: una reina lleidatana i la fundació del Reial Monestir de Pedralbes*, ed. Esther BALASCH / Francesca ESPAÑOL, (Dia de la Seu Vella 1996) Lleida, 1997, pp. 11-39, pp. 25-39; María del Carmen GARCÍA HERRERO, El entorno femenino de los reyes de Aragón, in: *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia (1208-1458): La monarquía aragonesa y los reinos de la Corona*, ed. José Ángel SESMA MUÑOZ, (Colección Garba 4) Zaragoza, 2010, pp. 327-350, pp. 341-350; Anna CASTELLANO I TRESSERRA, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana: història d'un monestir femení*, (Biblioteca Abat Oliba 198) Barcelona, 1998, pp. 25-78.

<sup>58</sup> P. Martí DE BARCELONA: L'ordre franciscà i la casa reial de Mallorca, in: *Estudis franciscans* 29 (1923), pp. 354-383; Anastasio LÓPEZ, Confesores de la familia real de Mallorca y Navarra, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 33 (1929), pp. 213-225, as well as the following two footnotes.

<sup>59</sup> HEUCKELUM, Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen, (as n. 46); BARCELONA, L'ordre franciscà i la casa reial de Mallorca, (as n. 58); POU Y MARTÍ, Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos, (as n. 54), pp. 128-144; Gabriel ALOMAR ESTEVE, Iconografía y heráldica de Sancha de Mallorca, reina de Nápoles, in: *Boletín de la Societat arqueològica lulliana* 35 (1976), pp. 5-36; Ronald G MUSTO, Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans, in: *Women of the medieval world: essays in honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. Julius KIRSHNER, Oxford, 1985, pp. 179-214; JASPERT, Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty, (as n. 46); Ronald G MUSTO, Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of Naples, 1309-1345: A New Appraisal, in: *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 90 (1997), pp. 419-486, pp. 454-456; Roberto PACIOCCO, 'Angioini' e 'Spirituali'. I differenti piani cronologici e tematici di un problema, in: *L'état Angevin: pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 245) Paris, 1998, pp. 253-287; Isabelle HEULLANT-DONAT, En amont de l'Observance. Les lettres de Sancia, reine de Naples, aux Chapitres généraux et leur transmission dans l'historiographie du XIVe siècle, in: *Identités franciscaines à l'âge des Réformes*, ed. Frédéric MEYER / Ludovic VIALLET, Clermont, 2005, pp. 73-99; Ingrid WÜRTH, Altera Elisabeth: Königin Sancia von Neapel (1286-1345) und die Franziskaner, in: *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Matthias Werner*, ed. Enno BÜNZ / Stefan TEBRUCK / Hans G. WALTHER, Köln/Weimar/Wien, 2007, pp. 517-542; Mario GAGLIONE, Sancia d'Aragona-Maiorca tra impegno di governo e "attivismo"

heterodox Friars Minor later known as the *fratres fratris Philippi Maioricis*.<sup>60</sup> In fact, not only he, but all three sons of Esclaramonda de Foix renounced the throne of Majorca in order to join the Franciscans.<sup>61</sup> The Sicilian branch of the House of Barcelona showed a similar proximity to the order, most clearly expressed by the daughters of King Frederic II who entered the convent of Clares at Messina.<sup>62</sup> The House of Barcelona between 1250 and 1350 – both in the Crown of Aragon proper and in territories governed by its sidelines – can definitely be characterised as a philo-mendicant network.

The royal house not only demonstrated close proximity to the friars in spiritual terms, but also in the spatial sense of the word. For both courts and convents were largely urban phenomena. As far as residences were established by a largely itinerant medieval monarchy, they were all situated within large

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francescano, in: *Studi storici. Rivista trimestrale* 49 (2008), pp. 931-984; Cristina ANDENNA, *Secundum regulam datam sororibus ordinis sancti Damiani. Sancia e Aquilina: due esperimenti di ritorno alle origini alla corte di Napoli nel XIV secolo*, in: *Franciscan organisation in the mendicant context: formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael ROBSON / Jens RÖHRKASTEN, (Vita Regularis. Abhandlungen 44) Berlin, 2010, pp. 139-178; Paola VITOLO, *imprese artistiche e modelli di regalità al femminile nella Napoli della prima età angioina*, in: *"Con animo virile": donne e potere nel Mezzogiorno medievale (secoli XI-XV)*, ed. Patrizia MAINONI, (I libri di Viella 104) Rome, 2010, pp. 263-318, especially pp. 277-305.

<sup>60</sup> J. M. VIDAL, *Un Ascète de sang royal, Philippe de Mallorque*, in: *Revue des questions historiques* NS 44 (1910), pp. 361-403; HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen*, (as n. 46), pp. 53-63; Antonio OLIVER, *Heterodoxía en la Mallorca de los siglos XIII-XV*, in: *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 32 (1961), pp. 157-176, pp. 165-170; BARCELONA, *L'ordre franciscà i la casa reial de Mallorca*, (as n. 58), pp. 372-379. POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos*, (as n. 54), pp. 111-128; Josefina MATEU IBARS, *"Philippus de Maiorica" tutor de Jaime III de este reino: noticias diplomáticas según Lletres Reals 25, de Real Patrimonio (1325-1328) en el Archivo del Reino de Mallorca*, in: *Documenta et scripta*, (Rubrica. Paleographica et diplomatia studia 5) Barcelona, 1993, pp. 151-186; JASPERT, *Heresy and Holiness in a Mediterranean Dynasty*, (as n. 46), pp. 128-130; MUSTO, *Franciscan Joachimism*, (as n. 59), pp. 447-453; Giacomo TODESCHINI, *Gli spirituali e il regno di Sicilia agli inizi del Trecento*, in: *Federico III d'Aragona, Re di Sicilia: (1296 - 1337)*, ed. Salvatore Massimo GANCI, (Archivio storico siciliano, Ser. 4, 23) Palermo 1999, pp. 185-204; Paolo EVANGELISTI, *Relazioni di potere ed etiche per il potere: Clareno, Filippo di Maiorca e la testualità politica francescana catalano-aragonese*, in: *Angelo Clareno Francescano: atti del XXXIV convegno internazionale, Assisi, 5 - 7 ottobre 2006*, (Atti dei convegni della Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani e del Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Francescani N.S., 17) Spoleto, 2007, pp. 315-376.

<sup>61</sup> Welbore ST CLAIR BADDELEY, *Robert the Wise and his Heirs 1278-1352*, London, 1897, p. 232; Heinrich FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II; 1291-1327* 3, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 131-132, num. 59; HEUCKELUM, *Spiritualistische Strömungen an den Höfen*, (as n. 46), pp. 26-36; POU Y MARTÍ, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos*, (as n. 54), pp. 236-237; Martin AURELL, *Messianisme royal de la Couronne D'Aragon (14.-15. Siècles)*, in: *Annales ESC* 52 (1997), pp. 119-155, pp. 129-130.

<sup>62</sup> DE HEBRERA Y ESMIR, *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Aragon 1*, (as n. 31), p. 96; Francesco COSTA, *Eleonora d'Angiò (1289-43), Regina francescana di Sicilia (1303-43)*, in: *I Francescani e la politica (secc. XIII- XVII)*, 2 vols, ed. Alessandro MUSCO, (Collana francescana 13) Palermo, 2007, pp. 175-222, pp. 187-205.

towns, be it in Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa, Perpignan or present-day Palma de Mallorca.<sup>63</sup> A case in point and the one chosen for this article is Barcelona, the town in which the monarchs resided most frequently in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Here, the Franciscan and particularly the Dominican convent lay close to the royal palace, which further facilitated contact.<sup>64</sup> This proximity arguably contributed to establishing the mendicant houses of Barcelona as undisputed heads of their respective provinces.<sup>65</sup> The personal proximity of influential mendicants at court can best be illustrated by outstanding figures. Ramón de Penyafort, for example, the influential Dominican theologian and canonist, spent the last 33 years of his life in close spatial proximity to King James I whom he repeatedly served as a personal adviser, as his signature on extant documents show.<sup>66</sup> One could add references to other figures such as

<sup>63</sup> Anna Maria ADROER TASIS, *El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona*, (Estudios / Museu d'Historia de la Ciutat 33) Barcelona, 1979; Anna Maria ADROER TASIS, *Palaus reials de Catalunya*, Barcelona, 2003; Amadeo SERRA DESFILIS, "Cort e Palau de Rey". The Real Palace of Valencia in the Medieval Epoch, in: *Imago temporis. Medium Aevum* 1 (2007), pp. 121-148. On the relation between towns and courts see *Capitales y corte en la historia de España*, ed. Humberto BAQUERO MORENO / B. BENNASAR / J. M. LÓPEZ GARCÍA / J. C. MAINER, Madrid, 2003; *Der Hof und die Stadt: Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner PARAVICINI / Jörg WETTLAUER, (Residenzenforschung 20) Ostfildern, 2006; Thomas ZOTZ, Informelle Zusammenhänge zwischen Hof und Stadt, in: *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche III zur Theorie des Hofes*, ed. Reinhardt BUTZ / Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL, (Vita curialis 2) Berlin, 2009, pp. 157-168; Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL / Gabriel ZEILINGER, Urban Space Divided? The Encounter of Civic and Courtly Spheres in Late-Medieval Town, in: *Urban space in the middle ages and the early modern age*, ed. Albrecht CLASSEN, (Fundamentals of medieval and early modern culture 4) Berlin, 2009, pp. 481-504, especially pp. 481-486.

<sup>64</sup> KAEPPPELI, Dominicana Barcinonensia, (as n. 38); Josep BAUCCELLS I REIG, Documentación franciscana en el Archivo Capitular de Barcelona: Los franciscanos de la diócesis de Barcelona en los siglos XIII y XIV, in: *Archivo Iberoamericano* 40 (1980), pp. 339-381; Jill R. WEBSTER: Dos siglos de franciscanismo en Cataluña: el convento de San Francisco de Barcelona durante los siglos XIII y XIV, in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 41 (1981), pp. 223-256; Anna Maria GINÉ TORRES, El convent de Sant Francesc de Barcelona: Reconstrucció hipotètica, in: *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 9 (1988), pp. 221-241; S. GUALTIERI, Die Dominikanerkirche Santa Catalina in Barcelona. Aspekte zur Entstehungsgeschichte, in: *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl-Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen*, ed. Christian Freigang / Cristina STIGLMAYR, (Ars Iberica 4) Madrid, 1999, pp. 119-142; Chris SCHABEL / Garrett M. SMITH, The Franciscan Studium in Barcelona in the Early Fourteenth Century, in: *Philosophy and theology in the studia of the religious orders and at papal and royal courts*, ed. Kent EMERY, (Rencontres de philosophie médiévale 15) Turnhout, 2012, pp. 359-392. Compare for Castile the chapter on "Valladolid: A Royal Village", in: Francisco GARCÍA-SERRANO, *Preachers of the city: the expansion of the Dominican Order in Castile (1217 - 1348)*, (Iberian studies 2) New Orleans, 1997, pp. 63-67.

<sup>65</sup> ORO, Francisco de Asís en la España Medieval, (as n.25), p. 467: "Esta capitalidad del convento barcelonés..." "...for a brief period in the early fourteenth Century, roughly corresponding to the middle of the reign of Pope John XXII, the Franciscan convent of Barcelona threatened Oxford as the most important Studium generale of the Order after Paris." – SCHABEL / SMITH, The Franciscan Studium in Barcelona, (as n. 64), p. 359.

<sup>66</sup> *Raymundiana seu documenta quae pertinent ad S. Raymundi de Pennaforti vitam et scripta Raimundus de Pennaforte*, ed. Franciscus BALMES / Ceslan PABAN, 2 vols, Rome, 1898-

the famous Dominican friar Ramón Martí, who also spent several decades just a stone's throw away from the royal palace.<sup>67</sup> One does not need a complex theoretical framework or explicit references to the so-called "spatial turn" in order to grasp the relation between intellectual interaction and spatial proximity. What is particularly relevant to the subject of this article is the role such courtly mendicants as Ramón de Penyafort played in processes of inter-religious transfer.

### 3. The Arago-Catalan Court as a hub of inter-religious contact

The Iberian Peninsula in general and the Crown of Aragon in particular are often seen as centres of inter-religious exchange in the Middle Ages, a phenomenon inextricably connected to the term *convivencia*, the cohabitation of Jews, Muslims and Christians in medieval Iberia. There is no need here to enter the academic debate whether this term is ultimately an apologetic one geared at implying a greater degree of exchange or even tolerance than medieval Iberia actually harboured, or if the Iberian Peninsula effectively did show a higher level of inter-religious contact than any other region in what one might term Latin Europe. Perhaps one can agree that while intercultural communication was undoubtedly more intense in the Iberian kingdoms than elsewhere, the term *convivencia* might well be substituted by the more appropriate *conveniencia*, as convenience lay at the heart of cohabitation, not recognition or even tolerance.<sup>68</sup>

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1901; Ferran VALLS TABERNER, *Diplomatari de Sant Ramon de Penyafort*, in: *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 5 (1929), pp. 249-304 with a secret letter by friar Ramón to the king p. 47, num. 23 and signed documents pp. 57-58, num. 32, pp. 65-66, num. 34; ROBLES, *Escritores dominicos de la Corona de Aragón*, (as n. 28), pp. 13-57; Ferran VALLS I TABERNER, *San Ramón de Penyafort*, (Nueva colección Labor 181) Barcelona, 1979, pp. 124-131; *Diplomatari de Sant Ramon de Penyafort*, ed. Ferran VALLS TABERNER, Malaga, 1991; *Magister Raimundus: atti del Convegno per il IV Centenario della Canonizzazione di San Raimondo de Penyafort (1601 - 2001)*, ed. Carlo LONGO, (Dissertationes historicae 28) Rome, 2002; Xavier BASTIDA I CANAL, *Les missions i la llibertat de la fe en sant Ramon de Penyafort*, in: *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 81 (2008), pp. 19-80; John Victor TOLAN, *Raymond of Penyafort*, in: *Christian Muslim relations: a bibliographical history 4: (1200 - 1350)*, ed. David THOMAS / Alex MALLETT, (History of Christian-Muslim relations 17) Leiden, 2012, pp. 253-258.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Ignatius BURNS, Martí, Ramón, in: *Medieval Iberia. An encyclopedia*, ed. Edmund Michael GERLI, New York, 2003, pp. 546, cf. the references in note 142.

<sup>68</sup> *Orientalismo, exotismo y traducción*, ed. Gonzalo FERNÁNDEZ PARRILLA / Manuel C FERIA GARCÍA, (Escuela de traductores de Toledo 8) Cuenca, 2000; *Models in medieval Iberian literature and their modern reflections: 'convivencia' as structural, cultural and sexual ideal*, ed. Judy B MCINNIS, Newark, 2002; María Rosa MENOCA, *The ornament of the world: how Muslims, Jews, and Christians created a culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, Boston, 2002; Brian A. CATLOS, ¿"Conflicto de civilizaciones" o "convivencia"?: identidad religiosa y realidad política en la Península Ibérica, in: *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles*

When dealing with these forms of interreligious contact, medieval Mediterranean courts stand out as particularly relevant examples for thickened nodes of relations, as they united several types of cultural brokers on an administrative level. A survey of the royal registers produces such wide an array of activities on the part of Jewish subjects that the time under consideration in this article has come to be termed the “Golden age of Aragonese Jewry”, a period that slowly came to an end during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when the attitude of secular and ecclesiastic powers towards religious minorities considerably hardened.<sup>69</sup> Before that, however, Jewish officials can be identified in several positions. Most of these specialists acted as “manifest”, that is intentional brokers between Christendom and Islam: Interpreters (*alfaquims* or *torcimanyes*) and specially trained scribes – the “writers of Arab letters”, i.e. *escriptors de lletres àrabs* – were firmly installed as officials at court in order to smooth communication with the Muslim world<sup>70</sup>: Bahiel Alcostantini, Salomó Alcostantini and Astruc Bonsenyor under James I<sup>71</sup>, Samuel Abenmenas-

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*XIII-XVI & VII Centenari de la Sentència Arbitral de Torrellas, 1304-2004: XVIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó, València 2004, 9-14 setembre*, vol. 1, ed. Rafael NARBONA VIZCAÍNO, Valencia, 2005, pp. 1717-1730; *The three rings: textual studies in the historical triologue of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Barbara ROGGEMA, (Publications of the Thomas Instituut te Utrecht N.S. 11) Dudley, Mass. 2005; David BENSOUSSAN, *L'Espagne des trois religions: grandeur et décadence de la convivencia*, Paris, 2007; Gregory John ASHWORTH / Brian J GRAHAM / J. E TUNBRIDGE, *Pluralising pasts: heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies*, London, 2007; *The intercultural dialogue between Europe and the Mediterranean - El diálogo intercultural entre Europa y el Mediterráneo*, ed. European Institute of the Mediterranean, (Quaderns de la Mediterrània 10) Barcelona, 2008; Flocel SABATÉ, *Frontera peninsular e identidad (Siglos IX-XII)*, in: *Las Cinco Villas aragonesas en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, ed. Esteban Sarasa SÁNCHEZ, Zaragoza, 2007, pp. 47-94; *Integration – Segregation – Vertreibung: Religiöse Minderheiten und Randgruppen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (6.-17. Jh.)*, ed. Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPERT, (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 7) Münster, 2011, and here Nikolas JASPERT, *Religiöse Minderheiten im Mittelmeerraum: Eine Skizze*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 15-44, especially pp. 19-21.

<sup>69</sup> Yom Tov ASSIS, *The golden age of Aragonese Jewry: community and society in the crown of Aragon, 1213 - 1327*, London, 1997. Similarly already Fritz BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. Urkunden und Regesten 1: Aragonien und Navarra*, (Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Historische Sektion 4) Berlin, 1929; Yitshak BAER, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1961/1969, especially vol.1, pp. 138-185; Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, *Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: segregació i discriminació*, (Anuario de estudios medievales. Anex 16) Barcelona, 1987, pp. 1-39.

<sup>70</sup> ASSIS, *The golden age of Aragonese Jewry*, (as n. 69), pp. 16, 229; David ROMANO VENTURA, *Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe en la Corona de Aragón (reinados de Jaime I a Jaime II)*, in: *Sefarad* 38 (1978), pp. 71-105; David ROMANO VENTURA, *Hispanojudíos traductores del árabe*, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 43 (1991/92), pp. 211-232, who claims that the *alfaquim* refers to physicians (*ibidem*, p. 73-76), notes that a reduced number of families occupied this profession and edits six pertinent documents (*ibidem*, pp. 101-106). On the analytical difference between “manifest” and “latent” brokers cf. the introduction to this volume.

<sup>71</sup> *History of the Jews in Aragon: regesta and documents 1213 - 1327*, ed. Jean RÉGNÉ / Yôh Tôv ASÍS / Adam GRUZMAN, (Hispania Judaica 1) Jerusalem, 1978, p. 144, num. 800, p. 151,



sé and Jafuda Abenmenassé under Peter the Great<sup>72</sup>, Bondavid (the son of Astruc Bonsenyor), Ibrahim ben Namias (*Abraham Abonamies*) and Vives under Alfonso the Liberal<sup>73</sup>, Ibrahim ben Namias (*Abraham Abonamies*), Sulema Anemmassé, Bahiel (II) Alcostantini, Moses ben David, Samuel Alfaquim, Jafuda Bonsenyor, employed by James II.<sup>74</sup> These linguistic experts were mostly Jews, only very seldom Muslims.<sup>75</sup> In some cases, Aragonese Jews were also sent on diplomatic missions to countries within the *dār al-Islām* due to their linguistic skills, a particularly famous case being Salomon Abenmassé, who served James II on several missions.<sup>76</sup>

In certain cases, particularly trusted Jewish members of the royal household were appointed as judges and sent to the *aljamas* as royal deputies in order to resolve problems and probably also to exert royal control.<sup>77</sup> The close ties that

num. 836; p. 176, num. 978, p. 183, num. 1010, p. 202, num. 1117; p. 307, num. 1701; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 75, num. 16 and num 20; ROMANO VENTURA, Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe, (as n. 70), pp. 79-83.

<sup>72</sup> ROMANO VENTURA, Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe, (as n. 70), pp. 83-86; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 78, num. 34.

<sup>73</sup> ROMANO VENTURA, Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe, (as n. 70), pp. 86-93; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 290, num. 1602; p. 413, num. 2354 Bonanast served infant Peter as *alfaquim*: WEBSTER, Dos siglos de franciscanismo en Cataluña, (as n. 64), p. 403, num. 2290

<sup>74</sup> Fritz BAER, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Königreich Aragonien während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, (Historische Studien 106) Berlin, 1913, p. 32; RUBÍO Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 11-12, num. 12; RUBÍO Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), pp. 22-23, num. 29; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 447, num. 2387; p. 450, num. 2406; p. 469, num. 2513, p. 471, num. 2525; ROMANO VENTURA, Judíos escribanos y trujamanes de árabe, (as n. 70), pp. 93-98; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 98, num. 123: *judo de domo nostro*; p. 111, num. 193

<sup>75</sup> But see *Mohamat alfaqui*, writer of Arabica at the court in ZARAGOZA, Trenchs ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 128, num. 293. Later, the office of the *alfaquim* and the writer of Arabic letters was abolished and Muslim *mudejars* were instructed to translate as required: TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), pp. 336-337, num. 1237 and 1240; p. 425, num. 1663 (Jewish translator).

<sup>76</sup> Juan VERNET GINÉS, Un embajador judío de Jaime II: Selomó B. Menassé, in: *Sefarad* 12 (1952), pp. 125-154; ASSIS, The golden age of Aragonese Jewry, (as n. 69), pp. 15, 18, 237; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 141, num. 782, p. 146, num. 810; p. 333, num. 1862; p. 335, num. 1870, p. 447, num. 2386; p. 469, num. 2513, p. 471, num. 2525-2526, p. 476, num. 1552; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 53; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Casa, corte y cancelleria de Pedro el Grande, (as n. 14), pp. 37-38, pp. 111-112; Yom Tov ASSIS, Jaime II y los judíos en la Corona de Aragón, in: *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval* 11 (1996), pp. 331-342, pp. 336-337; Yom Tov ASSIS, Diplomàtics jueus de la Corona catalanoaragonesa en terres musulmanes (1213-1327), in: *Tamid* 1 (1997), pp. 7-40; Roser SALICRÚ LLUCH, Más allá de la mediación de la palabra: negociación con los infieles y mediación cultural en la Baja Edad Media, in: *Negociar en la Edad Media = Négocier au Moyen Âge*, ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, (Anuario de Estudios Medievales. Anejo 61) Barcelona, 2005, pp. 409-440, p. 433; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 77, num. 30.

<sup>77</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 319-321, num. 228; pp. 362-364, num. 258; pp. 267-271, num. 261-262; pp. 633-634, num. 396 (nomination *ad quorundam familiarium et domesticorum nostrorum supplices intercessus*); pp. 723-724, num. 460.

some of these Jews maintained with the Christian authorities at times put a strain on their relations with their coreligionists: complaints about misconduct were voiced both in Aragon and in Castile.<sup>78</sup> Other Jews acted as “latent”, that is unintentional brokers, because their prime aim was not cultural brokerage as such, but rather other services based on their expert knowledge. Jewish specialists were employed at court in high administrative positions, as bailiffs, financial experts and tax collectors, until the king was obliged by his nobles and the urban elites to ban them from such offices in 1285 (a ruling not fully complied with).<sup>79</sup> One also encounters (albeit very rarely) references to Jewish mercenaries in the King's service.<sup>80</sup> More frequent are documents relating to Muslim military experts who were recruited and formed a mercenary cavalry of *genets* in the king's service.<sup>81</sup> In very rare cases we also encounter Muslim officials as civil servants at court, particularly as *manescals*, i.e. horse-doctors: *Abraham Abenxua* and his homonym served Queen Eleanor and Prince Alfonso respectively in this position in the 1360s,<sup>82</sup> *Hamet Abenxua* worked for Alfonso the Mild, *Azmet* (possibly identical with *Hamet Abenxua*) and *Faraig Azeytoni de Bellví* were *manescals* to Peter the Ceremonious.<sup>83</sup> Other Muslim officials include *Ovec(h)ar de Bellví* (son of *Faraig de Bellví*), a member of Prince John's household, and *Açac*, messenger to King Martin.<sup>84</sup> Muslim physicians, too, are mentioned.<sup>85</sup> Much more frequent, however, are refer-

<sup>78</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 117-119, num. 106; pp. 141-242, num. 181; pp. 436-444, num. 302; Isidore EPSTEIN, *Studies in the communal life of the Jews of Spain: as reflected in the Responsa of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth and Rabbi Simon ben Zemach Duran*, New York, 1925 (ND 1968), pp. 29-32; ASSIS, The golden age of Aragonese Jewry, (as n. 69), pp. 270-273, pp. 288-296; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 56; ASSIS, Jaime II y los judíos, (as n. 76), p. 337; Alexandra CUFFEL, Ibn Sahula's Meshal ha-Qadmoni as restorative polemic, in: *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3 (2011), pp. 165-186.

<sup>79</sup> BAER, Studien zur Geschichte der Juden, (as n. 74), pp. 31-33, 174-182; BAER, A History of the Jews (as n. 69), pp. 162-171; Régné / Asís / Gruzman, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), passim; David ROMANO VENTURA, Los funcionarios judíos de Pedro el Grande de Aragón, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 33 (1969/70), pp. 5-41; ASSIS, Jaime II y los judíos, (as n. 76), pp. 334-337.

<sup>80</sup> Elena LOURIE, A Jewish mercenary in the service of the King of Aragon, in: *Revue des études juives* 137 (1978), pp. 367-373.

<sup>81</sup> John BOSWELL, *The royal treasure: Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the 14<sup>th</sup> century*, New Haven, 1977, pp. 171-193; Josep PELLICER BRU, El sou dels genets moros i aragonesos en documents dels segles XIII-XIV (Dues valoracions de dobles en sous), in: *Gaceta numismática* 111 (1993), pp. 71-74; Hussein Anwar FANCY, *Mercenary logic: Muslim soldiers in the service of the Crown of Aragon, 1265-1309*, unpubl. Dissertation, Princeton, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), p. 43. The names of Aragonese Muslim are generally given in the way they appear in the (Christian) documentation and are therefore not transliterated, but rendered in italics.

<sup>83</sup> FERRER I MALLOL, Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa, (as n. 71), pp. 25, 31, 48.

<sup>84</sup> BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), pp. 43-44; FERRER I MALLOL, Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa, (as n. 69), pp. 161, 292, num. 83.

<sup>85</sup> BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), p. 59: “recipimus te, Abdarramen Mahameti, sarra-cenum chirurgicum, in familiarem nostrum”.

ences to Jewish physicians who were employed in spite of papal prohibitions<sup>86</sup>: Jusef Almeredi and Joan Jacob were doctors to James I,<sup>87</sup> David of Palermo and Samuel Abenmenassé served Peter the Great<sup>88</sup>, Bondavid Bonsenyor and Jafuda Bonsenyor, Omar Abnarranhel (Abnacannhel) from Valencia, Bafiel Constantí, Rabbi Salomon from Zaragoza, Abraham des Castlars, Losal Dous from Valencia, En Abraffim and En Juceff from Huesca can be identified as doctors at the court of James II<sup>89</sup>; Azaria Abenjacob, Jussuf Almeli and Moses Alatzar Avinardut worked for prince Alfonso (later King Alfonso the Mild) and prince Peter.<sup>90</sup> Peter the Ceremonious was particularly fond of Jewish physicians who he employed as a prince and later as king – they included specialists such as Jucef Baron from Zaragoza, Jucef Abenafia, Jucef Abenardut, Aron Cohen, Junez Trigo, Salomon Bonfill from Perelada, Jafuda dez Cortal, Isaak Mayr, Bendit and Salomon Caravida, Mosse Cabrit, Bonsenyor Azday, Jucef Almujuciel from Lleida, Abraham des Castlars, Magister Alatzar, Menahem, Cresques Elies and Cresques Malet.<sup>91</sup> Some of these court officials were rewarded for their service by being named the king's, queen's or prince's *familiar*, thus entering the inner circle of those subjects personally tied to the royal house.<sup>92</sup> Until the reign of Alfonso the Mild Jewish *familiars* were altogether rare (only three names are recorded in the pertinent study by Hans Schadek), but under Peter the Ceremonious their number rose

<sup>86</sup> Joaquim MIRET Y SANS, Les médecins juifs de Pierre IV roi d'Aragon, in: *Revue des études juives* 57 (1909), pp. 268-278; ASSIS, The golden age of Aragonese Jewry, (as n. 69), pp. 15-16; Michael R. MCVAUGH, *Medicine before the plague: practitioners and their patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*, (Cambridge history of medicine) Cambridge, 1993, pp. 4-35, pp. 53-64.

<sup>87</sup> MIRET Y SANS, Les médecins juifs, (as n. 86), p. 268; BAER, A History of the Jews, (as n. 69), pp. 139-140.

<sup>88</sup> RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 181, num. 1009, p. 202, num. 1117; ASSIS, Jaime II y los judíos, (as n. 76), p. 337.

<sup>89</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 247-248, num. 186; BAER, Studien zur Geschichte der Juden, (as n. 74), p. 32; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 522, num. 2813, p. 530, num. 2869; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 104, num. 25; ASSIS, Jaime II y los judíos, (as n. 76), p. 337. MCVAUGH, Medicine before the plague, (as n. 86), pp. 10-12, 17, 22, 51.

<sup>90</sup> MIRET Y SANS, Les médecins juifs, (as n. 86), p. 275; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 600-601, num. 3264, 3274; p. 607, num. 3310; p. 627, num. 3433; MCVAUGH, Medicine before the plague, (as n. 86), pp. 31, 51.

<sup>91</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 277-278, num. 204; 304-305, num. 219; p. 310, num. 224; pp. 319-321, num. 228; pp. 332-333, num. 239; pp. 359, num. 254; pp. 362-364, num. 258; pp. 267-271, num. 261-262; pp. 571-572, num. 374; pp. 578-580, num. 380; MIRET Y SANS, Les médecins juifs, (as n. 86), pp. 269, 271, 274, 276; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 111, num. 117: *fisici domus nostre*; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 54-55, 107, num. 58, 115, num. 377, 117, num. 472, 124, num. 746, p. 140, num. 566; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 219, num. 751.

<sup>92</sup> On Jewish doctors as *familiars* see SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 54-55, on Muslims see BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), p. 59.

to 33, and under his successor John to 42 individuals.<sup>93</sup> Most of these Jewish familiars were doctors, seven of whom are explicitly termed *familiaris at domesticus noster*.<sup>94</sup>

What do the court ceremonials and the almoner's register mentioned at the beginning of the paper tell us about Jews or Muslims? Not much at first glance, but once again the contemporary illustrations are telling: the miniature of the doctors at court clearly shows a non-Christian specialist holding a flask.<sup>95</sup> And the almoner's register not only records a payment to *Bafumet* – “a Moor who had saved a brother of the Order of Saint George”<sup>96</sup>, but also names close to 20 Jewish converts to Christianity, some of whom had chosen the King himself as their godfather.<sup>97</sup> These and other sources also help identify Jews and Muslims at court on lower administrative levels. Household accounts, for example, provide us with the names and social practices of Muslim slaves and servants, craftsmen and artists of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, men like the jugglers *Zahat Mascum* and *Ali Eziqua*<sup>98</sup>, the master builder *Faraig Delbabar*<sup>99</sup>, carpenters like Mohamat from Toledo<sup>100</sup> or the paper-makers *Mohamet Abdulaziz* and *Ali al-Roig* from Xàtiva.<sup>101</sup>

Even more abundant are references to Jewish craftsmen at court: Specialists like Jucef ben Pelug, royal silversmith to James II<sup>102</sup>, or Mahalux Alcocui, his and his predecessors' court juggler<sup>103</sup>, Isaac Calot, a master fencer who ac-

<sup>93</sup> SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 53, pp. 103-146.

<sup>94</sup> Losal Dous (1327), Salomon Bonfill (1348), Jafuda dez Cortal (1370), Aron Cohen (1373), Isaak Mayr (1383), Cresques Malet (1394), Bonsenyor Adzay (1399) – SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 104, num. 25, p. 107, num. 58, p. 115, num. 377, p. 117, num. 472, p. 124, num. 746, p. 140, num. 566, p. 141, num. 13.

<sup>95</sup> Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cod. Lat. 9169, fol. 25v. Cf. JAUME, Leyes Palatinas, (as n. 6), pp. 93-94, 151-152 (*de medicis, de chirurgicis*).

<sup>96</sup> ALTISENT, L'Almoïna Reial a la cort de Pere el Cerimoniós, (as n. 16), p. 149 (20<sup>th</sup> November 1382) – probably a member of the religious military order of San Jordi d'Alfama.

<sup>97</sup> ALTISENT, L'Almoïna Reial a la cort de Pere el Cerimoniós, (as n. 16), pp. 8, 17, 21, 43, 66, 88, 117-118, 121, 128, 144, 146, 178, 211, 223, 230, 253, 348. On conversions of Muslims to Christianity see FERRER I MALLOL, Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa, (as n. 69), pp. 66-76.

<sup>98</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 116-117, num. 100.

<sup>99</sup> “Sarracenus Cesarauguste, magister operarum Aljaffarie nostre”: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 248-249, num. 254.

<sup>100</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 375-376, num. 391.

<sup>101</sup> TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 316, num. 1150. Additional urban sources help in tracing the activities of these Christians, Jews and Muslims once they left the courts proper and became active within medieval towns. See also the master-builder Jucef Abenvives and his son Vives, employed in the construction of the palace in Valencia: RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), pp. 153-154, num. 850. Cf. BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), p. 43.

<sup>102</sup> TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 162, num. 481.

<sup>103</sup> RÉGNÉ/ASÍS/GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 508, num. 2732, p. 512, num. 2757. Cf. David ROMANO VENTURA, Mahalux Alcoquí, extraño juglar judío de los Reyes de Aragón (1273-1301), in: *Sefarad* 44 (1984), pp. 183-210. Mahalux is termed *dilectus judeus noster* by Peter the Great in 1273 (ibidem, p. 203, num. 1). See also a reference to prince John's Jewish juggler (1369), “Bonafas Aven mayor judeum civitatis Cerarauguste

accompanied Peter the Ceremonious on his expedition to Majorca in 1343<sup>104</sup> and Moses Jacob from Perpignan, who was ordered to Barcelona to repair the king's clocks<sup>105</sup>; Isaac Nafuç fabricated astrolabes and clocks for the king<sup>106</sup>, became a member of the king's household<sup>107</sup> and later served at the court of Prince John (the future King John I) as an astrologer together with Jucef Abenardut and Cresques de Viver<sup>108</sup>; King Peter and King John are recorded as having purchased astrolabes from him and from Moses Jacob<sup>109</sup>, parchments from Jacob Samuel<sup>110</sup>, a golden *paternoster* from the Jewish silversmith Marcó<sup>111</sup>, maps from Jehuda and Abraham Cresques<sup>112</sup> and books from Mahir Salomon and Samuel Samson.<sup>113</sup> Several manuscripts, amongst them a volume

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[...] te in jocularorem seu mimum recipimus" – David ROMANO VENTURA, Mims, joglars i ministres jueus a la Corona d'Aragó (1352-1400), in: *Studia in honorem Prof[essor] M. de Riquer 3*, ed. Carlos ALVAR, Barcelona, 1991, pp. 133-150, especially p. 142, num. 4.

<sup>104</sup> TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 213, num. 724. Reference to "Bellshoms Caracoa, iudeus, magister esgrime" (1374) and to a Jewish master fencer in 1389: SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 118, num. 524; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 146, note 1.

<sup>105</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 84, num. 85.

<sup>106</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), 128-129, num. 129; similarly Nathan del Barri: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 143, num. 143, p. 172, num. 181; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 109, num. 144.

<sup>107</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 144, num. 144: "Issaco Nafuci judeo Majoricarum nunc domestico nostro, magistro seu artific stelaborum" (1362), who was proposed as Rabbi of the *aljama* of Mallorca by the King (ibidem), but ultimately remained at court: ibidem and p. 149-150, num. 149, 251, num. 268.

<sup>108</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 274, num. 295; p. 293, num. 319: "Isach Nafusi, juheu de casa nostra"; Crescas de Vivier, "iudeus stologus domus nostre" – SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 137, num. 447; Amada LÓPEZ DE MENESES, Crescas de Viviers, astrólogo de Juan I el Cazador, in: *Sefarad* 14 (1954), pp. 99-115, pp. 265-293; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 429, num. 1682-1683. Peter also commissioned Isaac Nafuç to write a book on astrology – ibidem, p. 435, num. 1711; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 293, num. 319.

<sup>109</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 287, num. 312; p. 293, num. 319; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 79, num. 79 (payments for repairs carried out on astrolabes and clocks); TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 225, num. 774, p. 335, num. 1234, 352, num. 1314. Concessions to Isaac Nafuç: TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 580, num. 2376.

<sup>110</sup> TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 532, num. 2148-2149.

<sup>111</sup> TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 306, num. 1102: "Marchó, jueu, argenter de la ciutat de Valencia [...] li manà donar en acorriment de uns paternosters d'or".

<sup>112</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), pp. 345-346, num. 387; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 253, num. 260; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 58-59.

<sup>113</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 176, num. 188; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 334, num. 1232, p. 555, num. 2258. See the reference to "Astruchum Agon, judeum Cesarauguste, sabaterium nostrum (Prince John's) and to Issacus (sic) de Mecina, judeus, argenterius domus nostre": BAER, Die

of the famous court ceremonial (the *Ordinacions*), were bound by Jewish book-binders.<sup>114</sup> Queen Eleonor employed two Jewish *perlerii* (masters of pearls) and four Jewish silversmiths as well as Jewish physicians,<sup>115</sup> and members of the House of Barcelona, both kings and queens, retained Jewish musicians in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>116</sup> Certain of these craftsmen and musicians were declared as the respective king's *familiar*.<sup>117</sup> One should not forget minor officials like Jewish servants<sup>118</sup> such as Açac Arret, the keeper of the royal lion at the palace of Saragossa in 1325, or other "members of our house" whose obligations are not further specified in the documents.<sup>119</sup> Arguably, the artefacts that Jewish and Muslim craftsmen produced can be understood as objectives of brokerage, as actants of cultural exchange. These objects will probably have been marked to some degree by their creators; in these cases, Muslims and Jews indeed acted as cultural brokers at Mediterranean courts. Apart from these permanent members of the royal administration and short-term employees, temporary visitors at court should be mentioned: Muslim ambassadors<sup>120</sup> and most importantly: delegations of the Muslim (*mu-déjar*, Catalan: *sarraïns*) and Jewish communities from Aragon, Valencia and

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Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), p.433, num. 299; pp. 446-447, num. 306 (King Peter's).

<sup>114</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 124-125, num. 125; p. 172, num. 182: "Abram de Carcasona, juheu, ligador de llibres"; p. 174, num. 185: "Mahir Salomo, jueu ligador de llibres"; TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 335, num. 1236: "Vives Abnayub, jueu, ligador de llibres"; p. 519, num. 20895: "Bonjuheu Avinlacen, juheu, ligador de llibres"; p. 590, num. 2431.

<sup>115</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp.339-340, num. 246.

<sup>116</sup> ROMANO VENTURA, David, Mims, joglars i ministres, (as n. 103): Yohanan Baruch, minstrel to Sibil·la de Fortià (Peter the Ceremonious' wife): p. 143-144, num. 7 (1382); "Samuel juheu ministre de corda, de casa de dita Senyora" (queen Violant de Bar, John I's wife, 1384-1390): p. 144-146, num. 8-12; Sasson Salamó, minstrel to John I and Martin I: p. 147, num. 14-16, 18 (1391-1400).

<sup>117</sup> SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 50-61; The famous Jewish map-makers Abraham and Jehuda Cresques were Peter the Ceremonious' *familiars*: TRENCHS ÒDNA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 368, num. 1389; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 255, num. 262, SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), p. 132, num. 255-256, as were Nathan del Barri (*Natzan del Barri*) from Perpignan and Isaac Nafuç: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 143, num. 143; p. 172, num. 181; SCHADEK, Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige, (as n. 14), pp. 59-60, p. 109, num. 144, 110, num. 169; the juggler Bonafós Aven Mayor and the minstrel Abraham Mayor – VENTURA, Mims, joglars i ministres, (as n. 103), p. 142, num. 4; 148, num. 17.

<sup>118</sup> For example, RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 617, num. 3373.

<sup>119</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 480-481, num. 324 ("pro negociis curie nostre necessarium habeamus"); pp. 500, num. 338 ("Mosse Enoch, juheu de casa nostra"); other professions remain unclear: BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, (as n. 69), pp. 360, num. 255 ("mestre de tendes"); pp. 393-395, num. 279 ("judei Cesarauguste, domus nostre cerdonis"); pp. 714-715, num. 454. RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 613, num. 3349 (lion's warden).

<sup>120</sup> JASPERT, Interreligiöse Diplomatie im Mittelmeerraum, (as n. 3), pp. 164-174, 186-189.

Catalonia which pleaded their causes before the King's Court. The royal registers are full of major and minor cases brought forward by these representatives, and their numbers grew as the communities came under mounting pressure from Christian institutions and individuals.<sup>121</sup> These spokesmen, too, were cultural brokers between the culturally differing spheres of foreign courts or minority aljamas on the one hand and the Aragono-Catalan court on the other.

Undoubtedly then, Medieval Catalan courts during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were centres of interreligious contact, they were points of confluence, nodes where not only different stakeholders, but also varying subcultures came together. For despite contemporary interest in multiculturally entangled societies, the sources indeed suggest that Aragonese and Catalan Jews, Muslims and Christians formed clearly distinct cultures which themselves can be further subdivided. At the same time, however, these cultures overlapped, met and communicated to a much higher degree than normative texts and regulations envisaged and the sources' "ideology of silence"<sup>122</sup> might have us believe. To what extent were Jewish or Muslim court officials, specialists or craftsmen primarily perceived as members of a distinct religious community at all? Was their professional skill or expertise the trait that defined them, together with (or even more so than) their religious beliefs? It is not easy to appreciate the varying degrees of rejection and communication that simultaneously will have marked everyday life in the shared space of the Arago-Catalan court. What is even more difficult to grasp are the interreligious dynamics that evolved at such a point of intercultural confluence. Did courts effectively function as accelerators of religious transfer, and what role did mendicants play in such processes? Was the philo-mendicant Arago-Catalan court an interreligious hub?

#### 4. Intercultural mendicant polemics in the Crown of Aragon

With regard to the relations between friars and non-Christian communities or individuals, five fields of mendicant action can be marked out: preaching, language studies, disputations, theoretical treatises and polemic writing. All five

<sup>121</sup> BOSWELL, The royal treasure, (as n. 81), pp. 324-369; Régné / Asís / Gruzman, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71); FERRER I MALLOL, Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa, (as n. 69), especially the documentary appendix on pp. 213-376; José HINOJOSA MONTALVO, Mudejaren im Königreich Aragón: Integration und Segregation, in: *Integration – Segregation – Vertreibung: Religiöse Minderheiten und Randgruppen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (6.-17. Jh.)*, ed. Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPERT, (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 8) Münster, 2011, pp. 293-336; Flocel SABATÉ, Die Juden in der Krone Aragón: Der Zusammenbruch der Koexistenz, in: *ibidem*, pp. 301-336.

<sup>122</sup> Charles J. HALPERIN, The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious Frontier, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quarterly* 26 (1984), pp. 442-466.

are well attested in the Crown of Aragon, as a succinct overview might illustrate. It is well known that anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish preaching was a feature of Dominican and Franciscan friars in many European countries<sup>123</sup>, and the Crown of Aragon was no exception.<sup>124</sup> The Royal registers contain a number of references to mendicants preaching in synagogues and mosques or before Jews and Muslims.<sup>125</sup> In certain other cases, mendicants moved from words to deeds, as an entry from 1331 shows, according to which two Franciscans in Borja tried to baptise a local Jewish boy, which led to street violence on the part of the local community.<sup>126</sup> Preaching before Jews and Muslims was also reflected on a theoretical level by mendicants. On the Franciscan side, one must of course mention the most famous Catalan scholar of the Middle Ages, Ramón Llull, who not only wrote *Liber predicationis contra iudeos*<sup>127</sup>, but also applied to King James II for a license to preach before non-Christians in 1299, arguably learnt Arabic and is reported to having effectively delivered sermons before Jews and Muslims.<sup>128</sup> More active still were the Dominicans, much to the detriment of the Muslim (*mudéjar*, Catalan: *sarraïns*) and Jewish communities in the Crown of Aragon. As pertinent studies by Jeremy Cohen, Mark Meyerson, Jaume Riera and David Nirenberg have shown, public sermons held by mendicants lay behind a hardening of Latin Christians' attitudes vis-à-vis religious minorities and also behind several pogroms since the end of

<sup>123</sup> Jeremy COHEN, *The friars and the Jews: The evolution of medieval anti-Judaism*, Ithaca etc., 1982; David L. D'AVRAY, *The preaching of the friars: sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*, Oxford, 1985; Roberto RUSCONI, La predicazione minoritica in Europa, in: *Francesco il francescanesimo e la cultura della nuova Europa*, ed. Ignazio BALDELLI / Angiola Maria ROMANINI, (Acta encyclopaedica 4) Rome, 1986, pp. 141-165; Robert CHAZAN, *Daggers of faith: thirteenth-century Christian missionizing and Jewish response*, Berkeley, Calif. 1989; Michael HOHLSTEIN, *Soziale Ausgrenzung im Medium der Predigt: der franziskanische Antijudaismus im spätmittelalterlichen Italien*, (Norm und Struktur 35) Köln, 2012.

<sup>124</sup> There is to date no monograph on Mendicant preaching in Aragon comparable to the recent study on the Franciscans in Italy: HOHLSTEIN, *Soziale Ausgrenzung im Medium der Predigt*, (as n. 123), (centred on the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>125</sup> In general on sermons held by Christians before Jews: HOHLSTEIN, *Soziale Ausgrenzung im Medium der Predigt*, (as n. 123), pp. 53-67.

<sup>126</sup> BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, (as n. 69), pp. 264-265, num. 195.

<sup>127</sup> El '*liber predicationis contra judeos*' de Ramón Llull, ed. José María MILLÁS VALLICROSA, Barcelona 1957; Raimundus LULLUS, *De praedicatione contra iudeos et saracenos*, in: *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* 22, ed. Alois MADRE / Friedrich STEGMÜLLER, (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 114) Turnhout, 1998, pp. 14-78.

<sup>128</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 1, (as n. 21), pp. 131-14, num. 14; Rudolf BRUMMER, Ramon Llull und das Studium des Arabischen, in: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 85 (1969), pp. 132-143; Rudolf BRUMMER, Una qüestió debatuda: Ramón Llull va escriure llibres en àrab? in: *Miscel·lània A.M. Badia Margarit*, Montserrat, 1985, pp. 55-69; Jaume RIERA SANS, Les llicències reials per predicar als jueus i als sarraïns (segles XIII-XIV), in: *Calls* 2 (1987), pp. 113-143, 119-120, 128-129. See also his plan to translate the reports of his experiences debating with Muslims: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 1, (as n. 21), pp. 65-66, num. 58-59.



the 14<sup>th</sup> century; Dominican preachers in particular such as Vincent Ferrer played an important role in proselytizing activities in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>129</sup>

Turning to the second field of activity, the *studia linguarum* were an activity propagated by both major mendicant orders. The Dominican Order founded language schools in Barcelona, Valencia and Xàtiva, probably at the instigation of Ramón de Penyafort<sup>130</sup>; and the order's proselytising activities in North Africa and further afield are well attested.<sup>131</sup> Minorites were much less active in this field, the exception being the famous Franciscan convent of Miramar on Majorca established by the Franciscan tertiary Ramón Llull and dedicated

<sup>129</sup> COHEN, The friars and the Jews, (as n. 123); Jaume RIERA SANS, Literatura antijueva en català: textos i difusió, in: *Estudi General (Girona)* 9 (1989), pp. 215-236; Jaume RIERA SANS, Judíos y conversos en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XV, in: *La expulsión de los judíos de España: conferencias pronunciadas en el Curso de Cultura Hispano-Judia y Sefardi de la Universidad de Castilla, La Mancha*, ed. Ricardo IZQUIERDO BENITO, Toledo, 1993, pp. 71-90; David NIRENBERG, *Communities of violence. Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ, 1996; Francisco A. ROCA TRAVER, Sant Vicent Ferrer i Valencia: la qüestió dels jueus, in: *Revista de filologia valenciana* 7 (2000), pp. 69-120; *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval and early modern Spain: interaction and cultural change*, ed. Mark D. MEYERSON / Edward D. ENGLISH, (Notre Dame conferences in medieval studies 8) Notre Dame, Ind. 2000. On the academic debate triggered by Jeremy Cohen's ideas see HOHLSTEIN, Soziale Ausgrenzung im Medium der Predig, (as n. 123), 6 with note 14.

<sup>130</sup> Berthold ALTANER: Die fremdsprachliche Ausbildung der Dominikanermissionare während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, in: *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1933), pp. 233-241; Angel CORTABARRÍA BEITIA, San Ramón de Penyafort y las escuelas dominicanas de lenguas, in: *Escritos del vedat* 7 (1977), pp. 125-154; Justo FORMENTÍN, Funcionamiento pedagógico y proyección cultural de los estudios de árabe y de hebreo promovidos por San Ramón de Penyafort, in: *Escritos del vedat* 7 (1977), pp. 155-175; VALLS I TABERNER, San Ramón de Penyafort, (as n. 66), pp. 173-183; John TOLAN, Porter la bonne parole auprès de Babel. Les problèmes linguistiques chez les missionnaires mendiants, XIIIe-XIVe siècle, in: *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten. Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Peter VON MOOS, (Gesellschaft und Individuelle Kommunikation in der Vormoderne 1), Wien, 2008, pp. 533-548. Ramón de Penyafort's importance is challenged by Robin J. E. VOSE, The limits of Dominican mission in the Western Mediterranean, in: *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden. Die Iberische Halbinsel im Kontext kultureller, religiöser und politischer Veränderungen zwischen dem 11. und 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexander FIDORA / Matthias TISCHLER, Frankfurt/Main, 2011, pp. 469-487, pp. 475-479.

<sup>131</sup> Berthold ALTANER, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts: Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters*, (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 3) Halberschwerdt, 1924; Benjamin Z. KEDAR, *Crusade and mission: european approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton, NJ, 1984; Jean RICHARD, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Âge: (XIIIe - XVe siècles)*, 2nd ed., (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 33) Rome, 1998; Anne MÜLLER, *Bettelmönche in islamischer Fremde: institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen franziskanischer und dominikanischer Mission in muslimischen Räumen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, (Vita regularis 15) Münster, 2002; Thomas ERTL, Mission im späten Mittelalter. Kontinuitäten und Neuansätze zwischen Spanien und China, in: *Im Zeichen des Kreuzes. Mission, Macht und Kulturtransfer seit dem Mittelalter*, ed. Bernd HAUSBERGER, (Expansion – Interaktion – Akkulturation, Band 7) Wien, 2004, pp. 51-78; VOSE, The limits of Dominican mission in the Western Mediterranean, (as n. 130).

to the same end; and even in this case, the duration of the teaching activities appears to have been quite limited.<sup>132</sup> Though evidence for organised Hebrew and Arabic Studies in these centres is therefore in fact scant and should not be overestimated<sup>133</sup>, it does exist and therefore demonstrates an interest in the linguistic foundations of different religions on the part of some friars.

A particularly prominent area of action was interreligious disputations, our third field. Two public debates masterminded by Dominican Friars and celebrated in the Crown of Aragon stand out: the Barcelona Disputation of 1263<sup>134</sup> and the Disputation of Tortosa of 1413.<sup>135</sup> They were both celebrated in a decidedly public setting before a large audience made up of various social ranks: barons, prelates, regular clergy, knights, judges, councillors, burghers and poor inhabitants of the town. Both disputations were held with representatives of Jewish communities in order to refute supposed errors of Judaism and to prove the assumption that the latter had effectively been superseded by Christianity. To these well-known cases of Jewish-Christian disputations one might add nearly forgotten Christian-Muslim debates like that Mohammad al-Qaysi held in 1309 with an anonymous “monk” well versed in Islamic lore – possibly a mendicant – before King James II in Lleida.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> ALTANER, Die fremdsprachliche Ausbildung der Dominikanermissionare während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, (as n. 130), p. 122; BRUMMER, Ramon Llull und das Studium des Arabischen, (as n. 128); Ramón Lourido DÍAZ, El estudio de la lengua árabe entre los franciscanos de Marruecos (siglos XIII-XVIII), in: *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 60 (2000), pp. 3-34.

<sup>133</sup> A point underlined by VOSE, The limits of Dominican mission, (as n. 130).

<sup>134</sup> DENIFLE, Heinrich: Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani zu Barcelona 1263, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887), pp. 225-244; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 36-40, num. 207; Hyam MACCOBY, *Judaism on trial: Jewish-Christian disputations in the Middle Ages*, Rutherford, [N.J.], 1982, pp. 102-150; Hans-Georg VON MUTIUS, *Die christlich-jüdische Zwangsdisputation zu Barcelona: nach dem hebräischen Protokoll des Moses Nachmanides*, (Judentum und Umwelt 5) Frankfurt/Main, 1982; Josep PERARNAU ESPELT, Sobre el protocol hebreu de la "Disputa de Barcelona" del 1263, in: *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 7/8 (1989), pp. 272-275; Robert CHAZAN, *Barcelona and beyond: the disputation of 1263 and its aftermath*, Oxford, 1992; Hanne TRAUTNER-KROMANN, *Shield and sword: Jewish polemics against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain from 1100 – 1500*, (Texts and studies in medieval and early modern Judaism 8) Tübingen, 1993, pp. 123-133; Alfonso TOSTADO MARTÍN, *La disputa de Barcelona de 1263: controversia Judeocristiana*, (Fuentes documentales 4) Salamanca, 2009, with editions of all relevant documents on pp. 121-191, 293-304, 387-500; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), pp. 147-156.

<sup>135</sup> Martin DE ALPARTIL, *Chronica actitatorum temporibus Benedicti XIII*, ed. Franz EHRLE, (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 12) Paderborn, 1906, pp. 580-602; Antonio PACIOS, *La disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1957; TRAUTNER-KROMANN, *Shield and sword*, (as n. 134), pp. 162-168; Gemma ESCRIBÀ / Raquel IBÁÑEZ-SPERBER / Yom Tov ASSIS, *The Tortosa disputation: regesta of documents from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Fernando I, 1412 – 1416*, (Sources for the history of the Jews in Spain 6) Jerusalem, 1998.

<sup>136</sup> Pieter S. VAN KONINGSVELD / Gerart A. WIEGERS, The polemical works of Muhammad al-Qaysi (fl. 1309) and their circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century, in: *Al-Qantara* 15 (1994), pp. 163-199, especially pp. 179-183

Fourth, theoretical treatises: The Catalan Dominican, royal counsellor and confessor Ramón de Penyafort addressed the relations between Muslims, Jews and Christians in his *Responsiones ad dubitalia circa communicationem christianorum cum sarracenis* and in the first book of his *Summa de Poenitentia*. In the first text, written in 1235<sup>137</sup>, the Dominican answered a set of questions put to Pope Gregory IX by Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis, who were worried about some practical issues which the presence of Latin merchants in Muslim countries posed. Closer to the subject of this paper are Ramón's thoughts in the chapter titled "on Jews, Saracens and their slaves" in the *Summa de Poenitentia* (around 1234).<sup>138</sup> According to him, Christians should refrain from eating or living with Jews or Muslims. The author expressly contradicts other opinions, according to which the stance towards Muslims should be more lenient than that towards Jews, because "the sarracens of today act just like Jews".<sup>139</sup> Nor should Christians employ Jewish doctors or allow Muslims or Jews to hold public offices. The text stands in stark contrast to the realities at the Aragonese court as described in this article and can be interpreted as a striking example of the dichotomy between normative texts or doctrinal beliefs and social reality, as in fact physical segregation was generally not postulated by the monarchs during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>140</sup> More importantly, both works were written prior to Ramón's return to the Aragonese court.<sup>141</sup>

And finally, polemical writing geared at refuting Judaism and Islam were mostly the work of learned Dominicans or Franciscans, the most influential of these writings being the Dagger of Faith, the *Pugio Fidei*, written around 1280 by the Catalan friar Ramón Martí, also author of the *Capistrum Judaeorum* (The Harness of the Jews) and of two anti-Islamic works (*De seta Mahometi* and the *Explanatio symboli apostolorum*).<sup>142</sup> It is no coincidence that according

<sup>137</sup> S. Raimundus de Pennafort: *Summa de matrimonio*, ed. OCHOA, Javier / DIEZ, Aloisio (Universa bibliotheca iuris 1,1), Roma 1978, col. 1023-1036; BASTIDA I CANAL, Les missions i la llibertat, (as n. 66), num. 2, pp. 42-56; Tolan, John V., Taking Gratian to Africa: Raymond de Penyafort's legal advice to the Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis, in: A faithful sea: the religious cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200 - 1700, ed. Adnan Ahmed HUSAIN / Katherine Elizabeth FLEMING, Oxford 2007, pp. 47-63; TOLAN, Raymond Of Penyafort, (as n. 66), pp. 256-257.

<sup>138</sup> Raimundus de Pennaforti: *Summa de poenitentia*, ed. Javier OCHOA / Aloisius DIEZ, (Universa bibliotheca iuris 1,2) Rome, 1976, col. 308-317; BASTIDA I CANAL, Les missions i la llibertat, (as n. 66), num. 3, pp. 56-79.

<sup>139</sup> "... sicut christianus non debet cum iudaeo facere supradicta, ita nec cum sarracenis, quia et sarraceni hodie iudaizant" (Raimundus de Pennaforti, *Summa de poenitentia*, (as n. 138), p. 310).

<sup>140</sup> BAER, Studien zur Geschichte der Juden, (as n. 74), pp. 30-31.

<sup>141</sup> VOSE, The limits of Dominican mission in the Western Mediterranean, (as n. 130), pp. 474-475.

<sup>142</sup> ROBLES, *Escritores dominicos de la Corona de Aragón*, (as n. 28), pp. 69-75; Raymundi Martini *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*, ed. Johann Benedict CARPZOV, Leipzig, 1687 (reed. 1967); CHAZAN, Daggers of faith, (as n. 123), pp. 115-136; Anthony BONNER, L'apologètica de Ramon Martí i Ramon Llull davant de l'Islam i del judaisme, in: *Estudi general (Girona)* 9 (1989), pp. 171-185; Hans JANSEN, *Raymond Martinis manuscript 'Pugio*

to a late catalogue, the library of the Dominican convent in Barcelona had a section of its own titled *adversos gentiles et superstitiosos*.<sup>143</sup> Other works were less aggressive in tone but ultimately also polemical. Ramón Llull, for example, produced seven works which can be termed religious dialogues as they narrated debates on questions of religion between members of different creeds. Furthermore, in chapter 187 of his *Llibre de Contemplació* he provides a theory on how to conduct such a religious disputation (*art d'esputació de fe*).<sup>144</sup> As we have seen, Ramón Llull was not only a theoretician, but is believed to have conducted such disputations himself, because within his vast oeuvre, there are several references to his having actively debated with Muslims and Jews.<sup>145</sup> Religious controversies between mendicants and members of different faith communities were thus carried out both as face-to-face encounters and in written form.

### 5. Debates, learning and transfer at court

What role did the court play in all this? In all five instances in which the mendicants openly confronted other religions in the Crown of Aragon, the role of the court or at least of the monarch is worth underlining. Mendicants preached before Jews and Muslims with the explicit permission or even by order of the

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*Fidei' ('dolk vant' geloof') infecteert West en Ost: een receptie-geschiedenis van middeleeuwse literatuur over joden*, Kampen, 1990; Eusebi COLOMER, La controversia islamo-judeo-cristiana en la obra apologética de Ramon Martí, in: *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la península ibérica*, ed. H. SANTIAGO-OTERO, (SIEPM, Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale 3) Turnhout, 1994, pp. 229-257; Adolfo ROBLES SIERRA, *Raimundi Martini Capistrum Iudaeorum*, 2 vols., (Corpus Islamo-Christianum. Series Latina 3) Würzburg, 1990-1993.

<sup>143</sup> VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews (as n. 25), pp. 118-121, who however rightfully stresses the exceptional nature of the Barcelonese case.

<sup>144</sup> Berthold ALTANER, Glaubenszwang und Glaubensfreiheit in der Missionstheorie des Raimundus Lullus, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 48 (1928), pp. 586-610; Eusebio COLOMER, Ramón Llull y Ramón Martí, in: *Estudios lulianos* 28 (1988), pp. 1-37; Marcel SALLERAS CAROLÁ, L'"art d'esputació de fe" en el Llibre de contemplació en Déu, in: *Estudi general* 9 (1989), pp. 187-197; Charles LOHR / Walter Andreas EULER / Theodor PINDL, *Raimundus Lullus: zum Dialog der Religionen im Mittelalter*, (Akademie-Vorträge / Katholische Akademie Schwerte 40) Schwerte, 1995; Walter EULER, Die Apologetik der christlichen Glaubenslehren bei Ramón Lull und Ramón Sibiuda, in: *Constantes y fragmentos del pensamiento luliano. Simposio sobre Ramon Llull*, ed. Fernando DOMÍNGUEZ / Jaime DE SALAS, (Beihefte Iberoromania 12) Tübingen, 1996, pp. 147-160; Roger FRIEDLEIN, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull: Literarische Gestaltung als apologetische Strategie*, (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 318) Tübingen, 2004; Hans DAIBER, Raimundus Lullus in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam. Eine philosophiegeschichtliche Analyse des "Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saraceni", in: *Juden, Christen und Muslime: Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter*, ed. Matthias LUTZ-BACHMANN / Alexander FIDORA, Darmstadt, 2004, pp. 136-172.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. note 128.

King, as the entries in the Royal registers show. The start was made by James I with an order issued in 1243 obliging Jews and Muslims to attend sermons given by archbishops, bishops, Dominicans or Franciscans<sup>146</sup>, and some of James' successors reiterated this command.<sup>147</sup> Apart from collective licenses allowing mendicants to preach, the kings also extended individual licenses to converts, usually to converted Jews<sup>148</sup>, in some rare cases also to converted Muslims.<sup>149</sup> Such private preachers were generally laymen, and complaints to the King indicate how obnoxious their activities were to the Jewish communities.<sup>150</sup> The registers regularly bear witness to the monarchs' commitment to restraining the friars and moderating their religious fervour (and that of the Christian populace)<sup>151</sup>, and several Aragonese kings took a firm stand against

<sup>146</sup> "Volumus eciam et statuimus quod quandocumque archiepiscopus, episcopi vel fratres predicatorum aut minores accesserint ad villas vel loca ubi sarraceni vel judei moram fecerint et verbum Dei dictis judeis vel sarracenis proponere voluerint, ipsi ad convocacionem eorum perveniant et pacienter audiant predicacionem eorum; et officiales nostri, si gratis venire noluerint, eos ad hoc omni excusacione postposita compellant", Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña 1, ed. Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 1896, pp. 217-219; Shelomoh SIMONSON, *The Apostolic see and the Jews* [1]: Documents: 492 – 1404, (Studies and texts / Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 94) Toronto, Ont. 1991, p. 183, num. 173; similarly in 1263: RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, (as n. 71), p. 40, num. 209. Also in 1311: *ibidem*, p. 543, num. 2934.

<sup>147</sup> Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña 1, (as n. 146), pp. 216-230; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, (as n. 71), p. 42, num. 217, p. 135, num. 746; p. 488, 2624, p. 495, num. 2670, p. 543, num. 2934.

<sup>148</sup> RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 2, (as n. 21), p. 59-60, num. 63; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, (as n. 71), p. 529, num. 2862; RIERA SANS, *Les llicències reials per predicar*, (as n. 128), pp. 132-137, num. 2-5; pp. 138-140, num. 7-8, pp. 141-143, num. 10; TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria*, (as n. 21), p. 191, num. 639; p. 221, num. 757; p. 322, num. 1177. Also see the licence issued in 1358 to a Jew allowing him to preach to coreligionists "super premissis per dictos prophetas et libros legis veteris exponere et dicere et ostendere veritatem, et contra eos et quemlibet eorum obicere et arguere libere et impune", RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 1, (as n. 21), p. 186, num. 185; similarly RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 2, (as n. 21), p. 294, num. 303.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. the safe-conduct issued on behalf of "fidelem nostrum Jacobum Petri, qui per sacre regenerationis baptismum de sarracenorum secta ad fidem nostram catholicam est conversus, [...] cum rebus et bonis suis possit libere per terram nostram ire et fidem Christi sarracenis et judeis cum sibi oportunitate fuerit predicare", by James II: RIERA SANS, *Les llicències reials per predicar*, (as n. 128), p. 132, num. 1 (1308).

<sup>150</sup> But see the licence for Pere d'Escó, OFM, to preach in the synagogue of Cervera, and for master Romeu de Pal: TRENCHS ÒDENA, *Documents de cancelleria*, (as n. 21), p. 221, num. 757; RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 1, (as n. 21), p. 129-130, num. 119. See the complaint against converts preaching "... que negun convers en la illa de Mallorques, encara que fahes saig, no gos entrar en call ne alberch de juheu per aturar o conversar ab juheus o juhies...", BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, (as n. 69), pp. 539-540, num. 356.

<sup>151</sup> BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, (as n. 69), pp. 130-1341, num. 117; pp. 152-154, num. 138; pp. 324-328, num. 230-232; pp. 333-334, num. 240; pp. 523-524, num. 347; pp. 653-702, num. 404-448 (pogroms of 1391); RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 2, (as n. 21), pp. 9-11, num. 12; RUBÍO Y LLUCH, *Documents per l'història de la cultura* 2, (as n. 21), pp. 81-82, num. 82; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*,

the ecclesiastical inquisition on behalf of the Jews or punished pogroms and other atrocities committed against them.<sup>152</sup> But this dedication was evidence of the fact that the king considered the Jews of his realm to be his property, which he felt obliged to defend against intruders. Assaults against Jews were an attack on (and sometimes a form of criticism of) the King.<sup>153</sup> Thus, despite occasional royal commitment in defence of Jews and Muslim *mudéjares* / *sarrains*, proselytism in Aragon was clearly fostered by the court. The Jewish and Muslim communities were well aware of this, as their complaints to the king show.<sup>154</sup>

Our second field of mendicant action, religious disputations, was also closely tied to the monarch and the courts. The disputation of Barcelona was held at the palace of King James I of Aragon by order of the King himself. Here indeed we can grasp the close relationship between a King who relied heavily on Dominican confessors, the Royal Palace and its entourage, the Convent of St. Catherine that was close to the centre of political power, and singular mendicant theologians. Ramón de Penyafort, who probably participated in the disputation, was a personal confessor to King James I, and the King himself later charged a committee formed by Franciscans and Dominicans – most of who were directly connected to him – with the censorship of Hebrew books.<sup>155</sup> A

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(as n. 71), pp. 69-71, num. 386, 392-295, 400; p. 131, num 723, p. 133, num. 731-736, pp. 135-136, num. 746-748, p. 488, num. 2624; RIERA SANS, *Les llicències reials per predicar*, (as n. 128), pp. 119-121, 124, 137-138, num. 6; pp. 140-141, num. 9.

<sup>152</sup> BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, (as n. 69), pp. 148-149, num. 133; pp. 348-359, num. 253; pp. 475-478, num. 322; pp. 649-650, num. 404; Mark D. MEYERSON, *Defending their Jewish Subjects: Elionor of Sicily, Maria de Luna, and the Jews of Morvedre*, in: *Queenship and political power in medieval and early modern Spain*, ed. Theresa EAREN-FIGHT, Aldershot, 2005, pp. 53-75; Benjamin SCHELLER, *Die Bettelorden und die Juden. Mission, Inquisition und Konversion im Südwesteuropa des 13. Jahrhunderts: ein Vergleich*, in: *Gestiftete Zukunft im mittelalterlichen Europa. Festschrift für Michael Borgolte zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang HUSCHNER / Frank REXROTH, München, 2008, pp. 89-122, especially pp. 111-112.

<sup>153</sup> This point has been underlined by NIRENBERG, *Communities of violence. Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages*, (as n. 129), pp. 69-124; David NIRENBERG, *Warum der König die Juden beschützen mußte, und warum er sie verfolgen mußte: um 1300*, in: *Die Macht des Königs: Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Bernhard JUSSEN, München, 2005, pp. 225-240, especially pp. 231-234; David NIRENBERG, *Le dilemme du souverain: génocide et justice à Valence, 1391*, in: *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui: pouvoir d'État, opinion publique, justice: mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Nicolas OFFENS-TADT / Olivier MATTEONI, Paris, 2010, pp. 496-508.

<sup>154</sup> BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, (as n. 69), pp. 175-176, num. 151; pp. 535-342, num. 356; REGNE / ASIS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, (as n. 71), p. 488, num. 2624, p. 492, num. 2650, p. 495, num. 2862; ASSIS, *The golden age of Aragonese Jewry*, (as n. 69), pp. 49-58, pp. 169-171; RIERA SANS, *Les llicències reials per predicar*, (as n. 128), pp. 124-125.

<sup>155</sup> Robert CHAZAN, *From Friar Paul to Friar Raymond: the development of innovative missionizing arguments*, in: *The Harvard theological review* 76 (1983), pp. 289-306; Heinrich DENIFLE, *Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani zu Barcelona 1263*, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887), pp. 225-244, pp. 170-173; REGNE / ASIS / GRUZMAN, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, (as n. 71), p. 41, num. 215-216, p. 47, num. 249; VALLS TABER-

similar constellation lay behind the second famous disputation held within the Crown of Aragon, that of Tortosa in 1413. In this case, the court was apostolic and not royal, but King Fernando of Aragon was closely involved in the preparation and staging of this public spectacle, masterminded by the influential Dominican Vincent Ferrer, who had been confessor to Queen Violant.<sup>156</sup>

As for polemical writings, Ramón Martí, the author of *Pugio fidei*, can also be traced to James I of Aragon, and he too spent some years of his life in close proximity to the Royal Court in Barcelona.<sup>157</sup> Finally turning to the *studia linguarum*, they were also directly fostered by the Arago-Catalan monarchs. According to the *Vita S. Raymundi*, the first Dominican school dedicated to the study of Arabic was founded with financial support of the Kings of Castile and Aragon.<sup>158</sup> Ramón Llull was a page at the court of James I before he entered the Franciscan order as a tertiary, and he remained close to several Mediterranean courts throughout his life. It is no coincidence that his foundation of a Franciscan convent dedicated to language studies at Miramar was made possible by a royal land donation.<sup>159</sup>

A particularly striking example of the interface between mendicant learning, brokerage and political power is presented by a series of documents from 1381.<sup>160</sup> They inform us about King Peter the Ceremonious' interest in obtaining a Catalan translation of the *Qur'ān* from a Latin version kept at the Franciscan monastery in Majorca: The king ordered his procurator on the island to pick up the volume from the local Minorite Guardian, have it translated and the manuscript sent to his court; he also guaranteed that all expenses would be paid for.<sup>161</sup> The request of 1381 is a particularly striking case of courtly trans-

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NER, San Ramón, (as n. 66), pp. 118-131; VALLS TABERNER, Diplomatar, (as n. 66), pp. 52-54, num. 28-29; TOSTADO MARTIN, La disputa de Barcelona de 1263, (as n. 134), pp. 490-493, num. 4-7; VOSE, The limits of Dominican mission in the Western Mediterranean, (as n. 130), pp. 477-478.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. n. 38 and 129.

<sup>157</sup> ROBLES SIERRA, Fray Ramon Marti, (as n. 162), pp. 34-42; Heinz SCHRECKENBERG, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches Umfeld: (13.-20. Jh.)*, (Europäische Hochschulschriften 497) Frankfurt/Main, 1994, pp. 290-307.

<sup>158</sup> BALMES / PABAN, Raymundiana seu documenta, (as n. 66), pp. 19-37, especially p. 32.

<sup>159</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 4-5, num. 2.

<sup>160</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), pp. 296, num. 323, pp. 305-306, num. 334; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 261, num. 269; Berthold ALTANER, Zur Geschichte der anti-islamischen Polemik während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936), pp. 227-233, p. 232; Mikel DE EPALZA, Antecedentes islamocristianos concretos de la traducción del Corán al Catalán, in: *Ilu. Revista de ciencias de las religiones* 8 (2003), pp. 213-224, especially p. 213, where he supposes that the translation was based on the Toledan Latin version of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>161</sup> "En Ferrer Gilabert: nos sabents que l Alcora dels moros es en lo monestir dels ffreres Menors d aquexa ciutat, volem haver copia d aquell, reduit de llati en romans, e sobre aço scrivim per nostra letra, dada ut infra, al gordia que l vos liure encontinent per fer ne trer la dita copia. manam vos que aquell demanets, e haiats e que l façats copiar be e de bona letra, e en romans, e trametets nos la dita copia com sera feta e ben corregida, e l original restituïts tan-

lation activities: For we are informed that a Minorite from Majorca, Ponç Sacloia, was paid 56 golden *regales* and presented the translated codex to the king in Valencia<sup>162</sup>, and some months later, the translator was rewarded for his work by the king's request to have him accepted as a brother in the convent of Barcelona.<sup>163</sup> Even though the manuscript is no longer extant, we have here the earliest, though generally overlooked, reference to a translation of the Qur'ān into the vernacular!<sup>164</sup> Prior to this initiative, Aragonese kings had already asked for Arabic or Hebrew books to be sent to court<sup>165</sup>, and translations of Hebrew and Arabic texts too had been commissioned before: James II ordered Vidal Benvenist de Porta to translate "libros medicinales de arabico in romana lingua" in 1296 and charged Jafuda Bonsenyor with a translation of a further medical treatise "de arabico in romancio" in 1313.<sup>166</sup> Arnau de Vilanova, the physician King James most esteemed, is known to have translated three Arabic works<sup>167</sup>, and Peter the Ceremonious had commissioned translations from

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tost al dit guardia. e aço no mudets ne tardets per nenguna rao. e ab aquesta matexa manam a nostre maestre racional que tot ço que apperara vos haver despes en fer fer e a nos trametra la dita copia, vos reebe en compte, no contrestants negunes ordinacions o provisions ne altres coses a aço contraries e tota excepcio remoguda, com nos de certa sciencia haïam provehit ab la present e vullam que axi s' faça", RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 296, num. 323.

<sup>162</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), pp. 305-306, num. 334 (with information on the presentation to the king in footnote 1).

<sup>163</sup> "Com nos per los serveys que el religios e amat nostre frare Francesch Ponç ça Clota, del orde vostre, nos ha fets axi en arromançar l' Alcora com en altra manera, vullam e tingam molt a cor que el dit fra Francesch haia l' ofici de biblich en lo vostre monastir de Barchinona, pregam vos e manam que el dit offici de biblich per honor nostra donets al sobre dit frare Francesch, car certificam vos que aço sera cosa de que ns farets asenyalat servey e no res menys n'aurem en son cas e loch lo vostre monastir pus recomanat. Dada en Valencia, sots nostre segell secret, a x dies d' octubre de l' any mcccclxxxii", RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 261, num. 269. In 1384.

<sup>164</sup> Hartmut BOBZIN, Translations of the Qur'an, in: *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an* 5 (2006), pp. 340-358; Matthias TISCHLER, Die Iberische Halbinsel als christlich-muslimischer Begegnungsraum im Spiegel von Transfer- und Transformationsprozessen des 12.-15. Jahrhunderts, in: *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 20 (2011), pp. 117-155, p. 132; Consuelo LÓPEZ-MORILLAS, Spanish Translations of the Qur'an, in: *Frühe Koranübersetzungen: europäische und außereuropäische Fallstudien*, ed. Reinhold GLEI, (Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 88) Trier, 2012, pp. 99-116, particularly telling p. 100: The very first translation of the Qur'ān into a modern European language was made by a prominent Mudejar religious figure, 'Isā of Segovia, in 1456.

<sup>165</sup> Helene WIERUSZOWSKI, Quelques documents concernant la culture catalane au temps du roi Pierre le Grand, in: *Estudis universitaris catalans* 18 (1933), pp. 175-181, num. 6; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 76, num. 26; p. 564, num. 2297: "nos vullam la Bíblia entiga que és en hebràich". In 1398 the Franciscan guardian of Lleida sent a Hebrew book "appellat Rabi Moyses de Egipte" to King Martin; queen Mary had asked friar Berenguer des Guanechs for it: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 404, num. 454.

<sup>166</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l'història de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 9, num. 11; p. 22, num. 29; McVAUGH, Medicine before the plague, (as n. 86), pp. 49-50, probably the *nisbah* by Abū 'I-Qasim al-Zahrāwī.

<sup>167</sup> McVAUGH, Medicine before the plague, (as n. 86), p. 50.



Arabic to Catalan previous to the order of 1381.<sup>168</sup> The Aragonese kings also possessed several Latin and Catalan versions of Arabic astronomical works by ‘Alī ibn Abī l-Rijāl (Haly Abenragel)<sup>169</sup> and Al Farghānī<sup>170</sup> as well as a bilingual (Arabic-Catalan) treatise on how to use an astrolabe.<sup>171</sup> Just two years after the translation of the Qur‘ān, King Peter is known to have commissioned a translation of juridical works by Maimonides.<sup>172</sup> In 1384, we are informed that the Dominican Jaume Domenech from the convent in Perpignan had left an unfinished “obra [...] de l Alcora dels moros” upon his death, which the king had confiscated.<sup>173</sup> We cannot tell if King Peter required these texts for practical and political purposes or if the reason for his request lay elsewhere. For example, King James II had confiscated various Hebrew books from Jews in 1326 and then passed them on to a Franciscan friar (Ramón de Miedes) in order to investigate them for heretical contents.<sup>174</sup> But the documents provide proof that the court of the Crown of Aragon must be considered a hitherto underestimated centre of late medieval translation and transfer; they also show that such processes of cultural transfer at court were indeed facilitated by the mendicants. Therefore, despite the comparatively small number of mendicant convents in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, friars exerted a considerable influence upon intercultural relations precisely because of their close contact with the Royal milieu.

<sup>168</sup> Translations of a not identified Arabic book commissioned in 1349: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), pp. 142-143, num. 137: “Com nos aquell libre vostre sarrainesch, lo qual maestre Salamo ha ja començat d’aromançar en en nostra lengua, vulam de tot en tot haver en nostre romanç, per ço us pregam quell dit libre prestets al dit maestre Salamo, per tal que l puga acabar e trametre a nos aquell que haura aromançat”. Similarly in 1352, ibidem, p. 163, num. 162 (referring to another translated book that had been lost): “Entes havem que vos havets i. libre tralladat de sarraynes en cathala, semblant de l libre sarreynes que n Jacme Roig nos feya tralladar, lo qual se perde. Per ço volem e us manam que l dit libre nos trametats encontinent car nos os farem satisfer so que costara. e aço no mudets ne tardets”. On the lost “libre sarraynes trelladat de moresch en romanç cathala”, see ibidem, p. 164, num. 163.

<sup>169</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 190, num. 191 (1359), p. 246, num. 258 (1373), p. 320, num. 353.

<sup>170</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura. 1, (as n. 21), p. 287, num. 312, pp. 293-294, num. 320; RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 230, num. 245.

<sup>171</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 200, num. 203 (1362). References to works by Avicenna I the royal library: RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p.13, num. 15 and p.15, num. 19, p. 20, num. 26, pp. 111-112, num. 117.

<sup>172</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 309, num. 338; TRENCHS ÒDENA, Documents de cancelleria, (as n. 21), p. 507, num. 2037 (order to the aljamas of Girona and Perpignan to translate juridical works by Maimonides); pp. 580-581, num. 2377-2378, 2380, 2385, 2387; p. 587, num. 2417-2418 (on books by Maimonides kept in Montblanch), cf. Jaume RIERA I SANS: Un procés inquisitorial contra jueus de Montblanc per un llibre de Maimonides, in: *Aplec de treballs* 8 (1987), pp. 59-73.

<sup>173</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 1, (as n. 21), p. 322, num. 356-357.

<sup>174</sup> RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, Documents per l’historia de la cultura 2, (as n. 21), p. 50, num. 52.

Assessing the effect that such religious polemic exerted upon interreligious contact – the output of this hub – depends very much on what we understand by the term contact. If we take it as an expression of peaceful social interaction, then mendicants at court in the medieval Crown of Aragon clearly had a detrimental effect. In fact, separating different religious communities that they deemed too closely interrelated was the friars' prime interest, clearly tantamount to the aim of evangelising, as Robin Vose has convincingly demonstrated in his recent study on Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon.<sup>175</sup> Mendicants undoubtedly played a prominent part in the growing repression and persecution that marks the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were instrumental in drawing boundaries between religions. If however the term contact is also understood as approaching other religious traditions on an intellectual level, then the activities of mendicants at court led to an intensification of this particular form of interfaith relations. Both in Tortosa and in Barcelona, the desire to segregate religious communities with the help of rational arguments or sermons could only be successful if the Christian representatives acquired a certain degree of knowledge of Jewish or Islamic lore and thus acted as translators in a wider sense of the term: They transferred knowledge from one system to the other and therefor truly acted as cultural brokers. Mendicants at court or close to the court were therefore pre-eminent in studying the foundations of different religious beliefs. Their participation in disputations and their writings are only two aspects of their attempts to comprehend the foundations of other religious traditions. The same dichotomy between intellectual interest and polemical or proselytising aims, between "reason and faith"<sup>176</sup> lay at the heart of the language schools established within the Iberian Kingdoms in order to learn Arabic and thus effectively proselytise Muslims. The pressure exerted by the mendicants and those who they influenced in turn raised legal questions for the affected minorities, as pertinent *responsa* show.<sup>177</sup> It also fired Jewish anti-Christian polemics and led Jewish Aragonese scholars to reflect on the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, the most famous cases being the writings of Salomon ben (Abra-

<sup>175</sup> VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25).

<sup>176</sup> Harvey J. HAMES, Reason and Faith: Inter-religious Polemic and Christian Identity in the Thirteenth Century, in: *Religious apologetics - philosophical argumentation*, ed. Yossef SCHWARTZ / Volkhard KRECH, (Religion in philosophy and theology 10) Tübingen 2004, pp. 267-284.

<sup>177</sup> EPSTEIN, Studies in the communal life, (as n. 78), pp. 2-5; *Rechtsentscheide von Moses Nachmanides aus Gerona*, ed. Hans-Georg VON MUTIUS, 3 vols., (Judentum und Umwelt 7577) Frankfurt/Main, 2003-2004, vol. 1, pp. 9-16 (on the validity of kings' rulings); vol. II, pp. 36-45 (on the validity of non-Jewish documents); vol. 3, pp. 18-21, 45-47 (on taxes due to the king); Meritxell BLASCO ORELLANA, *Aljamas hebraicorromances en los responsa de Rabi Yisshaq bar Seset Perfet (Ryba's) de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 2005; Jonathan RAY, *The Sephardic frontier: the "reconquista" and the Jewish community in medieval Iberia*, (Conjunction of religion and power in the medieval past) Ithaca, N.Y., 2006, pp. 4-5. Cf. the project of a Global Jewish Database (the Responsa Project): <http://www.responsa.co.il/home.en-US.aspx>.

ham ibn) Adret of Barcelona and Shem Tov ibn Shaprut of Tudela.<sup>178</sup> This in itself needs to be understood as a form of brokerage / translation.

On no account should one ignore that the main base for the friars' brokerage and for their interest in other languages and religions was the ideal of a unified and ordered Christian society untouched by the influence of other religions. The objective of Ramón de Penyafort and other mendicants with a knowledge of Judaism and Islam was not "oecumenic dialogue", as one sometimes reads.<sup>179</sup> Notions of purity and pollution such as the fear of supposed religious "contamination" were the ultimate impulses behind their endeavours, to a lesser degree also the aim of proselytising and thus expanding Christendom. Such very clearly set objectives and the cold rationality with which they were pursued is precisely why the economic term "brokerage" seems to be an appropriate expression when analysing the gain these mendicants hoped to achieve by their actions. Cultural brokerage should not be understood as comprising solely activities aimed at enabling tolerance or understanding of the other; it also includes the generation of knowledge for morally less laudable reasons such as the drawing or reinforcement of religious boundaries. Even when choosing between violent or non-violent forms of interreligious contact, convenience led the way, for the decision to employ knowledge as a weapon in inter-faith relations came at a time when severe Christian defeats at the hand of the Muslims in the near East left no doubt that for Christendom, complete military victory over Islamic powers was at best very far off. But such a rationale does not diminish the importance of courtly mendicants for the generation and the transfer of interreligious knowledge in the Late Middle Ages of Latin Christian Europe, particularly in the Medieval Crown of Aragon.

Mendicants were without a doubt the most influential religious experts at the court of the Crown of Aragon. They were instrumental in bringing about a deterioration of interreligious cohabitation through their activities in towns and at court. And they provided leading figures for interreligious disputations and polemics organised under the auspices of the rulers. But mendicants were also the religious experts who made the greatest effort in order to grasp the beliefs of Jews and Muslims by ways of reason, and they were the main transla-

<sup>178</sup> Joseph R. PERLES, *Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth: sein Leben und seine Schriften nebst handschriftlichen Beilagen*, Breslau, 1863; Yitshak BAER, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1961/1969; William HORBURY, The revision of Shem Tob ibn Shaprut's "Eben Bohan", in: *Sefarad* 43 (1983), pp. 221-237; CHAZAN, Daggers of faith, (as n. 123), pp. 137-158; TRAUTNER-KROMANN, Shield and sword, (as n. 134), pp. 132-138, 151-155; VAN KONINGSVELD / WIEGERS, The polemical works of Muhammad al-Qaysi, (as n. 136); Esther BENAÏM-OUAKNINE, "Eben bohan" ou l'émergence d'un nouvel espace discursive, in: *Sefarad* 54 (1994), pp. 31-40; Harvey J. HAMES, It takes three to tango: Ramon Llull, Solomon ibn Adret and Alfonso of Valladolid debate the Trinity, in: *Medieval encounters* 15 (2009), pp. 199-224, especially p. 206-214. On the possible impact of the Franciscan convent on the thought of Hasdai Cresques see SCHABEL / SMITH, The Franciscan Studium in Barcelona, (as n. 64), p. 360.

<sup>179</sup> BASTIDA I CANAL, Les missions i la llibertat, (as n. 66), p. 9.

tors of this knowledge to other circles of Christian medieval society, small as these ultimately were. It may be no coincidence that the most famous Catalan renegade to Islam was a learned Franciscan friar, Anselm Turmeda – or ‘Abd-Allāh at-Tarjumān.<sup>180</sup> And it is equally telling that he chose to write an anti-Christian polemic after his conversion to Islam, the “Present of the wise to refute the Believers of the Cross” (*Tuhfat al-Arīb fī al-Radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb*), thus adapting a truly mendicant genre to Islamic purposes. This broker’s very biography and cultural background strongly affected his work.

Glaring cases of interreligious polemic and coercion such as represented by Vincent Ferrer tend to distort our perspective on a more general level. As Robin Vose has recently underlined, the Dominicans who engaged in disputations with and refutations of different religions were in a sense very exceptional figures. The vast majority of Aragonese mendicants spent their time dealing with fellow Christians, not with Jews and Muslims, and the same holds true for their activities at court, where they – just as the Muslims and Jews at court – represented a minority in comparison with other societal groups and were only seldom officially concerned with interreligious topics.<sup>181</sup> Mendicants such as Ramón Martí who experienced transcultural encounters and crossed religious borders – be it in order to proselytise, be it out of intellectual curiosity – ultimately belonged to a comparatively insignificant and small group of linguistic experts, their writings were at best selectively integrated into those areas of Europe far removed from the borders between Islam and Christianity. In the frontier areas of interreligious contact, however, transcultural encounters were not limited to the field of learning alone.

When it comes to concrete dealings between individual Muslims, Jews and Christians, a close scrutiny of lesser known friars and their activities shows that in social practice, pragmatism often prevailed over doctrinal beliefs on a day to day level. Without apparent reservations, mendicants witnessed contracts between Christians and Jews and received tributes from Jewish *aljamas* such as that of the town of Majorca or of Xàtiva.<sup>182</sup> In very exceptional cases, individual mendicants were potential allies of persecuted Jews<sup>183</sup>, and as Larry

<sup>180</sup> Eufemià FORT COGUL, *Dos apòstates dels segles XIV i XV: Turmeda i Marginet*, (Episodis de la història 146) Barcelona, 1971; Fray Anselm TURMEDA (‘Abd-Allāh at-Tarjumān) y su polémica islamo-cristiana: edición, traducción y estudio de la Tuhfa, ed. Mikel DE EPALZA, (Libros Hiperión 152) Madrid, 1994 (2. ed); Robert BEIER, *Anselm Turmeda: eine Studie zur interkulturellen Literatur*, (Abhandlungen zur Sprache und Literatur 93) Bonn, 1996.

<sup>181</sup> The 42 mendicants *familiars* of the Arago-Catalan kings account for only 2.9 per cent of all *familiars* identified from 1320-1399: SCHADEK, *Die Familiaren der aragonesischen Könige*, (as n. 14), pp. 103-146. A random survey of Barcelonese Franciscan documentation gives an adequate idea of the typical every day dealings of an urban convent: Josep BAUCCELLS I REIG, *Documentación franciscana en el Archivo Capítular de Barcelona: Los franciscanos de la diócesis de Barcelona en los siglos XIII y XIV*, in: *Archivo Iberoamericano* 40 (1980), pp. 339-381.

<sup>182</sup> VOSE, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, (as n. 25), pp. 80, 255.

<sup>183</sup> VOSE, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews*, (as n. 25), pp. 1-5.

Simon has shown for the case of Majorca and other sources corroborate, contact between mendicants, Jews and Muslims was in no way limited to the intellectual sphere, but also pertained to the very mundane issues of urban and rural life in the Late Middle Ages: In some, albeit rarely documented instances, mendicants employed Jews as teachers of Hebrew, Jewish landholders paid rents to mendicants, friars borrowed money from Jews, and in some cases Friars held *mudéjares* / *sarraïns* as slaves or employed Muslim craftsmen, whilst Jewish doctors were paid to heal ailing brethren.<sup>184</sup> In some towns, the Jewish quarter (the *call*) and the mendicants' convent lay side by side; this is the case of the Dominicans in Barcelona, whose first house was directly adjacent to the *call*.<sup>185</sup> Everyday contacts must have been a matter of course. Only a comprehensive study of mendicant activities – both at court and in Christian society at large – can situate the dynamics of religion in their proper setting, an indispensable prerequisite for judging the scope and impact of religious transfers. The Crown of Aragon is a particularly telling case in point for this more general dichotomy: its rich documentation enables us to sense the inherent tension between dogma and pragma, between intellectual history and social history, between text and context.

<sup>184</sup> BAER, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien (as n. 69), pp. 157, num. 141 (Hebrewteacher); Yôṃ Tôv ASÍS, *Jewish economy in the medieval crown of Aragon, 1213 - 1327: money and power*, (Brill's series in Jewish studies 18) Leiden, 1997; RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 495, num. 2669 (Yom Tob teacher of Hebrew at the Dominican convent in Xàtiva), p. 511, num. 2750 (Jewish doctor at convent OFM in Valencia); Larry J. SIMON, Intimate enemies: mendicant-Jewish interaction in thirteenth-century Mediterranean Spain, in: *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Steven J. MACMICHAEL, Leiden, 2004, pp. 53-80; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), pp. 250-257.

<sup>185</sup> RÉGNÉ / ASÍS / GRUZMAN, History of the Jews in Aragon, (as n. 71), p. 327, num. 1825 (trial due to the walls of the convent which bordered the *call*); David ROMANO VENTURA, La aljama de judíos de Barcelona en el siglo XIV, in: *De Sefarad. Los judíos de la Corona de Aragón en los siglos XIV-XV*, ed. Angelina GARCÍA, Valencia, 1989, pp. 43-54; BASTIDA I CANAL, Les missions i la llibertat, (as n. 66), pp. 2-3; VOSE, Dominicans, Muslims and Jews, (as n. 25), p. 251.