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Infra menia urbis: the shaping of the Jewish quarter of Barcelona

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Introduction

In recent decades, it has gradually come to be recognised that, prior to the late thirteenth century, the Jewish community in medieval Barcelona was less restricted and segregated than hitherto supposed.¹ Previously, the more numerous and more detailed sources of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had tended to encourage a view that saw earlier periods through the prism of the less permeable situation recorded in the last a hundred and twenty years of the Jewish quarter's existence. On the basis of documentary sources, mainly conserved in the Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona, this study aims to demonstrate that, in terms of physical space, the Jewish quarter was in several respects less differentiated from and more closely connected with neighbouring Christian districts than often supposed.²

Before the *Call* (fig. 1)

There is no doubt as regards the general location of the *Call*; furthermore, it is generally accepted that this area had long been the district where Jewish inhabitants resided. However, the first reference to a *callis iudaicus* (that is, a

¹ Well summarised in Josep BAUCELLS I REIG, *Vivir en la edad media: Barcelona y su entorno en los siglos XIII y XIV (1200-1344)*, Barcelona: CSIC, 2005: vol. II, pp. 1709-1733.

² For the later period, Anna RICH ABAD, *La Comunitat jueva de Barcelona entre 1348 i 1391 a través de la documentació notarial*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1999; Francesc CABALLÉ and Eloi CASTELLS, *L'estructura urbana del Call de Barcelona: una aproximació*, Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015; and Xavier PONS CASACUBERTA, *La societat jueva conversa en la Barcelona baixmedieval, 1391-1440*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2021. As regards the thirteenth century, Elka KLEIN, *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006. Jordi FERNÁNDEZ-CUADRENCH has published "El crèdit jueu a la Barcelona del segle XIII", *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història*, 13 (2007), pp. 157-196, and is studying the properties owned by Jews in thirteenth-century Barcelona. We thank Anna Rich and Francesc Caballé for their help and advice with this paper.

narrow Jewish street, not yet a neighbourhood) is recorded in 1082.³ Both prior to this date and subsequently, a number of Jewish residents and property-owners can be traced elsewhere in the old walled city and the suburban areas that started to develop in the later tenth century; here particular attention will be paid to their property inside the late Roman walls at the heart of the medieval city.

There are only two tenth-century references to Jewish properties in the walled area, difficult to locate, but both adjoining Christian properties.⁴ Moving into the eleventh century, a document of the year 1023 refers to a large 'hort' or vegetable garden located not far from the church of Sant Miquel, and previously owned by the Jew called Isaac, son of Gento, who had recently been baptised (fig. 1, 1023).⁵ This garden is stated to be limited to the north by the *via qui inde transit et egreditur per portam novam eiusdem civitatis*, in other words by the old Roman west-east main street that passed through the gate also known by the name of Castell Nou (fig. 1, A) and which continued eastwards towards the centre of the walled area, the street today known as carrer del Call (fig. 1, 2), which subsequently marked the southern limit of the *Call*; in other words, this property lay immediately to the south of the area later occupied by the *Call*.

Three documents of the same decade refer to the presence of Jews in a nearby area, which can be identified as having lain between the present-day streets called carrer Paradís and carrer del Bisbe. This means that the properties concerned must have adjoined the eastern side of the area later known as the *Call*. As in the case

³ Josep BAUCCELLS I REIG, Àngel FÀBREGA I GRAU, Manuel RIU I RIU, Josep HERNANDO DELGADO and Carme BATLLE I GALLART, *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona. Segle XI*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2006: vol. IV, doc. 1401, pp. 2172-2173 (a.1082) [henceforth *DACB*]. An original parchment record of the transaction is in the Archive of the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC, perg. 3519).

⁴ Ramon D'ABADAL I DE VINYALS, *Catalunya Carolíngia*, Vol. VII; Ignasi J. BAIGES I JARDÍ and Pere PUIG I USTRELL, *El comtat de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2019: part 2, doc. 580, pp. 552-553 (971): *vel in solarío iudayco qui fuit Witizani*; Wittiza would appear to be the name of a Christian, so presumably the property concerned had passed from a Christian to a Jewish owner; and part 2, doc. 1094, pp. 983-984 (990): *de circi in casaes de Vivas ebreo sive de Iacob ebreo; ... de occiduo in casaes qui fuerunt de Donegoco vel de Mauro ebreo*.

⁵ *DACB*, vol. II, doc. 368, pp. 748-750. Isaac may have accepted baptism in order to avoid a more serious punishment as he had been accused of committing adultery with a (married) Christian woman (*DACB*, vol. II, doc. 356, pp. 731-733 of the previous year).

of the 1023 document, they largely refer to horticultural plots at the very heart of the old walled city (fig. 1, 1029).⁶

Thus, even prior to the first reference to the *Call* in the sources, the majority of Jews already resided within, or in the proximity of, what are usually understood to have been its limits. In this context, one further document of the year 1078 is of interest. It refers to a plot at the foot of the Roman walls to the north, adjoining the later bishop's palace. It is described as the *orto Ysaach hebrei sive Geraldii Quadragesime intrantis* (fig. 1, 1078).⁷ The interesting point here is that there was a contrast between the Christian intra-mural landowners and their Jewish neighbours in the adjoining suburban area, a point that will be returned to below.

We should now return to the first reference to the *Call* of 1082. This charter refers to a substantial house to the west of the modern carrer del Bisbe, very close to the buildings occupied by the community of canons (the 'canonja') *intra menia urbis Barchinone, iuxta ianuam nostre prefate Canonice* (fig. 1, 1082); the document states that to the west was the yard of the late Jew Abus whereas to the north it bordered with *ipso itinere qui solebat ire ad callem iudaicum*, a street that should probably be identified as carrer del Montjuïc del Bisbe (fig. 1, 10). Two further

⁶ Arxiu del Monestir de Montserrat, Sant Benet de Bages, pergs. 1334 (1029), 1335 (1029) and 87 (1029). Joan SALVADÓ I MONTORIOL, *El monestir benedictí de Sant Benet de Bages. Fons documental: identificació, edició i estudi. Segles X-XI*, Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Lleida, 2012, vol. 3: doc. 898, pp. 1324-1326; doc. 900, pp. 1327-1329; and doc. 902, pp. 1330-1332. Discussed in Philip BANKS. "La topografia dels voltants de la catedral romànica. Continuitat i canvi" in Gerardo BOTO VARELA and Marc SUREDA I JUBANY (coords.), *La catedral romànica de Barcelona*, Girona: Documenta Universitària, 2021, pp. 73-137, at p. 109.

⁷ *DACB*, vol. IV, doc. 1331, pp. 2073-2074. An original parchment record of the transaction is in the Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona (ADB), bound into a later volume: Mensa Episcopal, Tít. II, no. 1A, doc. 1. The fact that one of the owners is clearly a Jew while the other bears an unusual surname referring to Lent led Anscari M. MUNDÓ, "Els jueus a Barcelona del segle IX a l'XI" in his *Obres Completes I. Catalunya, de la romanitat a la sobirania*, Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: 1998, pp. 582-586, at p. 585 (originally published in *Catalunya Romànica* vol. XX, Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1992, pp. 86-88) to suggest that the latter was a convert.

documents of 1114 and 1116 refer to the common walls (*parietes*) between this property, or perhaps an extension to the south, and the *Call*.⁸

Reference should also be made to another document (1106) that mentions a street leading to the *Call*; in this case, the *itinere que vadit ad calle iudaico* was the easternmost part of the modern-day carrer de la Llibreteria, which would suggest that the main —perhaps the only— way of approaching the Jewish district was from the old Roman *cardo*.⁹

The extent of the *Call* and Jewish properties outside its limits

By and large, the proposal put forward by Francesc Caballé and Eloi Castells as regards the extent and limits of the *Call* would seem to accord with the

⁸ See note 3 for the document of 1082. Although the use of the imperfect form ‘solebat’ might suggest that access to the Jewish quarter had been blocked at this point, it should also be noted that there had been major changes to the properties to the north of this street in the preceding years; see BANKS, “La topografia ...” pp. 114-115. It seems unlikely that the street can be identified with the one to the south, the present-day carrer de Sant Sever, as this is known to have been opened in 1394: PONS CASACUBERTA, *La societat jueva conversa ...*, pp. 80-81. The documents of 1114 and 1116 are respectively Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona (ACB), perg. 1-2-616 and *Libri Antiquitatum* (henceforth *LA*) vol. I, f. 83v, doc. 195; Josep MAS, *Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona, volums IX-XII. Rúbrica dels Libri antiquitatum de la Séu de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Establiment Tipogràfic “La Renaixensa”, 1914-1915, vol. X, no. 1289, p. 277.

⁹ ACB, perg. 1-5-6. The only other eleventh-century reference to Jewish property inside the city walls can be found in two documents, originally in the collection of the Arxiu de Santa Anna, but one now in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, which refer to a point some distance away in the southern part of the walled city, near the Regomir gate. In the first case a Jewish landowner sells his property *infra muro civitatis Barchinone, in locum vocitatum ad Alaizins, subtus ipso Kastro Regumir* surrounded by property owned by Christians to a Christian, whereas in the second, very similar, transaction a Christian, Ponç Guillem sells to a Jew, Salomó Baró; the fact that the surrounding properties are identical in the two cases leads one to suspect that, rather than a true sale of property rights, this transaction might have concealed some financial transaction with the property as a guarantee. The most recent publication of the two documents is in Jesus ALTURO I PERUCHO, *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200 (aproximació històrico-lingüística)*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1985: vol. II, doc. 90, pp. 103-104 and doc. 93, pp. 109-110; the fact that the parchment in the Archive of the Biblioteca de Catalunya (BC, perg. 3732) bears the number 211 on the reverse, the number of the second document in Joaquín MIRET Y SANS and Moïse SCHWAB, “Documents sur les juifs catalans aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles”, *Revue des études juives*, tome 68, no.135 (1914), pp. 49-83, at pp. 63-64, suggests that it was transferred from one archive to the other in the early twentieth century.

documentary evidence.¹⁰ However, although such limits existed, they do not appear to have been totally rigid. To a certain extent, the western boundary was the line of the Roman walls; as in other parts of the city, many houses must have incorporated parts of the walls and towers within their structure. Indeed, a document published by Bofarull refers to modifications to these defences authorised by King Jaume I in 1258; however, despite his claim, the document does not authorise the demolition of part of the city wall for the opening of a new street (Baixada de Santa Eulàlia).¹¹ Clearly, the evidence suggests that this street was opened in 1394 after the dispersion of the Jewish community.¹² Moreover, a pastoral visit to Santa Maria del Pi of 1303 reports that Jews cut through the wall in many places in order to smuggle Christian women into the Jewish quarter, which presents a very interesting interreligious analysis but also reflects the many alterations made to the wall.¹³

At this point, however, it should be mentioned that ownership of properties at the foot of the walls in carrer de Banys Nous (fig. 1, 3) did not follow a consistent pattern; as in the case of the market garden below what was to become the bishop's palace mentioned above, some properties were clearly owned by Jews. Others were in Christian possession, even though lordship over the land itself might be in Jewish hands. This was a recurrent situation throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴

¹⁰ CABALLÉ and CASTELLS, *L'estructura urbana del Call*, plan on p. 10.

¹¹ Francisco de Asís DE BOFARULL Y SANS, "Jaime I y los judíos" in *I Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Stampa d'en F. Altés, 1909, pp. 819-943, doc. XIV, p. 861; his opinion was followed by Francesch CARRERAS Y CANDI, *Geografía General de Catalunya: la Ciutat de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Establiment Editorial Albert Martín, n.d, pp. 341-342, note 902.

¹² PONS CASACUBERTA, *La societat jueva conversa...*, pp. 80-81.

¹³ Josep M. MARTÍ I BONET, Leandre NIQUI I PUIGVERT and F. MIQUEL I MASCORT, *Processos de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona*, volum I, Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1984, p. 60. Further perforations of these walls are recorded in Josefina MUTGÉ VIVES, "Documents sobre vida ciutadana i urbanisme a Barcelona durant el regnat d'Alfons el Benigne", *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals 7* (1994) pp. 259-322; reprinted in her *Política, urbanismo y vida ciudadana en la Barcelona del siglo XIV*, Barcelona: CSIC, 2004, pp. 309-370, at p. 313, esp. doc. 22. Concerning contact between Jews and Christians, sometimes during illegal activities such gambling, see Josep Maria CASAS HOMS, *Llibre del batlle reial de Barcelona Berenguer Morey (1375-1378)*, Barcelona: Fundació Vives Casajuana, 1976, p. 42, p. 60, p. 79, pp. 90-91 et seq.

¹⁴ For example, Irene BRUGUÉS, Núria JORNET-BENITO and Coloma BOADA (dirs.), *Diplomatari de la col·lecció de pergamins del Monestir de Santa Clara de Barcelona (1039-1241)*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2019: docs. 13, pp. 133-134 (1146); 14, pp.

Scholars have found it difficult to define the northern boundary of the *Call*; the documentary evidence suggests that, apart from the tower adjoining the Episcopal gate (fig. 1, N), at least two and perhaps three towers of the late Roman city walls were in Christian hands, but no more than that. Although perhaps of uncertain value, a later fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century account of the supposed distribution of the Roman walls by Wifred the Hairy states that only two towers (apart from the gate tower) were in Christian hands at that date.¹⁵

There can be little doubt that by the 1160s the new bishop's palace was established in this part of the city (fig. 1, M). Not only is it difficult to identify its exact extent, but it also seems to have been in a constant state of modification; the will of bishop Arnau Ermengol (1142) refers to houses inside the city walls that he had purchased from Jarato *ebreo*, which were bequeathed to the altar of Sant Nicolau.¹⁶ A later neighbour in this area, the canon Bernat de Puig Alt (fig. 1, R), also held property adjoining Jewish-owned houses. Despite the difficulties involved in mapping the area, it is clear that there was no fixed extent to the *Call* at this date, and that property could pass from the possession of Jews to Christians.¹⁷

134-135 (1148); 28, pp.150-151 (1182); 54, pp.187-188 (1203); and 71, p. 210 (1212); Arxiu dels Marquesos de Santa Maria de Barberà: sig. 1-37-41 (C-7), reg. 11202 (1263); sig. 1-6-25 (C-3), reg. 12332 (1273); sig. 1-10-49 (C-3), reg. 9790 (1297); sig. 1-3-05 (C-5), reg. 18348 (1297); Biblioteca de Catalunya, pergs. 19008 (1287) and 18628 (1288); Elka KLEIN, *Hebrew Deeds of Catalan Jews. Documents hebraics de la Catalunya medieval. 1117-1316*, Barcelona: Societat catalana d'estudis hebraics and Girona: Patronat Municipal Call de Girona, 2004, pp. 69-74 (1297).

¹⁵ Stefano M. CINGOLANI, *Libre dels reis*, València: Universitat de València, 2008, p.216: "Devets saber que del Castell Nou entró al Castell de la porte Bisbal si à ·XV· torres, les cals foren partides en la forma que's segueix, so és les primeres ·XIII· torres foren donades en aquel temps ha jueus, les cals tenguessen e gardessen bé de males gens, he les ·II· torres qui romanien si foren donades en aquel temps a l'honrat bisbe de Barcelona, les cals se tenien ab lo dit Castell axí com devall será dit".

¹⁶ The full text of the will can be found in Sebastián PUIG Y PUIG, *Episcopologio de la sede barcinonense*, Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1929, doc. LXX, pp. 416-417. In 1155, Arnau Ermengol's successor exchanged houses that he had received from the altar of Sant Nicolau: *LA I*, f. 281r, doc. 750; MAS, *Notes històriques*, XI, no. 1736, p. 168.

¹⁷ Bernat de Puig Alt is first recorded here in 1154 in *LA I*, f. 109r, doc. 269; MAS, *Notes històriques*, XI, no. 1717, pp. 157-158. He is found acquiring further houses, adjoining those of two Jews, in 1164: ACB, perg. 1-2-1201 (= *LA I*, ff. 111v-112r, doc. 276; MAS, *Notes històriques*, XI, no. 1868, p. 226); these may be the same as the ones recorded in 1184 in *LA I*, f. 72v, doc. 260; MAS, *Notes històriques*, XII, no. 2150, pp. 28-29, also bordering the houses of a Jew to the south. These houses may have lain to the south of carrer de Montjuïc del Bisbe as a street formed the northern boundary.

Although in the first decades of the twentieth century it was suggested that the eastern boundary of the *Call* lay between the modern carrer de Sant Honorat and carrer del Bisbe (fig. 1, 5), more recently it has been accepted the latter street was the limit (except for the area closest to the bishop's palace). The argument in favour of the previous position rested on two points: firstly, it was proposed that the *Call* expanded, probably at some stage in the thirteenth century; secondly, the remains discovered in the Pati dels Tarongers of the Palau de la Generalitat in 1907, including what appear to be several small, but massively built, round towers, were identified as part of a wall enclosing the Jewish quarter. This interpretation has lost favour in recent years. Even though in the past there was the inclination to picture the Jewish quarter as a ghetto, the fact is that sources suggest a far more permeable urban fabric where Christians and Jews would share spaces. That is the case with this eastern limit, where Jewish houses adjoined houses belonging to canons, in the area that in the aftermath of 1391 was sold to the Diputació del General (fig. 1, Q).¹⁸

Indeed, there is at least one document, of the year 1156, which suggests that the limit lay on what would later be the western side of carrer del Bisbe, seemingly not in existence in this part of the city at that date; in this, the two daughters of Pere Lupsanz sold Bernat Ministre, a canon, their houses with a yard and trees of different types, located *paulo longe ab ipsa sede iuxta Callem iudaicum*.¹⁹ To the south was a street, houses that were an allod of the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, and another street; to the north the Hort of Sant Cugat,²⁰ and to the west the houses of the Jews Maimó, Hanoch and Nazmain (fig. 1, E). There can be little doubt concerning the location of this property, at the heart of the Cases dels Canonges; in the 1070s it was in the possession of a certain Ot Guifré, but we have no information as regards the properties that lay to its west at that date. However, in 1156, it would seem that there was no street separating this property from the houses of the three Jews; at the most there may have been a narrow alley. This point will be considered in greater depth below (fig. 1, 1156).

Finally, throughout its history, the southern limit of the *Call* is generally understood to have run along the northern side of carrer del Call from the vicinity of plaça de Sant Jaume to a point near the old Roman gateway of Castell Nou;

¹⁸ Marià CARBONELL I BUADES (dir.), *El Palau de la Generalitat. Art i arquitectura, vol. 1*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015, pp. 18-46, esp. p. 34.

¹⁹ *LAI*, f. 38v, doc. 76; MAS, *Notes històriques*, XI, no. 1743, p. 171.

²⁰ The monastery still had houses at this point, possibly extending as far as the *Call*, in the late thirteenth century: C. BATLLE I GALLART, "Guillem Eimeric, jurista d'una família patricia de Barcelona", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37/2 (2007), pp. 823-866, at p. 846, also p. 851.

the main doubts concern the area of this gate, where the street deviates from the Roman street line, an aspect that will be examined below.

It is also interesting to note that while the neighbourhood was being formed during the twelfth century *intra muros*, some of the requirements of the Jewish community were built at the same time *outside* the Roman walls. This is the case of the mikveh, which was located inside the ‘Banys nous’ (New baths), established by Abraham in 1160 by virtue of a royal privilege (fig. 1, F).²¹ Unfortunately, there is no mention of either the main synagogue in this period or of other communal buildings that might have helped to answer certain questions about the formation of the *Call*.²²

Closely related to this point, there is a further aspect that has seldom been mentioned in studies on the *Call*, namely the question of Jews who resided outside either the *Call major* or the *Call menor*. Traditionally, it has been stated that those were the only spaces the Jewish community could inhabit. However, sources such as the pastoral visit of 1303 demonstrate that Jews clearly lived outside the Jewish quarter (and were frowned upon for doing so).²³ In previous centuries there is clear evidence for an area inhabited by Jews outside the limits of the *Call*, specifically in the vicinity of the Castell Nou and the Jewish (bakery) oven (‘el forn dels jueus’), which was located within the city walls close to, but outside, the *Call* itself (fig. 1, K). Thus, during the reign of Count Ramon Berenguer IV (1137-1162), the count exchanged with Sança and her son, Bernat de Bell-lloc, houses in the suburban area for the ‘vall’ of the Castell Nou, a space adjoining this gate to the south, with the city walls to the west, the main street

²¹ Victòria MORA I PONS, “Els banys nous de Barcelona”, *Lambard*, vol. VI (1994), pp. 27-39. The location of the mikveh inside the public baths can be theorised through the responsa of Shlomo ben Adret, see Eduard FELIU, “Salomó ben Adret, mestre de la llei jueva”, *Tamid*, 4 (2002-2003), pp. 35-109, at pp. 52 and 65-66. Although there is no definitive answer yet on this matter, the answers provided by ben Adret and the documented presence of a *sinia* (mentioned in Catalan in the original text of ben Adret) support this hypothesis. *Sínies* (wheels for raising water, usually animal-powered) are rarely found in medieval Barcelona, but they are recorded both in the ‘Banys nous’ (ACA, Reial Patrimoni, Batllia General de Catalunya, vol. 560, f. 193v of 1160) and in the ‘Banys vells’ in the street of the same name (Arxiu dels Marquesos de Santa Maria de Barberà: sig. 1-20-52 (B-13), reg. 10303 of 1263).

²² The first reference to the main synagogue dates from the thirteenth century: Jaume RIERA I SANS, “La sinagoga major de Barcelona en la tradició documental”, *Estudis històrics i documents dels arxius de protocols*, 20 (2002) pp. 7-74.

²³ There are complaints of poor and vile Jews living with Christians, some of them procuring prostitution, and others working on Sundays. MARTÍ, NIQUI and MIQUEL, *Processos de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona*, p. 60 and p. 108.

passing through the gate to the north and the houses of a deceased Jew named Abotaib to the east.²⁴ In the second half of the twelfth century a Jew named Massana pledged his houses in the parish of Sant Miquel, which adjoined those of the late Pere Ricart and were thus very near the previous dwellings.²⁵ The first reference to the bakery oven can be found in a late twelfth-century document (*in*

²⁴ Ignasi J. BAIGÉS, Gaspar FELIU and Josep M. SALRACH, *Els Pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona, de Ramon Berenguer II a Ramon Berenguer IV*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2010: vol. IV, doc. 1093, pp. 1748-1749. Subsequently, there are many references to the Castell Nou itself, which survived until the sixteenth century, but few to the gate or the street that passed through it. The only one located to date mentions three workshops next to the *portam Castris Novi* adjoining the inner face of the Roman wall with streets to the south and east (ACB, pergs. 4-49-826 and 4-49-827 of 1337; it is noteworthy that a Jew held the allodial rights). In fact, the bill of receipt for this transaction (ACB, perg. 4-49-830) states that the workshops were *subtus voltam Castris Novi*. A further reference of 1355 to an *obrador qui es sots la volta del Castel Nou* ('a workshop that is under the vault of the Castell Nou'; Monestir de Sant Benet de Montserrat: Arxiu Monestir de Santa Clara de Barcelona (MSCB), Memorial de Rendes, vol. 412, f.4v) could similarly suggest that the passageway of the gate had been taken over for other purposes. In turn, all this might indicate that, starting in the second half of the twelfth century, the westernmost part of what is now carrer del Call shifted northwards from the original Roman orientation, eventually adopting the line that it still follows today (fig. 1, 1 and 2). If this were the case, the connection between the intramural and extramural area might no longer have been exclusively through the gate proper, but rather through a gap in the defences at this point, in some way a precursor of the streets ('baixades' or slopes) that were cut through the old Roman walls in the thirteenth century. The irregular layout of the streets outside the city walls in this part of the city, often known as the 'quatre cantons del Call' ('the four corners of the Call'), suggests a complicated history. The line of the main extra-mural street (carrer de la Boqueria; fig. 1, 4) fails to provide a natural continuation for either carrer del Call or its Roman predecessor; the fact that the 'Banys nous' were on the corner of carrer de la Boqueria opposite the end of carrer del Call suggests that the former street followed this alignment in the second half of the twelfth century. This certainly seems to have been the case by the later fourteenth century as a sale of workshops in 1372 states that they were *in callo maiore judayco, et ad introitum ipsius calli in carraria qua itur ad balnea nova* (ACB, Notaris, vol. 190, 30 June 1372). In view of the limited evidence, however, the chronology of this change is conjectural.

²⁵ Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ACA), ORM, Gran Priorat, calaix 1, carpeta 1, perg. 81. The date of the document cannot be read in its entirety, but it was probably 1168 or 1178. Pere Ricart was the son of Ricart Guillem, who had owned houses incorporating three wall towers at this point. Pere died intestate so his property passed to the Count of Barcelona and, subsequently, possibly also with that of his maternal grandfather, Bernat Ramon 'the Rich', adjoining the church of Sant Miquel, to the Archbishop of Tarragona. In the seventeenth century this extensive complex became the Convent de l'Ensenyança.

meo pignore ipsius furni de Calle judaico);²⁶ subsequently, in a very detailed document of 1234 related to the Bell·lloc family, who held both the Castell Nou and the oven, not only is there a large amount of information referring to the operation of this bakery, but also a reference to *Iudei autem qui habitant vel habitabunt in civitate Barchinone extra Callem Iudaycum* with a list of eight such houses.²⁷ Other sources also refer to Jews living alongside Christians in this corner of the city between the southern limit of the *Call* and the Archbishop of Tarragona's palace.²⁸

In 1290 the oven was sold by Guillem de Bell·lloc to the convent of Santa Clara, which was then granted permission by the king to rebuild it. It is unknown why it needed repairs and if that meant that the oven was out of use at some point, with all the social and religious implications that implied.²⁹ In 1331 the

²⁶ The endowment of the altar of Sant Dionís (Denis) by Bernat Dionís; *LA I* f. 328r doc. 931; MAS, *Notes històriques* XII, no. 2291, p. 93. At this date there were probably about 17 bakery ovens in Barcelona; see Pere ORTÍ GOST, *Renda i fiscalitat en una Ciutat medieval: Barcelona, segles XII-XIV*, Barcelona: CSIC, 2000, pp. 201-244.

²⁷ Irene BRUGÉS, Núria JORNET-BENITO and Coloma BOADA (dirs.), *Diplomatari de la col·lecció de pergamins del Monestir de Santa Clara de Barcelona (1039-1241)*, Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2019: doc. 189, pp. 367-372.

²⁸ The first one (ACB, perg. 1-1-1847 of 1245) refers to property located *prope furnum iudaycum*. Bonhom, a Jew, owned the houses to the south. Other documents referring to properties slightly further to the south, near the church of Sant Miquel, mention Jewish owners, for example ACB, perg. 1-6-1390 of 1278 (published in Carme BATLLE "La casa burguesa en la Barcelona del siglo XIII" in *La societat barcelonina a la baixa edat mitjana. Acta/Mediaevalia, Annexos d'història medieval* I, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1983, pp. 9-51, at pp. 45-46). Similarly, a sale of 1282, which exists in both Latin and Hebrew versions (ACB 4-37-536 and KLEIN, *Hebrew Deeds of Catalan Jews ...*, group V, no. 11, pp. 62-68), refers to houses with workshops and a kitchen garden including trees near the same oven (according to the Latin text), but also the Archbishop of Tarragona's palace (in both versions) and the Castell Nou (according to the Hebrew text). Several of the adjoining property owners were also Jews. In 1292, a canon of the cathedral, Pere de Noguera, signed a perpetual (emphyteutic) lease ceding a Jew property to improve next to the palace and near the church of Sant Miquel; again, some of the neighbours were Jewish (ACB, perg. 3-20-42). Finally, in 1379 Vidal Macip de la Torra sold Sentou Caru, shoemaker, a house with two workshops *satis prope callem majorem et furnum judaycum, in vico vocato dels torners*, clearly outside the Jewish quarter, and with both Jewish and Christian neighbours (ACB, Notaris, Pere de Coll, vol. 259, 29 December, 1379).

²⁹ MSCB, pergs. 669 (royal confirmation of the sale; see also ACA, CR, Reg. 83, fol. 94 r-v) and 667 (permission to reconstruct). The document also specifies their permission to build an *anvanum* (modern Catalan 'envà'), a portico that might have been open to the street to accommodate counters and benches for the sale of products; see also pergs.

Poor Clares established the oven to the secretaries of the 'aljama' (that is, the Jewish community) by means of an emphyteutic agreement, probably giving them more control over it, but little else is found about its use after that.³⁰ At that moment, the property is described as having more than one oven, which might have been added during the repairs in 1290.³¹

Even the precise location of this oven remains uncertain. Many documents simply mention the oven as having been near (*prope*) the Castell Nou and the entrance to the Jewish quarter, without specifying how near it was. However, subsequent documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show how the rundown state of the Castell Nou affected nearby houses, one of them being the house of the oven (close enough to be damaged, then).³² A document of 1297 provides further useful information, as Maimó de Forn rented to Pere Solaç a workshop *juxta ianua callis judayci ex illis operatoriis hospicii mei quod habeo in calle ante furnum judaycum*, that is to say workshops accessed from carrer del Call, but which formed part of a building within the Jewish quarter. Whether that entrance was the one located in the present-day carrer Sant Honorat or in carrer Salomó ben Adret is unclear (fig. 1, C and B); the de Forn family are known to have lived in the block between these two streets at least until 1391.³³ As will be seen below, the fact that these gates might not have always existed should also be taken into account, as changes and modifications to the street network might have led to the addition of a new gate over the centuries.³⁴ Moreover, the presence of gates might

2506-2509. The location of the oven *ante portam callis judayci* is previously recorded in the year 1260 in ACA, Reial Patrimoni, Batllia General de Catalunya, vol. 124, f.14r.

³⁰ It would be interesting to know if the oven was in use after 1391 by the few Jews left in the city, and if the converso community used it too, but sadly no documents after that date have been preserved in the convent's archive.

³¹ MSCB, perg. 2494.

³² Frederich SCHWARTZ Y LUNA and Francesch CARRERAS Y CANDI, *Manual de novells ardots vulgarment appellat Dietaru del Antich Consell Barceloní*, vol. IV, Barcelona: Barcelona: Henrich y Compañia, 1895, p. 255: "1553. Juliol. Dijous VI. La nit passada caygué, entre les onze y les dotze hores de nit, un pany del Castell dit Nou de la present ciutat que es en lo Call eo de tremuntana, per la qual cayguda enderrocha y cobri una casa del Forn del call y altre del costat (...)".

³³ ACB, perg. 1-6-724. These are the two entrances that are considered to have existed c.1300. The latter seems more likely since it was closer to the Castell Nou. The de Forn family's houses were affected by the new taxation paid to Guillem Colom after 1391. CABALLÉ and CASTELLS, *L'estructura urbana del Call*, p. 150 and p. 153.

³⁴ Elena LOURIE, "A plot which failed? The case of the corpse found in the Jewish call of Barcelona (1301)", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 1:2 (1986) pp. 187-220 (reprinted in her *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews In Medieval Aragon*, Aldershot:

also have halakhic implications, especially if these could prevent access to essential needs such as the mikveh or the oven, which were outside the limits of the Jewish quarter.³⁵

It is also interesting to note that, even though the exact location of the Jewish oven is not known, what seems quite clear in the documentary evidence is that this whole area/street was inhabited by Jews and Christians at the same time. Moreover, the area between the oven and the church of Sant Miquel was not the only part of the old city outside the *Call major* where Jews are known to have resided. In particular, the area of the square adjoining the church of Sant Jaume (fig. 1, 7) and the nearby street known as carrer dels Apotecaris (now carrer de la Llibreteria; fig. 1, 8) also seem to have a number of Jewish residents.³⁶ Cohabitation between the two religions was a reality.

The nature of the separation between the *Call* and ‘Christian’ districts

As has already been mentioned, the remains revealed in the ‘pati dels Tarongers’ in 1907 led to the suggestion that there was some sort of enclosure at this point:

Variorum, 1990), publishes a document of 1301 which refers to the *porta inferiori dicti Callis*, which can be identified as the one at the end of carrer de Salomó ben Adret. This implies that there was an upper gate, and most probably that there were two gates at this date. The document is also used in Jaume RIERA I SANS, *Retalls de la vida dels jueus. Barcelona, 1301-Besalú, 1325*, Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau – Episodis de la història 326, 2000.

³⁵ A *responsum* of Shlomo ben Adret gives an interesting insight on this matter. See FELIU, “Salomó ben Adret, mestre de la llei jueva”, *Tamid*, 4 (2002-2003), pp. 59-60.

³⁶ For example, ACB, perg. 3-14-205 (1289), in which Belshom Momet of Badalona, introduces a canon, Bernat de Molins, and Pasqual Soquer into their new property in plaça de Sant Jaume. The tenants of the house and workshops were also present, namely Bonjuhà Burgalés, Jaume Maceller (notary), Guillem Barber (shoemaker), Mosse Spinell and Momet. In the pastoral visits of 1303, Jews were accused of appropriating more space than was assigned to them, taking it from the cemetery of the church (fig. 1, J) and were said to live in carrer dels Apotecaris (fig. 1, 8). Around this last area they also had either workshops or shops that were open on Sundays, a fact complained about by Christians. MARTÍ, NIQUI and MIQUEL, *Processos de l’Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona*, pp. 108-109. The convent of Santa Clara still collected rents from Jews there in 1355: MSCB volum 412, Memorial de Rentes, f. 4v and ff. 19v-20r. As for carrer de la Llibreteria, an Isaac de Mallorca is recorded as holding property there from Elisenda, wife of Joan Dorcha, in 1236 (ACB, perg. 4-49-694). Although this document does not refer to the street by name, subsequent documents referring to adjoining properties indicate that it was located in *carraria de Speciarie* (ACB, pergs. 4-49-691 of 1266; 4-49-692, 4-49-693 and 4-49-696, all of 1282) or *vico Apothecarie* (ACB, perg. 4-49-697 of 1288).

Ve en comprobació dels documents antics l'haverse trobat ara al desfer el terraplè del pati interior de la Diputació una muralla que sembla la que tancà'l call jueu; n'hi ha prou ab un lleuger exàmen pera veure que no's tracta d'un mur de fortificació, sino d'una tanca de separació. La muralla esta reforçada de tant en tant per macissos cilindres de obra de rebla que no es possible confondre ab els basaments de les torres de defensa de les fortificacions coetànies. Les cases del call jueu donaven al carrer de la Seu...³⁷

This interpretation was maintained by Bofarull, Carreras Candi and most writers on the subject down to Riera i Sans: "És evident que aquest espai fou tancat i circumdat per un mur amb portals ...".³⁸

More recently, Caballé and Castells have suggested otherwise: "Per tant, és factible pensar que en origen no hi devia haver una muralla fixa al Call ...". They go on to support their view by reference to legal rulings collected by Anna Rich Abad, according to which a Jew had to build a dividing wall to delimit their plot from that of a Christian neighbour.³⁹ Such an interpretation seems to be borne out by all the cases discussed so far of Jewish properties that adjoined those of Christian neighbours; in no case is any reference to a separation other than a simple 'wall' made.

More detailed information is to be found in two documents. In the first, of 1200, Pere de Granollers, with the approval of the Cathedral Chapter, agreed to build a wall with Bonafos between their respective houses, the allodial property of the canonry.⁴⁰ Neither Bonafos nor his heirs were allowed to build a tower, a gutter, or openings towards Pere's house there. Even though one objective of such prohibitions may have been to separate Christians from Jews, another aspect should also be taken into consideration: privacy. That is what is suggested by two documents (one in Hebrew), in which Jewish neighbours reach agreements about windows that might overlook the house of the other.⁴¹

³⁷ J. PUIG I CADAVALCH and J. MIRET I SANS, "El Palau de la Diputació General de Catalunya", *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 3 (1909-1910), pp. 385-480, p. 392.

³⁸ Jaume RIERA I SANS, "Els jueus a Barcelona entre els segles XII i XIV" in *Catalunya Romànica* vol. XX, Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopedia Catalana, 1992, pp. 88-91, at p. 90.

³⁹ CABALLÉ and CASTELLS, *L'estructura urbana del Call*, p. 11; RICH, *La Comunitat jueva de Barcelona*, pp. 54-55

⁴⁰ ACB, perg. 1-5-472.

⁴¹ ACB, perg. 4-70-1(a) (1315), published in KLEIN, *Hebrew Deeds of Catalan Jews*, group VIII, no. 18, pp.180-183 and ACB, Perg. 3-9-429.

In the second document, of 1224, Bishop Berenguer de Palou II and the canons recognised that a Jew, Dolça de Toulouse, had the right to construct against the dividing walls that separated her houses from the houses of the Chapter held by Berenguer de Sant Vicenç, a canon.⁴² There are three main points to this charter: first, that the dividing wall in question was common to both properties; secondly, it could be built to a height one and a half ‘destres’ (approximately 4.2 m), a substantial height, in stone and mortar or (rammed) earth; and thirdly, neither party should overlook or have a ‘socanyal’ (eave?) or gutter over the other, norms found in both the fourteenth-century ‘Ordinacions de Santa Cilia’ and the charter *Recognoverunt Proceres* (1284) applicable to Christian-owned properties adjoining each other, as well as many thirteenth-century private agreements.

The location of these latter houses cannot be pinpointed, although the reference to the western part of Dolça’s property and the eastern part of the canons’ property suggests a location on the west side of the present-day carrer del Bisbe, so that her property probably lay within the *Call*. The agreement of 1200 may refer to the area adjoining the Castell Nou and thus outside the *Call* proper, since Pere de Granollers is recorded as holding property in that part of the city. Be that as it may, it is clear that little or no distinction was made as regards the walls separating properties; comparable norms were applied between Christians, between Jews, and between Christians and Jews.

Access to the *Call*

As has already been mentioned, the traditional view is that there were only two entrances to the *Call*, one at the junction of carrer del Call and the carrer Major (now carrer de Salomó ben Adret), the other to one side of plaça de Sant Jaume, at the start of the present-day carrer de Sant Honorat (the medieval carrer de la Font) (fig. 1, B and C). As has been seen, the bakery oven was near one of these entrances, presumably the former as it is also often stated to have been near the Castell Nou.⁴³

However, three documents of twelfth- and thirteenth-century date suggest that there was another entrance —perhaps without a gate that was closed at night —which may have been replaced by the second entrance mentioned.

⁴² ACB, perg. 1-6-3896, see full text in the annex.

⁴³ The alternative is to put forward the hypothesis that there was another entrance, perhaps at the end of the modern-day carrer de la Volta de Sant Ramon, which is closer to the Castell Nou (fig. 1, 11). However, there is no additional evidence that might support this proposal.

In 1249, Arnau Pausis sold Isaac Mohassel, a Jew described as *Spagnolo*, the houses he held from the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès in the city of Barcelona in the *vico qui dicitur Paradisus*, clearly the present-day carrer Paradís.⁴⁴ To the east was carrer Paradís; to the south houses of the Canonja held by Bernat de Santa Eugènia; to the north houses of Guillem de Lleida. Most interestingly the street to the west, following the course of the present-day carrer del Bisbe, is described as the *vico quo intratur in Calle Iudayco*, in other words entering the Jewish quarter, without there being any reference to a gate or barrier. If there were streets to the east and west of the plot, this must have been located in the southern part of the block, and it should be identified as the property now known as carrer Paradís 1B and carrer del Bisbe 2B (fig. 1, 1108).⁴⁵

A note on the reverse of the parchment states that two other documents originally accompanied it as they referred to the same property; these can be identified as two currently unnumbered twelfth-century parchments that are in the process of being catalogued. The first (1108) records a donation or exchange between Bernat Berenguer and Pere Artall of destroyed houses near the church of Sant Jaume in exchange for other houses that the latter had built nearby. To the east was the street (= carrer Paradís); to the south the houses of Santa Creu and Santa Eulàlia, to the north the houses of Bertran Ot, perhaps the son of Ot Guifret mentioned as holding property at that point between 1072 and 1080; and to the west the *carrera que vadit ad Callem Iudaicum* (=carrer del Bisbe).⁴⁶

The second parchment (1143) records the leasing of houses and a yard to improve by the abbot of Sant Cugat, Ermengol, to Bertran de Pla and his family; these were near the church of Sant Jaume and had been purchased from the

⁴⁴ ACB, perg. 1-1-197. The document is listed in María Cinta MAÑÉ and Yom Tov ASSIS, *The Jews in Barcelona, 1213-1291: Regesta of Documents from the Archivo Capitular*, Jerusalem: The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, 1988, no. 161, p. 76. The de Pausis family is recorded with property here in two documents of the year 1193: ACB, perg. 1-1-687 (a) and (b) although neither of them makes the location immediately apparent. The *Spagnolo* here might refer to an Andalusian origin, as other documents from that period suggest (ACB, perg. 3-14-158 (1230), in which Vidal of Hispania acknowledges having received some money from Pasqual de Pallejà). Isaac Mohassel, his wife Rahel, and their son Abraham sold the property to Pere de Ribalta in 1263 (ACB, pergs. 1-1-192 and 1-6-2438, the bill of receipt for 1400 *solidos* de tern; documents listed in MAÑÉ and ASSIS, *The Jews in Barcelona, 1213-1291*, docs. 263-264, pp. 111-112).

⁴⁵ The unidentified property between those labelled 6J and 6L in fig. 6 (p. 105) of BANKS, "La topografía ...".

⁴⁶ The document is currently in the ACB, perg. 1-2 series.

widow of the Pere Artall of the previous document; the limits are very similar, the street to the west being described as the *carrera quae intratur in Callem Iudaicum*.⁴⁷

It would thus seem that at this date this part of the street on the line of the Roman *decumanus maximus* provided access to the *Call*. It may have joined what was later known as carrer de la Scola Xica or Poca, a narrow street that followed an east-west course slightly further north, thereby providing access to the *Call*, at least until the mid-thirteenth century (fig. 1, D). The construction of the Scola Xica or Lesser Synagogue, towards the end of the thirteenth century, may have led to a change in the street pattern, especially as it is known that by the mid-fourteenth century it was considered to offer insufficient space, which led to an expansion.⁴⁸

By indicating the presence of three Jewish property owners to the west, the document of 1156 discussed above and referring to a property at the core of the Paradís block suggests that the street now known as carrer del Bisbe did not continue northwards beyond this point (fig. 1, 1156). This would explain why the southern boundary of this property recorded in 1156 is described as being composed of three parts: first, a street (in other words, the continuation of the first part of carrer Paradís from the point where the street proper turns to the right; this is now a gated alley that must have given access to the house, later part of the Cases dels Canonges); second, the houses of Sant Cugat described in the documents of 1108, 1143 and 1249; and third, the first part of the present-day carrer del Bisbe, which in this period provided access to the *Call*.

Later sources suggest that this last street was widened and opened up at an uncertain date in the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. In 1297, workshops were sold to broaden the street that went from plaça de Sant Jaume towards the bishop's palace; the names of several Jews can be read in the poorly preserved

⁴⁷ Also currently classified in the ACB, perg. 1-2 series.

⁴⁸ Although the date of its construction remains unknown, Samuel Benvenist de na Regina is known to have been responsible for its foundation thanks to the petition to enlarge the synagogue addressed to the bishop in 1345, in which he is mentioned as the founder; ADB, *Notularum Communium* 14, f. 14r. The first known reference to him is of 1316, by which date he was already dead, thus pushing back the foundation of the synagogue; ACB, *Notaris*, vol. 90, f. 53v. After the attacks of 1391 it was sold first to Julià Garrius, treasurer of the king, and afterwards to the Diputació del General. It is then described as being *constructa in limittibus olim calli maioris Barchinone in quodam vico non transeunte, que vicus habet exitum versus fontem dicti calli*, ACA, Generalitat, *Manuals comuns*, N-492 (1530-1539), f. 56. It makes sense that this alley would have connected carrer Sant Honorat and carrer del Bisbe beforehand.

text.⁴⁹ Duran i Sanpere suggested that the street had been opened up in 1270, but offered no source for this statement.⁵⁰ In 1328 the Jews Jucefus and Abraham Corayef sold houses located near the plaça de Sant Jaume in the newly-opened street that led to the cathedral.⁵¹ It may not be too adventurous to suggest that this formed part of a wider plan associated with the building of the new Gothic cathedral, the first phase of which took place in these decades.

Hence, the chronology of our sources referring to the creation of the Scola Xica and the opening up of the street providing a direct route from plaça de Sant Jaume to the Gothic cathedral allow us to suggest that these modifications may have led to the closure of this previously unrecognised access to the Jewish quarter and possibly the creation of a new one, surprisingly close to the one already in existence, towards the end of the thirteenth century.

The change in terminology—from an entrance to the *Call* to a proper gate—should also be borne in mind. Even though medieval Barcelona had many streets and alleys closed by their owners, it is obvious that a gate in this particular neighbourhood had a more defensive purpose. The fact that there is no record of a gate to the *Call* before 1260 might well be related to the atmosphere of increasing antisemitism in this century, when legislation enforcing marking and segregation were put into effect.⁵²

In fact, particular attention should be devoted to the entrance at carrer Sant Honorat, sometimes referred to as the main gate, which had both a tower over the entrance and even a gatekeeper in charge of it. In 1355, it is described as *la porta*

⁴⁹ Maria Cinta MAÑÉ I MAS, *Catàleg dels pergamins municipals de Barcelona. Anys 885–1334 (Volum I)*, Barcelona: Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona, 2004, doc. 216, p. 153.

⁵⁰ Agustí DURAN I SANPERE, *Barcelona i la seva història. La formació d'una gran ciutat*, Barcelona: Curial, 1972, p. 130.

⁵¹ J. PUIG I CADAVALCH and J. MIRET I SANS, “El Palau de la Diputació General de Catalunya”, *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, 3 (1909–1910), pp. 385–480, p. 393, n. 11: *prope plateam Sancto Jacobi et in carraria per quam noviter transitus fit ad sedem Barchinone*. The plan in Francesc CARRERAS Y CANDI, *Cataluña ilustrada*, T.1 *La ciudad de Barcelona*, Barcelona: Editorial A. Martín, c. 1922, between pages 64 and 65 also records this modification to the street plan; the date indicated is unclear, perhaps 1379.

⁵² See Jaume RIERA I SANS, “Jaime I y los judíos de Cataluña” in Esteban SARASA (coord.), *La sociedad en Aragón y Cataluña en el reinado de Jaime I: 1213–1276*, Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando el Católico», 2009, pp. 135–155. The Disputation of Barcelona in 1263 was also a turning point in Christian–Jewish relations: Robert CHAZAN, “The Barcelona “Disputation” of 1263: Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response”, *Speculum*, vol. 52, no. 4 (Oct. 1977), pp. 824–842.

mayor del cal juych e ay obradors dins lo cal qui son sots l'alberch e ixen dues scrivanies en la placa de sent Iacme, so not only was it larger than a simple gateway, but it also connected with the adjoining plaça de Sant Jaume.⁵³ The tower was demolished in 1392 when the aftermath of the 1391 attacks led to the Christianisation of the area.⁵⁴ The cubicles where the scribes worked failed to survive much longer, as they were also sold to the Diputació del General in order to build the palace.⁵⁵ This whole area of plaça de Sant Jaume and the corner of carrer de Sant Honorat is a reminder of the ever-changing frontier nature of this neighbourhood.

Conclusions

The origins of the Jewish quarter of medieval Barcelona can be traced back to the later eleventh century, but for the first two hundred years of its existence, as in the previous century, properties on the fringes of the *Call* could pass from Jewish to Christian hands. The limits of the main area of Jewish residence, although apparent, were by no means rigid, and in the same way the divisions between the properties of Jews and those of Christians were no different from those separating houses in other densely populated quarters of the city. Not only is there no trace of a wall marking off the *Call*, but access to the Jewish quarter does not appear to have been restricted by gates prior to the second half of the thirteenth century.

The formation of the Jewish quarter, always assumed to be enclosed and fossilised in the grid of the old Roman city, was more permeable and subject to changes than previously thought. Moreover, what has been perceived as a place of segregation or even a defensive location for the Jewish community, was in reality a space in perpetual contact with their Christian counterparts. The presence of Jews living outside the *Call* or Jewish properties in different parts of the city is

⁵³ MSCB, Memorial de Rentes, vol. 412, f. 4v. However, there is space to doubt if the main entrance was always this one, or if the one at carrer Salomó ben Adret might also have had a greater role. Nevertheless, on 14th December, 1390, shortly before the attacks on the *Call* that led to its disappearance, there is a reference to two workshops by the lesser gate of the main *Call* (*in ianua minori callis maiori*), which were let by a Jew to a Christian butcher (Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, Manual de Jaume de Trilla (53/3) fol. 24v, which presumably refers to the gate at the entrance to this street. We thank Anna Rich for this reference.

⁵⁴ *Manual dels Novells Ardits, vol. I*, Barcelona, 1895, p. 496.

⁵⁵ Some of them were built in former properties of Samuel Benvenist, so we can speculate that at some point what is today the façade of the Generalitat was fully composed of Jewish houses. MSCB, Memorial de Rentes, vol. 412, f. 4v. Marià CARBONELL I BUADES (dir.), *El Palau de la Generalitat. Art i arquitectura*, vol. 1, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2015, pp. 32-33.

testimony of a certain flexibility of society, clearly in contrast with some antisemitic legislation passed in the second half of the thirteenth century. The Jewish community, although perpetually under Christian supervision, was also constantly in contact with their neighbours.

- A. Castell Nou (the extent is hypothetical)
- B. Gate to the *Call* (carrer Salomó ben Adret)
- C. Gate to the *Call* (carrer Sant Honorat)
- D. Entrance to the *Call* recorded between 1108 and 1263 (and theoretical connection with the street leading to the later Scola Xica)
- E. Houses of three Jews in 1156; Scola Xica by the later thirteenth century
- F. Banyes nous
- G. Palace of the Archbishop of Tarragona
- H. Church of Sant Miquel
- I. Church of Sant Jaume
- J. Cemetery of Sant Jaume
- K. Approximate location of the Forn del Call (bakery oven)
- L. Buildings of the community of canons of the Cathedral
- M. Palace of the Bishop of Barcelona
- N. Episcopal gate
- O. House of the archdeacon
- P. Areas outside the *Call* where Jews and Christians are recorded living alongside each other
- Q. Houses belonging to canons in the late fourteenth century (possibly original built in the 'hort' of Sant Cugat)
- R. Houses of Bernat de Puig Alt
- S. Houses with tower of the collegiate church of Solsona

1023, 1029, 1078, 1082, 1108, 1156: location of properties mentioned in the text

1. Original route of main Roman east-west street (disappeared at an uncertain date between the later twelfth and early fifteenth century)
2. Carrer del Call (with the deviation to the north around the Castell Nou)
3. Carrer de Banys Nous
4. Carrer de la Boqueria
5. *carrera quae intratur in Callem Iudaicum* (1143); now carrer del Bisbe
6. carrer de Paradís
7. plaça de Sant Jaume
8. carrer de la Llibreteria (dels Apotecaris in the medieval period)
9. alley providing access to the central part of the Cases dels Canonges
10. carrer de Montjuïc del Bisbe
11. carrer de Sant Ramon del Call

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

ACB, 1-6-3896

18 October 1224

The bishop and canons of Barcelona give the Jewess Dolça de Toulouse permission to construct against the common walls between her house and that of the canon Berenguer de Sant Vicenç, specifying the characteristics of the walls, which are always to be common property.

In nomine Domini. Sit notum cunctis presentem paginam auditis, quod nos, Berengarius Dei gratia Barchinone episcopus et conventus eiusdem nobis commissus, concedimus et recognoscimus per nos et successores nostros presentes et futuros tibi Dulcie de Tolosa iudee et tuis successoribus presentibus et futuris que omnes ipsi parietes qui sunt inter domos canonicas quas tenet Berengarius de Sancto Vincencio concanonicus noster et domos tuas sunt comunes de omnibus partibus in quibus ipse tue domus contigua sunt dictis domibus canonicis. Unde nos cum hoc publico instrumento perpetuo valituro, damus tibi et successoribus {tuis} plenam ac liberam potestatem per nos et successores nostros que possitis tu vel tui carrigare in dictis parietibus et uti ipsis tamque parietibus comunibus et possitis eosdem parietes extollere in altum ab eo loco in quo dicti parietes sunt de petra et calce altitudine unius dexter et medii de petra vel de terra secundum quo tibi magne placuerit nec tu vel tui habeatis vistam, soccannale sive deguticium in dictis domibus canonicis, nec etiam canonica habeat in tuis domibus vistam, soccannale sive deguticium set semper dicti parietes maneant et sint comunes inter te et tuos successores et inter canonicam. Intelligatur tamen que parietem situm inter dictas domos nostras et tuas, qui est domibus nostris ex parte occidentali et tuis domibus ex parte orientali ante portam tuam, facias de tuo proprio de petra et calce ea altitudine in qua est modo et ultra si volueris possis eum in altum extollere de petra vel de terra secundum que tibi magne placuerit in tantum quantum et alios parietes potes extollere scilicet per unum dextrum et medium. Est autem sciendum que dictus paries et omnes alii parietes sunt comunes tibi et canonicis nostris et semper debent esse comunes. Actum est hoc XV Kalendas novembre Anno M CC vicesimo quarto.

S+num Poncii de Vilar Barchinonensis archidiaconi

+num Raimundi de Rosanis Barchinonensis primicerii

S+num Berengarii de Sancto Vincencio

Sig+num Ferrari de Lauro ✕ Pulcricolici Sancti Jacobi infra menia Barchinone clericici et procuratoris P. de Sintille Barchinone sacriste et prepositi mensis augusti

+ Annuit his scriptis Raimundus Pertegacensis

S+gnum Raimundi de Serriano

Signu + Bernardi Vilar de Archis decani

Ego Petrus cellerarii subscribo Ego Bernardus de Sancto Andrea qui hoc fir+mo

+Signum Arnaldi de Requesendo

Ego Berengarii Barchinone episcopus subscribo

Sig+num Petri de Bages notarii

Sig+num Petri Vives qui hoc scripsit precepto P. de Bages notarius cum litteris appositis in linea III ubi dicitur tuis die et anno quo supra.

ACB, 1-6-724

27 January 1296

The Jew Maimó de Forn rents a workshop to the butcher Pere Solaç for three years for 60 sous. This workshop is located next to the gate to the Jewish Call and opposite the Jewish bakery oven.

Sit omnibus notum Quod Ego Maimonus de Furno, judeus, de festo Pasche domini proxime [vent]uro usque ad tres annos continue subsequentes loco vobis, Petro Solacii, carnifici, et vostris et cui volueritis totum ipsum operatorium secundum juxta ianuam callis judayci ex illis operatoriiis hospicii mei quod habeo in calle ante furnum judaycum sicut ipsum iam tenetis causa locamenti. Ita quod dictum operatorium habeatis et teneatis per dictum ipsus jure huius utem conditionis et non possum inde vos expellere pro maiori logerio vel aliqua alia racione infra dictum tempus. Primo faciam dictum operatorium vos et quos volueritis habere et tenere pacifice contra omnes personas pro triennium supradictum. Et pro hiis complendis et attendendis obligo vobis et vostris omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia habita et habenda. Renunciens que cum ad hec ex certa sciencia consuetudini Barchinonensi qua est qua caveatur, quo quis possit

expellere conductorem de re sibi locata totas de [cau]sis et cuilibet alii consuetudini domini et constitutioni tenetur hec repugnatibus. Pro logerio autem dicti operatorii dabitur michi quolibet anno sexaginta solidos monete Barchinone de terno quos michi solvatis quolibet anno scilicet terciam partem de quatuor in quatuor mensibus. Ad hec ego Petrus Solacii predictus laudo, approbo et confirmo omnia supradicta et promitto vobis dicto Maimono vel cui volueritis solvere logerium supradictum ut iamdictum est. Et pro hiis complendis obligo vobis et vostris omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia habita et habenda. Actum est hoc sexto kalendas ffebroarii, anno domini Millesimo Ducentesimo Nonagesimo sexto. S+num Maimoni de furno. S+num Petri Solacii predictorum, qui hec laudamus concedimus et firmamus.

Testes huius rei sunt Raimundus Grassi, Geraldus Turricella et Bolaix Samuelis, judeus.

Sig+num Bernardi de Fonte cohoptero notarius publici Barchinone, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit die et anno prefixo.

ACB, 1-1-197

2 August 1249

Arnau de Pausas sells Isaac Mohassel, a Spanish Jew, houses held from the monastery of Sant Cugat at the place called Paradís for 272 morabatins. The houses border with the public thoroughfare, the house of a canon of the cathedral, the house of Guillem of Lleida and with the street that enters the Jewish Call.

In Christi nomine, sit omnibus manifestum quod ego, Arnaldus de Pausis, non dolo vi vel metu inductus nec in aliquo circumventum set bono animo et libera atque gratuita voluntate, vendo tibi Issacho Mohassel, judeo spagnolo, et tuis in perpetuum illas domos meas cum solis et suprapositis et pertinenciis quas per cenobium Sancti Cucuphatis {et eius cameram} teneo in civitate Barchinone in vico qui dicitur paradisi. Sicut terminantur ab oriente, in via publica; a meridie, in domibus canonicis quas tenet Bernardus de Sancta Eugenia, canonicus eiusdem Sedis; ab occiduo, in vico quo intratur in calle iudayco; a circio, in domibus Guillelmi de Ilerda. Iamdictas itaque domos cum solis et suprapositis, hostiis, ianuis, stillis, stillicidis, servitutibus et cum introitibus et exitibus suis et pertinenciis et cum omnibus locis iuribus vocibus et accionibus realibus et personalibus mixtis et coherentibus mihi in hiis et pro hiis competentibus et competiteris, vendo tuis et cui volueris in perpetuum. Et ut melius dici potest et

intelligi ad tuum tuorumque salvamentum et bonum intellectum, extraho hoc omnia et singula de meo meorumque iure dominio et posse et in tuum tuorumque ius dominium et posse transfero irrevocabiliter. Inducens te et tuos de predictis omnibus cum hoc publico instrumento perpetuo valituro in corporalem possessionem pleno iure tanque in rem tuam propiam ad habendum et semper libere et quiete possidendum et ad omnem tuam tuorumque voluntatem faciendam sine vinculo et retentu mei et meorum et ullius persone. Salvo tamen semper censu et senioratico et fatiga ·XXX^a· dierum dicti cenobii et eius conventus qui census est unius mancusii pro quo datur dicto cenobio duo solidos huius monete Barchinone curribilis de duplo. Quia vero in contracta vendicionis vera rei tradicio requiritur de qua aliqua de facili constare non potest dono tibi expressum assensum permissionem licenciam et voluntatem meam de presenti que sine me nuncioque meo et procuratore in continenti propria auctoritate adipiscaris et recipias possessionem dictarum domorum que tibi a me permissa est et possessionem dictarum domorum vacuam tibi trado sive aprehendi permito cum nichil interest utrum dominis ipse tradat alicui rem ante voluntate eius alius aut possessio eius permissa sit ut expressim habentur. Instrumentum de rerum divisione et vendite in versu nichil autem inter est. Pro hac autem vendicione accepi a te Ducentos Septuaginta duos morabatinos bonos novos in auro curribiles anfussinos rectos sine engan et recti ponderis quos me factor habuisse. Ne vero occasione vel accione dupliscis decepcionis vel modis aliis ego possim vel possit aliqua alia persona unquam contra presentem vendicionem venire nec te vel tuos de non numerata pecciam convenire dicte occasione et actioni et exceptioni pecciam non numerate et omni alii iuri canonico ac civili comuni et singulari, publico et privato, scripto et non scripto sive consuetudinario quantum ad hec scientur et consulte penitus renuncio. Dando et cedendo tibi et tuis siquid hec que tibi vendo plus valent vel possunt valere precio supradicto. Contractu itaque presentis vendiciones celebrato per mutuuum consensum et quia de certo precio convenimus perfecta que ipsa vendicione per veram numeracionem ut hec superius continentur promito tibi per firmam et legalem stipulacionem de evacuacione predictarum domorum tibi et tuis semper teneri. Ita que ad questionem si tibi vel tuis mota fuerit in eisdem statim satisfaciam et respondebo pro te et tuis et in principilitis suscipium in me honus litigii et agam causam meis propriis impensis a principio usque in finem vel tu aut tui si velitis possitis tam agere per nos ipsos tibi et tui tamen super hoc eleccione servata. Remitendo tibi et tuis ex pacto necessitatem denunciandi. Et si tu vel tui elegeritis tractate causam in propria persona promito tibi et tuis restituere qua hora velitis expensas circa licem factas et quantum a te vel tuis sit evicerem cum omni dampno missione et interesse que inde sustinveritis tu et tui sive obtinantis in causam sive subcribatis et pro hiis omnibus et singulis completendis et attendendis obligo tibi et tuis me et omnia bona mea, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habendi in que melius tu et tui accipere

volueritis sine vestro dampno et absque placito et sacramenta et testibus. Et ad majorem cautelam iuro tibi per deum et eius Sancta Evangelia manibus meis corporaliter tacta que hanc vendicionem et omnia prenotata semper inviolabiter observem et nunquam contra veniam per me vel per interpositam personam. Actum est hoc, quarto nonas augusti anno domini Millesimo CC Quadragesimo Nono.

Signum+ Arnaldus de Pausis qui hoc firmo et laudo. Sig+num Bernardus Suavis. Sig+num Guillelme sororis eiusdem Bernardi Suavis que uxor est Bernardi Sebastia, nos qui predicti laudamus et firmamus et diffinimus et cedimus tibi emptori predicto quicquid iuris nobis competit in predictis domibus ratione hereditatis vel aliis modis.

+ Ego fratre Petrus Dei gratia Sancti Cucuphatis abbas sub scribo salvo iure Sancti Cucuphatis.

Ego fratre Arnaldus de Amenis monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo. Ego fratre Bernat Umberti monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo.

Ego fratre Petrus de Serriano Sancti Cucuphatis monachus subscribo. Ego fratre Guillelmus de Fonte Amancio monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo. Ego fratre Arnaldus Catelli monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo. Ego fratre Raymundus de campolongo.

Ego fratre Petrus de Turricella Sancti Cucuphatis camerarius subscribo. Ego fratre Guillelmus de Olorda monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo. Ego fratre Petrus francini de palaci monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo. Ego fratre Guillelmus de Calidis monachus Sancti Cucuphatis subscribo.

Testes huius rei sunt

Guillelmus Poncii

Romeus de Rocha

Jacobus de Montejudayco

Bernat de Portu

Jacobus Myr

Bertrandus de Valledaurexio

Petrus legeta curritor

et G Gardoni

Sig+num Jacobi de Portu publici Barchinone notarius qui hoc scribi fecit et clausit cum litteris apposis in linea ·II^a· ut dicitur et eius cameram, die et anno prefixis.

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