

**ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE JEWISH AND JUDEOCONVERSO
COMMUNITIES IN THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON IN THE LATE
MIDDLE AGES**

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Abstract: This research is based on the premise that the three confessional communities –Christians, Jews and Mudejars– were economically complementary, allowing for pragmatic coexistence. This balance was broken with the mass conversions that took place after the Disputation of Tortosa (1413-14), which affected all social strata of the Jewish community. Nevertheless, a micro-society of New Christians was soon established, characterized by a new mentality. Its elites would become citizens, comprising notaries, commercial brokers, jurists, and merchants. In contrast to other territories of the Crown of Aragon, these lineages were integrated into society without significant disruption in the major cities of the kingdom. The expansion was only partially truncated with the establishment of the Inquisition, as the main families were supported by the monarch Ferdinand II, forming part of his closest circle.

Keywords: Jews – Conversos – Inquisition – Aragon – Economy – Middle Ages

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1. Premises and historical context

In the fifteenth century, the socioeconomic and political reference points of the Iberian Peninsula underwent a profound metamorphosis after the consolidation of the Nation-

State and the reception of the *Ius Commune*.¹ In this context, while the Jewish communities were experiencing a significant decline in some areas, the active integration of Conversos into the economic fabric –a sizeable part of whom came from the ruling classes of their respective *aljamas*– led to a diversification in the makeup of the business and financial élites in urban centres, bringing a new approach to the world of commerce in a setting where the Crown of Aragón was reformulating the concept of border and turning towards the Mediterranean.²

Merchants and businessmen not only facilitated trade –their networks permitted connections between different regions and the expansion and exchange of goods and services– but also created wealth, transformed social structures and influenced politics.³ Regional dynamics can be found in the growth models, involving factors such as land use (crop rotation, agricultural innovation), population dynamics (demographic growth, migration), trade (interterritorial expansion, proliferation of fairs and markets, mobilisation of stocks), urban development (the growth of towns as centres of both production and consumption, road infrastructures) and others.⁴

The Disputation of Tortosa⁵ can be seen as a turning point. Its doctrinal and dialectic purpose was to support the claim that Jesus of Nazareth represented the coming of the Messiah, with arguments based on Hebrew texts –combining the dilemma around the

¹ Amrán, “De 1449 a 1467: el problema converso,” 195-214.

² Igual, “Una aproximación a la cultura mercantil,” 480-505 and Coulon, “The Commercial Influence of the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean,” 279-308.

³ Iradiel, “Metrópolis y hombres de negocios,” 277-310.

⁴ Rodríguez, “Modelos de diversidad: crecimiento económico,” 27-49.

⁵ Motis, “Disputation feyta por los judios devant nuestro senyor papa Benedito,” 15-60.

literal or figurative reading already raised by Averroes and Maimonides— where the truths of Christianity were allegedly present in the form of prophecy.⁶ However, in addition to the theological defeat of Judaism,⁷ it also led to an institutional crisis and the decline of the Jewish minority, with sociological, demographic and economic consequences, apart from the accompanying impact of conversions.⁸ If the figures in the Deeds – which may have been exaggerated – are to be believed, there were 3,000 such conversions, both direct and induced.⁹ In his *Anales de Aragón*, the chronicler J. Zurita legitimises both their consideration and their propagation, emphasising the sincerity of many of the baptised.¹⁰ The Conversos received overt political support from the authorities – albeit mistrust was soon to emerge regarding crypto-Jewish practices – tolerating confrontation with their

⁶ The rabbis' arguments favoured Nachmanides's mystical method over the rationalist approach of Maimonides. Sánchez, "La Disputa de Tortosa," 169.

⁷ Santonja, "Sobre judíos y judeoconversos en la baja Edad Media," 177-203.

⁸ Rather than to unbelief, Aristotelian rationalism led Jews to convert. Jiménez, *Sobre judíos, moriscos y conversos*, 68.

⁹ Pacios, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, vol. 2, sesión 69, 598. In the tax headcount ordered by the Cortes de Maella in 1404, 347 dwellings (1,500-1,700 people) were registered in Zaragoza's Jewish quarter. Motis, "Población, urbanismo y estructura política de las aljamas judías," 895.

¹⁰ In the summer of 1413, approximately 200 baptisms were recorded in Zaragoza, Calatayud and Alcañiz, whereas from February to June 1414, 120 families adopted Christianity in Calatayud, Daroca, Fraga and Barbastro, in addition to 500 neophytes from Alcañiz, Caspe, Maella, Tamarite de Litera and Alcolea de Cinca. Zurita, *Anales de Aragón*, vol. 5, 416.

former co-religionists – who were now branded as infidels¹¹ which led to the emergence of endogenous conflicts that were to create an unbridgeable rift between the two communities.¹² From that point on, the neophyte was considered a subject of law who acquired naturalised status in the kingdom, which entailed full rights including, if they fulfilled the appropriate requirements, citizenship.¹³ Likewise, chartered legislation under the heading *De iodios e moros baptizados (On Baptised Moors and Jews)*¹⁴ protected the integrity of their assets and testamentary freedom.¹⁵ There were also measures, such as those adopted by the Council of Teruel, which sought to prevent altercations and the use of insults, “que deshonestasen a los que por inspiracion divina son venidos a la santa fe catholica” (“which attack the honour of those who, by grace of Divine inspiration, have embraced the Catholic faith”) by issuing an edict according to which offenders were punished by whipping and a day in the pillory.¹⁶

Both the papal bull *Etsi doctoris gentium*, issued on 11 May 1415,¹⁷ and the Pragmatic Sanction of Ferdinand I, of 23 July,¹⁸ systematised the doctrinal baggage invoked by the Church in the successive Jewish-Christian polemics, although we will focus on the

¹¹ Cuella, *Bulario aragonés de Benedicto XIII*, doc. 500.

¹² Hernando, “Conversos, jueus i cristians de natura,” 387-412.

¹³ Motis and Sánchez, “Legislación sobre judíos promulgada por las Cortes de Aragón,” 933-949.

¹⁴ Pérez, *Los Fueros de Aragón*, 444-448.

¹⁵ Savall and Penén, *Fueros, Observancias y Actos de Corte*, vol. 1, 10.

¹⁶ AHPT., *Sección Concejo*, doc. 28/73.

¹⁷ Cuella, *Bulario aragonés de Benedicto XIII*, doc. 578.

¹⁸ Vendrell, “En torno a la confirmación real,” 319-51.

economic dictums, the severity of which would have led to the collapse of the *aljamas* had they not been repealed or tempered during later reigns whose monarchs – with the vested interest of the royal estate – designed a parallel financial stabilisation policy.¹⁹

At the same time, with the appointment of Pope Martin V in 1417, as a result of the Council of Constance, the more restrictive provisions introduced during the heat of the Disputation were mitigated or repealed in the bull issued five years later in a duality that combined the rigour of Avignon with the tolerance of Rome and coexisted throughout medieval Europe with mutual influence, and both social and political implications.²⁰

One particular series of articles referred to disqualification from professional sectors relating to health and commerce, where discrimination affected both sexes.²¹ The list is precise: “ut nemo judaeorum, utriusque sexus, artem seu officium medici, chirurgici, apothecari, pigmentarii, obstetricis, mediatoris, tractantis seu concordatoris sponsalium” (“no Jew, of either sex, may exercise the art or trade of medicine, pharmacy, obstetrics, [nor may they] broker trade or be involved in arranging betrothals.”) When Alfonso V revoked these restrictions, they were returned to the male gender, allowing for the founding of mixed companies “que el jodio pueda seyer corredor, metge, cirurgiano e

¹⁹ “Querientes que de todos males e danyos en que els dits judios pudiessen encorrer assin en personas como en bienes sean preservados, ilesos e favoridos por vosotros como a *trasoro* del senyor rey” (“desiring that Jews, in as far as they are the King’s treasure, shall be preserved and protected from all harm, both their persons and their property.”) ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 2.451, fol. 73.

²⁰ Mitre, “Otras religiones ¿otras herejías?,” 515-552 and Morán, “Los paradigmas o modelos eclesiales y el Derecho canónico,” 758-59.

²¹ Motis, “Perfiles socioeconómicos de la mujer judía,” 207-221.

assimismo cambiador, procurador de cristiano e arrendador de rendas de cristianos e aquellas cullir e plegar e fazer conpanya con el²²” (“the [male] Jew may act as broker, physician, surgeon or money changer, as well as procurer and lessor of Christian income, and formalise mixed companies.”)

Economic restrictions had spread across the whole of Aragón. In the town of Albarracín, which was home to a modest community, judicial officers interpreted the legal text in a restrictive way, which caused the monarch to intervene in 1416, giving us a snapshot of economic activities in such smaller communities.

Until then, family members had manufactured products on premises outside the Jewish quarter, using these rooms as shop and workshop. But this had been banned by the *concejo* (council) “vender sus mercaderias ni obrar en sus tiendas e obradores que tienen apartados de sus casas en la dita ciudat,” (“they may not sell their goods nor work in the shops and workshops outside their homes in the Jewish quarter”) so they were urged to reopen them, even though the ban on living or spending the night in them –as was common in Huesca or Jaca²³ remained, as they were not designed for habitation: “que non hi moren con sus mulleres e fillos nin fagan otra morada continua de comer nin dormir, salvo que labren de sus officios e venden sus mercaderias²⁴” (“they may not reside with their wives or children, nor live there continuously; in other words they may not eat or sleep on these premises, except to undertake their work or sell that they manufacture.”) They also moved around the surrounding villages, staying overnight in inns, to provide professional services or sell their goods: ““ni les queriendo dar posadas en las aldeas quando passan

²² Vendrell, “En torno a la confirmación real en Aragón,” 332.

²³ ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 2.445, fols. 171 y 177.

²⁴ ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 2.423, fols. 134-134v.

de unos logares en otros por la tierra e termino dessa dita ciudat a fazer sus faziendas e vender sus mercadorias²⁵” (“denying them lodging or shelter in the villages of the places through which they travel that are within the city limits, in order to carry out their professional work or sell their goods.”). In other words, they were condemned to “total perdicion e destruccion de los ditos e bienes d’aquellos²⁶” (“with the loss and destruction of all their property.”)

2. A socioeconomic polyptych: Jews, Mudejars, and Conversos

Rather than intercultural, late medieval society was multiculturalist,²⁷ with a Christian hegemony in which mutual influences between minorities were not part of a social strategy.²⁸ This did not prevent an appreciable flow of economic exchanges, where religious denomination was not an obstacle, especially at the market and in public squares, even though there was a tendency – driven by the local authorities controlled by Converso pressure groups – to compel them to confine themselves to the Jewish and Moorish quarters, about whose presence there was consent, even if they were not assimilated.²⁹

²⁵ Motis and Berges, *La comunidad judía de Albarracín*, docs. 533 and 534.

²⁶ ACA, *Real Cancillería*, Reg. 2.423, fols. 134-134v.

²⁷ Del Águila, “Tolerancia y multiculturalismo: instrucciones de uso,” 10-19. By way of example, a tax computation in Zaragoza for the year 1369 recorded a total of 2,552 Christian dwellings (83.2%), 202 Muslim dwellings (6.6%) and 313 Jewish dwellings (10.2%). Lozano, “La población en la ciudad de Zaragoza,” 475-476.

²⁸ Espiga, “Pluralismo, multiculturalismo y tolerancia,” 161-217.

²⁹ Catlos, “¿‘Conflicto de civilizaciones’ o ‘convivencia’?,” 1717-1730.

2.1. Transversality: Jews vs Mudejars

In towns with two established *aljamas*, Jews and Mudejars created a complementary regime, and daily relations ran relatively smoothly.³⁰ As the table below shows, this symbiosis was patent in Daroca, Calatayud and Barbastro –except where shoemaking was concerned in which the Christian population was not involved– and the presence of one minority was matched by the absence of their counterpart.³¹

Trade	Daroca		Calatayud		Barbastro	
	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars
<i>Albardero</i> (saddle-maker)	1,5%	1,2%	--	--	--	--
<i>Albarca</i> -maker (clog-maker)	--	--	3%	--	--	--
<i>Almadraquero</i> (mattress-maker)	--	--	1%	--	--	--
Armero (armorer)	--	--	--	1%	--	--
<i>Bajador/tundidor</i> (shearer)	--	--	0,5%	--	2,94%	--
<i>Baldresero</i> (batten-maker)	--	--	0,5%	--	--	--

³⁰ Barrio, “Las relaciones de sociabilidad entre los conversos de judío y los mudéjares,” 57-66.

³¹ Motis, “Relaciones transversales entre judíos y mudéjares en Aragón,” 107-110.

Trade	Daroca		Calatayud		Barbastro	
	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars
<i>Balletero</i> (bowman)	--	8,9%	--	3%	--	--
<i>Bancalero</i> (benchcover weaver)	1,5%	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Vanovero</i> (quilt maker)	--	--	4,5%	--	--	--
<i>Bordador</i> (embroiderer)	--	--	2,5%	--	--	--
<i>Calcetero</i> (hosier)	3%	--	5,5%	2%	--	1,3%
<i>Calcinero</i> (quicklime maker)	--	--	--	--	--	2,5%
<i>Calderero</i> (boiler- maker or cauldron.maker)	--	1,2%	--	6%	--	10,2%
<i>Cantarero</i> (pitcher-maker)	--	--	--	7%	--	5,1%
<i>Cañamero</i> (hemp crafter)	--	5%	--	3%	--	--
<i>Cerrajero</i> (locksmith)	--	6,2%	--	3%	--	6,4%
<i>Chapinero</i>	--	2,5%	--	--	--	--

Trade	Daroca		Calatayud		Barbastro	
	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars
(chopine maker)						
<i>Coracero</i> (cuirassier)	--	--	0,5%	--	--	--
<i>Cotomallero</i> (chainmail maker)	--	--	1%	--	--	--
<i>Dorador</i> (gilder)	--	--	--	3%	--	--
<i>Encofrador</i> (formworker)	--	1,2%	--	--	--	--
<i>Escudillero</i> (porringer-maker)	--	--	--	--	--	1,3%
<i>Fustero</i> (turner)	--	11,2%	--	7,5%	--	6,4%
<i>Herrero</i> (blacksmith)	--	22,5%	--	10%	--	34,6%
<i>Jabonero</i> (soap-maker)	--	--	--	--	--	1,3%
<i>Jubonero</i> (doublet-maker)	--	--	3,5%	--	--	--
<i>Maestro de casas</i> (master builder)	--	12,5%	0,5%	44%	--	15,4%
<i>Ollero</i> (pot-maker)	--	5%	--	--	--	--
<i>Pellejero</i> (fellmonger)	6%	--	8%	--	11,76%	--

Trade	Daroca		Calatayud		Barbastro	
	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars	Jews	Mudejars
<i>Rejoler</i> (brickmaker)	--	--	--	1%	--	--
<i>Relojero</i> (clockmaker)	--	--	--	--	--	1,3%
<i>Sastre</i> (tailor)	59,5%	1,2%	45%	1%	41,18%	--
<i>Sellero</i> (saddle-maker)	--	--	1,5%	--	--	--
<i>Tejedor</i> (weaver)	9%	2,5%	9%	--	8,82%	--
<i>Tejero</i> (rooftile-maker)	--	--	--	1%	--	1,3%
<i>Velero</i> (sailmaker)	1,5%	--	1%	--	--	--
<i>Zapatero</i> (shoemaker)	18%	18,9%	11%	7,5%	35,29%	12,8%
<i>Zurrador</i> (tanner/currier)	--	--	1%	--	--	--

Table 1. Jewish and Mudejar trades established in Daroca, Calatayud and Barbastro showing the percentage of people whose profession was known.

Farming was one of the pillars of the Mudejar economy, although it did not involve the whole population, as this occupation depended on the urban or rural setting where they lived, which in turn depended on the local resources available. Mudejars are particularly numerous in the building sector –ranging from the manufacture of raw materials (brick,

beams, tiles, lime) to building management (master builders)– and in metalwork, whereas, although still present, they are less well represented in leather and footwear, hemp, pitcher-/pot-makers, and textiles.

In short, the Mudejar economy essentially served the Christian one,³² gearing its production to capital goods that were in high demand: construction, metal and pottery. On a more secondary level, the Moors of Daroca,³³ Huesca³⁴ and Calatayud³⁵ produced consumer goods (footwear, weapons, ceramics, hosiery, hemp products, blacksmithing, etc.). Metal, leather, building and earthenware therefore occupied around 80% of the active population.

Activity	Huesca	Daroca	Calatayud
Metalwork	41%	29%	28,5%
Leather and footwear	12,5%	22%	13%
Building	11,5%	20%	28,5%
Earthenware	11%	9%	10%

Table 2. The key productive sectors of the urban Mudejars

For their part, the Jews specialised in credit –financial, commercial and consumer– and in trade, as well as specific consumer goods focused on textile, leather and footwear

³² García, “Los mudéjares aragoneses,” 150.

³³ García, “El trabajo de los mudéjares de Daroca,” 167-186.

³⁴ Conte, “La composición laboral de la aljama de moros de Huesca,” 137-142.

³⁵ García, *Las comunidades mudéjares de Calatayud*, 171-187.

production, showing less interest in the basic processing of agricultural goods and the manufacture of capital goods. Their presence was residual in the generation of infrastructure and extractives, where they were outnumbered by Mudejars and Christians. The key to their strategy resided in making themselves necessary without seeking to compete with the other communities.

Their involvement in the flow of capital, goods and services was associated with their presence as agents in the major cities. If we consider Zaragoza, the list includes: the brokers of the merchants' guilds –which is also documented in Huesca– where Jews occupied six out of the twenty marketplaces, were involved in the sale of property (fields, vineyards, estates and homes) and, in general, all types of foods; they acted as *corredores de oreja*, intermediaries who specialised in business and commercial transactions that required discretion (foreign merchants, auctions, etc.); clothes brokers, dealers in both old and new clothes, including household goods, to some extent specialising in jewellery and luxury items made from gold and silver, where there were reports of a high level of professional intrusion; book brokers; *corredores de redoma* who acted as intermediaries in the sale and distribution of food and drink (oil, wine, etc.); cattle brokers, who focused on the trade in equidae, which were essential for transport and particularly important in Barbastro, for instance; and *corredores de corambres*, who dealt in tanned or untanned hides³⁶.

³⁶ Motis, “Las comunidades judías en el Aragón medieval,” 30-58.

The vitality of the Jewish sector also extended to leather,³⁷ metalwork, building and the production of consumer goods in a market that was increasingly plural and diversified, with a predominance of domestic workshops that were subject to the supply of raw materials and credit flows provided by merchants. Technological progress, such as that in the drapery industry, was not so apparent in other sectors of productive and manufacturing activity where Jews were still present. Despite the restrictions they faced, they set up mixed companies of different kinds in order to avoid legal obstacles and obtain other forms of finance, as was the case in Barbastro³⁸ or Jaca-Huesca.³⁹

Indeed, the acceleration and intensification of urbanisation increased consumption across broad sections of the population, stimulating productive activity and its diversification, especially in the textiles industry, not only in the larger cities but also in regional centres, which experienced a golden age during the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ They were involved in almost all stages of textile manufacture, both in the production of raw materials (weavers, fabric-shearers, etc.) and in the manufacture of clothing and household linen. However, they were not allowed to weave wool because the Christian guilds – who had a monopoly over its production – claimed this would harm the common good and bring the trade into

³⁷ In the Parish of San Miguel in Zaragoza, there are records of two tanneries in *callizo* de la Acequia, another beside the synagogue in the New Jewish quarter and one in *callizo* de San Jorge. Lacambra, *El agua en la Zaragoza del siglo XV*, 263.

³⁸ AHPH, *Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer*; Barbastro, 1390, fols. 69v-70, 74, 76v-77, 78, 79v-80, 89 y 93v-94 & 1391, fols. 36v y 51v.

³⁹ Benedicto, “Una capitulación relativa a una compañía crediticia de judíos,” 475-486.

⁴⁰ Laliena, “Transformaciones económicas en la Corona de Aragón,” 27.

disrepute, alluding to their status as infidels. This was ratified in the weavers' bylaws in Zaragoza adopted in 1458.⁴¹

However, the regulations governing shoemakers/cordwainers/cobblers, chopine- and buskin-makers in Zaragoza, adopted in 1456, when they formed a confraternity under the patronage of Santa María del Pilar, stipulate that, if a Jew wished to join, the jury in charge of the entrance test should consist of stewards and a co-religionist appointed by members of the corporation. Similarly, a fine of 60 *sueldos* would be imposed on any Jew or Mudejar who opened up a shop or workshop to the public without having passed the prerequisite examination for aptitude and professional competence.⁴²

2.2. From convergence to divergence: Jews vs Conversos

Relations between Jews and Conversos gradually became strained as mutual distrust built up in the face of an inescapable duality: some Conversos depended on the help of Jews to observe Judaising practices but, at the same time, lived in the constant fear of being betrayed and denounced to the Inquisition.⁴³ Moreover, they were now competing with

⁴¹ Blasco, “Presencia y discriminación de los judíos,” 68-69 and Falcón, *Ordenanzas y otros documentos complementarios*, doc. 179.

⁴² Falcón, *Ordenanzas y otros documentos complementarios*, doc. 171. New bylaws on proof of professional expertise were issued in 1500, and further new regulations were drawn up three years later. Falcón, “Las cofradías de oficio en Aragón,” 77-78.

⁴³ Rábade, “La opinión anticonversa en los procesos inquisitoriales,” 99-120 and Santonja, “Sobre judíos y judeoconversos en la baja Edad Media,” 177-203.

each other in the markets, where inequality was manifest.⁴⁴ Not to mention the foreign migrants who were settling in the area,⁴⁵ bringing with them a growing cosmopolitanism⁴⁶ more in line with the spirit of Conversos.

Notarial protocols from the reign of Ferdinand II (1479-1516) give us an outline of economic activity in the *aljama* of Zaragoza, where approximately 350 males with defined professions have been identified. Commercial activity (brokers and merchants) account for 19%, while in the manufacturing sector, weavers, tailors and shoemakers make up 40%, figures that are comparable to the craft industry in other similar communities. In the services sector, medicine stands out with 6%. With an estimated population of 20,000, and a large hinterland that extended to the nearby villages of the Ebro Valley, which they supplied with manufacturing and services, the Jewish *aljama* showed a high degree of specialisation, as shown in the table below:

Profession	Jews	Converso
<i>Agricultor</i> (crop farmer)	--	0,9 %
<i>Albardero</i> (pack saddle maker)	1,7 %	0,9 %
<i>Almadraquero/colchonero</i>	0,3 %	--

⁴⁴ Hence the different nature of the solidarity and friendships that existed between women. Pérez, “Judías y conversas: relaciones de poder y solidaridad,” 139-161.

⁴⁵ Navarro, “La presencia de grupos extranjeros,” 161-190; Lozano, “Mercaderes florentinos en Zaragoza,” 143-153 & Navarro, Saucó and Lozano, “Italianos en Zaragoza (siglos XV-XVI),” 301-398.

⁴⁶ Navarro, “Italianos, franceses y alemanes en la Zaragoza de los Reyes Católicos,” 260.

Profession	Jews	Converso
(mattress-maker)		
<i>Argentero/platero</i> (silversmith)	--	1,9 %
<i>Atabalero/timbalero</i> (drum-maker)	--	0,9 %
<i>Bajador/tundidor</i>	4,6 %	0,9 %
<i>Barbero</i> (barber)	--	0,9 %
<i>Blanquero/encalador</i> (whittawer / limer)	1,3 %	--
<i>Bonetero</i> (bonnet-maker)	--	0,9 %
<i>Bordador</i> (embroiderer)	0,3 %	--
<i>Calcetero</i> (hosier)	6,2 %	0,9 %
<i>Carnicero</i> (butcher)	0,3 %	2,8 %
<i>Cedacero</i> (sieve-maker)	0,6 %	0,9 %
<i>Chapinero</i> (chopine-maker)	--	1,9 %
<i>Corredor/cambiador</i> (broker/money changer)	4,4 %	10,2 %
<i>Cotomallero</i> (mail-maker)	0,3 %	--
<i>Especiero</i> (apothecary)	--	0,9 %
<i>Estibador</i> (stevedore)	0,3 %	--
<i>Hostalero</i> (innkeeper)	0,3 %	--
<i>Jubonero</i> (doublet-maker)	0,6 %	--

Profession	Jews	Converso
<i>Lencero</i> (lingerie-maker)	1,6 %	0,9 %
<i>Librero</i> (bookseller)	0,3 %	--
<i>Médico/cirujano</i> (physician/surgeon)	5,9 %	2 %
<i>Mercader</i> (merchant)	14,4 %	34,3 %
<i>Naipero</i> (maker of playing cards)	0,3 %	--
<i>Notario/jurista</i> (notary/lawyer)	1,7 %	18,6 %
<i>Panadero</i> (baker)	--	0,9 %
<i>Peletero/curtidor/zurrador</i> (leather maker/currier/tanner)	9,2 %	7,4 %
<i>Pintor</i> (painter)	--	0,9 %
<i>Rebolero</i> (clover maker)	2,9 %	--
<i>Sastre</i> (tailor)	28,5 %	4,6 %
<i>Tahonero</i> (baker)	0,3 %	--
<i>Tejedor</i> (weaver)	3,9 %	--
<i>Tendero</i> (shopkeeper)	--	0,9 %
<i>Vanovero</i> (quilt-maker)	--	0,9 %
<i>Velero</i> (vail-maker)	1,7 %	0,9 %
<i>Vihuelista</i> (<i>vihuela</i> -maker)	0,3 %	--
<i>Zapatero</i> (shoemaker)	7,9 %	2,8 %

Table 3. Percentages of Jewish and Converso occupations in Zaragoza in the second half of the fifteenth century.

It is illuminating to compare the respective geographical distribution of the occupations performed by Jews and second-generation Conversos, albeit the data is referential, as it comes from different sources, including notarial protocols and Inquisition documents, which are nevertheless coeval. Firstly, certain professions, particularly trade-related increased considerably; drapers and merchants almost trebled from 14.4% to 34.3%, while brokers, who had accounted for 4.4%, rose to 10.2%. By contrast, among the legal professions, Conversos accounted for 18.6% of notaries and jurists, whereas Jews only 1.7%. Unsurprisingly, the elimination of the legal obstacles associated with belonging to a confessional minority (now they were subjects and not vassals), together with a careful marriage strategy, helped carve out new professional horizons.

This profile began to emerge in the reign of Alfonso V and was evidence of the Conversos' adaptive and osmotic capabilities. There was a contraction in manufacturing activities, particularly among tailors, where the Jewish community accounted for 28.5%, while among New Christians it fell to 4.6%. Finally, there was a decrease in the number of hosiers (from 6.2% to 0.9%), shearers (from 4.6% to 0.9%) and shoemakers (from 7.9% to 2.8%).

The furrier tradition remained stable, despite the guild regulations that imposed numerous restrictions on confessional minorities, which accounted for 9.2% compared to 8.3% of the neophytes. This was one of the reasons for the price increase about which members complained a few months after the expulsion of 1492: “por la expulsion de los jodios, los sastres, calceteros e obreros e çapateros se suben a mayores, y todas las cosas van mas caras, assi las calças como qualesquiere otros vestidos e çapatos, que no antes, y ahun

bien a drechas, que no se falla quien quiera fazer nada de viejo ni remendar⁴⁷” (“because of the expulsion of the Jews, tailors, hosiers, craftsmen and shoemakers have raised their prices, and everything has become so expensive, both hose and other clothing and shoes, that no one can be found to mend or alter used clothing or footwear.”)

According to the documents, there was light and shade in this regard, with a combination of cooperation and confrontation, in which resentment tended to be based not so much on religious difference but was more personal and economic. A typical example was the town of Daroca, where wealthier Converso families promoted restrictive measures designed to sideline the key productive sectors of their former coreligionists.

In 1464, there was a certain amount of hypocrisy in comments such as the following “que la coniungacion de los christianos con moros e jodios por ley divina e iuxta los statutos antiguos de la dita ciudat es vedada”⁴⁸ (“the interaction of Christians with Moors and Jews is prohibited both by Divine law and by the ancient bylaws of the city”) and, on the initiative of the Converso merchant Bernart Ramírez,⁴⁹ minorities were banned from owning shops in Cal Mayor –the trading hub where they had their *botigas de mercaderias*,⁵⁰ and were required to confine themselves to their respective

⁴⁷ AMZ, *Actos Comunes*, 1492, fol. 314.

⁴⁸ AMD, *Libro de Actos Comunes*, 1464, fol. 31.

⁴⁹ Crop farmers were most predominant among Christians (37%) whereas merchants accounted for 8%, as a result of the incorporation of former Jews. García, “Los mudéjares aragoneses,” 149.

⁵⁰ AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 10/10, fols. 42v. y 49v. & AHPZ, *Protocolo de Juan Ram*, Daroca, 1459, fols. 71v.-72v.

neighbourhoods.⁵¹ These bylaws affected drapers, money changers, shopkeepers, furriers, tanners, pack saddle makers and shoemakers. There was an additional ban on brokers, on the buying and selling of certain goods and restrictions on access to the food market. The only exceptions were tailors, who were allowed to run workshops on a leasehold basis. Whereas the fines imposed were initially 60 *sueldos*, these were increased to 200 *sueldos* just a few months later.⁵²

As denounced by Açach Xuén and Açach Arrueti, their enmity with the draper Juan Portolés developed as a result of the measures introduced by the council banning the opening of certain shops particularly on Saturdays –“ a causa de las botigas de los judios que tenian barradas en aquellos dias” (“because these were the days when Jewish shops were closed”). The two complainants felt their businesses were being harmed because “siempre s’esperava a mercar en sabado porque sabia que ningun jodio no le pornia empacho ninguno⁵³” (“he always waited to trade on Saturdays because he knew he would have no competition from the Jews.”) As the rector of Bello church testified, villagers in the local area came to stock up on the products they needed on Saturdays, the day on which he did the most business: “que mas vendia (...) en su votiga en los dias de los sabados que no eran fiestas que en otros dias, porque en los dias de los sabados occorrian muchos aldeanos⁵⁴” (“he sold the most on Saturdays because it was the day when many villagers came into town.”)

⁵¹ AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 10, n. 10, fol. 87.

⁵² AMD, *Libro de Actos Comunes*, 1464, fols. 55-55v.

⁵³ AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 10, n. 10, fol. 54v.

⁵⁴ AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 10, n. 10, fol. 58.

But the Conversos' situation differed greatly depending on their social background.⁵⁵ The data collected from accounting books referring to goods confiscated in the period of Juan Claver's receivership (1487-1491) in the city of Teruel,⁵⁶ excluding the period of Alfonso Mesa (8,494 *sueldos*), the Concord of Saint Augustine (66,516 *sueldos*) or donations to the monarchy (255,870 *sueldos*), allow us to gauge the properties and assets of a large part of the Converso *pater familias*, and the diverse nature of their profiles.⁵⁷

Processed	Property	Other real estate	Furniture and fixtures	<i>Censual</i> capital	<i>Censual</i> interest	Loans	Cereals	Wool, textiles and spices	Total
Jaime Martinez Santángel, menor	22.54 8 s.	1.663 s.	3.341 s.	67.50 0 s.	21.35 6 s.	16.24 0 s.	1.44 9 s.	190 s.	134.2 87 s.

⁵⁵ Hernando, "Conversos y judíos: coherencia y solidaridad," 181-212.

⁵⁶ Tomás, *Administración económica del distrito inquisitorial de Valencia*, 136-157.

⁵⁷ ARV, *Maestre racional*, Regs. 8311, 8313, 8322, 8330-1, 8331-1, 8331-3 and 12.092-4. On the 1487 tax year, see Sánchez and Motis, "Estructura financiera del tribunal de la Inquisición de Teruel," 205-266.

Processed	Prope rty	Other real estate	Furnitur e and fixtures	<i>Cens al capita l</i>	<i>Cens al intere st</i>	Loans	Cere als	Woo l, textil es and spice s	Total
Belenguer	12.17			60.00	8.193	1.841	1.10	122	83.59
Ram	6 s.	16 s.	147 s.	0 s.	s.	s.	0 s.	s.	5 s.
Gonzalvo	6.840	1.091		11.90	1.615	2.224	1.20	19.2	44.25
Roiz	s.	s.	--	0 s.	s.	s.	4 s.	79 s.	3 s.
Juan Ram	--	--	--	10.00 0 s.	1.000 s.	1.092 s.	--	11.9 99 s. ⁵⁸	24.09 1 s.
Gil de Gil						15.52			20.91
Roiz	--	720 s.	4.675 s.	--	--	2 s.	--	--	7 s.
Hijos de	--	--	--	--	15.00	--	--	--	15.00
Antón Roiz					0 s.				0 s.
Fernando	--	--	--	300 s.	178 s.	11.88	47 s.	60 s.	12.46
Ram						4 s.			9 s.
Juan Ruiz	2.867	6.840	288 s.	--	--	12 s.	95 s.	--	10.10
	s.	s.							2 s.

⁵⁸ He trades in saffron, a highly valued product on the market. Martínez, “Producción y mercado de azafrán,” 319-344.

Processed	Prope rty	Other real estate	Furnitur e and fixtures	<i>Cens al capita l</i>	<i>Cens al intere st</i>	Loans	Cere als	Woo l, textil es and spice s	Total
Francisco Tristán	260 s.	35 s.	--	7.000 s.	--	--	98 s.	2.00 0 s.	9.393 s.
Donosa Gracián	--	--	3.713 s.	3.000 s.	600 s.	1.353 s.	--	--	8.666 s.
Luis de Santángel	469 s.	560 s.	--	--	--	3.906 s.	2.06 1 s.	--	6.996 s.
Jaime Martínez de Santángel, mayor	--	2.647 s.	1.342 s.	--	--	672 s.	252 s.	--	4.913 s.
Mujer de micer Belver	2.810 s.	--	104 s.	--	--	1.018 s.	--	--	3.932 s.
Diego de Toledo	--	--	1.326 s.	--	--	1.353 s.	48 s.	96 s.	2.823 s.
María del Río	--	--	--	--	--	2.581 s.	--	--	2.581 s.
Pedro Ruiz	--	311 s.	--	--	600 s.	1.269 s.	156 s.	--	2.336 s.

Processed	Prope rty	Other real estate	Furnitur e and fixtures	<i>Cens al capita l</i>	<i>Cens al intere st</i>	Loans	Cere als	Woo l, textil es and spice s	Total
Juan Sánchez Exarch	1.605 s.	--	62 s.	--	--	550 s.	--	--	2.217 s.
Mujer de Martín Roiz	--	9 s.	1.688 s.	--	--	--	--	--	1.697 s.
Gracia Pomar (m.)	1.605 s.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1.605 s.
Mujer Antón Roiz	9 s.	9 s.	8 s.	--	1.340 s.	--	--	--	1.366 s.
Manuel de Puxmija	--	--	--	--	--	1.071 s.	30 s.	177 s.	1.278 s.
Luis Gracián	--	--	--	--	--	1.250 s.	--	--	1.250 s.
Gil de Gonzalvo Roiz	--	--	--	--	--	714 s.	--	295 s.	1.009 s.
Francés de Puxmija	260 s.	35 s.	--	--	30 s.	350 s.	--	--	675 s.

Processed	Prope rty	Other real estate	Furnitur e and fixtures	<i>Cens al capita l</i>	<i>Cens al intere st</i>	Loans	Cere als	Woo l, textil es and spice s	Total
Alfonso de Santángel	450 s.	--	--	--	--	40 s.	--	--	490 s.
Gracia Ximenez (m.)	--	--	--	--	380 s.	--	--	--	380 s.
Pedro Pomar	250 s.	--	--	--	--	--	--	82 s.	332 s.
Juan de Toledo	203 s.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	203 s.
Fernando de Toledo	--	--	--	--	--	180 s.	--	--	180 s.
Jaime Pomar	50 s.	--	--	--	--	--	100 s.	--	150 s.

Table 4. Goods confiscated from the Conversos of Teruel during Juan Claver's receivership (1487-1491)

The attached synopsis allows us to gauge the scale of properties and assets, revealing the heterogeneity of the Conversos' social background –there is a proportion of 1/10,000 between the two extremes– and the kind of action the Inquisition took with regard to

practically all the council leaders of Jewish origin, even if the principles considered were not solely economic.⁵⁹

According to the criteria used by the Inquisition Treasury, dwellings –where these can be confiscated –and rural properties⁶⁰ are divided up into the following categories: furniture and fixtures, *censal* land deeds or interest accrued, loans –usually made to individuals– as well as various goods, including cereals, spices, wool, textiles and hides, whether traded or in storage. This allows us to examine family estates of different types and interests. The fact that the dwellings do not appear in the early records does not mean they were not actually owned, but rather that they were not legally enforceable, either because other insolvency interests are involved or because they did not have exclusive rights, given that chartered law took precedence.⁶¹ Families at the top of the table invested in

⁵⁹ Ríos, “El poder de la oligarquía urbana de Teruel,” 271-297.

⁶⁰ In the first third of the fifteenth century, Conversos were divided formally into three segments for taxation purposes, based on the value of their dwellings in the New Christian neighbourhoods, to which a rate of 5% was applied: those paying more than 40 *sueldos* (35.5%), those paying between 25 and 40 *sueldos* (22.6%) and those paying between 2.5 and 25 *sueldos* (41.9%). Motis, “Transformaciones sociales de la aljama judía de Teruel.,” 534-535.

⁶¹ “Si el marido o suegro fuese condenado por hereje y el fisco tomare u ocupare los bienes de aquellos, sea obligado a restituir la dote a la mujer catolica que la hubiese traido, constando que la dote fue traida del dicho marido o suegro cuando este fuese habido y estimado por buen cristiano al tiempo del matrimonio y ella no supiese que el era hereje y cesase todo fraude cuando se recibio y dio la dicha dote.” (“When a husband or father-in-law was condemned as a heretic, and the Treasury seized his property as a result, if the

censales and were actively involved in loans, as well as having a stake in the cereal and wool trades. By contrast, households in the middle bracket would assign their capital to consumer credit but not be involved in any significant economic activity. Finally, those at the bottom of the table would presumably barely have enough to subsist by means of their own labour.

3. The economic universe of the new élites: the Converso merchants

The sociological experience of the Conversos was urban in nature. It was not confined to religious conflict but was part of the sociological, economic and political dynamics of the towns and cities of the Iberian Peninsula and, more specifically, the fight for control of power centres, where it became a new factor in the algorithm, diluting the obstacles that accompanied the issue of religious belief.⁶²

Local power was monopolised by one sector of the oligarchy, driven by the aristocratisation of the urban elites, and a particular citizenship status was a pre-requisite for gaining access to council positions, while *infanzones* and *caballeros* were denied the right to serve as a member of the local authorities and decision-making bodies. In Aragón, the economic success and social advancement of a significant number of Jewish origins did not cause tensions of the kind faced by their Castilian counterparts. Let us once again consider Zaragoza, the most relevant example.

wife remained faithful to Catholicism, she had the right be considered an honest Christian and, as such, to the return of her full dowry, provided she was unaware that her husband or father-in-law had committed heresy.”) AHN, *Sección Inquisición*, lib. 1225, fol. 540.

⁶² Barrio, “La comunidad de los conversos: la forja de una identidad,” 139-176 and Narbona, “Los conversos de judío,” 239-240.

In the period 1370-1410, 200-290 persons, i.e. between 6% (1369) and 7.2% (1404) of the tax census, are listed as ‘honest citizens’.⁶³ During the reign of John II of Castile (1458-1479), when Conversos were already included, their number rose to 410 individuals, which accounted for 10.2% of the taxable population.⁶⁴

In the early fifteenth century, the Christian élite had a clearly defined profile: notaries (27%), merchants (26.6%) and jurists (12.4%), whereas physicians and apothecaries were barely represented (1.4%).⁶⁵ Nor did this socio-professional makeup undergo any significant change in the mid-century, when both New and Old Christians were incorporated: notaries (26%), merchants (27%) and jurists (11%). Similarly, on the list of candidates for appointment to the local authorities during 1465-1466, the same pattern continued: notaries (24%), merchants (23%) and jurists (14%).⁶⁶

With the arrival of the Conversos, the key routes to social advancement were consolidated: professional specialisation in the mercantile or legal sphere, marriage to members of the lower nobility or the civic oligarchy, as well as the provision of services

⁶³ Mainé, *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza*, 42-43.

⁶⁴ Velasco, “Trayectorias de movilidad social,” 122.

⁶⁵ Mainé, *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza*, 130.

⁶⁶ Velasco, “Trayectorias de movilidad social,” 124.

to the monarchy and their proximity to court circles,⁶⁷ strategies common to other parts of the Crown.⁶⁸

The merchants accrued economic, social and symbolic capital, and their sociopolitical progress and growing wealth was favoured by their links to the monarchy. Both public and private interests converged, and they benefitted from a paradigm shift towards financial capitalism.⁶⁹ Rather than merchants alone, they became businessmen who were part of the patriciate, i.e. a minority in a pre-eminent socio-economic, cultural or political position. Moreover, they based part of their wealth on investment in the *censales* and public debt issued by the *concejos* and Mudejar and Jewish *aljamas*, as well as subscribing to the bonds of the *Generalidades* of Aragón –on which interest was not very high, but which had the additional value of two intangible qualities: prestige and influence over institutional politics–⁷⁰ without foregoing an instrument as versatile as the *comanda* loan.⁷¹

⁶⁷ This leap sometimes occurred from civic oligarchies. Velasco, “De la ciudad a la Corte. Una aproximación a las relaciones entre la oligarquía,” 195-214 and Rábade, “La élite judeoconversa de la Corte de los Reyes Católicos,” 205-222.

⁶⁸ Narbona, “La incorporación de los conversos,” 101-146, and Gamero, “¿Servicio o beneficio? La colaboración de los grandes linajes judeoconversos,” 39-56 and “La posición de los oficiales judeoconversos,” 207-222.

⁶⁹ De la Torre, “Hacer fortuna en la expansión mercantil bajomedieval,” 108-113 and “Élites mercantiles y financieras de Zaragoza,” 409-434.

⁷⁰ Viciano, “Deute públic i renda censalista,” 925-953 and Sánchez, “El mundo del crédito en la Corona de Aragón,” 343-374.

⁷¹ Viu, “Crédit et transfert de capitaux à Saragosse au XVe siècle,” 172-177.

Juan de Pero Sánchez was a merchant who lived in the parish of San Pedro⁷² and neighbour of the Aragonese *baile* Luis Sánchez, another distinguished Converso,⁷³ who belonged to a line that was closely linked to the Crown.⁷⁴ In contrast to the diversified investments of his peers, he showed a marked inclination for public debt issued by the Kingdom (*Generalidades*), to judge by Inquisition bookkeeping. As the table below shows, the heading of debts and *censales*, as systematised by the inquisitorial receiver, the approximately 178,200 *sueldos*, were divided up into the following categories: *Generalidades* of Aragón (53.14%); *concejos* (20.20%); *Comunidad de aldeas* of Teruel (16,84%); personal loans (5,89%) and mortgages on houses in Zaragoza’s Jewish quarter (3.93%).⁷⁵

Deed /debtor	Location	Item	Capital	Income	Interest
<i>Comunidad de aldeas</i>	Teruel	<i>Censal</i>	30.000 s. ⁷⁶	[2.000 s. j.]	[6,67%]
<i>Concejo</i>	Almonacid	<i>Censal</i>	[9.000 s.]	600 s. j.	[6,67%]
Concejo	Fuentes y Mediana	<i>Censal</i>	20.000 s.	1.250 s. j.	6,25%

⁷² Gracia, “El memorial de actos del notario Joan Abat de Zaragoza,” 88.

⁷³ BMB, *Manuscrits Médiévaux*, 1183/48, fols. 39-39v.

⁷⁴ Salvador, “Un aragonés en la Valencia de Fernando el Católico,” 709-721.

⁷⁵ Abbreviations: s. = *sueldo jaqués*; s. b. *sueldo barcelonés*. In the late fifteenth century, 1 Castilian *ducado* = 22 *sueldos jaqueses* and/or 24 *sueldos barceloneses*.

⁷⁶ 20,000 *sueldos* amortised.

Deed /debtor	Location	Item	Capital	Income	Interest
Concejo	Daroça	<i>Censal</i>	3.000 s.	225 s. j.	7,5%
Concejo	Tauste	<i>Censal</i>	4.000 s.	250 s. j.	6,25%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	9.450 s. b.	429 s. 6,5 d. b.	4,54%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	7.500 s. b.	340 s. 10 d. b.	4,53%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	11.000 s. b.	550 s. b.	5%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	10.000 s.	666 s. 8 d. j.	6,67%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	16.000 s.	1.000 s. j.	6,25%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	5.000 s.	333 s. j. 4 d.	6,67%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	15.000 s.	1.000 s. j.	6,67%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	8.800 s. b.	440 s. b.	5%
General de Aragón	Reino	<i>Censal</i>	15.000 s. ⁷⁷	1.000 s. j.	6,67%

⁷⁷ 3,000 *sueldos* remain to be depreciated, with an annual income of 200 *sueldos* per annum.

Deed /debtor	Location	Item	Capital	Income	Interest
Count of Aranda	Zaragoza	<i>Comanda</i> (loan)	500 s.	[...]	[...]
Ferrando de Montesa	Épila	<i>Comanda</i> (loan)	3.000 s.	[...]	[...]
Ferrando de Montesa	Épila	<i>Comanda</i> (loan)	2.000 s.	[...]	[...]
Lope Aznar, notario	Zaragoza	<i>Comanda</i> (loan)	5.000 s. ⁷⁸	[...]	[...]
Houses in the Jewish quarter	Zaragoza	Mortgage	3.000 s.	200 s. j.	6,67%
Houses in the Jewish quarter	Zaragoza	Mortgage	[4.000 s. j.]	266 s. j. 8 d. j.	[6,67%]

Table 5. The investments of Juan de Pero Sánchez, merchant from Zaragoza, seized by the Inquisition

However the case of *mosén* Luis de Santángel is more representative in its diversification with capital investments totalling 555.210 *sueldos*, which generated income of about 31.134 *sueldos*, with a yield of 5.6%, in different market segments, thereby minimising risk: *Generalidades* of the Kingdom (7%) (39,000 *sueldos*), Christian *concejos* (39%),

⁷⁸ A repayment period of ten years is fixed.

Jewish *aljamas* (10%), Mudejar *aljamas* (5%), *Comunidades de aldeas* (36%) and private individuals (3%).⁷⁹

The merchant *castas*, like their Jewish forebears, attributed great importance to education and learning from apprenticeships that were undertaken at different levels of responsibility in the family business. Male members of the family only joined the business when the patriarch considered that his offspring were ready to do so. A case in point is Fadrique de Ribas, a merchant who specialised in the cloth trade who had a network of raw materials suppliers and representatives involved in interregional distribution. This was the case for his firstborn son Jaime, who worked with Fadrique as of 1430, while the second would join them at the end of the decade.⁸⁰ Once widowed in 1457, Violante de Ribas took over the shop which had stock valued at 23,000 *sueldos*.⁸¹

Joint companies were often used by the merchant and financial elite to procure capital and guarantee the expansion of the business, as this was a formula that gave them scope to adapt to the demands of their activities and the objectives of their members, as well as enabling them to adopt new mechanisms to manage and organise their work. Thus, the partners, agents and representatives from a family firm would join forces to form a complex corporate structure from the dawn of the fifteenth century onwards.⁸²

For these families, the “casas principales de su habitacion” (namely their home or family

⁷⁹ Motis, “Los judeoconversos en la Corona de Aragón,” 98, and Motis, “El linaje de los Santángel de Aragón,” 127-130.

⁸⁰ Lozano, *Las élites en la ciudad de Zaragoza*, 823-824.

⁸¹ Cfr. The role played by women in the merchant élites. De la Torre, “Mujeres de la élite de negocios de Zaragoza,” 199-216.

⁸² De la Torre, “La fortuna en la expansión mercantil bajomedieval,” 101-102.

residence) served as the basic unit for cohesion –including employees, servants and domestic staff– and was a *locus* from which to project their status.⁸³ It served as the seat of their lineage and symbol of their power,⁸⁴ and comprised a relevant part of equity investment,⁸⁵ as shown in the table below, which lists the cadastral value calculated by the master builders hired by the Inquisition, of the property owned by the Converso merchants on the Kingdom’s capital. Those listed here had a value of more than 1,000 *sueldos*.

⁸³ Álvaro, “Las casas de Pedro de la Cavallería,” 257-258 and López, “Las casas de los judeoconversos,” 137-159.

⁸⁴ Solórzano, “Linaje, comunidad y poder,” 71-94.

⁸⁵ Sesma, “Mercado inmobiliario en Zaragoza (1370-1420),” 443.

Property	Owner	Parish	Road/Referenc e	Value
Houses	Isabel de Arboleda, mujer de Luis Salvador	San Pablo	La Castellana	1.000 s.
Houses	Pedro de Almazán	San Pablo	La Sal	1.000 s.
Dwellings and cellar, annexed houses, granary and chambers (<i>cámaras</i>)	Jaime Traper	San Pablo	Las Armas	> 1.200 s.
Houses, porch and chamber (<i>cambra</i>)	Juan Rodríguez	San Miguel	El Coso	1.300 s.
Houses	Pedro de Urrea	San Pablo	El Mercado	> 1.667 s.
Dwelling, stable, yard and annexed houses	Juan de Pero Sánchez	San Pedro	[...]	1.800 s.
Houses	Gilabert de Almazán	Santa María	Hospital de San Antón	1.800 s.
Houses	Álvaro de Segovia	San Felipe	Horno de San Cristóbal	2.000 s.

Two house gates	Isabel de Arboleda, mujer de Luis Salvador	San Andrés	Cerca puerta de la Judería	2.500 s.
Two houses and chambers	Isabel de Arboleda, mujer de Luis Salvador	San Pablo	La Castellana	2.500 s.
Houses	Gilabert de Almazán	Santa María	Carrera Mayor	3.000 s.
Dwelling and cellar	Jaime Traper y Leonor de Jassa	San Pablo	Las Armas	3.000 s.
Houses	Brianda Sánchez, viuda de Juan Ruiz	San Andrés	[...]	4.000 s.
Houses	Bernart de Ribas, mayor	San Pablo	San Blas	4.000 s.
Dwelling, houses, yard and stable	Juan de Pero Sánchez	San Pedro	[...]	> 4.000 s.
Dwelling, three houses and oven	Manuel de Almazán	Santa María	Callizo de San Antón	> 5.500 s.
Two house gates	Isabel de Arboleda, mujer de Luis Salvador	San Pablo	Cedacería/Alb ardería	6.000 s.
Houses	Pedro de Urrea	San Pablo	Mercado	6.500 s.
Dwelling and houses	Bernat de Ribas	San Pablo	San Blas	7.100 s.

Houses, stable and granary	Juan de Pero Sánchez	San Miguel	El Coso	7.500 s.
Dwelling	Gilabert de Almazán	Santa María	San Antón	10.000 s.
Dwelling	Gaspar de Santa Cruz	San Gil	[...]	20.000 s.

Table 6. Value and location of the dwellings of key Converso merchants in Zaragoza

Around this hub, dwellings from other parental units and segments were annexed. The palace of Fadrique de Ribas was located in Calle San Blas, as was that of his son Bernardo, who created his own complex, comprising four houses and an oven. The residence of his son Jaime (which was adjacent to that of Juan de Ejea, husband of his sister María), and their daughters María (adjoining Fadrique's) and Violante (facing that of her brothers Jaime and Bernardo) was in the nearby Calle las Armas.⁸⁶

The same strategy was followed by the merchants of the Almazán lineage, the homes of whose *pater familias* were a few hundred metres away. Both Manuel – who, beside his residence, owned three houses and an oven, which produced an annual income of 555 *sueldos* – and Gilabert – whose residence and adjacent properties were valued at almost 12,000 *sueldos* – lived in the parish of Santa María la Mayor, close to the Church of San Antón, near the Market and the Puerta de Toledo. Pedro lived opposite, in the parish of San Pablo, in Calle de Las Armas, where the houses he owned included other additional dwellings and an oven, plus diverse properties on Carrera de La Sal, San Blas and Predicadores, all of which converged on the Market, the town's major trading hub, where

⁸⁶ Lozano, *Las élites en la ciudad de Zaragoza*, 834.

there was a high density of Conversos. In the sixteenth century it was moved to its current site on Calle San Gil, where the Old Christian shops were located.⁸⁷

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AHPT. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Teruel.

AHPZ. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza.

AMD. Archivo Municipal de Daroca.

AMZ. Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza.

ARV. Archivo del Reino de Valencia

BMB. Biblioteca Municipal de Burdeos.

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⁸⁷ Motis and Ruiz, “Ciudad y espacios simbólicos,” 335.

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