

Urban Morphology and Functional Hierarchy of the Jewish Quarter of Zaragoza (Spain) at the End of the Fifteenth Century

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Abstract

This article analyzes the morphology and functionality of the Jewish quarter of Zaragoza at the end of the fifteenth century, shortly before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, from a multidisciplinary perspective. It deals with the specific nature and understanding of one of the most important Jewish neighborhoods in Sepharad on the internal levels of Hebrew law and the confessional community, where urbanism is traced out from the privacy of the home and not from the public space and where the neighborhood is linked to the synagogues. Over two thousand documents from the 1492 to 1500 period, from the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, notarial protocols, municipal sources, and inquisitorial trials, have been consulted. A method of vertical cartographic coordination based on geographic information systems is applied as a way of geo-referencing the oldest surviving plans to reconstruct the physical and experiential space of the city in the Late Middle Ages.

Keywords

Jewish quarter, Zaragoza (Spain), urbanism, middle ages, GIS

Approach, Sources, and Methodology¹

Among other consequences, the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 led to the morphological integration of the Jewish quarters into the Christian cities in which they were located. This involved changes in the ownership of both public and private buildings and the demolition of elements of separation that had been in use since the early fifteenth century.

The documents generated in the period between 1492 and 1500, from the notarial protocols and municipal sources, as well as from the Royal Chancellery, regarding the extinction of the *aljama* (Jewish community), offer a detailed overview of this habitat.

The design of the method incorporates the geographic information systems (GIS) as a tool for studying historical cartography, an approach with many recent references that ensure its suitability.² There are already specific studies of the city of Zaragoza in the Roman and Islamic periods

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in which the analysis of the historical cartography with this tool shows its applicability for reconstructing urban areas, and where the transformations through time have led to the disappearance of the original topographic traits.³

As a novel aspect, this study applies a method of geo-referenced cartographic coordination, considering the various surviving plans of the city. The plans used are of the city in 1712 and its neighborhoods from 1723,⁴ together with the plan of the Historic Centre (General Parcelario del Casco Histórico) by Dionisio Casañal, available on the City Council's historical archive.⁵ The plan from 1712 is the oldest that has been preserved and the plan made by Dionisio Casañal in 1911 is the one that represents the plots in more detail (Figure 1).

To apply vertical coordination, prior geo-referencing and vectorization of the plans was carried out in the QGIS visualization environment, in a UTM ETRS89 zone 30 north, projected coordinate system. Unlike the static vision of classic cartographies, this approach evaluates the degree of morphological precision that is extracted from the analysis of the texts, as well as from their systematization and cartographic depictions.⁶ This methodology provides information which is valuable for locating the elements mentioned in the historical sources, as well as for identifying their spatial interrelationships. This allows an in-depth characterization of a singular space in the city in the Late Middle Ages. Likewise, specific patterns of the functional hierarchy of the Jewish quarter are identified, and these can be extrapolated to other points of the geography of Sepharad.

Historical Context: The City and Its Neighborhoods

Zaragoza is a metropolis with a population of approximately 25,000 inhabitants at the end of the Middle Ages, that is, about a tenth of the population of the kingdom, including a remarkable Jewish and Mudejar communities.⁷ In addition, it has a privileged status with respect to the rest of the cities,⁸ since it has the main institutions of the Administration, and turns into a neuralgic center of the mercantile and communications flow of the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, where the main political and mercantile elites of Aragon reside.⁹

Since the mid-fourteenth century (1356-1369), the space available for urbanization was doubled compared to the area of the old *Cesaraugusta*, with the construction of a second brick wall.¹⁰ The Christian population is distributed in fifteen parishes, in a process initiated in the middle of the thirteenth century (Figure 2). They are classified as Majors (Santa María la Mayor, San Salvador, San Pablo, Santa María Magdalena, San Felipe, San Gil, Santa Cruz, San Juan del Puente, and San Jaime) and Minors (San Pedro, San Andrés, San Lorenzo, San Nicolás, San Juan el Viejo, and San Miguel de los Navarros).¹¹

The hearth tax of 1495 enables the structuring of the space to be appreciated from a sectorial viewpoint. San Pablo was the most populous parish, with 1,229 hearths and, together with Santa María la Mayor, contained 45 percent of the dwellings. These were followed in decreasing order by La Magdalena, San Miguel, San Gil, San Felipe, and San Salvador, while the rest did not exceed 14.4 percent, with some being insignificant, like San Andrés (0.6%), part of whose territory belonged to the Jewry.¹² The Christian elite, preponderant in the first half of the fifteenth century, had a well-defined professional profile in which notaries (27%), merchants (26.6%), and jurists (12.4%) stood out, and where there were hardly any doctors or spice merchants (1.4%).¹³ However, in the second half of the century, a select circle of Jewish converts with common economic and political interests, who aspired to enter the mercantile oligarchy and the administration, would partially modify the composition of those elites.

The Moorish quarter is not built from scratch but is based on a preexistent area. After the conquest of the city in 1118, the Muslim population moved their residence to an old Islamic suburb built in the tenth century, southwest of the Medina. The neighborhood is delimited by a brick wall, forming an isolated unit, emulating the urban structure of a Muslim city. A mosque is

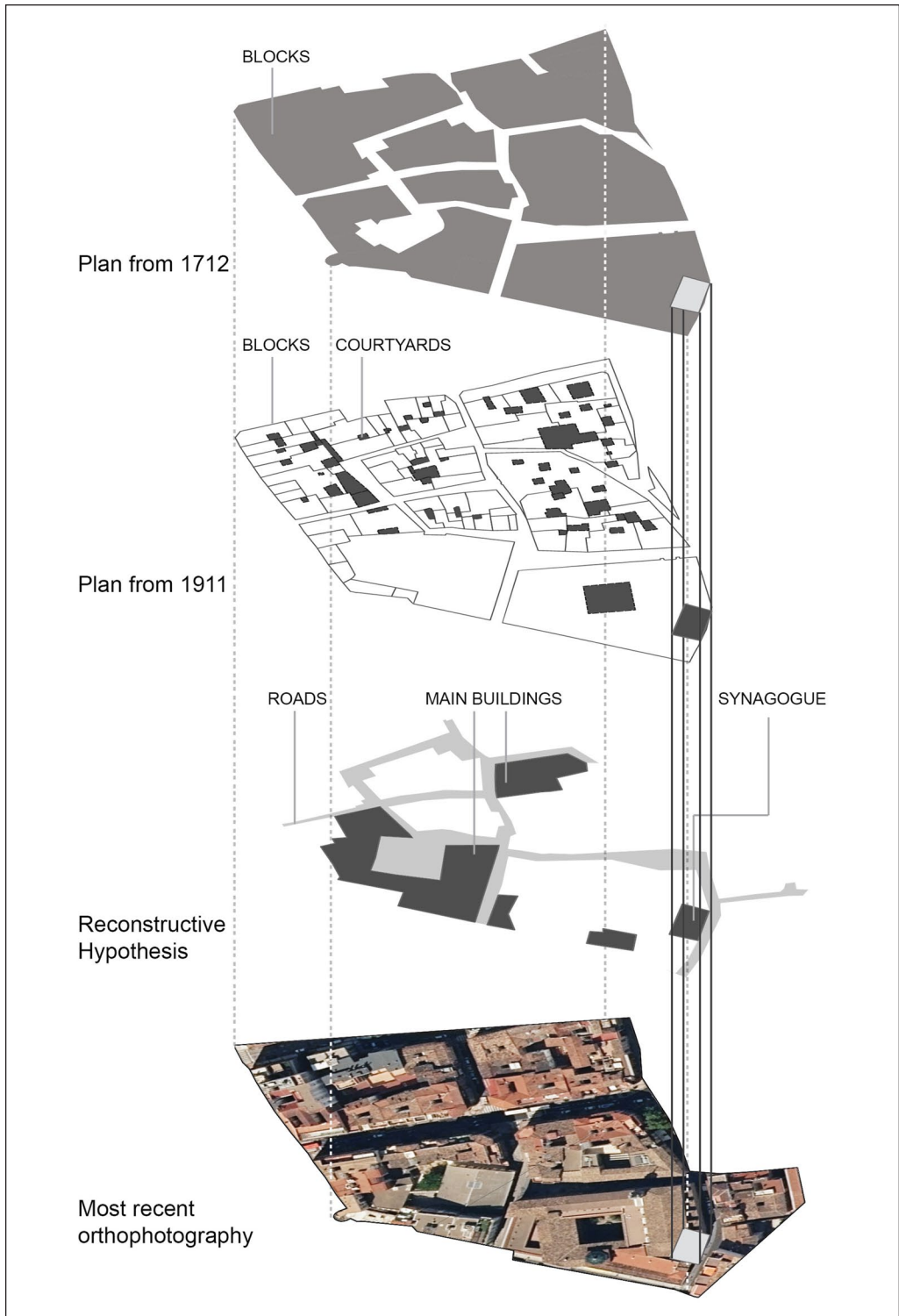


Figure 1. Applied conceptual model.
Source: The authors.

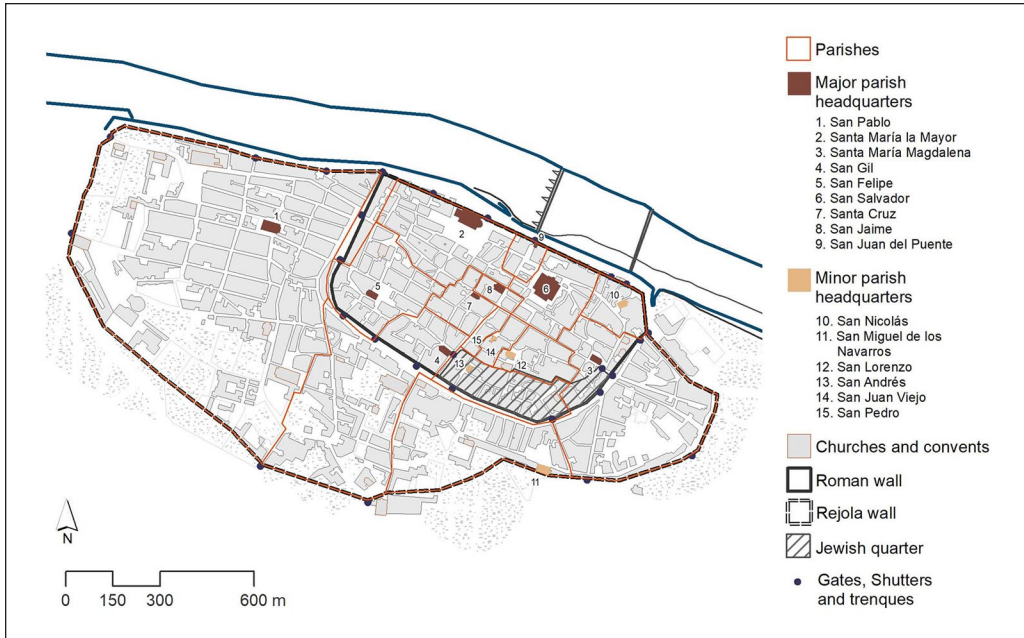


Figure 2. Christian parishes, Jewish and Moorish quarters at the end of the fifteenth century. Source: The authors, based on Casanova's cartography (1734, edited in 1769).

erected in Azoque Street, with a small square in front of it, as the hierarchical core of the space, and political and religious center. It borders commercial, artisan—concentrated in Cedaceros, Azoque, Fustería, Ferrería, Zapatería, and Alfóndiga—and residential areas. However, as in the case of the Jewish quarter, its inhabitants must adapt to an inherited urbanism with a different functionality. The reorganization and redefinition of the space has been consolidated since the fourteenth century.¹⁴

Moreover, after the persecutions of 1391, the Jewish community of Zaragoza became the most important in the Crown of Aragon. In the census carried out in 1406 in the Courts of Maella, 347 fiscal households were registered, without taking the free families (around twenty houses) into account. In other words, there was a population of around 1,400-1,550, some 11 percent of the city's total.¹⁵

A report issued in 1415, on the application of the royal pragmatics and the bull of Benedict XIII at the end of the Dispute of Tortosa, reveals that, in addition to closing all the synagogues except one, the aim was to move the inhabitants *intramuros*. However, after carrying out an inspection in situ, the *merino*, the royal official responsible for carrying this out, considered it impossible to relocate the occupants of the three hundred houses in Barrionuevo.¹⁶

Despite the conversions in the first decades of the fifteenth century, which affected one in every four Jews,¹⁷ the Jewish population of Zaragoza increased due to immigration from other closed Jewish quarters and natural growth to the point that in 1492 there were 460 households. This is stated in the receipt for the seals placed on the doors of the homes issued by the painters Cristóbal de Cazorla and Juan de Quintanilla before carrying out inventories.¹⁸

The syntax of the Jewish quarter, like the city in which it was located, was not the result of a mere grouping of people, but rather arose from their social structure and reflected a way of understanding the world.¹⁹ The study of this space, which is never neutral, involves interpreting the limits of society and its mentality.²⁰ In short, the *locus* is a projected image, where everything depicted is defined, structured, and organized.²¹ The human body represented a microcosm for

Jewish culture, whose symbolic system was also translated into urbanism, where society and space confer reciprocal meaning on each other.²² Not surprisingly, its neighborhoods territorialized human ecology and anthropology.²³

The Jewry is like the Islamic city as a community of believers,²⁴ whose functionality has an intense liturgical charge and generates specific spaces. For this we use the heuristic concept of “Jewishness,” that is, the way in which its inhabitants lived and experienced the space, where the religious component permeated everything, generating private or residential spaces and other public and ritual ones.²⁵ Moreover, intangibles generate enculturated spaces that limit or facilitate everyday activities subject to a specific religious rule. Hence, for example, the importance of the *'eruv*,²⁶ or a symbolic breaking of the Sabbath boundary, which allows the transport of certain objects and the performance of certain tasks on the Holy Day that would be unfeasible, including attendance at synagogue, if the boundaries of the wall were breached.²⁷

This area was divided into two neighborhoods with a different urban and sociological parameter: the Old Jewish quarter, inside the walls, and the New Jewish quarter, outside the walls. Whether or not the Jewish quarter is located within the city walls is relevant.²⁸ The *Misnah* in Treatise *'Arakhin*, in dealing with walled cities, confers special legal treatment.²⁹

The first was in the south-eastern part of the imperial Roman lower city, and housed the most prestigious community institutions, while the second was in the parish of San Miguel, where the families, mostly of leather workers and cobblers, lived in rented accommodation.

Old Jewish Quarter³⁰

The plan presents a *heterotropic* morphology, far from the Roman logic on which it was based—whose occupants transformed it over successive generations³¹—where streets and squares were the primary element. Its layout, within the spatial limitations imposed by political power,³² was neither random nor anarchic,³³ since between the rational and irrational is the non-rational.³⁴ The hierarchy was not morphological but more functional,³⁵ so that the function was defined by the presence of an element, and not by its position, which was mutable and nuanced it.³⁶

The Islamic *Saraqusta*—the Jews continue to live autonomously in the same space as during the Roman period—modified the layout of Augustus by means of the private appropriation of its land and the absence of control mechanisms by the authorities over construction unless they infringed on private rights and ways of life. Except for the *Cardo* and the *Decumanus*, the urban layout was fragmented, with the street losing priority as the primary space and the secondary streets becoming progressively privatized.³⁷

The Jewish quarter behaves like a micro-universe, like cells that do not merge organically and function on two axes: religion and civil power. Given that they are assigned a priori the place to inhabit and that their settlement does not take place *ex novo*, there is an almost symbiotic superposition of one system on the other.³⁸ Wherever the general plan is rational Greco-Latin, as in our case, or the Eastern plan of almost vegetable growth, its habitants will adopt it without any problem.³⁹

Limits and Gates

It was surrounded on the southeast by the stone and mortar wall of ancient *Cesaraugusta*.⁴⁰ It stretched from the oil mill, near the San Gil cemetery (exit from Calle Jaime I to Coso) to the Puerta de Valencia, marked by twenty-six circular towers (Figure 3).⁴¹ The first eleven towers, starting from the Puerta Cinegia,⁴² belonged to the city,⁴³ and the wall that adjoined the Jewish quarter belonged to the king. Beyond the entrance of Puerta Cinegia, the towers—from the first to the fifth, facing the Jewish quarter—belonged to the king, but the city owned the internal sections of the wall and the remaining towers up to the Puerta de Valencia,⁴⁴ currently Plaza de la Magdalena (Figure 4).⁴⁵

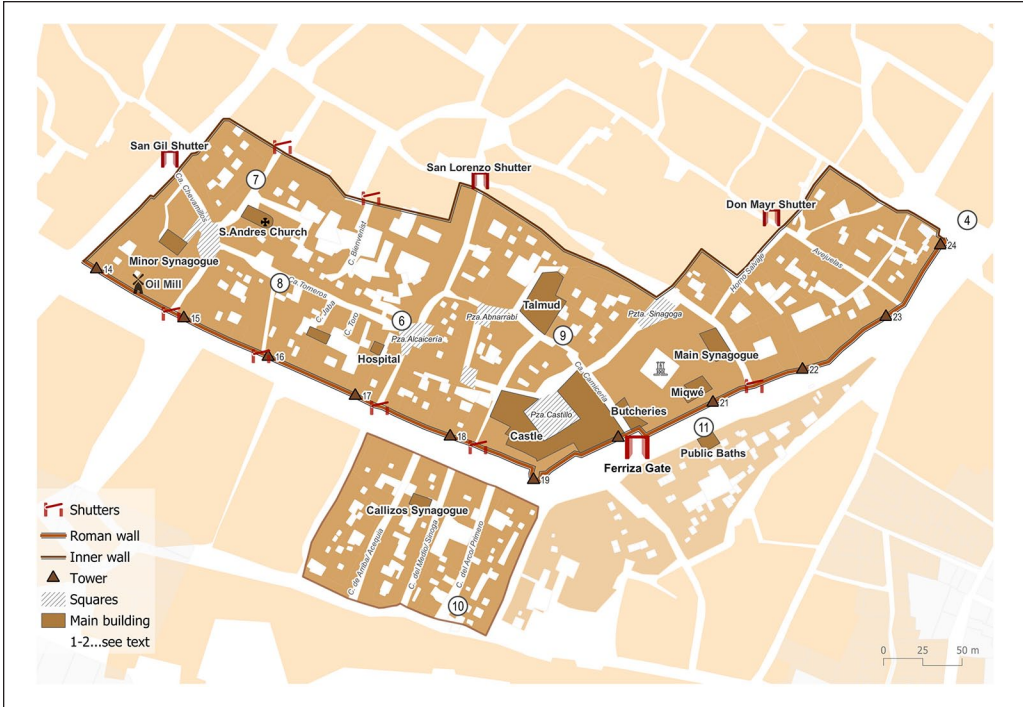


Figure 3. Reconstruction of the Jewish quarter in the fifteenth century through the vertical coordination technique and geographic information systems (GIS).
Source: The authors.

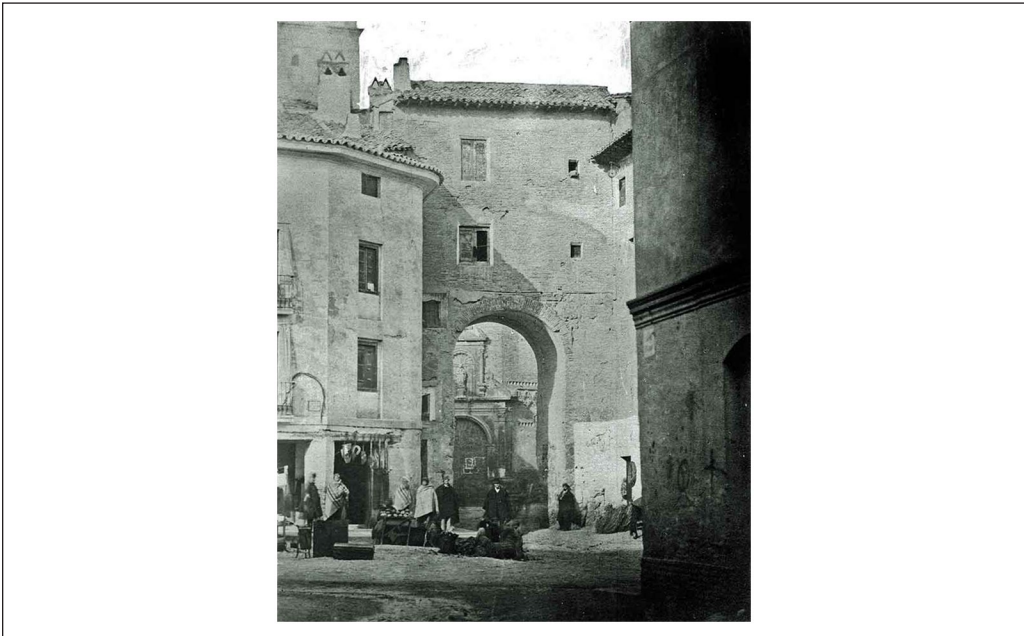


Figure 4. Puerta de Valencia in 1853.
Source: Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (AMZ).
Note: It was at the end of the Calle Mayor, in the Plaza de la Magdalena, on the edge of the *Decumano Máximo*.

The Roman wall: Puerta Ferriza. It was linked to the outside through three gates that were closed at night or in times of danger and uncertainty: the main one, the Portal de la Judería or Puerta Ferriza, and two secondary posterns—partly blocked from the second half of the fourteenth century—that of San Andrés and that of the oil mill. This does not preclude the existence of passageways or stairs built into the wall, as was the case in the homes of Bella Valencia or Rabbi Salamón Zunana, near the *Los Torneros* synagogue.⁴⁶

The old Rabinad postern, existing since at least 1228, was closed in 1357, due to the War of the *Dos Pedros* (Peter I, of Castile, and Peter IV, of Aragón). After the conflict, it was reopened around 1368, adopting the name of Puerta Ferriza. It was the main access to the neighborhood, since the sources refer to it as the entrance of the Jewish quarter.⁴⁷ It was located at the confluence of Santo Dominguito de Val with Coso, in the line the wall followed between the tower of the Carnicería and the Castle, in front of the Jewish Baths and the *Piedras del Coso*. Its surroundings were heterogeneous, given the disorderly accumulation of dwellings in a reduced space.⁴⁸ The narrow space between roofs turned these streets into something closer to dark passageways.

The descriptions of the juries show that this gate was small, hence its description as a postern, since someone on horseback could barely pass through it.⁴⁹ In addition, it did not allow decent access from the *Barrionuevo* to Coso, with the aggravating circumstance that it conserved the Hebrew inscriptions, and it also meant that when a procession from the church of San Miguel, presided over by Christ, came to collect a deceased person, its members had to bow down, which was considered an affront to the Christian religion.⁵⁰

Inner wall. An internal delimitation in brick or rammed earth (in some sections the rear of the buildings) separated the Jewish quarter from the rest of the city, as corroborated by the fact that they made three entrances in it, these being Postigo Don Mayr, Puerta de San Lorenzo, and Puerta de San Gil, in addition to the fact that the documentation distinguishes “el muro mayor de piedra” (the largest stone wall), which leads us to think of a smaller one. In the second half of the fifteenth century, a “muro nuevo” or “muro de la jodería” is referred to as running through the parish of San Gil.⁵¹ Some documents refer to houses in the same calle San Gil,⁵² near the alley of Chevamillos.⁵³ This was the result of the segregationist measures.

It started from the San Gil fossar—current exit from Don Jaime to *Coso*—continuing along the right side of the carrera de San Gil—even numbers of Don Jaime, entering through *Coso*—turning at right angles to the right before arriving at Calle San Jorge, and continuing through a maze of narrow streets to Plaza de la Magdalena.⁵⁴

Postigo Don Mayr. This was located at the intersection of Calle del Postigo de la Judería—Calle San Lorenzo—with the alley of the Horno del Salvaje—Calle de los Estudios—running south toward the Mayor Synagogue. It was possibly the oldest in the Jewish quarter, since the sources refer to this enclave as “el postigo viello de la judería” (the old shutter of the Jewish quarter), in memory of Don Mayr Alazar, who died in 1383.⁵⁵

The most prestigious point of reference now is the doctor, Bonjua del Portal, who owned real estate—part adjoining the stone wall, so this would be in the eastern part—made up of two house doorways (2,000 *sueldos*)⁵⁶, a shop or *botiga*, corral and cellar (1,800 *sueldos*),⁵⁷ which were entered through the “calizo de mestre Bonjua.”⁵⁸ Noha Chinillo and his son Vidal had two doorways with two pens (3,250 *sueldos*)⁵⁹; Simuel Perelló, three houses close to the public alleyway (2,600 *sueldos*)⁶⁰, similar to those of Saraya Benosillo (2,666 *sueldos*).⁶¹ Nearby, there were two houses belonging to Abraham Abencanyas (2,750 *sueldos*) adjoining the wall and two alleys.⁶²

The sources do not refer to a single alley,⁶³ but allude to the confluence of two public streets, one of them belonging to the parish of San Lorenzo,⁶⁴ as it was in the northern part of the neighborhood. Indeed, calle El Postigo ran in front of the dwellings of Mossé Alazar, an eminent doctor, and Salamón Alazar (4,000 *sueldos*).⁶⁵

In the neighborhood, there were the houses belonging to Jucé Abendavit, Simuel Baco, Abadía Benosillo, Abraham Nanías, Margallón Alcovardero, Simuel Amiba, Vidal Falleba, and Simuel Perelló.⁶⁶ These included Bienvenist Profet, Bonafós Abnarrabí, Mossé Abder, Vidal Abnarrabí, Açach Salamón, Haym Axivili (1,000 *sueudos*), Jehudá Bendavid, Mossé Daça, and Vidal Falleba.⁶⁷ The existence of gardens and corrals, rare in other, much more densely populated, urban areas, as well as small shops, such as that owned by Zacarías Benosillo, is significant.⁶⁸

Puerta de San Lorenzo. This allowed movement between the walled Jewish quarter and the homonymous parish. Documented since 1368, it was at the intersection of Calle San Jorge and Calle Pedro Joaquín Soler. In the fourteenth century, it was a residential area preferred by the Cavallería and Alazar families, vassals of the Order of Saint John of the Hospital.⁶⁹

Puerta de San Gil. This was in front of the church of San Gil, at the end of an alley that led to the prison, which was located near Puerta Cinegia, until 1440 when it was moved to the Puerta de Toledo. The Chivamillos alley, which goes into the heart of the Jewish quarter, starts from there,⁷⁰ following a west–east axis.

Road Network, Hierarchy, and Urbanism

The main public streets, called *carreras*, served as access to the secondary ones. These secondary streets were narrow and broken, with blind alleys and labyrinthine ramifications, as a result of the juxtaposition of irregular blocks (Figure 5).

Carreras. While the Maliki school rejects any rule that is not in the Koran and limits itself to the satisfaction of basic needs of movement and access,⁷¹ in the rabbinic tradition, a minimum distance of four cubits is established to ensure that the easement of light, increasing to fifty cubits when they emit noxious odors or transmit impurity.⁷² Thus, *carreras* were the only elements of the urban space with a certain regularity and breadth—rabbinical law established a minimum distance to guarantee that the easement of lights and views was not violated.⁷³ These served for the traffic of merchandise and people, and linked the public institutions, which condensed civil and religious life, and the exterior gates.⁷⁴

Two of the main axes ran north–south. The first was by the “*carrera que va drecha al postigo Domayr*” (main public street leading directly to Postigo Don Mayr) from the Mayor Synagogue, as can be seen on the boundaries of the houses of Simuel Abenrabí and Mossé Alazar, which would become the property of the church of Santa María la Mayor.⁷⁵ To make it more viable, in 1496, the town hall opened a new *carrera* that connected with Coso.⁷⁶

The second, near the brotherhood of the Talmud, generated an axis parallel to the previous one, formed by a *carrera* that ran along one of its sides, and that connected with a second artery that ended in the Plaza del Castillo.⁷⁷

Although it did not acquire the category of a *carrera*, the Chevamillos alley⁷⁸ or “*calliço de la Puerta de San Gil a la Judería*,”⁷⁹ coincided for a large part of its length with *Calle de la Verónica*. It connected the *Puerta de San Gil* with the Minor synagogue, Calle de los Torneros, where the *Biqqur Holim* Synagogue was located, and the *Alcaicería* neighborhood, a bazaar where trinkets, silks, and luxury items were sold, in the Plazuela de la Verónica, and the end of Calle de San Pedro Nolasco, from where the Puerta de San Lorenzo was reached (Figure 6).⁸⁰

Squares. In the rabbinic conception, the street is not a space for relationships, nor is the square conceived as an agora. Thus, not surprisingly, the Main Synagogue, an axial building, only had a small square next to it.⁸¹

One of the exceptions is the Plaza del Castillo, known in the documents as the “*Plaça de la Juderia*,” so it seems that it was the largest one.⁸² Around it was the building, of Roman origins,

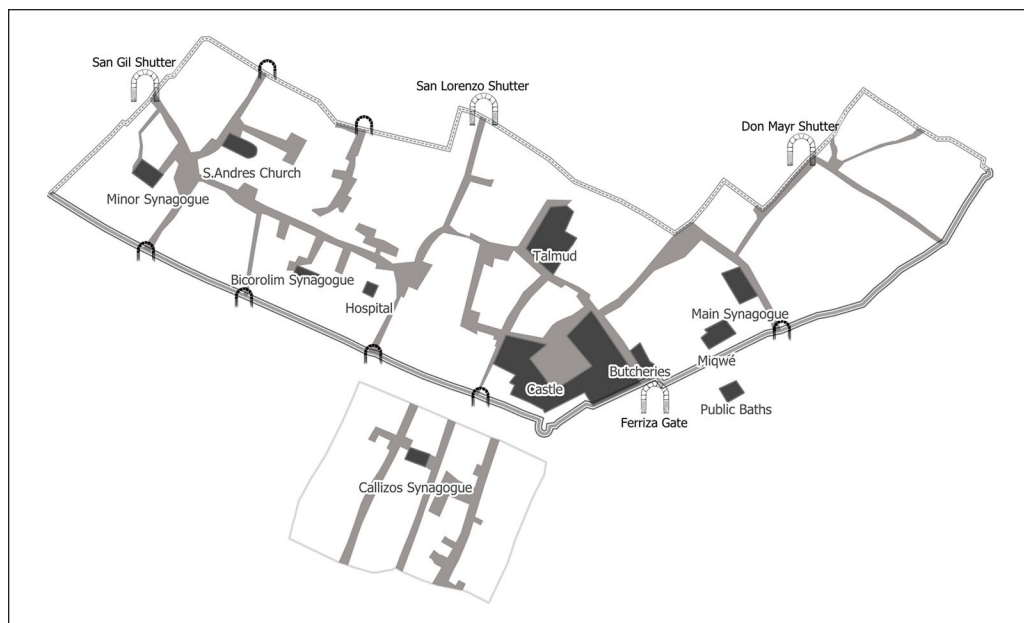


Figure 5. Nodes and trajectories defined in the reconstructive hypothesis as the main articulating axes of the Old Jewish Quarter in connection with religious and civic centers.

Source: The authors.



Figure 6. Plazuela de la Verónica, where la Alcaicería was located.

Source. Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (AMZ).

which, due to its monumental nature, did not undergo structural modifications, and which was used as a prison and the community's archive.⁸³ It also housed highly valued private homes with the Hospital on one of its sides and close to the *miqwé*.⁸⁴

The Plaza Abnarrabí, flanked by two public streets,⁸⁵ was a prestigious area. It was not very large, since it was defined as a *placeta* (little square).⁸⁶ The members of the lineage that gave it its name stand out, many of whom remained in their homes after converting. These included Vidal Abnarrabí (5,000 *sueldos*), Simuel Abenrabí, alias Patrón (Dionís de Castro),⁸⁷ Bonafós

Abnarrabí (Martín García de Salazar), Dolz Abnarrabí (Alfonso de Aymerich), and Bonafós Abnarrabí (Martín García de Salazar), as well as Rabbi Simuel Franquo, David Cohen, Jucé Ardit (1,000 *sueldos*), Ezmel Abendino, Abraham Ardit, and Ezdra Alazar.⁸⁸

Callizos. The network of *callizos* or alleys operated as a circulatory system, to the point that the boundaries between the rights of the *aljama* and the individual were diffuse. This was not an arbitrary layout, but rather responded to a functional logic and land ownership, with a very weak conception in the consideration of what was public. It was a micro-city experienced daily by its neighbors “from below,” with a hegemony of the private.

The blocks were crossed by a network of walkways that allowed the houses to be organized in square plots, outside the perimeter that delimited them. Hence, it was subjected to the discretion of the adjacent owners. Each neighbor had certain rights over a section that extended from the access to their home to the end of the road. Due to its private nature, the alley was totally or partially incorporated into the built-up area of a house.⁸⁹

Some examples are significant. On one of the sides of the Plaza Abnarrabí,⁹⁰ the larger houses of Vidal Abnarrabí, son of Dolz, and Vidal Abnarrabí, son of Açach, had access through a street—an artery widened after the expulsion⁹¹—while the smaller houses did so through an alley.⁹² In the surroundings of Postigo Don Mayr, there was a dense network of micro-vias conceived for the transit of their occupants. These included the dwellings of Bonjua del Portal, which had an entrance through a dead-end alley called “callizo de Maestre Bonjua alley,” like those of Simuel Baco or Jucé Abendavit.⁹³ In la Berceria there were also houses with blind alleys.⁹⁴

Synagogues and Neighborhood

The community had four synagogues, one public and three semi-public—five, if we count the *Talmud-Torah*⁹⁵ synagogue—which delimited specific sectors.⁹⁶ Beyond family circles, those who live in the neighborhood became close, “parroquianos jodios.”⁹⁷

The network of synagogues structured the socio-coexistence spaces and consolidated the neighborhood ties assigned to an identifiable area by its believers,⁹⁸ similar to parishes, parceled-out nuclei of sociability.⁹⁹ The documentation of the Royal Chancellery emphasizes the concept of neighborhood, a genuine approach to the material and social history of the city.¹⁰⁰ Thus, in 1364, regarding the dismissal of the rabbi from the Main Synagogue, the king alluded to the praying community—“judeorum parrochianorum sinagoga maioris ebraismi dicte civitate” (parishioners of the Major Synagogue of the Jewish quarter of the city)—who had the right to choose their religious authorities.¹⁰¹

Shortly afterward, in 1381, in a commission appointed by Peter IV to direct the rights of access to the tribune in the leading festivities (Alazar, Faleva, Granada, and Abenjamin) it was referred to as “parrochianorum seu orantium in dicta majori sinagoga” (parishioners of the Major synagogue).¹⁰² Another document notes, “bonos et honestos judeos de antiquioribus generibus parrochianorum seu oracium in sinagoga” (Good and honest Jews who from ancient times formed the community of prayer in the synagogue).¹⁰³

Main Synagogue. Known as the Mayor or the “Viella” (old), this was where the important affairs of the community took place, bringing together all its members, hence it was designated as “la sinoga de la juderia.”¹⁰⁴ It was in the middle of the Jewish quarter, next to the Carnicería, in the current Plaza de San Carlos, in front of the Palacio de los Morlanes, and close to the Roman wall.¹⁰⁵

Attributed to the parish of La Magdalena or San Miguel, on one of its sides or very close to it runs a public street,¹⁰⁶ or two according to other mentions.¹⁰⁷ The sources expressly speak of the “calliço de la sinoga” (synagogue alley), where, among others, Mosse Aninay and Simuel Franquo (1,000 *sueldos*) lived.¹⁰⁸

According to the description by the historian Diego de Espés in 1559,¹⁰⁹ it had a basilica floor plan with three naves, the central higher than the lateral ones, separated by marble and jasper pillars, with a double-pitch wooden ceiling, gilt on some of its sections and adorned with clusters of muqarnas. It had seven doors, three on each side, through which, respectively, men and women would access, and the main entrance, in the western wall that led into the small square.¹¹⁰ A frieze with biblical inscriptions in red and blue ran along both sides of the main nave. On the northern wall there was a notably large *menorah*.¹¹¹ Inside, there was a privileged place reserved for the leaders next to the eastern wall or *mizrah*.¹¹²

Although it was the biggest in Aragon, it is neither large nor ostentatious.¹¹³ It was similar to the Santa María la Blanca synagogue in Toledo and the *Corpus Christi* synagogue in Segovia, both of which adopted the Mudejar architectural model of the rectangular mosques.¹¹⁴ This allows us to date it from the thirteenth century,¹¹⁵ from around the same time as the baths.¹¹⁶ Its location generated prestige and land prices there were high.¹¹⁷ The houses of the physician Mossé Alazar (4,000 salaries) were located in the small square of the synagogue, which allowed him to have an orchard and a farmyard, leased to Bonafos Abnarrabí.¹¹⁸ Likewise, such prominent figures as Salamón Trigo (1,000 *sueldos*), Simuel Abenrabí, Simuel Franco, and his sons Jehuda and Açach, Simuel Patrón, Mossé Aninay, Simuel Cides, and Jucé Alazar, lived there.¹¹⁹

As a matroneum, the “synoga de las mulleres” (women’s synagogue)¹²⁰ had its own rabbi.¹²¹ The houses, corral, yard, and tower of the wall of Mossé and Jucé Constantín (20,000 *sueldos*) faced the houses of Salamón Atortox and maestro Vidal Abnarrabí, the women’s tribune, a “callico por do la dita casa tiene entrada e no salida” (alley where the house has entrance but no exit), the “muro de piedra viejo” (old stone wall), and the corral of the Carnicería.¹²²

Conflicts are recorded as arising from the opening of windows in the adjoining buildings to allow visual access to the interior of the synagogue. This phenomenon, which was not exclusive to Zaragoza, arose due to the demands raised before the monarch, being relatively frequent, “prout in aliquibus aliis hospiciis cum sinagogis confrontantibus talia sunt assueta teneri” (as is the case in other houses bordering synagogues).¹²³ Moreover, this matter had been the subject of consultation in 1288 when Alfonso III, at the request of Arón Abenafia, consulted the *bailiff*¹²⁴ of Calatayud about its legality under rabbinical law.¹²⁵

Minor Synagogue. The Minor or “Parva” synagogue, which had its own brotherhood, was made up of a building, a granary, some chambers, a palace, a store, and a stable, and was near the calizo de la Perera (el Peral), valued at 1,000 *sueldos*.¹²⁶ Açach Abiayut, Açach Salinas, Gento de Corti, and the widow of Orabuena lived in this sector.¹²⁷ The houses of Salamón Orabuena adjoined the houses of Jucé Carrillo, a shoemaker, the aforementioned synagogue and “dos callicos que no han salida e con carrera publica” (Two dead-end alleys and one public street).¹²⁸ Likewise, it was very close to Coso, since it adjoined the wall, as evidenced by the houses of Mossé Cedosillo, Jucé Carrillo, and Jucé Abadías.¹²⁹ Thus, it was flanked by two alleys.¹³⁰

An inquisitorial trial indicated that “estava primera, entrando por la puerta de San Gil, en un callico” (it was the first, entering through puerta de San Gil, in a little alley),¹³¹ while in another judicial case, it was noted “stando assi en la juderia, entro en la sinoga de los judios que sta sitiada entrando por la carrera que va de la plaça de Sant Gil, que sta a mano dreyta, antes de gilogar a la carrera que viene drecha de Sant Lorenç.”¹³² In other words, it was an alley that ran very close to the end of the street that came from Puerta de San Gil on the right-hand side, on the street that went from the Plaza de San Gil to meet another that came from San Lorenzo, perhaps calle San Andrés.¹³³

This sector was bounded by the inner wall (to the north and west) and the stone wall (to the south), the don Bienvenist alley (to the east), and Los Torneros. One part of the sector falls within the parish of San Gil (the alley or small square of La Perera or of the Minor synagogue,¹³⁴ a section of Chevamillos, the vicinity of the Puerta de San Gil, and part of Calle San Gil) and another



Figure 7. Calle San Andrés in 1918, where Iglesia de la Casa de Ganaderos was located.
Source: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico. Archivo Mas.

in that of San Andrés—whose church of the same name is in the heart of the Jewish quarter—(callizo San Andrés, Prunillo, and part of Chevamillos).¹³⁵ Simuel Parexo, Adret Aninay, and Simuel Muriel lived there (Figure 7).

Synagogue of Biqqur Holim. This synagogue, which was also known as Visiting the Sick¹³⁶ or Los Torneros, stands on the artery of the same name,¹³⁷ currently Calle de la Verónica (Figure 8). Flanked by two public roads, a dead-end alley, and the houses of Juan de Burgos, a whitewasher,¹³⁸ Ferdinand II donated it after the expulsion to the monastery of Santa María de Jerusalem, a foundation of the royal secretary, Juan de Coloma.¹³⁹ In addition, as evidenced by the houses of Salamón Zunana (1,000 *sueldos*), Simuel Manuel (1,602 *sueldos*), Açach Baco, Salamón Abuzmel, and Salamón Nazir, it was close to the wall, since among its boundaries they cite the “puyada” (rise) of the wall.¹⁴⁰

Public, Assistance, and Supply Centers

The Castle. Used as a jail for the Jews and archive for the *aljama*, the castle had seven stone towers, the wall, and “trastes de torre.” On one hand, it bounded on the street “vulgarmente dicha el Coso” and the Carnicería, on the other with a public street “por la qual se ba a la dicha Carnicería,” the “del Castillo de los jodios” square, the houses of Simuel Baço and of Simeon Rogat.

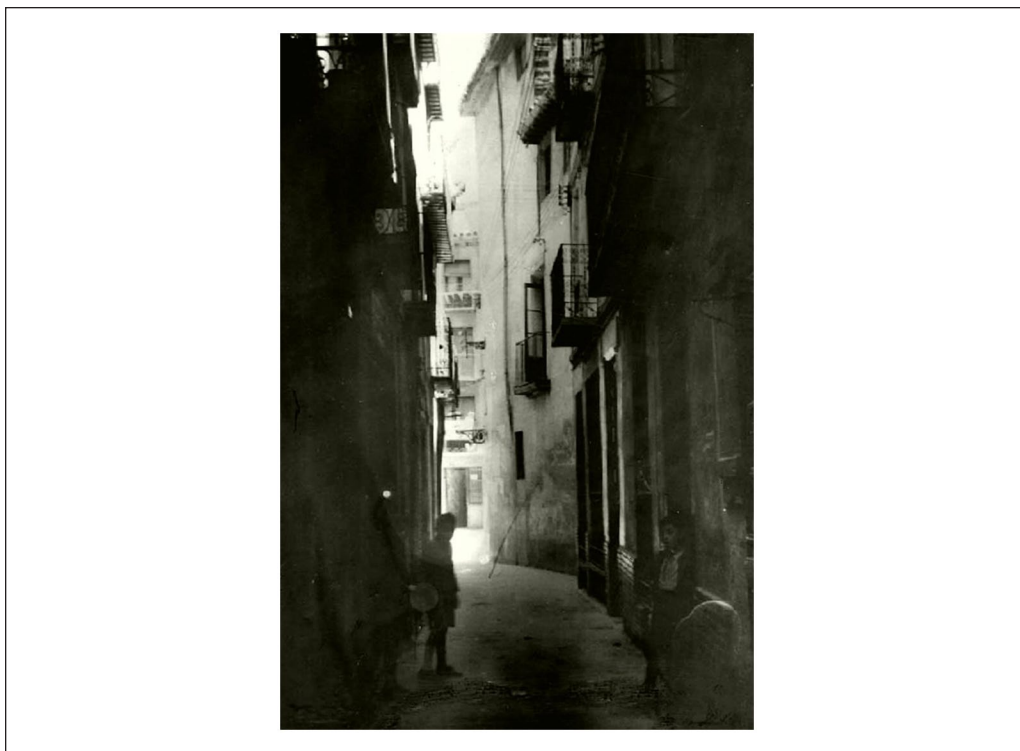


Figure 8. Calle de La Verónica (1951).

Source: Juan Mora Insa, Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza (AMZ).

Together with the Carnicerías, in 1492, it was donated to Juan Cabrero, a royal chamberlain, whose properties, after a financial agreement, became the property of the council in the Courts of Tarazona.¹⁴¹ Until its acquisition by the company of Jesus, it would be used as an *almudí* (council-owned wheat warehouse).

This was an exclusive residential sector among whose residents was Salamón Atortox, one of its most powerful Jews, whose houses, with cellars to store wine—with a vat, among others, with a storage capacity of 130 loads—and oil were valued at 8,500 *sueldos*,¹⁴² exceeding that of the charismatic house of the Talmud.

Brotherhood of Talmud-Torah. This was where Hebrew law was taught. It was in front of the tower of Puerta Ferriza, in calle Cíngulo. This road disappeared together with Yedra and Sartén streets, and Plaza de la Cebada, when Calle San Vicente de Paúl was opened. Calle Cíngulo connected Calle Santo Dominguito de Val and Calle San Jorge. In the surroundings, high-quality dwellings were located—“que son buenas casas, e por lo sobredicho no se troba quien las quiera comprar, las quales casas ganan mucho en fazer la dicha policia y faziendo crehe se fallara mayor precio del que de present dan en ellas” (although they are good houses, because of their location in a degraded urban environment, it is necessary to demolish some of them to increase their value and sell them at a higher price). Specifically, the value of Brotherhood of *Talmud-Torah* was established in 4,000 *sueldos*.¹⁴³ In fact, in the subsequent auction, the jurors highlighted the high patrimonial value, awarding it to the notary Domingo Salabert for 4,400 *sueldos*.¹⁴⁴ Inherited by the Sora family, the Marquesses of Torrecilla, Brotherhood of *Talmud-Torah*, was turned into a Renaissance palace.

Hospital. The property was valued at 910 *sueldos*¹⁴⁵ and was managed by Baruc Aciz and Mira Cohen, “hospitaleros,” and Ester de Salinas, widow of Rabbi Simuel.¹⁴⁶ Its houses adjoined the houses of Namías el Cofretero, Jehudá Perfet, and Jehuda Algranati (1,500 *sueldos*), between the alley of Los Torneros and the alley of El Toro—Calle Pardo Sastrón¹⁴⁷—not far from the Plaza del Castillo and close to the *Biqqr Holim* synagogue. It had nine beds and two straw mattresses. The building had two *palacios* (rooms next to the porch on the ground floor), five *cámaras* chambers, and two latrines.¹⁴⁸

Bakery. This did not have the ritual significance of other places, but did not lack it altogether, given the Talmudic regulation of the *Pesah* festival, when unleavened bread (“cencenyo” or “cotaço”¹⁴⁹) was cooked, compared to “pan lindo” or *ḥame*, and consumed daily. Next to the Carnicerías, the Castle,¹⁵⁰ the Main Synagogue, and the wall, Juan Pérez had an oven or corral, later owned by Francisco Bojons.¹⁵¹ Likewise, within the walls, there was the old bakery—which was owned by Jaco, Mossé, or Salamón—next to the *miqwé*.¹⁵² The complex was made up of some houses, a corral, and a bakery. It became the property of Domingo Benedit, chaplain of Santa Cruz; perhaps due to lack of use, it was confiscated.¹⁵³

Butcheries.¹⁵⁴ Its existence dates back to 1135.¹⁵⁵ It is an isolated property, very close to the wall, which was accessed from the street of the same name, “asaz cerqua del dicho Castillo, en do se vendian carnes a los ditos jodios” (near the castle where Jews sold meat).¹⁵⁶ It is a single-story building, perhaps semi-circular, with two gates, the main or outer door, in the vicinity of Puerta Ferriza, and the rear or “çaguera,” which led into Coso.¹⁵⁷ It consisted of five meat cutting boards and a sixth where the *sisá* (consumption tax) was paid, as well as two corrals, the larger for the oxen and the smaller for waste.¹⁵⁸

When it was demolished in 1500, along with Puerta Ferriza, a stretch of wall and some houses, the result was a small space, which was later expanded with “la carrera publica por donde sallian de *Barrionuevo*.” The properties were demolished by the council and this created a square with the following dimensions: 9.75 cubits (7.5 m) × 15.3 cubits (11.75 m) × 6 cubits (4.6 m) × 23 cubits (17.7 m) × 11.4 cubits (8.7 m).¹⁵⁹ This way, a square was configured open to Calle de las Carnicerías, which can still be seen in the plans from the eighteenth century.

Berceria. The fresh food market¹⁶⁰ was called *Berceria* or *Cuvequia*,¹⁶¹ indistinctly.¹⁶² It was located in an important artery, since it is described as a *carrera*.¹⁶³ In some segment of this, two ways converged.¹⁶⁴ Some dead-end alleys have been identified as a way of access to a significant number of dwellings.¹⁶⁵ It is possible that a tavern where kosher wine was sold was located nearby, since we know that there were two establishments of this type.¹⁶⁶

The wall of the Jewish quarter reached the Calle Mayor, in the sector closest to Coso. This is evidenced by the lease for León Bilforat’s house, “en la carrera Mayor donde se vendia fruyta” (in the carrera where fruit was sold), signed by a beneficiary of the church of San Pablo.¹⁶⁷ This expression was repeated in that of Jucé Bilforat, bounding on the previous one.¹⁶⁸ It was a commercial area where the broker Namías Abenbitas had four houses (5,200 *sueldos*), and Açach Abuzmel, another four with shops included (1,000 *sueldos*).¹⁶⁹

Jucé Leredi, Açach Ovex (1,500 salaries), Açach Gallipapo (1,060 salaries), Mossé Obeig (800 salaries), Zacarías Afla, Mossé Cohen, Abraham Abenlopiel, Gento Ayeno, Abraham Carruch, Ezmel Abendino, Simuel Pico, Simuel Alfrangil, Saúl Abenazra and Salamón Trigo had houses in the neighborhood.¹⁷⁰ Sociologically, it was diverse, with merchants living side by side with artisans.¹⁷¹

Miqwé. Moral purity, concomitant with physical purity, was a *haláhika* requirement,¹⁷² and water was paramount both in its ceremonial and hygiene aspects, served by public baths.¹⁷³ The ritual bath or *miqwé* appears as a “baño frío”¹⁷⁴ or “baño de las mujeres.”¹⁷⁵

This installation appeared in the junction of the house, corral and the bakery,¹⁷⁶ and it was near the wall, the castle, Simuel Abenlopiel's corral, and an entrance alley.¹⁷⁷ One year after the expulsion, the bathhouse, together with the palace and two small corrals, was rented by the squire (Francisco de Aranda) for 400 *sueldos*.¹⁷⁸ In successive operations, it was confirmed that around it there were patios, corrals, warehouses, and cellars.¹⁷⁹ In the square created after the demolition of the Carnicerías, there was a corral "por donde sale el agua de la calle de Barrionuevo,"¹⁸⁰ whose overflow flowed into Coso,¹⁸¹ through which a branch of the Romareda channel runs.¹⁸²

New Jewish Quarter or Barrionuevo¹⁸³

Outside the walls and well-endowed with water, this area housed numerous tanneries.¹⁸⁴ Around 1415, the monarch respected its configuration, given that there were no Christians there: "que los judios no sallisen de los ditos calliços, sguardado que ningun christiano no stava ni habitava entre ellos" (that the Jewish did not leave the neighborhood considering that no Christian lived among them).¹⁸⁵ This fact is supported by the documentation, where the only confrontations with the Christian population occurred in the peripheral area of Coso.

Habitat

The Barrionuevo, or "Calliços" Jewish quarter, was in the parish of San Miguel, laid out in a herringbone pattern, with a first-rate street, Coso, in an east–west direction, and seven secondary north–south streets. Originally the six blocks that made it up measured about 100 m. They were divided into plots 5 m wide and 16–21 m deep. As a rule, these come from the partition of each block into two with a longitudinal dividing wall.¹⁸⁶

The model maintained the medieval Christian urban layout, with a modest population of artisans. It is outside the stone wall, but had the protection of an Islamic rammed earth wall. The Jews only occupied three alleys: Primero (Arco), Medio (Sinoga, Agua), and Zaguero (Susano, Acequia, Tenerías, Arriba). The names of these alleys (First, Middle, and Last alley) referred to the proximity of Puerta Ferriza. It was probably the only a residential area, with the baths surrounded by corrals, lots, or stables, as there are no mentions of dwellings outside this sector.

These alleys are drawn between Calle San Miguel and Coso (currently, Flandro, Hermanos Ibarra, and Rufas streets), in one of which the San Jorge alley ends (Figures 9 and 10). The topography drops slightly, where the point furthest from Puerta Ferriza was called Susano (the one above).¹⁸⁷

Moreover, at the mouth of the Medio alley, there was a gate, in the vicinity of which Merdohay Pexquer and Gento de la Rabica lived. There were also properties belonging to Salamón Abuzmel and Salamón Rodrich.¹⁸⁸ The inquisitorial sources identify the "portal del dicho calliço" at its mouth with the Coso.¹⁸⁹ The same is found with Primero alley,¹⁹⁰ so it is likely that all three had the same connection.

Houses and workshops alternated with one another without the facades being aligned. There was a proliferation of passageways, raised or underground, to link different dependencies located on other sections of the street.

Public Baths

Located in a semi-basement in the building at number 132–36 of Coso, below the original level, in front of the castle and the Main Synagogue, they follow the layout of the eleventh-century Taifa baths. They were a Mudejar work, whose oldest reference dates to 1266, with formal Cistercian elements (Figure 11).

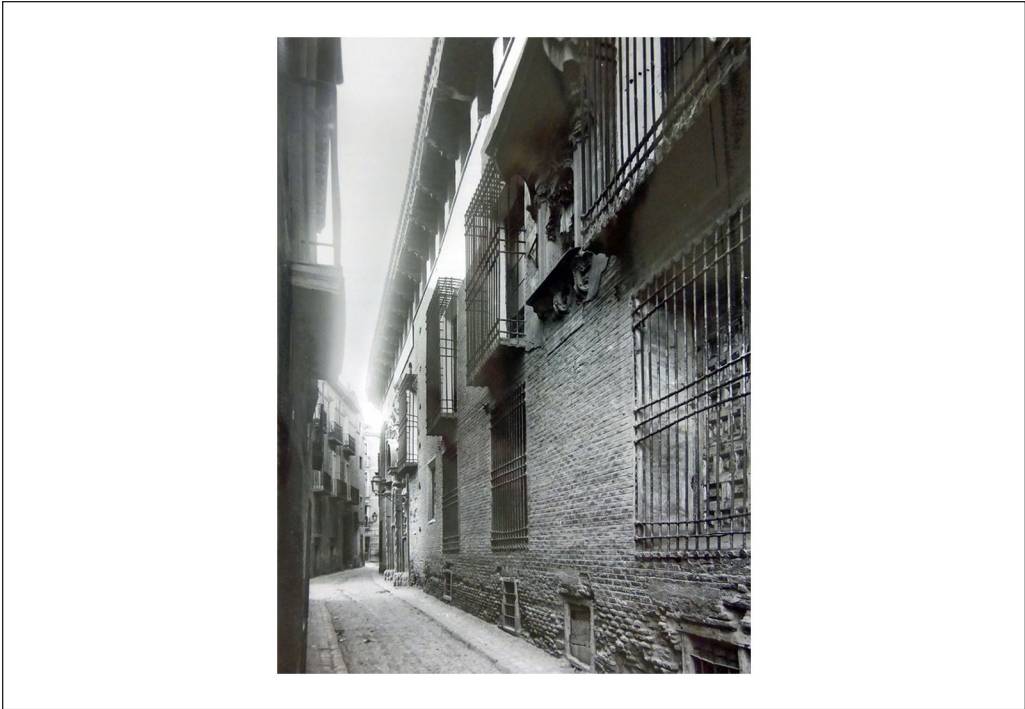


Figure 9. Calle del Cíngulo and a partial view of the facade of the Salabert family palace, ca. 1911.
Source: Proyecto GAZA (“Gran Archivo Zaragoza Antigua”).

The complex had a hot- and cold-water system, managed by “banyadores” who attended to the boilers and the supply of firewood.¹⁹¹ There were two rectangular rooms measuring $9\text{ m} \times 4\text{ m}$ and $9\text{ m} \times 7\text{ m}$, with an independent entrance, covered with a pointed half-barrel vault. The arches, which barely reached the semi-circular arch, rested on alabaster columns, the interior ones cylindrical and four stylised semi-columns at the angles, with plain and frustoconical capitals, some with gorgerin.¹⁹²

Barrionuevo Synagogue

This synagogue had access from the Medio alley, at the mouth that led to Coso,¹⁹³ on the right considering San Miguel as the reference, and from the Primero alley.¹⁹⁴ In the surroundings, there were the houses and tanneries of Jucé Abuzmel, Jucé Alcolumbre, Abraham Arruesti, Jucé Carrillo, Salamón Orabuena, Salamón Zaquén, and Jaco Alán,¹⁹⁵ as well as various corrals.¹⁹⁶ It had a tribune for women—rooms are mentioned “debajo de la sinoga de las mulleres”¹⁹⁷—differentiated from the synagogue “mayor de los judíos hombres,” which was accessed by a separate route.¹⁹⁸ It also had a room for the “Scuela de los jodios.”¹⁹⁹

Epilogue

Shortly after the exile, the “veedor de carreras,” in charge of the state and maintenance of public roads,²⁰⁰ received 14 *sueldos* for cleaning up the neighborhood—like his counterparts in Huesca²⁰¹—and a Mudejar, 4.5 *sueldos* for the purchase of fifteen hundred nails for the damage that the neighborhood had suffered.²⁰² This shows that, from very early on, it was subjected to vandalism and looting. This is similar to what happened in the Jewish quarter of Teruel—where

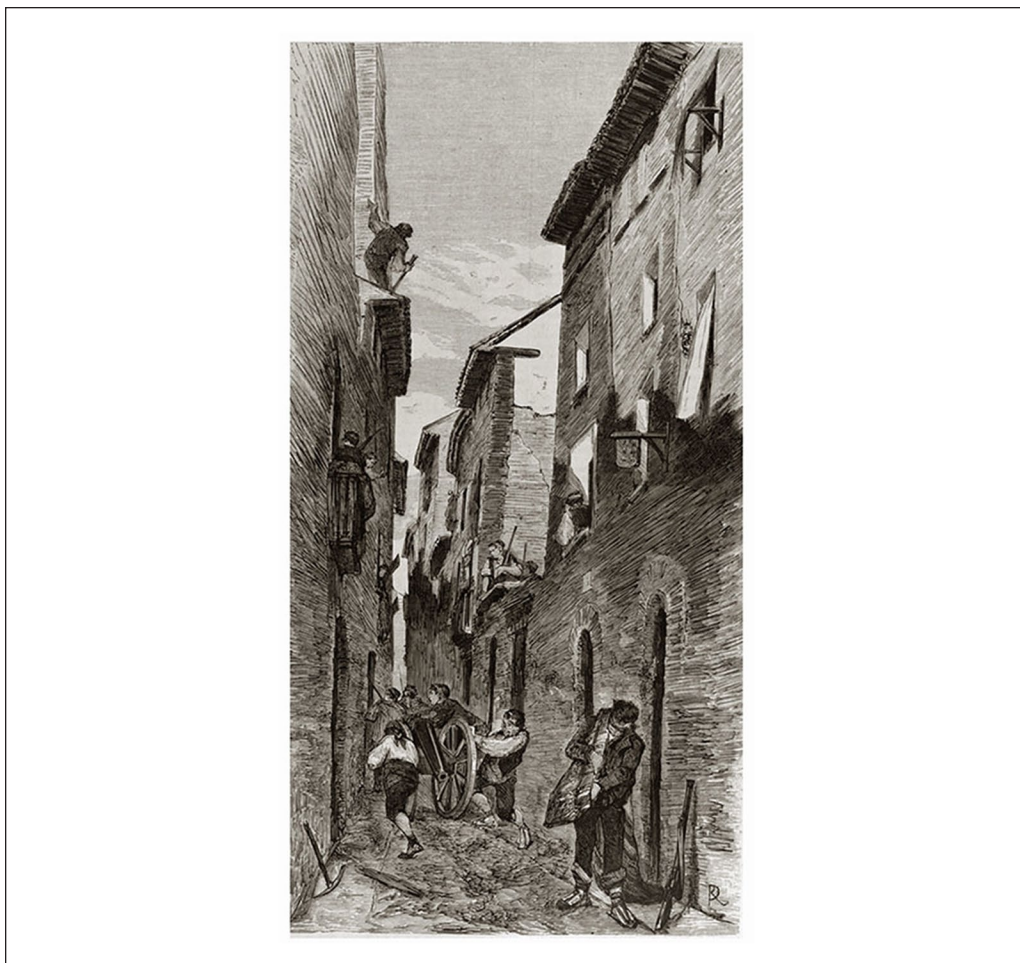


Figure 10. Illustration from calle Flandro (1808).
Source: Proyecto GAZA (“Gran Archivo Zaragoza Antigua”).

doors, eaves, and frames were ripped out to serve as firewood²⁰³—or in Albarracín, which served as a store for building materials, and soon turned into an open site.²⁰⁴

The ruinous state of many homes was noticed months later. This explains why some properties were confiscated because their tenants did not pay the census. For example, in 1493, when Ramón de Labra, an *infanzón* (lesser noble), took possession of a property in the parish of La Magdalena, bordering Vidal Abnarrabí’s orchard, he warned of the poor conditions it was in, due to “la dirrycion et diterioracion de aquellas, las quales stavan todas muy dirryudas, cubertas, solares que stavan foradadas, truncadas et muchas viegas crebadas” (due to the deterioration of many houses, some of which have collapsed, with fallen roofs, collapsed walls, or broken beams, almost completely destroyed).²⁰⁵

In 1496, the juries warned about the ruinous state of many homes: “que las dichas casas venian de cada día en ruyna y perdicion por no estar en ellas moradores, de lo qual se seguia muy gran danyo a la ciudat” (the houses were in ruins because no one lived in them, in detriment to the city).²⁰⁶ Shortly after, it was emphasized that the houses owned by the council, due to having remained uninhabited, showed signs of ruin—“por no abitar ninguno en ellas ni repararlas de



Figure 11. Public baths from the Jewish quarter.

Source: Ricardo Vila.

cada día se diruyen e diminuecen”—despite repeated attempts to auction them off, “atendientes encara haver quesido vender las dichas casas e puesto aquellas venales, e no aber trobado quien dase en ellas el precio o stimacion.”²⁰⁷ The process did not stop, because in the session held on the July 20, 1500, it was noted that “la dicha ciudat tenia muchas casas en Barrionuevo, las quales fueron consignadas por los comissarios a la ciudat, las quales havian mucho tiempo que se cridaban y es cierto ellas stan muy derruydas, que cada día se pierden” (the city owns many houses that had been assigned to them by the royal commissioners in Barrionuevo, which have not been auctioned for a long time, so that they are in a very deteriorated state).²⁰⁸

During the decade, the Council sold off the houses ceded by the monarch below their value, for 84,000 *sueldos*—compensation for the *pontaje* (bridge toll) and the custody of the Jewish quarter—and projected new roads or the widening of existing ones, as well as the demolition of buildings, even entire blocks, as already mentioned, to adapt the neighborhood to the new reality. Only after the Courts of Tarazona in 1495-1497 did the sovereign cede the management of the Jewish quarter to the municipality. However, given their complexity, these measures require a systematic and specific ad hoc study.

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Notes

1. Acronyms used: ACA (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón de Barcelona) [Archive of the Crown of Aragon of Barcelona], ACS (Archivo de la Catedral de San Salvador de Zaragoza) [Archive of the Cathedral of San Salvador of Zaragoza], ADZ (Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza) [Archive of the Diocese of Zaragoza], AHN (Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid) [National Historical Archive of Madrid], AHPZ (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza) [Historical Archive of Protocols of Zaragoza], AHProv.Z (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza) [Provincial Historical Archive of Zaragoza], AMP (Archivo Metropolitano de El Pilar de Zaragoza) [Metropolitan Archive of El Pilar of Zaragoza], AMH (Archivo Municipal de Huesca) [Municipal Archive of Huesca], AMZ (Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza) [Municipal Archive of Zaragoza], and BB (Biblioteca de Burdeos) [Municipal Library of Bordeaux].
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24. Mikel de Epalza, "Un 'modelo operativo' de urbanismo musulmán," *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes* 2 (1985): 137-49.
25. Miguel Ángel Motis, "*Habitus ergo sumus*: universos, sociología y semántica de las juderías de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media," in *El uso social del espacio urbano en las ciudades medievales de la Baja Edad Media*, coord. Jesús Ángel Solórzano (Nájera: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2021). The substantive Jewish *condition* expresses the relations the community maintains with the exterior, while the Jewish *identity* defines the intimate state of each of its members. Teresa Martialay, "Reflexiones sobre la alteridad en la edad media: el caso judío," in *Alderidad ibérica: el otro en la Edad Media*, coord. Pedro Martínez García (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2021), 39.
26. The practice of the *eruv* dates to the late second century, as the Mishnah attests, but each group of rabbinic actors has produced its own interpretation of the theory and material production of the *eruv*-object, in response to a specific set of material and social conditions. Jennifer Cousineau, "Rabbinic Urbanism in London: Rituals and the Material Culture of the Sabbath," *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (2005): 36-57.
27. Avraham Weiss, "'The 'eruv': a microcosm of the Shabbat spirit," *Tradition; A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought* 23 (1987): 40-46.
28. The walled cities of Israel are invested with greater holiness than the rest. *Keilim*, 1, 7.
29. *Mishnah, 'Arakin*, 9, 3-7.
30. Although it is not possible to establish a uniform typology, the Jewish quarters in the main towns and cities are located within the walls—*locus clausus*—or even, especially in their origins, inside

- the castrum, or in *locus apertus*, generally in towns located in rural areas, where they tend to be concentrated in a specific area for reasons of worship and social cohesion, but without a specific demarcation, there being no rigid separation of their dwellings from the Muslim or Christian habitat. Miguel Ángel Motis, “Judíos hispánicos y fortalezas medievales: ‘ordo’ & ‘locus,’ símbolo y realidad,” in *La fortaleza medieval: realidad y símbolo* (Alicante, Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 1998), 119-56.
31. The greatest period of Jewish population movement was in the first and early second centuries CE, caused mainly by the defeat of the three Jewish revolts and especially the Trajanic one. The origin of most major western Jewish communities can probably be placed in this period, even though evidence for their existence only emerges several centuries later. David Noy, “Jews in the Western Roman Empire in Late Antiquity: Migration, Integration, Separation,” *Veleia: Revista de prehistoria, historia antigua, arqueología y filología clásicas* 30 (2013): 175-76. Although the first families arrived in the Late Roman Empire and during the Visigoth period, the community acquired legal status around 1175. Ángel Canellas, *Colección diplomática del Concejo de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento, 1983), vol. 1, docs. 18 and 19; Ángel Canellas, *Los cartularios de San Salvador de Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Ibercaja, 1999), vol. 1, docs. 476 and 482.
 32. Municipal governments look after an urban collective that invokes its own solidarity and forms a common identity through an increasingly exclusionary Christianity. Flocel Sabaté, “L’ordenament municipal de la relació amb els jueus a la catalunya baixmedieval,” in *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media*, coord. Flocel Sabaté and Claude Denjean (Lérida: Editoria Milenio, 2009), 733-804.
 33. Isabel Falcón, “Las ciudades medievales aragonesas,” *En la España medieval* 7 (1985): 1176.
 34. Often, the commandments are classified into two categories, *mishpatim* and *hukim*, commandments that are rationally understandable and ones that are not (*Yoma* 67b); there is both a rational quality and irrational quality. We understand somewhat, but we can never understand them in the totality of their depth. Polonsky et al., “Relationship between Ideals and Commandments in Judaism,” 54-79.
 35. Rachele Scuro, “Gli ebrei nel contesto urbano fra integrazione nella comunità e relazioni coi governi. Complessità di un modello latino-mediterraneo: il caso dell’Italia settentrionale medievale,” in *Rostros judíos del occidente medieval: XLV Semana Internacional de Estudios Medievales, Estella-Lizarra 2018*, coord. Jon Juaristi (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2019), 200.
 36. Luis F. Bernabé, “Funciones específicas en los espacios urbanos de musulmanes y judíos en la España Medieval,” in *El Espacio en la Edad Media = L’espace urbanine médiéval*, coord. Miguel Ángel Motis (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1997), 104.
 37. María Isabel Falcón, “Evolución del espacio urbano de Zaragoza: de la Antigüedad a la Edad Media,” in *El Espacio Urbano en la Europa Medieval*, coord. B. Arizaga and J. Á. Solórzano (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2006), 210-36.
 38. Custom as a source of law does not take precedence over the law of Israel, unless it is regulated by the Christian power, under the aphorism *dina’ de malkuta’ dina’*. Moisés Orfali, “La ley del reino y las aljamas hispanohebreas,” *El legado de los judíos al Occidente europeo: de los reinos hispánicos a la monarquía española*, coord. Juan Carrasco (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra y Gobierno de Navarra, 2002), 145-54.
 39. Miguel Ángel Espinosa, “Ciudad medieval y barrio judío: reflexiones,” *Cuadernos de Arte de Granada* 28 (1997): 8-10.
 40. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1493, s.f. and 1494, f. 26; *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1494, fs. 12v-13v.
 41. Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV*, 61.
 42. In 1472, the syndic of the council granted a license to the widow Juana Albero to put a gate on the alleyway of the Cinegia Gate which was earlier an access into the Jewish quarter. Isabel Falcón, *El municipio de Zaragoza entre 1468 y 1472* (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento, 2006), 256.
 43. Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV*, 105-106 and 256-58.
 44. In the basement of the building at Coso 147, the lower part of the south tower of the wall of the gateway is preserved.
 45. In 1472, the jurors opened a gate in the wall, in order to pass from Postigo de la Judería street to the square at Puerta de Valencia. Falcón, *El municipio de Zaragoza entre 1468 y 1472*, 251.

46. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 42-42v.
47. BB, *Fonds Anciens*, ms. 1148/11. f. 5v.
48. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 173v; *Protocolo de Juan López del Frago*, 1492, f. 66v; AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1495, fs. 13v-14.
49. Given its dimensions, it recalls the one that James I ordered opened on the western side of the Jewish quarter of Barbastro to facilitate an exit to the exterior. Miguel Ángel, "La judería de Barbastro y el hallazgo de unos fragmentos de Hanukkiyah," *Somontano* 9 (2014): 7-41.
50. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 3-4.
51. BB, *Fonds Anciens*, ms. 1183-48, fs. 184-184v.
52. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 45v-46.
53. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1484, fs. 242v-243.
54. Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV*, 61-62.
55. Luisa Asunción Blasco, *La judería de Zaragoza en el siglo XIV* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988), 42-43.
56. From Latin, solid. Legal tender, equivalent to one twentieth of a pound.
57. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, fs. 104, 105, and 108v; *Protocolo de Domingo Cuerla*, 1492, f. 121; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1492, fs. 27v-28; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, fs. 148-148v.
58. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, fs. 303-304v.
59. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1492, fs. 27v-28v y 1494, fs. 15v-17; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1497, f. 136v; *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, f. 113v; *Protocolo de Domingo Cuerla*, 1492, f. 121; AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1496, fs. 257-261v; *Registro de Contratos*, 1494-96, fs. 105-110v.
60. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 17-19; 1497, fs. 7v-9 and 1500, 6v-8v.
61. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, f. 90.
62. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 33-35.
63. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 167; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1497, f. 136v; AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1494, fs. 34v-35 and 1496, fs. 257-261v; *Registro de Contratos*, 1494-96, fs. 105-110v.
64. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, f. 90; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 166v; *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, fs. 303-304v.
65. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 166v; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, 136v-137.
66. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, fs. 90 y 99v; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1497, f. 136v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492 fs. 184-184v; AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1494, fs. 34v-35 and 1496, fs. 257-261v; *Registro de Contratos*, 1494-96, fs. 105-110v.
67. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, fs. 81, 98-99, 102, 105, 106v, 110, 113v and 115v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 167 and 184-184v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1492, fs. 27v-28.
68. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 184-184v.
69. María Luisa Ledesma, "La Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Zaragoza en el siglo XV," in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1984), 381-414.
70. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 65; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 178v and 179v; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 410-410v.
71. Jean-Pierre van Staëvel, "Le qâdî au bout du labyrinthe: l'impasse dans la littérature jurisprudentielle mâlikite (al-Andalus et Magreb, IX-XV s.)," in *L'urbanisme dans l'occident musulman au moyen âge: aspects juridiques*, coord. Patrice Cressier, Maribel Fierro and Jean-Pierre van Staëvel (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000), 39-64.
72. "A barn must not be placed within fifty ells of the town; the same is the case if one wishes to make a barn on his own property-he may do so, provided he has fifty ells of space on each side of it. One must also remove a barn from the plants and from the newly ploughed field of his neighbor (which must wait a year before sowing), to a distance sufficiently great to prevent any harm to the plants or the field." *Baba Bathra*, 2, 9.

73. “If one’s wall is attached to that of his neighbor, he must not build a wall parallel to it unless he leaves an interval of four ells. One must also not build a wall opposite the windows of his neighbor, wherever they are to be found, unless it be at four ells.” *Baba Bathra*, 2, 4.
74. The rabbinic *responsa* deal with disputes caused by the proximity of properties (walls, doors, and windows), steps, wells, fountains, and drains; damage derived from craft activities (ovens, forges, mills, tanneries); disturbance in co-ownership (houses, adjoining walls, etc.) or assimilated because they are shared elements (passages, stairs, septic tanks, etc.); invasion of alleys or public roads, and so on. Mossé Orfali, “Ecología y estrategias sociales en la jurisprudencia hispanohebra,” in *Ciencias y Culturas* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca and Universidad de Tel-Aviv, 1998), 181-201.
75. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 136v-137; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 45-45v; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, fs. 63-63v; AMP, *Aniversarios*, 1492, f. 14v.
76. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, fs. 63-63v. Some of the Roman sewers are still in use, such as the one near the butcher’s shops, in the walled Jewish quarter, or to the southeast of the Colony, in the future new Jewish quarter. [Francisco de A. Escudero and María Pilar Galve, *Las Cloacas de Caesaraugusta y elementos de Urbanismo y Topografía de la Ciudad Antigua* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2013), 131, 189-95]. After the expulsion, the council revealed that the waste water of the Jewish quarter was carried out through a courtyard that discharged into the Coso, crossed by a surface water flow. David Lacambra, “Las aguas pluviales y su problemática en los entornos urbanos medievales: el caso de la Zaragoza del siglo XV,” *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 19 (2018): 321.
77. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 167-168v.
78. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1491, f. 49.
79. Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV*, 63.
80. Tomás Ximénez de Embún, *Descripción histórica de la Antigua Zaragoza y de sus términos municipales* (Zaragoza: El Día de Aragón, 1986), 61. The same as happened in Calatayud, Concepción de La Fuente, “La alcaicería de Calatayud y el monasterio de Piedra,” in *I Encuentro de Estudios Bilbilitanos* (Calatayud: Centro de Estudios Bilbilitanos, 1983), vol. 2, 149-63.
81. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 136v-137.
82. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 177v and 213v-214; *Protocolo de Martín de La Cayda*, 1492, fs. 204-204v.
83. The ordinances of 1415 establish that the privileges, liberties, provisions, and other deeds of the *aljama* would be filed in two boxes in a room in the castle. Francisca Vendrell, “Al margen de la organización de la aljama judía zaragozana,” *Sefarad* 24 (1964): 105.
84. The houses purchased in said square by the *maestre racional*, Sancho Paternoy, adjoin it. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1495, fs. 39-30. What if it were the property used by the municipality, at least until the eighteenth century, as an ice well, since the pool offered optimal conditions. Ballestín, *Zaragoza según el plano de 1712 y su vecindario de 1723*.
85. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 179v.
86. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1497, fs. 59v-60 and 78v-79v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 202.
87. Next to the name and surname of a Jew is the denomination in parentheses of the identity taken on after conversion to Christianity.
88. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 179v and 197v-198; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 7v-10 and 1497, fs. 9-12v; *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1497, fs. 59v-60 and 78v-79v.
89. Julio Navarro and Pedro Jiménez, “El urbanismo islámico y su transformación después de la conquista cristiana: el caso de Murcia,” in *La ciudad medieval: de la casa al tejido urbano*, Jean Passini (Toledo: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2001), 113.
90. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 209v-210.
91. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1497, fs. 78v-79v.
92. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1497, fs. 59v-60.
93. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, fs. 108v-109v; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 136v-137; *Protocolo de Domingo Cuerla*, 1492, f. 121; *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, fs.

- 303-304v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1492, fs. 27v-28v and 1494, fs. 15v-17; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, fs. 148-148v.
94. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 184v and 204-204v.
95. In Teruel there was “huna companya que se dize Talmatora” [a confraternity called Talmud Torah] or “una casa de una cofradia que ellos tienen, que se llama Talmut Tora, donde rabi Simuel tenya escuela de ninys” [a house or confraternity, which is called Tald Torah, where Rabbi Simuel runs a school for children]. AHN, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 542/40, f. 51v and leg. 543/8, f. 2v.
96. There are mentions of others of different type: Encarnación Marín, “Posible sinagoga conversa en Zaragoza,” in *La Ciudad de Zaragoza en la Corona de Aragón. X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico, 1984), 441-48; “Notas sobre una sinagoga de Zaragoza, la de ‘Alhaquim,’” *Sefarad* 56 (1996): 437-38; “Donación del neófito zaragozano Juan Çeal a su hijo Francés de una casa ‘clamada sinoga,’” *Sefarad* 60 (2000): 123-26.
97. AHPProv.Z, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 12, n. 3, fs. 12-12v.
98. Antonio Betrán, “Planeamiento y geometría en la ciudad feudal aragonesa,” in *I Jornadas de Arqueología Medieval en Aragón. Balances y novedades*, ed. Carmen Escriche and Julián M. Ortega (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses and Museo de Teruel, 2010), 257.
99. Ángela Muñoz, “Las redes primarias de lo urbano (A propósito de los espacios parroquiales del Madrid medieval),” *Revista de Filología Románica* 3 (2002): 65-80.
100. Jean-Pierre Leguay, *Vivre en ville au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot 2006), 175.
101. Riera, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, doc. 155.
102. *Ibid.*, doc. 216.
103. *Ibid.*, doc. 232.
104. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1485, fs. 8v-9.
105. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 7-7v; 1497, fs. 7v-9 and 12v-14.
106. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 173v; *Protocolo de Juan López del Frago*, 1492, f. 109; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1497, fs. 12v-14.
107. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 172-172v.
108. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 173v and 197v-198.
109. ACS, Espés, Diego de, *Historia Eclesiástica*, fs. 1019v-1020.
110. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, f. 136v.
111. Miguel Ángel Motis and Antonio Hernández, “The Synagogue of the Híjar Jewish Community in the Late Middle Ages in Aragón, Spain,” *Revue de Études Juives* 179 (2021): 293-322.
112. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1484, fs. 286-286v.
113. The Main Synagogue in Calatayud, the most similar to the one in Zaragoza together with the main one of Huesca, with dimensions 65 (16.64 m) × 40 (10.24 m) feet, had an area of almost 170 m². Miguel Ángel Motis, “Patrimonio urbanístico de la judería de Tarazona (Zaragoza): las sinagogas, la necrópolis y las carnicerías,” *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 56 (1987): 83-130.
114. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, “Mudejar tradition and the synagogues of medieval Spain; cultural identity and cultural hegemony,” in *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: Jewish Museum, 1992), 112-31; E. Frojmovic, “Jewish Mudejarismo an the Invection of Tradition,” in Carmen Caballero and Esperanza Alonso, *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond*, ed. C. Caballero and E. Alonso (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 233-58.
115. Gonzalo Borrás, “El mudéjar y la expresión artística de las minorías confesionales en Aragón: mezquitas y sinagogas,” in *Aragón Sefarad*, coord. Miguel Ángel Motis (Zaragoza: Diputación de Zaragoza and Ibercaja, 2002), vol. 1, 381-94.
116. Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil. Urkunden und Regesten. I. Aragonien und Navarra* (Berlin: Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft der Judentums, 1929-36), 268-71, 300-302, 384-86, and 571.
117. The entry into the synagogue was through a patio with direct access from the street, as in Segovia. Bartolomé Herrero, “La sinagoga Mayor de Segovia y sus propiedades urbanas a comienzos del siglo XV,” *Sefarad* 72 (2012): 204. This generated problems in Ávila, when private constructions blocked the path. Teresa Martialay, “La violencia en el interior de las comunidades judías a finales del siglo XV: ¿una excusa más para su exclusión?” in *La mirada del otro. Las minorías en España y América (siglos XV-XVIII)*, dir. Antonio Cortijo (Santa Bárbara: eHumanista, 2020), 134-35.

118. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 136v-137 and 172-172v; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, fs. 63-63v.
119. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan López del Frago*, 1492, f. 66v; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 45-45v; *Protocolo de Domingo Cuerla*, 1492, fs. 128v-129; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 172-172v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1497, fols 12v-14; AMP, *Aniversarios*, 1492, f. 14v.
120. Guntar Tilander, *Documento desconocido de la aljama de Zaragoza del año 1331* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958), 15.
121. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1485, f. 782v; David Niremberg, "A Female Rabbi in Fourteenth Century in Zaragoza?" *Sefarad* 51 (1991): 179-82.
122. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, fs. 22-26 and 1090.
123. This is what happened in 1367 with the disagreements generated by the latticed window that the physician Ezdra Alazar had in his home adjoining the synagogue, and through which he heard prayers. The brothers requested its closure after sixteen years due to the inconvenience it caused. Riera, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, doc. 165. These privileges were due to personal circumstances, such as those that arose in 1405 when Queen Doña Violante decided to close a window in the Mayor synagogue that communicated with the residence of the deceased Mosse Alazar, done with the permission of the congregation, considering that he was old and lame, "propter antiquitatem et necessitatem persone seu claudicantis." Ibid. doc. 322.
124. Royal official with jurisdiction over the Jewish community.
125. Riera, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues*, doc. 18.
126. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, s.f.; *Protocolo de Pedro Lalueça*, 1493, fs. 91-91v.
127. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, s.f.; *Protocolo de Pedro Lalueça*, 1493, fs. 91-91v; ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 3654, fs. 16v-17 and 27-27v and 3572, fs. 167v-168.
128. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Gaspar de Barrachina*, 1485, fs. 256-257. These same boundaries are indicated in the inventory of the house of Jucé Carrillo, bounding on houses of Salamón Orabuena, the "sinoga e con calliço que no ha salida e con via publica" [with the synagogue, a *calliço* and a public road]. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 10.
129. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1497, fs. 7v-9, 16v-17, and 18-19.
130. ACA, *Real Cancillería*, 3654, fs. 16v-17 and 27-27v.
131. AHPProv.Z, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 5/1, f. 64.
132. AHPProv.Z, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 3/3, fs. 7-7v.
133. Falcón, *Zaragoza en el siglo XV*, 63-65.
134. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 136v-137; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, 193v-194; Registro de Martín de La Çayda, 1493-94, fs. 22v-24; *Protocolo de Miguel Villanueva*, 1496, f. 235v.
135. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1484, fs. 231v-232.
136. At that time, there were two brotherhoods referring to healthcare, that of *Sombreholim* (attention to the sick) and that of *Becorolim* (visiting the sick), which gave the synagogue its name. Tom Tov Assis, "Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Spanish Jewish Communities," in *Moreshet Sepharad*, ed. Haim Beinart (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1992), 318-45.
137. It is probable that the reference in a registry of the Treasury of the Holy Office, in which some houses of Mosse Cedosillo and Gento and Harón Ymanuel were located in the Carrera de San Gil through which it is accessed through a shaft is an alley that adjoined "la sinoga llamada de Bicolorim," houses of Salamón Orabuena and the "muro de la joderia," refers to the Minor Synagogue. BB, *Fons Anciens*, ms. 1183-48, fs. 184-184v.
138. ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 3578, fs. 6-6v.
139. Motis, *La expulsión de los judíos de Aragón*, vol. 2, 109.
140. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, fs. 13v-14; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1492, f. 8 and 1497, fs. 7v-9
141. ADZ, *Cortes de Zaragoza/Tarazona*: 1495/97, fs. 108v-112.
142. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 177v and 213v-214; Registro, 1492, fs. 36-37; *Protocolo de Martín de La Çayda*, 1492, fs. 204-204v.
143. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 3-4.
144. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 167-168v.

145. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, cover.
146. Composed of a porch, four *palacios* (rooms on the ground floor), four rooms (*cambras*) with two latrines on the first floor and a room in the belvedere. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, fs. 19 and 21.
147. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, fs. 19-23.
148. We do not know their measurements, but two palaces, one inside the other, valued at 250 salaries, in the alley of the Acequia, near the synagogue, had the following dimensions: 7 × 7 cubits and 3 × 3 cubits. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1495, fs. 80-81. In Barcelona at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the floor area ranged between 60 and 125 m², with an average of 80 m². Manuel Riu, "La financiación de la vivienda, propiedad horizontal y pisos de alquiler en la Barcelona del siglo XIV," *En la España medieval* 7 (1985): 1401.
149. M. Á. Motis, "Polisemia del pan en las comunidades judías de Aragón: alimento cotidiano y símbolo ritual y festivo," *Temas. Revista de Antropología Aragonesa* 26 (2021): 81-130.
150. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1494, fs. 95-96v.
151. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1492, fs. 129-129v; *Protocolo de Antón Maurán*, 1492, fs. 22-26.
152. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 233v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1493, fs 2-3; 1494, fs. 1-3 and 1501, f. 2; AMZ, *Registro de Contratos*, 1494-96, fs. 87-87v; *Actos Comunes*, 1496, fs. 99v-100.
153. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1494, fs. 95-96v.
154. The *kashrut*, since biblical times, through the halachic sources, allows preserving its identity. Its fulfillment affects both the typology of food and its preparation, occupying a privileged place in the daily observance of Jewish religious norms. [Mario Macías, "Los carniceros como guardianes de la comunidad. La situación legal de los carniceros judíos en la Corona de Aragón, 1250-1330," *IUSLabor* 1 (2023): 215-49]. As regards, for example, the domesticated ruminants of the flocks (sheep, goats . . .) that could be offered on the altar, the classification is logical, as they were cultured animals. Mary Douglas, *El Levítico como literatura. Una investigación antropológica y literaria de los ritos en el Antiguo Testamento* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 2006), 161-62.
155. Baer, *Die Juden*, doc. 21.
156. Francisca Vendrell, *Rentas reales de Aragón en la época de Fernando I (1412-1416)* (Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977), 68.
157. José Luis Lacave, "Las juderías aragonesas al terminar el reinado de Fernando I," *Sefarad* 39 (1979): 217.
158. José Luis Lacave, "La carnicería de la aljama zaragozana a fines del siglo XV," *Sefarad* 35 (1975): 3-35.
159. Motis, *La expulsión de los judíos de Aragón*, 323-26.
160. It has its equivalent in the Jewish quarter of Huesca with the Plaza de las Berzas. Antonio Naval, "El arrabal de la judería oscense," *Sefarad* 40 (1980): 77-98.
161. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 204-204v.
162. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 184v, 202v-203, 205, and 209v-210; *Protocolo de Martín de la Çayda*, 1492, f. 237.
163. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 165v; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 41v-45, 913 and 915; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 11v-12 and 1497, fs. 19-19v.
164. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 170v; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 131-132.
165. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 184v and 204-204v.
166. Meritxell Blasco, Coloma Lleal, osé Ramón Magdalena, and Miguel Ángel Motis, *Capítulos de la sisa del vino de la aljama judía de Zaragoza (1462-66)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2010), 14-15.
167. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, 11v-12 and 1497, fs. 19-19v.
168. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, fs. 49v-50.
169. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 184v; *Protocolo de Francisco Villanueva*, 1492, fs. 41v-45v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1494, 11v-12 and 1497, fs. 19-19v.
170. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 57v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 165v, 170v, 202v-203, 205, and 209v-210; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1492, fs. 131-132;

- Protocolo de Alfonso Francés*, 1492, fs. 163v-164 and 165; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1497, fs. 19-19v; AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1495, 13v-14.
171. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 57v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 204-204v.
172. The woman had to perform a vertical immersion with her arms separated from her body, in which she introduced her head with her hair loose in order to complete the *tebil.lah*. [*La Misná*, ed. C. del Valle, Salamanca: Editora Nacional, 1972, 1323-45]. The repeated use of the bath by women explains why some of the Castilian mikweh were called “baño de las judías.” Enrique Cantera, *Aspectos de la vida cotidiana de los judíos en la España medieval* (Madrid: Universidad Española de Educación a Distancia, 1998), 87.
173. Despite the existence of some wells that collected water from the water table, not many houses had them, so they depended on the supply of water carriers or members of the service. According to the provisions of the Council of 1430, the charge for carrying water for domestic consumption from the river Ebro was 1 money per load within the walled enclosure and 1.5 *dineros* in the Jewish quarter, despite being in the same urban area, that is, 50 percent more, so that there was clear discrimination. David Lacambra, *El agua en la Zaragoza del siglo XV. La cultura hídrica de una sociedad urbana bajomedieval* (Zaragoza: PhD Thesis, 2021), 402-403, 410.
174. As in Girona, the house of the “donas iudearum” [Enric Mirambell, “Los judíos gerundenses en el momento de la expulsión,” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* 24 (1978): 5] or in Lleida, the “bany d’aygua freda a banyar les juhies.” David Romano, “Baño o Miqwé de Lérida (1339),” *Sefarad* 35 (1975): 158; David Romano, “Restos judíos en Lérida,” *Sefarad* 20 (1960): 50-65.
175. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 233v.
176. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 145-145v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 233v; *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1500, fs. 145-145v.
177. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1494, fs. 95-96v.
178. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Jaime Malo*, 1493, fs. 1-3.
179. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 201 and 233v.
180. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, f. 148.
181. In the excavations carried out in a possible expansion of the Calatayud Jewish quarter, several channels were found built with bricks and plaster mortar, covered with stone slabs through which the wastewater was drained toward the common spaces. José Luis Cebolla, S. Melguizo, and F. J. Ruiz, “La judería nueva de Calatayud,” *Visión arqueológica Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 23 (2016): 109.
182. The *miqwé* or “banyo de mulleres” in Huesca, as evidenced by a reform contract signed in 1448 to increase its depth by a span, was located in the Jewish quarter “dentro en huna caseta del dito huerto.” Eugenio Gracia, “Estampas de la vida judía: Huesca, siglo XX,” *Sefarad* 69 (2009): 494-96.
183. María Pilar Gay, “Datos sobre la judería nueva zaragozana en 1492 según un protocolo notarial,” *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 31-32 (1978): 141-81; María Pilar Gay, “Aportaciones al estudio de la judería nueva zaragozana,” in *X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1976/1984), 327-33.
184. Tanneries require cleaning and treatment with quicklime and other chemicals to remove the hair and organic remains of successive immersions. The infrastructures require a corral to ventilate the skins and various tanks where the skins are treated with lime and tanned with tannin. In addition, there are boilers to heat the water, jars and other containers to store the products used in the process. The water comes from the Romareda irrigation channel, discharging its waste into the Coso. The problem was not the volume of water they needed, but the pollution and dumping of their waste. At least seven tanneries are in the parish of San Miguel. Specifically, in the New Jewish Quarter, there are two in the Acequia alley, another next to the synagogue and one in the San Jorge alley. Lacambra, *El agua en la Zaragoza del siglo XV*, 263 and 446.
185. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 56v.
186. Ramón Betrán, “Mutación y permanencia: El Plano de Zaragoza en la Edad Media,” in *Tecnología y sociedad. Las grandes obras públicas en la Europa medieval: XXII Semana de Estudios Medievales*, coord. Juan Carrasco (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1996), 418.
187. In 1880, the topographical engineer Dionisio Casañal Zapatero carried out precise topography using modern triangulation techniques, drawing a 1:1,000 scale map with distance between contour lines of

- 0.5 m. L. A. Longares, J. L. Peña, F. Escudero, and F. Pérez, "Cartografía histórica y reconstrucción paleotopográfica y geoarqueológica de la ciudad romana de *Caesar Augusta* (Zaragoza, España)," *Boletín Geológico y Minero* 129 (2018): 429.
188. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, fs. 48 and 53.
189. BB, *Fons Anciens*, ms. 1183-48, f. 88.
190. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1484, f. 279; 1485, fs. 187v-188 and 206-207.
191. It was probably fed from the branch of the Almozara drain that ran through the Coso. The walled Jewish quarter did not have water pipes for the houses. In fact, as regulated in 1430, the price of a load of water for the residents within the walls was 1.0 *dinero*, while for the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter, it rose to 1.5 *dineros*. Lacambra, *El agua en la Zaragoza del siglo XV*, 410.
192. Leopoldo Torres, "La judería de Zaragoza y su baño," *Al-Andalus*, 21 (1956): 172-90.
193. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1492, f. 189.
194. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Alfonso Martínez*, 1492, fs. 144v-145 and 1499, fs. 92-92v.
195. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Spanyol*, 1492, fs. 10, 31, and 35v; *Protocolo de Antón Bocalba*, 1492, f. 4; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 176 and 180v; *Protocolo de Martín de la Çayda*, 1492, fs. 203v-204.
196. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1493, fs. 34v-35v.
197. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 35v; *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, f. 216v; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1495, f. 93.
198. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Espanyol*, 1492, f. 35v; *Protocolo de Juan de Altarriba*, 1493, 34v-35v and 1495, fs. 63v-64 and 93.
199. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Domingo Español*, 1492, fols. 58v-59v.
200. Isabel Falcón, "Sanidad y Beneficencia en Zaragoza en el siglo XV," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 3 (1980): 184-85.
201. AMH, *Actos Comunes*, 1494, fs. 17v-18.
202. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1492, f. 298.
203. Floriano Antonio, *La aljama de judíos de Teruel y el hallazgo de su necrópolis* (Teruel: La Voz de Teruel, 1926), 18.
204. César Laguía, "La geografía urbana de Albarracín," *Teruel* 24 (1960): 55-56.
205. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Pedro Lalueça*, 1493, f. 83.
206. AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Aznar Guallart*, 1492, fs. 146v-147.
207. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1496, fs. 257-260v; *Registro de Contratos*, 1494-96, fs. 105-110v.
208. AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1500, fs. 91-91v.

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