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Ferrán Martínez's speech at the *Tribunal del Alcázar* in Seville, 19 February, 1388

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Introduction

On Ash Wednesday in 1391, a riotous crowd gathered in Seville after the city's magistrates had ordered some Christians whipped for verbally abusing Jews. Threatening to attack Seville's Jewish quarter, the mob seized Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, who as *alguacil mayor*—the royal official charged with maintaining public order—was responsible for protecting the Jews, and attempted to kill him and another highly placed official, Juan Alonso de Guzmán, Count of Niebla. The magistrates were able to arrest the main agitators and pacify the crowd, but the unrest continued to bubble just below the surface.¹ On Tuesday, June 6, the revolt erupted again, and this time no one could or would stop it.² The gates of the Jewish quarter (*judería*) were set afire, hundreds of Jews were killed, their houses were despoiled by the raging mob, and many of the survivors converted to Christianity.³ The royal chronicler Pero López de Ayala wrote that “at that time, because of the rebellion, perished the *aljamas* [communities] of the Jews in Seville, Córdoba, Burgos, Toledo, Logroño, and many other [*aljamas*] of the kingdom [of Castile]; and in Aragon, those of Barcelona and Valencia, and many others.” By the time the killings and despoliations were finally over (after ten months, or by April 1392, according to the newest assessment by Benjamin Gampel), thousands of Jews were killed or forcibly converted, and many Jewish communities ceased to exist.

Only days after Seville's riot, several reports blamed Ferrán Martínez, an elite cleric at the Cathedral of Seville, for triggering the violence. On 16 June, the regents for the eleven-year-old king of Castile, Enrique III, asserted that it was “the archdeacon of Écija” who provoked the *gentes menudas* [lower-class people] into attacking the Jews. López de Ayala declared that the killing of Jews happened because of the “preaching and instigation made by the archdeacon of Écija in Seville,” and described him as the “cause” (*causa*) of the uprising. Even though no contemporary account placed Martínez directly on the scene of the riot in Seville or elsewhere in Spain, such was his reputation for harassing the Jews that he need not have been physically present among the rioters to be accused of urging them on.

Who was Ferrán Martínez? The records are silent about him until 1373, when they describe him as a canon at the Cathedral Chapter of Seville and the archdeacon of Écija. Other archival documents indicate that Martínez likely hailed from the town of Carmona (near Seville), and was a wealthy landowner, who donated a large estate to the Cathedral Chapter, and who had close ties to members of Seville's ruling elites. Martínez rose to power and influence in the years following the civil wars (1355-1369) between King Pedro I of Castile

¹ The only medieval account that gives the exact date for the first anti-Jewish riot in Seville – Ash Wednesday, which fell on 8 February in 1391 – is *Cuarta crónica general* (Biblioteca Nacional de España, mss. 1295, fol. 366r).

² Rabbi Hasdai Crescas of Zaragoza, who wrote his account of the events in October of 1391, claims that the riot happened on the first day of Tammuz, 5151, i.e. Sunday, 4 June, 1391. *Cuarta crónica general*, written in 1460, has Tuesday, 6 June, 1391 as the date of the massacre in Seville.

³ The Christian account, citing 4,000 Jewish dead, is found in *Cuarta crónica general* (fol. 366r), but the numbers are almost certainly exaggerated.



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and his half-brother, Enrique Trastámara, which ended with Enrique killing Pedro and seizing the crown. As part for his bid for the throne, Enrique disseminated proclamations alleging that Pedro had empowered Jews and Muslims to oppress Christians. The propaganda was effective and led to widespread attacks on Jews in northern Castilian towns. The anti-Jewish preaching campaign that Ferrán Martínez initiated in Seville during the 1370s may have been inspired by this war-time propagandistic discourse. By 1378 his activities were causing alarm in Seville's Jewish community. The *aljama*'s leaders began sending letters to the king of Castile, complaining that the archdeacon was inciting the people to harm their bodies and possessions. They also asserted that Martínez was abusing his authority by enforcing strict segregation of Jews from Christians, and took advantage of his appointment as a royal judge to pass sentences that blatantly favored Christians over Jews. King Enrique II and his heir, Juan I, responded by sending letters to the municipal officials in Seville, urging them to restrain Martínez and protect the royal property.⁴ There is no evidence that the royal interference had any effect on the archdeacon's behavior.

By 1388, the leaders of the *aljama* had had enough, and took Ferrán Martínez to court. The *Tribunal del Alcázar* was a royal court held twice a week before the gates of the *Alcázar* (royal palace) of Seville. The task of the chief municipal justices (*alcaldes mayores*) who presided over this court was to hear and settle townsmen's complaints against various municipal officials: *alcaldes* (judges), *alguaciles* (royal officials charged with maintaining public order), and others. Since he had been a royal judge since 1376, Martínez's case fell under the jurisdiction of this court. The proceedings took place over the course of two days: 11 and 19 February, 1388. The Jewish community was represented by Hía ibn Ataben, a wealthy cloth merchant and the *aljama*'s putative leader. Two *alcaldes mayores*, Fernando González de Medina and Ruy Pérez de Esquivel, adjudicated the case. On the first day, in front of Ferrán Martínez and an audience consisting of Christians and Jews, ibn Ataben laid out his community's case against Martínez, arguing that the archdeacon had violated the mandates contained in the letters from Enrique II and Juan I, and overstepped his authority by adjudicating legal cases involving Jews. Next, he asked that the public scribe, Martín Sánchez, read to Martínez the royal letters in question. All three letters, from Enrique II (dated 25 August, 1378) and Juan I (dated 3 March, 1382 and 25 August, 1383), were included in the court records. The last letter was particularly scathing in its criticism of the archdeacon. Addressing Martínez, Juan I wrote that the Jews

... have written to us complaining in very strong terms that you walk among them daily, preaching many evil things; also that you are threatening them and saying that you know from us and the Queen that we would be pleased if Christians were to kill or injure Jews, and that we would pardon them, and that you would help save them from our justice. ... We are much amazed at your claim that you are so intimate with us that you know our and the Queen's intentions, and that you do such things. Therefore we prohibit you to walk around preaching these sermons and saying these things against [the Jews], and if you want to be a good Christian, that you stay in your house rather than go running around like that with our Jews, lest the *aljama* of this city is destroyed through your actions and they lose what is theirs.

The excerpt transcribed below picks up the narrative at the very end of the first day, after the letters had been read, and when Ferrán Martínez engaged in a verbal altercation with ibn Ataben and other Jews. It then continues with the events on 19 February, when the court reconvened and heard the speech delivered by the archdeacon in his own defense. Unfortunately, the judges' verdict was not included in the transcript, and the outcome of the case remains unknown. Given that Martínez persisted in his anti-Jewish campaign, and continued to serve both as a royal judge and a *provisor* (chief judge) of the archdiocese of Seville, the case was likely decided in his favor. For the Jews of Seville—and of all Spain—the consequences of this decision were devastating.

⁴ In Castile, and elsewhere in medieval Europe, Jews were considered to be the property of the royal treasury.

Transcription of Ferrán Martínez's speech⁵

[the end of the proceedings on 11 February, 1388]

<p>... E que en quitando leer los dichos alualaes antel dicho arçediano, el dicho don Ferrant Martines, arçediano, dixo quele diesen traslado delos dichos alualaes e afruenta, e avria su acuerdo e que responderia.</p>	<p>... Those letters having been read in the presence of the Archdeacon, don Ferrán Martínez, the Archdeacon, said that he had been given a copy of the said letters and the petition, and that he would deliberate and respond.</p>
<p>E seyendo ydo el dicho alcalle Ruy Peres de ante la puerta delos dichos alcaçares, e estando y los dichos Ferrant Gonçales alcalle mayor, e el dicho Ferrant Martines, arçediano, e otros, el dicho don Hía, e otros muchos judios conel, el dicho don Hía estando rasonando conel dicho don Ferrant Martines, e el dicho don Ferrant Martines, arçediano, conel, [acaesçio que el dicho] don Hía que dixo al dicho arçediano entre las otras razones que y se fabluan que por qual rason tenia del una pieça de panno prendada. E luego el dicho don Ferrant Martines en respondienddo a esto dixo que non disie verdat quel touiese en su poderio aquella pieça de panno quel disia, nin nunca dios lo quisyese que en su poder entrase del, pero que la tenia su escriuano en fialdat por rason legitima que mostraria, e que la tenia en su poder en fialdat el dicho escriuano, e que sy a poder, lo tomase fuera de aquel lugar onde estaua que a sy como a perro que era, que por las palabras que avia dicho non verdaderas quel le faria que quantos perros judios sus parientes avia en la juderia que non le diesen vengança.</p>	<p>After the <i>alcalde</i> Ruy Pérez left the gate of the <i>Alcázares</i>, there remained the <i>alcalde mayor</i>, Ferrán González, the Archdeacon, Ferrán Martínez, as well as others, and don Hía, along with many other Jews, and as don Hía was arguing with Ferrán Martínez, and Ferrán Martínez, the Archdeacon, with him, [it so happened]⁶ that among other matters that don Hía raised with the Archdeacon, he asked why [Martínez] had in his possession a confiscated piece of cloth that belonged to [don Hía]. Then, in responding to this, don Ferrán Martínez said that [don Hía] was not telling the truth when he claimed that [Martínez] had that piece of cloth in his possession, nor did God ever intend for it to be in his keeping, but that his notary held it as a pledge for a lawful reason that he could show, and that the said notary held it as a pledge [<i>sic</i>], and that if he [i.e. Martínez] had the power, he would have [don Hía] driven away like a dog because of the lies that he had spoken, and all those Jew-dogs, his relatives, in the <i>judería</i> would not dare avenge him.</p>
<p>E el dicho don Hía dixo que dixiese lo que por bien toviese, e pidio a mi, el dicho Martin Sanches, escriuano publico, que diese ende fe e testimonio, las quales palabras el dicho arçediano dixo ante mi, el dicho escriuano, e ante otras gentes muchas que y estauan presentes, non estando y presente el dicho alcalle Ferrant Gonçales, e seyendo entrado a comer a los dichos alcaçares.</p>	<p>And don Hía said that [Martínez] had confirmed his opinions, and asked me, Martín Sánchez, public notary, to attest and verify what had been said.</p> <p>Such were the words that the Archdeacon spoke before me, the notary, and before many other people who were there, <i>alcalde</i> Ferrán González not</p>

⁵ Transcribed from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* manuscript (AHA, Sección clero, Toledo, Catedral, legajo 7215), and checked against the two published transcriptions: José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1984), 585-589; and Yitzhak Baer, ed., *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil: Urkunden und Regesten*, vol. 2, *Kastilien, Inquisitionsakten* (Berlin: Schöken, 1936), 215-218.

⁶ This part of the sentence is illegible in the manuscript.

	being present there having gone to eat at the <i>Alcázares</i> . ⁷
[Martínez's speech on 19 February]	
<p>E despues desto, dies e nueve dias del dicho mes de febrero e del dicho anno, el dicho don Ferrant Martines, arçediano, en respondiendõ a la dicha afruenta e protestaçon que el dicho don Hía le fiso, segund que dicho es, dixo</p>	<p>And after that, on 19 February of the same year, don Ferrán Martínez, responding to the complaint and declaration made by don Hía, as stated above, said that</p>
<p>“quel non puede dexar de pedricar nin de desir de los judios en sus pedricaçiones lo que Jesu Christo dixo en sus euangelios, la rason por que por quanto dixo que cada que tiene de leer e de pedricar qual quier euangelio que sienpre fabla en los euangelios e otras escripturas que diga de los judios, e que el que lo dira e pedricara aquello que Jesu Christo dixo en sus euangelios e mando, por que Jesu Christo dixo a todos sus diçipulos: ‘Yd a [<i>sic</i>] pedricad a todas las cryaturas del mundo el mi euangelio, e el que creyere e fuer bautisado sera saluo, e el otro sera condenado a los ynfiernos.’⁸</p>	<p>“he cannot cease preaching or speaking about the Jews in his sermons what Jesus Christ had said in his Gospels, and the reason is because every time he has to read and preach any Gospel, he always talks about what the Gospels and other scriptures say about the Jews, and that he will speak and preach whatever Jesus Christ said and mandated in his Gospels, because Jesus Christ had said to all his disciples: ‘Go to [<i>sic</i>] preach my Gospel to all the creatures of the world, and he who believes and is baptized will be saved, and the other will be condemned to Hell.’⁹</p>
<p>E dixo mas que qual quier que lo non resçibiese e non quisiese que fuese su rey e reynase sobre el, aquel pedricase ser enemigo suyo e fijo del diablo.¹⁰ E que por quanto reprehende la pedricaçon de los apostoles e non la quieren resçibir, los mandaron açotar e açotaron los e lo [<i>sic</i>] echaron de la synoga, e los apostoles yuan con grant alegria, por quanto nuestro sennor Jesu Christo los fasia dignos para resçeibir aquel martirio que reçibian por onra de Jesu Christo.</p>	<p>Moreover, He said that whoever does not receive Him and accept Him as his king to reign over him, would be declared His enemy and the son of the devil. And because they [the Jews] denounced the preaching of the apostles, and refused to accept it, they had the apostles flogged and thrown out of the synagogue, and the apostles went away with great joy, because Our Lord Jesus Christ deemed them worthy of such martyrdom, which they received in honor of Jesus Christ.</p>
<p>E non es marauilla que a los apostoles lo fisieren, ca lo fisieron a Moysen por les pedricar la verdat, e non furtasen, lo quisieron muchas veses apedrear, segund que esta en la ley de Moysen, e a Ysayas, e a Geremias, que fueron profetas santos de dios, por los pedricar la verdat e los amonestar que non</p>	<p>It is no wonder that they did it to the apostles: they did it to Moses as well, for preaching the truth to them, and they made no secret of wanting to stone him many times, according to the Law of Moses; and [they did it] to Isaiah and Jeremiah, who were the holy prophets of God, for preaching the truth</p>

⁷ The document states earlier that it was *alcalde* Ruy Pérez who had left the proceedings.

⁸ Cf. Mark 16:15-16.

⁹ Mark 16:15-16.

¹⁰ Cf. Mark 10, 15.

<p>fisiesen los males que fasian en Jerusalem, a Ysayas aserraron,¹¹ e a Geremias echaron una cadena en la garganta e lo pusieron en un çieno metido fasta la garganta;¹² e Geremias quando non lo quisieron oyr, lloro e fiso llanto, el qual llanto canta la iglesia los dias de las tiendras [sîç].¹³</p>	<p>to them and for warning them not to do the evil things that they were doing in Jerusalem. They sawed Isaiah in two;¹⁴ they threw a chain around Jeremiah's neck and put him in mud up to his neck;¹⁵ and when they refused to hear him, Jeremiah cried and made Lamentations, which the Church chants during the days of the Tenebrae.¹⁶</p>
<p>Por lo qual que non quisieron creer de las [sîç] profetas, fue destroyda la cibdat de Jerusalem por el rey Nabuco de nosor [sîç],¹⁷ e el rey Dechias [sîç]¹⁸ e sus fijos fueron traydos al rey Nabuco de noser, rey de Babylonia, e degollo delante dellos [sîç] sus fijos, e a el quebro los ojos, e esto reçibio el rey e sus fijos por la maldat de los judios, e el rey Sedechias fue traydo en cadenas catiuo a Babylonia, e fueron los muros todos de Jerusalem destroydos por Nabusardan su cosinero [sîç], el qual enbio Nabuco de nosar, despues de çinco meses e quemo la çibdat toda e la casa de dios. E mataron a Ur, hermano de Aron, por que les amonestaua que non fisiesen el beserro, e mataron lo escopiendo le en el rostro fasta lo afogaron, e asi murio.</p>	<p>Because they refused to believe the prophets, the city of Jerusalem was destroyed by King Nebuchadnezzar, and King Zedekiah and his sons were handed over to King Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia, and they decapitated his [Zedekiah's] sons before them [sîç], and put [King Zedekiah's] eyes out; and that is what happened to the king and his sons because of the Jews' wickedness;¹⁹ and King Zedekiah was brought to Babylonia in chains as a captive, and the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed by Nebuzaradan, his cook [sîç],²⁰ whom Nebuchadnezzar sent after five months, and he burned the whole city and the house of God.²¹ And they killed Ur, brother of Aaron, because he warned them not to make the golden calf, and they killed him by spitting in his face until he suffocated, and so he died.²²</p>

¹¹ Heb. 11:37.

¹² Jer. 38:6.

¹³ Read *tiniebras*.

¹⁴ Cf. Heb. 11:37. The apocryphal story of the sawing of Isaiah was a Hebrew narrative from the second century BCE that was translated into Greek and incorporated into a Christian work, "Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah." It was mentioned by Origen, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, and also appeared in the Babylonian Talmud (Yeb. 49b) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. 10.2).

¹⁵ Jer. 38:6.

¹⁶ Tenebrae is a religious service celebrated during the last three days of the Holy Week, when the *Book of Lamentations* (traditionally believed to have been authored by prophet Jeremiah) is read.

¹⁷ *Nabucodonosor/Nebuchadnezzar*.

¹⁸ *Sedechias/Zedekiah*.

¹⁹ 2 Kings 25:7, Jer. 39:5-7.

²⁰ Nebuzaradan was the commander of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, whose title in the original Hebrew is rendered as רב טבחים, or "master butcher." The Vulgate calls him "princeps" and "magister militia," rendered into medieval Castilian as "princep de la cavallería" and "maestro de la cavallería" in Alfonso X's *General estoria*. The Common English Bible translates Nebuzaradan's title as "captain of the guard." Martínez's use of a Hebrew word translated into Castilian is intriguing.

²¹ 2 Kings 25:8-12, Jer. 39:7-10.

²² Hur is mentioned in Ex. 17:10-12, and Ex. 24: 14, but he does not appear in the Exodus story of the golden calf. However, Rashi (eleventh-century French rabbi and exegete), in his commentary on Ex. 32:5, notes that Hur was

<p>Por lo qual dios en el postrimero libro que Moysen fiso, dios les dio tantas maldiçiones que serian muy luengas de contar e muy espantosas. E dixo a Moysen: 'Estas maldiçiones todas vernan sobresto pueblo despues que tu fueres salido de entre ellos.'²³ E estas maldiçiones e otras muchas fesieron ellos a aquellos que les pedricaron la ley que escripto es en la ley de dios, e el profeta Geremias que quando el prieto [s<i>ic</i>]²⁴ perdiere o mudare las verdades [s<i>ic</i>]²⁵ que tiene e el negro de Tiopia perdiere la negregura [s<i>ic</i>]²⁶ que tiene, estonçe en aquel tiempo faran los judios bien que siempre aprendieron mal.²⁷</p>	<p>And that is why in the last book of Moses, God put curses on them that would be too long and horrible to recount, and he said to Moses: 'These curses will be on this people, after you will have left them.'²⁸ These and many other curses were made by those who preached the Law to them, as is written in God's Law; and the prophet Jeremiah [said]: 'When the leopard loses or changes his spots, and the black Ethiopian loses his blackness, then at such time, the Jews, who always learned evil, will do good.'²⁹</p>
<p>E estas palabras son de la ley que Jesu Christo las dixo. E esto e otras cosas muy malas en ellos fesieron aquellos que los quisieron castigar e amonestar que non furtasen, no es de marauillar, ca en la vieja ley, donde les dio dios la manna en el desierto, mandauales que non tomase mas de aquello que de cada dia auian mester, e ellos non guardado aquello furtauau aquella manna e escondian la, e ally donde la echauan fallauan la fecha gusanos.³⁰</p>	<p>And these are the words of the Law that Jesus Christ spoke. And this and other very bad things were done to them by those who wanted to punish and warn them not to steal, as in the Old Law, where God gave them manna in the desert, ordering them not to take more than they needed each day, and they disregarded [the order], stealing that manna and hiding it; and wherever they threw it, the worms found it.³¹</p>
<p>E pues a dios furtauau, non obedesçiendo su mandamiento e le mentian, non es marauilla que furten e roban e mientan a los reyes e prinçipes de las tierras onde ellos viuen, espeçial mente en aquellas cosas que dixieron a mi sennor el rey don Enrique, vuestro padre, que dios de santo parayso, e a uos, sennor, que dios mantenga, en desir que yo</p>	<p>And since they stole from God, disobeying his order, and lied to him, it is no wonder that they rob and steal and lie to the kings and princes of the lands where they live:³³ especially in the things that they said to my lord, King don Enrique, your father, God grant him holy paradise, and to you, lord, God help you, in saying that I pronounced bad sentences</p>

Aaron's nephew who was killed because he had reprimanded the Israelites for worshipping the calf. The apocryphal story of Hur's martyrdom was disseminated in Christian Europe via Peter Comestor's *Biblia scholastica*, and included in Alfonso X's *General estoria* (13th c.)

²³ Deut. 27-28.

²⁴ Read *pardo*.

²⁵ Read *variedades* (?)

²⁶ Read *negrura*.

²⁷ Jer. 13:23.

²⁸ Deut. 27, 28.

²⁹ Jer. 13:23.

³⁰ Exodus 16: 19-20.

³¹ Ex. 16:19-20.

³³ Martínez's rhetoric echoes the townsmen's petition at the *cortes* (representative assembly) in Toro in 1371, which accused the Jews of exercising an excessive and nefarious influence at the royal court during the reign of Pedro I (1350-1369).

<p>que daua malas sentençias contra ellos en aquellos pleytos que por el rey, nuestro sennor, me eran encomendados. A lo qual, sennor, respondo que muestren quantas sentençias he dado contra judios o judias, e si malas e contra [<i>sic</i>]³² las yo di, yo las quiero todas pagar. Ca prouare, sennor, que por una sentençia que auia de dar que me fue encomendado sobre rason delas monedas de todo el regno, que montaua mas de unas setenta mill doblas, que me dauan dies mill doblas por que diese sentençia por ellos, la qual era contra dios e contra derecho, e saben muy bien que yo nunca quisiese una dellas resçibir nin resçibi.</p>	<p>against them in those cases that the king, our lord, had entrusted to me.³⁴ To which, lord, I answer that they should show the sentences that I have given against Jews or Jewesses, and if they were bad and against [the law], I wish to pay for all of them. Then I will show, lord, that on account of the sentence that I had to give and that was entrusted to me, regarding the <i>monedas</i> of the entire kingdom,³⁵ and which was valued at more than 70,000 <i>doblas</i>, they would give me 10,000 <i>doblas</i> to decide in their favor, which was against God and the law; and they know very well that I never wanted nor received any of [that money].</p>
<p>A las otras injurias que disen que les fise o fago, respond que sy yo derecho fisiese, que veynte e tres sinagogas que estan en la juderia desta çibdat, adeficadas contra dios e contra derecho, serian todas derribadas por suelo, por que las fesieron contra dios e contra la ley, alçando las e apostando las mas de lo que es ordenado de derecho. E en el tiempo de la mortandat que aqui fue grande, leuando el cuerpo de dios yo por la çibdat a los enfermos, los judios sin ninguna reuerençia non fasian sy non pasar por entre medias del cuerpo de dios, fasta que yo mande que a palos e a piedras los destoruasen que non pasasen con sus bestias por entre medias del cuerpo de dios.</p>	<p>As for the other injuries they say I cause or have caused them, I answer that if I could set things right, the twenty-three synagogues that are located in the <i>juderia</i> of this city, erected against God and law, would be razed to the ground, because they built them against God and against the law, raising and adorning them beyond what is stipulated by the law.³⁶ And during the time of the Pestilence, which was great here,³⁷ as I was taking the body of God³⁸ through the city to the sick, the Jews, not showing any respect, did nothing but pass through the middle of the body of God, until I ordered that sticks and stones block their passing with their beasts [of burden] through the middle of the body of God.</p>
<p>E a las otras cosas de los pleitos de la iglesia que yo oyo, mando que non moren judios nin moros con christianos, esto manda el derecho, e mando lo guardar nuestro sennor el arçobispo, por los muchos males que se fasian e fassen, conuersando los christianos con los traydores de los judios, lo</p>	<p>And as for the other things, the church lawsuits that I hear, I order that neither Jews nor Moors live with Christians, that is what the law commands, and our lord the Archbishop ordered that it be observed, because of the many evils that happened and continue to happen, Christians talking to the traitors</p>

³² A word seems to be missing in the manuscript: possibly, *derecho*.

³⁴ In 1376, King Enrique I appointed Ferrán Martínez to a special court, known as the *Tribunal de la Cnadra*, whose function was to review appeals from legal cases already adjudicated by *alcaldes mayores*, who served as appellate judges.

³⁵ The *moneda* or *moneda forera* tax was paid every seven years to guarantee that the king of Castile would not alter coinage. In August of 1379, Ferrán Martínez traveled to the *cortes* in Burgos to argue against the imposition of *monedas* on the Cathedral Chapter of Seville.

³⁶ Martínez may be referencing *Las Siete Partidas*, a legal code compiled during the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284). In *Partida* 7.24.4 Alfonso states that a new synagogue “cannot be erected in any part of our dominion, except by our order.” Also, they “cannot be made any larger or raised to any greater height, or be painted.”

³⁷ There was an outbreak of bubonic plague in Seville in 1383.

³⁸ A consecrated Eucharistic host.

<p>qual era contra dios e contra la iglesia. E esto fase nuestro sennor el arçobispo e mando a mi que lo guardase, por quanto es seruiçio de dios e salud de los reyes, la qual salud an de procurar los perlados de la santa iglesia e los sus menistros, por que dios sea seruido e los reyes sean defendidos. E los alualaes e cartas que nuestro sennor el rey sobre esta rason dio non se entienden, saluo si asy es, segunt que la relaçion falsa le fue fecha, mas non entendio defender aquellos que derecho e justiçia fassen e pedrican, ante lo manda que fagan justiçia e que pedriquen la palabra de dios, e yo asy lo fago. E esto do por respuesta a la reueriçion del dicho don Hia.”</p>	<p>of the Jews,³⁹ which was against God and against the Church. And this was done by our lord the Archbishop, and he ordered me to uphold this order, because it is the service of God and the safety of the kings, which safety has to be looked after by the prelates of the Holy Church and its ministers, so that God be served and the kings protected. And the letters and orders given by our lord the king cannot be understood except thus: that the king was given a false report, but he did not intend to stop those who do and preach law and justice. Rather, it orders that they do justice and preach the word of God, just as I do. And this I give as a response to the demand of the aforementioned don Hía.”</p>
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³⁹ Martínez may be referring to Jewish officials in Seville who had remained loyal to King Pedro I during the civil wars between Pedro and his half-brother Enrique Trastámara. Martínez was probably a loyalist of Enrique, who was crowned as king of Castile in 1369.