

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL ALIENATION AND POLITICAL SUBVERSION:

ANTI-JUDAISM IN MEDIEVAL SPANISH MUSIC

By

Jessica F. Bedol

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Jews endured centuries of persecution by Christian rulers of Spain prior to the Expulsion of 1492. In this thesis, the occurrence of anti-Judaism in medieval Spanish music is explored, within the scope of Judeo-Christian relations. Also discussed is the effect that anti-Jewish sentiments and stereotypes had on music composed and performed during these times, and the role music played in transmitting these thoughts within the Spanish realm. This research includes a consideration of the politics of anti-Judaism in Spain and Naples, an analysis of medieval Spanish literature and iconography, and a study of the musical traditions and performance practices in the courts. Music examined includes songs from the *Cántigas de Santa María*, a “Kedushah-motet” copied in Naples between 1470 and 1485, a 1492 mass based on the anti-Jewish song “Eajudíosaenfardejar,” and a Judeo-Spanish love song. With little surviving music, secondary literary and historical sources are also considered.

SOCIAL ALIENATION AND POLITICAL SUBVERSION:
ANTI-JUDAISM IN MEDIEVAL SPANISH MUSIC

A THESIS

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Committee Members:

Kristine K. Forney, Ph.D. (Chair)
Alicia M. Doyle, Ph.D.
Justus Matthews, Ph.D.

College Designee:

Carolyn Bremer, Ph.D.

By Jessica F. Bedol

B.A., 2008, University of California, Los Angeles

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PREFACE

Prior to the Expulsion in 1492, Jews had endured centuries of persecution by the Christian rulers of Spain. While the rule of Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252-1284) is now considered to be tolerant in its treatment of Jews, his inclusion of Title XXIV in the *Siete Partidas* and the nearly thirty stereotypical portrayals of Jews in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are testaments to the prevalence of anti-Judaism in his kingdom. During the fourteenth century, waves of persecution and mass conversions prompted the first Jewish emigrations and resulted in the growth of a new social group within the Spanish kingdoms: the *conversos*. The *conversos* were Jews who converted—willingly or unwillingly—to Christianity, many of whom worked desperately to conceal their Jewish cultural heritage. The fifteenth century saw three occasions that greatly impacted Jews in Spanish society: the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (m. 1474), which resulted in the unification of the Aragonese and Castilian kingdoms; the Inquisition, which was officially instituted in 1478, with the intent of identifying and punishing false *conversos*; and the Jewish Expulsion in July 1492, prompted both by the trials of the inquisitors and the Moorish Expulsion from Granada earlier that year.

In this thesis, the prevalence of anti-Judaism in the music of Christian Spain from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century is explored. The effect that anti-Jewish sentiments had on musical compositions and performances during these times and the role the music played in transmitting stereotypes of Jews between the Castilian,

Aragonese, and Neapolitan kingdoms are also examined. As an interdisciplinary study, this work includes a consideration of the political consequences of anti-Judaism, an analysis of medieval Spanish literature and iconography, and a discussion of the musical traditions and performance practices in medieval Spanish courts. In order to preserve the scope of the research, this thesis is limited specifically to Judeo-Christian relations within the Castilian and Aragonese kingdoms.

The nature of this research requires a brief discussion of the difference between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. While anti-Semitism has become the widespread term for hostility toward the Jewish people, it was originally used by Wilhelm Marr in 1879, borne not of religious hatred, but of contemporary theories on race and biology.¹ However, the concept of race was not yet known to medieval society; the malleable lines between religions can be seen in the numerous mass conversions and Christian distrust of the religious integrity of baptized Jews, commonly termed *conversos*.² Anti-Judaism, on the other hand, can be considered a total or partial opposition to Judaism by people who accept a competing belief system and thus consider Jewish viewpoints and practices to be inferior. In the case of medieval Christian Spain, anti-Judaism was the result of Christian theological tradition, generated from the belief that Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus. Given the history of the two terms, anti-Judaism is applied throughout this thesis.

¹ Michael Frassetto, "Heretics and Jews in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Anti-Semitism," *Church History* 71, 1 (March 2002): n4.

² Salo W. Baron, "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization," in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 12 (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1942), 16.

Political and social unrest in Spain directly impacted Jewish musicians and poets within both the Jewish and Christian communities of Spain. Therefore, medieval texts and literature written by *conversos*, Christians, and Jews play an integral role in this study. The literature examined includes—but is not limited to—songs from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, poems from *Las Coplas de mingorevulgo*, an anonymous Neapolitan “Kedushah-motet,” a 1492 mass based on the anti-Jewish song “Eajudios a enfardelar,” and a Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) love song, “Arvolesyoranporlurias” (“Trees Cry for Rain”). Additionally, the idea that Jews were responsible for Jesus’ death is a recurring theme in the music: it can be found in direct accusations made by characters in Encina’s *seglogas* and in repeated invectives made by poets in *Las Coplas de mingorevulgo* that accuse prominent *conversos* of being Judaizers, or false Christians.³

This study provides a new understanding of the cultural implications of anti-Judaism in the music of medieval Christian Spain—a society famous for *convivencia*.⁴ The research produced by this study has the potential for a broad interdisciplinary impact. Along with contributing to the body of knowledge available to scholars of medieval

³ “Judaizing” is a term that historians have applied to the *converso* practice pledging Christianity, but practicing Judaism in secret; accusations of Judaizing was rampant during the Inquisition and they were made by Christians, *conversos*, and Jews alike.

⁴ *Convivencia*, or “coexistence,” is a term used to describe the time in Spanish history from 711 to 1492, in which Christians, Moors, and Jews lived together in relative peace in the various kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula. Ironically, this practice was concurrent with the *Reconquista* (the “reconquest”), during which the Christian leaders endeavored to reclaim land ruled by the Moors. The *Reconquista* ended in 1492 when the Christians won the battle over Granada and the Moors were expelled, inspiring the Jewish Expulsion and preceding it by mere months.

studies and the musicological community, the research is important to scholars of ancient and modern Judaic studies, and historians and literary experts on the Iberian Peninsula.

This thesis begins with an interdisciplinary study of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in which an analysis of the musical, textual, and pictorial depictions of Jews is placed within the context of musical and political activity at Alfonso X's court. Collected and composed during the latter part of Alfonso's reign, the *Cantigas* are now preserved in four manuscripts that contain a total of 420 compositions and 2400 miniatures. An examination of the music, texts, and illuminations of the *Cantigas* will reveal that, although Alfonso may have demonstrated a comparatively more tolerant attitude than other rulers of the Middle Ages, he still subscribed to the same popular opinions the Christian public had of the Jewish people. The second chapter concentrates on the fourteenth and fifteenth century and the musical implications of widespread anti-Judaism in Spain. The first half of the chapter presents a brief overview of the mass conversion movement that swept through Spain in 1391; it then presents the case of Diego Arias d'Avila, a *converso* working at the court of Henry IV of Castile, whose musical activities were scrutinized by Inquisitors as proof of his family's heresy. The second half of the chapter deals with the fifteenth century, in particular the effect the Expulsion of the Jews in 1492 had on popular song and music composed at the courts of Ferdinand and Isabella. Musical examples for this chapter include a motet—termed a “Kedushah-motet” by musicologist Eric Werner⁵—and the melody of an anti-Jewish popular song that was used

⁵Eric Werner and D.A. Jessurun Cardozo, “The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant,” *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 16 (1946-1947), 225-32.

as the tenor of a mass by Juan de Anchieta in 1492. The final chapter investigates the impact the dispersal of the Jews had on post-Expulsion Spain, within the context of the dispersal of the *romanceros* and possible references to the Expulsion in the Ladino love song “Arvoles Yuranporlurias.”

Ideas put forth in this thesis promote a more thorough understanding of the role music played in the dissemination of popular ideas in medieval Spain. Religious and political sentiments were spread within music and text in medieval Spain, as they are today. Fitting musical output within the framework of anti-Jewish thought can influence the way musical activity in medieval Christian Spain is discussed and understood.

CHAPTER 1
ANTI-JEWISH SENTIMENTS IN THE MUSIC, TEXT, AND MINIATURES
OF *LAS CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA*

Introduction

Alfonso X (r. 1252-1284) is considered by scholars to have been lenient in his policies concerning Jews, a contrast to the majority of Christian rulers in medieval Europe. Dubbed “el Sabio” (“the Learned King”) for his patronage of the arts, literature, sciences, law, and history, Alfonso X is as famous for his lifelong scholarly activities as he is for the many political setbacks he experienced throughout his reign. The result of this continuous pursuit of knowledge was Alfonso’s employment of many Jewish translators, scientists, physicians, and musicians at his court. These scholars actively participated in the production of many of the works that came out of Alfonso’s reign, including translations of Arabic and Hebrew scientific texts and possibly the *Cántigas de Santa María*, a collection of songs on the miracles of the Virgin Mary.¹ Since the invasion of the Moors in 711, Spanish Jews lived in a fluid political landscape that

¹ For more information on Judeo-Christian relations at the time of Alfonso X, see Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966), 1: 112-20; Albert Bagby, “Jews in the Cántigas of Alfonso X, el Sabio,” *Speculum* 46 (October 1971): 670-88; Deirdre Elizabeth Jackson, “Marian Antisemitism in Medieval Life and Legend: A Study Based on Alfonso X’s ‘Cántigas de Santa María,’” (master’s thesis, University of Victoria, 1997); John E. Keller, *Alfonso X, el Sabio* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967); Evelyn Stefanos Proctor, *Alfonso X of Castile: Patron of Literature and Learning* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1961).

alternated between Muslim and Christian control.² Under relatively steady governments that lasted until the Christians began to take dominance of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors during the thirteenth century, Jewish communities experienced a Golden Age of scholarship that lasted well into Alfonso's reign. This environment of learning at the Moorish courts and increasingly unstable governments during the eleventh and thirteenth centuries due to the Christian *Reconquista*, led Jewish scholars and rabbis to become fluent in Arabic and Spanish and who could often read Greek, Hebrew, and Latin as well; by the time Alfonso came to power in 1252, Spanish Jews were considered to be one of the most educated cultures in the world and they were often hired to serve as translators and government employees at Christian courts on the Iberian Peninsula.³

As one of Alfonso's numerous academic pursuits, the *Cántigas de Santa María* are an important source for depictions of daily life and social relations during his reign. Early scholars of the *Cántigas* originally thought that Alfonso was the primary author, along with the many other literary, legal, historical and scientific texts produced at his

² Julio Benitez, "Viewing the Other: Jews, Moors and Afro-Moors in Alfonso X's *Las Cántigas de Santa María*" (MA thesis, University of Texas at San Antonio, 2009), 30; for more information on the political history of Alfonso X's reign, see H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X the Learned: A Biography*, trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X: The Cortes and Government in Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Shelby Thacker and José Escobar, trans., *The Chronicle of Alfonso X* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002); Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Castle of Intellect, Castle of Force: The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror," in *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 3-22

³ Keller, *Alfonso X, el Sabio*, 135.

court.⁴ However, later scholars have come to believe that the *Cántigas* were composed by a variety of contributors, overseen by the king, who acted as patron and editor.⁵ As patron of the *Cántigas*, Alfonso may have participated in the selection of the miracles, many of which were present in popular literature and oral tradition of the thirteenth century. It has also been postulated that Alfonso may have helped compose some of the text and music of the *Cántigas*, since many of them include details of his own life (e.g., *Cántiga* 348, which refers to the failed siege of Algeciras and Alfonso's later arrest and ransom of the Jewish leaders in his kingdom). If Alfonso did indeed have a hand in the composition of the *Cántigas de Santa María*, he certainly would have had some influence over the nearly thirty songs that depict Jews, all of whom are portrayed as enemies of the Virgin Mary or the king. An examination of the music, texts, and illuminations of the *Cántigas* will reveal that, although Alfonso may have demonstrated a comparatively more tolerant attitude than other rulers of the Middle Ages, he still subscribed to the same popular opinions the Christian public had of the Jewish people. Whether the *Cántigas* are a political move directed at appealing to inhabitants of Alfonso's newly-unified kingdom or a depiction of his true sentiments toward the Jewish community, the *Cántigas* are clearly an example of the anti-Jewish sentiments in Europe during the thirteenth century.

⁴ For a discussion on the authorship of the *Cántigas* and a thorough biography of Alfonso X, see Martinez, 222-23.

⁵ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cántigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 6.

Attitudes toward Jews

During the thirteenth century, the Church fathers had an influential role in the issuing and administration of laws concerning Jewish communities and applied the theological idea that Jews inherited from their ancient relatives: specifically, blame for the crucifixion of Jesus.⁶ Stemming from this basic belief, Christians saw Jews as deliberate unbelievers who knew that Christ truly was the messiah but refused to recognize it, unlike the Moors who did not believe in Jesus, or the heretics who claimed to be Christian but did not conform to Christian doctrines.⁷ Cecil Roth has argued that since Christians thought the Jews were deliberate nonbelievers, they logically came to the conclusion that Jews did not think or act like other humans, exhibited irrational behavior, and were stubborn enough to maintain absurd opinions to the death, even when faced with immutable proof that their attitude was wrong.⁸ Additionally, since Jews did not accept Jesus as the true messiah, Christians came to the conclusion that they were enemies of Christendom, conspirators with the devil, and perhaps inhuman as well. These perceptions led Christians to believe that Jews were marked by stubbornness, tails,

⁶ Samuel Parsons Scott, trans., *Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized*, vol. 5 of *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), xxviii.

⁷ Cecil Roth, "The Mediaeval Conception of the Jew: A New Interpretation," in *Essays in Memory of Linda R. Miller*, ed. Israel Davidson (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1938), 174.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 171.

a bloody flux, and an odor that mysteriously disappeared upon baptism.⁹ Jewish men were also considered to be so effeminate that they menstruated as women did.

Canon law during the Middle Ages was thus set according to these beliefs, which circulated throughout Western Europe. Regulations concerning Jewish-Christian interactions were therefore carefully drawn up by sacred and secular authorities and strictly enforced in order to prevent Jews from spreading their disbelief and their inhuman characteristics into the Christian population. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council was convened by Pope Innocent III and enacted a series of laws meant to restrict the freedom of Jews within Christian communities. An important law that resulted from this meeting was the issuing of the requirement to wear distinguishing clothing in order to prevent sexual activity between Christians and Jews; accordingly, all kingdoms in western Christendom besides those on the Iberian Peninsula began requiring Jews to wear identifying “badges” that differed between individual principalities.¹⁰ Usually the prescribed badges were yellow robes or hats, the latter of which can be found in *Cántiga* miniatures.

The Church fathers grudgingly followed the scripturally-mandated acceptance of Jewish societies, but the thirteenth century, this practice was gradually being undermined by Christian missionaries, who had come into contact with the Slavic regions of the Adriatic Sea, North Africa, and the farther reaches of the eastern Mediterranean due to

⁹ Ibid., 175.

¹⁰ Norman Roth, “Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 80 (January 1994): 11.

merchant activities.¹¹ The existence of domestic religious communities led missionaries to also preach to the Jewish and Muslim religious minorities, which were already subject to contempt and restricted freedom outside their own communities.¹² In 1235, a papal bull issued by Gregory IX (“The Eleventh Hour”) granted Christians the authority to preach both domestically and overseas and strengthened their missionary zeal. A wave of expulsions at the end of the thirteenth century pushed Occitan and Ashkenazi Jews out of their homelands and, with nowhere else to go, many traveled to Spain, where the culture of *convivencia* allowed them to live relatively peacefully among the native Moorish, Christian, and Jewish communities.

Jewish communities in Spain enjoyed a greater sense of freedom during the thirteenth century because the decentralized monarchies lacked the power to legislate effectively and overlooked canon law in order to use Jews for the efforts of the *Reconquista*. Prior to 1492, Alfonso X was among the last in a line of Castilian rulers who treated the Jews leniently by relaxing government regulations in order to consolidate power under the Christian monarchy. This was done in two ways. Firstly, since Jews were not members of the Moorish communities that the Christians were trying to drive out, Spanish rulers found them useful for their resettlement efforts, which they used to prevent defeated Moors from returning to their land. Thus, victorious Christian nobles who did not have the manpower to settle every new city and continue their campaigns, often invited Jews to establish residence in castles or other fortified positions within

¹¹ Burns, 4.

¹² Scott, xxviii.

newly-conquered cities.¹³ Additionally, Christian rulers took advantage of the language skills Jews acquired under the rule of Muslim caliphates and their limited choices occupational choices by using them as financiers, tax-farmers, and diplomatic advisors for their courts.¹⁴ These actions often went against the wishes of the Church. In fact, Alfonso VI of León (r. 1065-1109) and Castile (r. 1072-1109) received a letter from the pope, warning him against putting Jews in positions in which they would be able to command authority over Christians.¹⁵

However, toward the end of Alfonso X's reign, the authority of the monarchy became more centralized and he was forced to find ways to assert control over the newly-conquered lands. Although his monarchy had gained a significant amount of power from the conquered Moors, Alfonso's authority was still too weak to be effective because he still needed the backing of powerful lords and churchmen.¹⁶ Until Alfonso began his attempts to consolidate power economically, legislatively, and culturally, the Castilian

¹³ Salo Wittmayer Baron, *On the Empire's Periphery*, vol. 10 of *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of American, 1958), 119-20.

¹⁴ See Dwayne E. Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete partidas 7.24 "De los judios"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 4; rulers were wary of putting Jews in positions of power over Christians, although they allowed Jewish communities to operate relatively autonomously. Thus, the Castilian kings benefitted from their ability to place independent Jewish settlements within conquered cities and fortresses.

¹⁵ Baer, 1: 50. This warning was in response to Alfonso VI's allowing Jews from Old Castile and others fleeing from the Muslim states to settle in Toledo, and then giving them important roles in assisting the state.

¹⁶ Baron, *On the Empire's Periphery*, 120.

monarchy somewhat resembled the scattered German territories of the Middle Ages. Throughout his reign, Alfonso followed the same path as his predecessors, granting Jewish tax-farmers authority over his Christian subjects and by allowing them to govern their own settlements. Starting with the compilation of the *Siete partidas* at the end of his reign, Alfonso set in motion the unification of monarchical authority that allowed the Church and the secular government to firmly regulate the activities of the Jewish communities within his realm.

Alfonso X and Jews at His Intellectual Court

As a child, Alfonso X quickly took to intellectual pursuits. He had access to his father, King Ferdinand III's (1199-1252), royal library and cathedral and monastic libraries, all of which probably held Latin ecclesiastical and classical literature. Ferdinand's court also included troubadours and minstrels and provided a venue in which Moorish and Jewish professional storytellers passed on the tales they brought from all directions of Europe.¹⁷ Growing up at Ferdinand's court allowed Alfonso to obtain a thorough education in the *quadrivium*, languages, and the art of warfare.

After succeeding to the throne in 1252, Alfonso continued to pursue his many intellectual interests, now as a patron of the sciences and the arts. As ruler of the kingdom of Castile, Alfonso's intellectual pursuits now held deeper meaning besides the attainment of greater knowledge. Employing Arabic and Jewish translators, poets, musicians, physicians, and scientists, Alfonso attempted to assert power intellectually and militarily. The Jewish translators were especially important because in producing texts in

¹⁷ Keller, *Alfonso X, el Sabio*, 38.

the vernacular, they allowed Alfonso to reach a wider audience and promote a sense of cultural pride. Among the scholarly translations they produced were the *Tablas alfonsies* (*Alfonsine Tables*) from an Arabic text that detailed the movements of the planets and various other astrological, astronomical, and magical treatises.¹⁸ Along with these translations were numerous original works, including a history of Spain titled *Primera crónica general*, *Las Siete partidas*, and the *Cántigas de Santa María*.¹⁹

Like the kings who preceded him, Alfonso used Jews as financiers and tax-farmers for his court. However, the employment of Jews at his court is where Alfonso's leniency appears to have come to an end. Especially toward the end of his reign, Alfonso treated Jews quite poorly, as exemplified by his sentencing to death of the Jewish tax collector Zag de la Maleha in 1279.²⁰ Following the execution of Zag de la Maleha, Alfonso ordered the arrest in 1280 of all Jewish tax collectors and all leaders of the

¹⁸ For more on the *Tablas alfonsies*, see L.P. Harvey, "The Alfonsine School of Translators: Translations from Arabic to Castilian under the Patronage of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, 1221-1252-1284," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1977): 109-17; José Chabás and Bernard R. Goldstein, *The Alfonsine Tables of Toledo* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003).

¹⁹ The *Primera cronica* is a history of Spain written under the direction—and possibly edited by—Alfonso X. Believed to be the first extended history of Spain to be written in Castilian, rather than Latin, the book is divided into four parts and narrates the history of Spain, from Biblical origins to the kingdoms of León and Castile.

²⁰ O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cántigas de Santa María*, 164. Alfonso, who was continuously in pursuit of further funds, had become angry when Zag gave his son, Infante Sancho, royal funds to pay for the debts of Queen Violante and enable her to return to Castile in 1279, although they had been earmarked for the siege of Algeciras. O'Callaghan writes that the subsequent failure of that siege, a massacre of the knights of Santiago at Moclin, and another bout of illness so angered Alfonso that he unflinchingly decided to arrest all Jewish tax collectors and execute Zag.

Jewish communities within his kingdom, each of whom were held at a ransom of 12,000 *maravedís* per day. Incidents such as these have led scholars to suggest that many of the narratives in the *Cántigas* were inspired by real events in Alfonso's life.²¹ Whether or not Alfonso's employment of Jewish scholars and translators at his court was strictly a political move or borne of tolerance, the fact remains that Jews played an important role in the administration and intellectual developments for the entirety of his reign.

The *Siete partidas*

Alfonso set about drafting the *Siete partidas* during the latter half of his reign, around the same time he was compiling the *Cántigas de Santa María*. Dedicated to the establishment of a uniform code of law throughout the kingdom of Castile, the *Siete partidas* are medieval Spain's most important contribution to philology. The final set of laws sees to criminals and criminal acts; sandwiched between the laws that regulate sorcerers and heretics, assassins, and blasphemers is Title XXIV, which is dedicated solely to the conduct of the Jews, especially with regard to Jewish-Christian relations. Generally copied from the Visigothic Code, these laws were written specifically with the goal of pleasing the clergy and the general public, who were constantly exhorting Alfonso to persecute the Jews, along with all other heretics and infidels.²² In grouping the Jews (and the Moors who are considered in Title XXV) in the same set of laws

²¹ Ibid., 165. These events were likely the inspiration for *Cantiga* 348, in which the Virgin Mary appears to the king in a vision during the siege of Algeciras and instructs him to abandon the campaign, which was destined to fail because of the failure of those who were supposed to supply funds for the royal army. Instead, she tells him to plunder the hidden treasures of “the Jews, his enemies, who are worse than then Moors.”

²² Scott, n.1437.

dealing with crime and punishment, Alfonso acknowledged the two greatest crimes a Christian could commit: the Christian's rejection of his own religion and the forced conversion by members of these two groups.²³ Although these laws did not go into effect until after his reign, Alfonso's use of strict theological ideas in his compilation of laws concerning the Jews would have been a political move that put both the public and the clergy at ease.

Eleven laws in the *Siete partidas* directly affected the Jews, including those that dictated the way they were to make a living, use their synagogues, and conduct their relationships with members of the Christian community.²⁴ These follow an introduction, which refers to the preceding laws concerning sorcery:

Wherefore, since in the preceding Title we spoke of the Diviners . . . [who] . . . desire to make themselves equal to [God] by learning his acts and his secrets; we intend to speak here of the Jews, who insult His name and deny the marvelous and holy acts which He performed when he sent His Son . . . into the world to save sinners.²⁵

Thus, in equating Jews with sorcerers who "desire to make themselves equal to [God]," and invoking the theological viewpoint of Jewish guilt, Alfonso effectively placed Jews low in his kingdom's social structure and deserving of the strict laws that were to follow.

In his introduction to the seventh set of laws, Scott notes that Alfonso's contemporaries accepted Jews into their kingdoms as exiles who inherited the blame for the crucifixion of Christ. However, although Alfonso is considered more tolerant than

²³ Ibid., xxvi.

²⁴ See Appendix I, from Scott.

²⁵ Scott, 1433.

his contemporaries, he did not invoke in the *Siete partidas* the opposing opinion that the few Jews involved in the crucifixion were stand-ins who, in participating in the crucifixion of Christ, took the blame for the fall of Adam.²⁶ In this sense, although Alfonso enthusiastically employed Jews at his courts, often in opposition to his own laws (see Title XXIV, Law III, Appendix A, Table 1), he also did not endeavor to defend them. Thus, the Jewish communities in Alfonso's kingdom were subject to the same superstitions and resulting laws as the rest of the Jewish communities in Europe. Alfonso is seen as a liberal ruler, but the laws in his *Siete Partidas* did not contradict established theological beliefs about the Jews and the resulting laws used throughout the rest of western Christendom.

The *Cántigas de Santa María*

Along with the *Siete Partidas*, the *Cántigas de Santa María* provides important depictions of Jews and their treatment during the thirteenth century.²⁷ It is believed that the four extant manuscripts are not the original collection, but that they were, however, collected and copied before Alfonso's death in 1284.²⁸ Codex *To* from the Toledo

²⁶ Ibid., xxix: "The theological acceptance of Jewish enclaves by most of Alfonso's contemporaries rested rather upon the role of medieval Jews as exiles under God's punishment and as inheriting some blame as killers of Christ by their acquiescence in or at least association with the distant past. Starkly missing from Alfonso's perspective was the commonplace counter-doctrine that the crucifixion was essentially occasioned by the sinfulness of all descendents of Adam, so that the few historical personages involved were a mere screen for the real culprits, namely ourselves."

²⁷ Information on the *Cántiga* manuscripts can be found in Appendix A. This is gathered from Martínez, 217-20.

²⁸ Gerardo Victor Huseby, "The *Cántigas de Santa María* and the Medieval Theory of Mode" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1983), 17.

contains only the first 100 poems of the collection and no miniatures.²⁹ Codices *E* and *T* from the monastery at El Escorial are two of the most important manuscripts for their miniatures and music. *E* is the only complete copy of the *Cántigas de Santa María*, containing 401 songs and forty-one miniatures, with one miniature per every ten *cántigas de loor* (or songs of praise), plus one miniature that covers the space of two columns into which the folio is divided. This codex is sometimes called the “Codice de los musicos,” or “Codex of the Musicians,” due to the many miniatures that depict musicians performing on various instruments. *T*, while it is incomplete, is referred to as the “Codice rico” for the 1257 miniatures it contains. The fourth codex, *F*, was meant to be a second volume of the codex *T*. Originally planned to contain 166 folios with 200 *cántigas* and each song followed by its respective miniature laid out on either one or two pages, it now holds forty-eight folios with complete miniatures, while others only have the frame of the text, the design of the heads of figures, complete miniatures with missing *cántigas*, and blank staves for the music.

The Text

Of the 420 narrative texts in the *Cántigas de Santa María*, nearly thirty clearly depict Jewish characters. Some figure prominently in the stories while others are referred to overtly, always in the context of their disbelief in and crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Many of the texts are from popular legends or based on miracles associated with various churches or shrines on the Iberian Peninsula, and all had been previously recorded in

²⁹ Martinez, 217-20.

numerous vernacular and Latin manuscripts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³⁰ In the thirteenth century, Gonzalo de Berceo became the first known poet to write poetry based on popular legends in Castilian, rather than Latin.³¹ His *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* is the source for many of the lyrics used in the *Cántigas de Santa María*, some of which include the songs depicting Jews. Collected over a period of about thirty years, the texts for the *cántigas* exhibit the same widely-held negative attitudes toward Jews none of the tolerance for which Alfonso is famous.

In his article on the depiction of Jews in the *Cántigas de Santa María*, Albert Bagby developed five categories based on the way the Jew is being portrayed: as an archenemy of Christianity, the devil's disciple, a symbol of avarice, a traitor, and a Christian convert.³² However, a close reading of the *Cántigas de Santa María* has shown that only adult Jewish males are depicted negatively; thus, they must either experience a miracle by the hands of the Virgin Mary or be brutally punished for their desecration of Her name or image. On the other hand, adult females and children portrayed much less maliciously and they always choose to convert after witnessing a miracle by the Virgin Mary, sometimes even promising to convert before a miracle is performed.

Because of these findings, it might instead be more accurate to describe the *Cántigas de Santa María* depicting Jewish characters within solely two categories: the

³⁰ Proctor, 28-29.

³¹ Geraldine Hazzleton, "The Galician-Portuguese Troubadour Era, and the Songs of Martin Codax," *Consort* 63 (Summer 2007): 22.

³² Bagby: 686.

corrupt Jew and the good Jew. The *Cántigas de Santa María* can thus be divided both by their actions with regard to the Virgin Mary and their willingness to recognize Her miracles and convert to Christianity, either before or after the Virgin Mary has performed her miracle.³³ It is also important to take a closer look at two of the *cántigas* and the way Jewish characters are portrayed. This will come after the following descriptions of the miniatures and melodies of the *Cántigas de Santa María*.

The Miniatures

The miniatures in the *Cántigas de Santa María* are visual representations of the laws and beliefs directed toward Jewish people during the thirteenth century. Charles E. Nelson has postulated that the production of the artwork in the *cántigas* was done collaboratively, with a division of labor between inexperienced apprentices who painted the ornamental borders that frame the miniatures and the professional artists who rendered the architectural features, humans, animals, and numerous objects included in the detailed scenes of the miniatures.³⁴ It has been suggested that the miniatures were painted following the compilation of the manuscripts and that these pictures exhibit a higher degree of anti-Judaism than the music and lyrics.³⁵ However, this proposal holds

³³ See Appendix A, Table 2 for summaries of the *cántigas* that depict or reference Jews.

³⁴ Charles E. Nelson, "Art and Visualization in the *Cántigas de Santa María*: How the Artists Worked," in *Studies on the Cántigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987), 112.

³⁵ See Sara Lipton, "Where are the Gothic Jewish Women? On the Non-Iconography of the Jewess in the *Cántigas de Santa María*," *Jewish History* 22 (2008): 139-77.

little weight, considering the relatively complete El Escorial manuscripts and the parallel unfinished states of the texts and miniatures of the Florentine manuscript.

When examined closely, the miniatures feature specific physical characteristics that follow what medieval Europeans believed were markers of the Jew. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that only adult Jewish men are distinguished by these physical features and markers of Jewish women and children are missing. Accordingly, the men can be distinguished by their prominent noses, long beards, dark robes, and pointed yellow hats that were the Spanish adherence to the decree by Lateran IV, previously discussed.³⁶

The women, by comparison, are much less distinctive, with their small features and light-colored robes and headdresses.³⁷ Without the overt reference by the text to their Jewishness, the women pictured in the miniatures may well have been Christian. Sara Lipton has made the case that the non-iconography of the Jewish woman in the *Cántigas de Santa María* is strictly a political move by Alfonso that speaks to his policy regarding the Jewish population.³⁸ She has argued that the women are depicted as “blank slate[s], waiting to be written on . . . [who display] faith in the Mother of God without the stimulus of any proof.”³⁹ The men, on the other hand, are dark and see but do not believe in or speak against the miracles of the Virgin Mary.

³⁶ See Appendix A, Figure 1.

³⁷ See Appendix A, Figure 2.

³⁸ Lipton: 144.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

Lipton's descriptions of these depictions follow the same categories previously proposed for the texts. The men, who are textually depicted as enemies of Christendom and act aggressively toward the Virgin Mary and her believers are marked by physical characteristics that set them apart from the others. The women, meanwhile, who are willing to accept baptism, and never experience the same deaths as the men, are as fair as the representations of the Christians. In this way, the miniatures of the *Cántigas de Santa María* are showing that the Jewish women are already Christians at heart and must simply witness a miracle by the Virgin Mary in order to take the final leap of faith.

The Melodies

During the early thirteenth century, Provençal troubadours ventured into the Kingdom of León, where they were warmly welcomed by the kings and quickly made a mark on the musical culture of the realm. The Kingdom of Castile absorbed León in 1230 and the seat of power in the northern region of the Iberian Peninsula moved southward to the courts in Toledo and Seville. This, along with the political instability in Portugal, led the Provençal troubadours to the new seats of power in Toledo and Seville, where courts enthusiastically patronized art music.⁴⁰

Alfonso's court was home to a mix of musicians and poets, including Provençal troubadours and the lower-class *joglars* (jugglers) and *segrels*.⁴¹ Alfonso, whose

⁴⁰ Hazzleton, 20.

⁴¹ *Joglars* and *segrels* were lower class entertainers who traveled to perform in various communities throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Both would have sung or performed on instruments, along with various acrobatic and physical forms of entertainment.

employees included troubadours and minstrels from Galicia and the other parts of Western Europe, greatly admired the intellectual and musical prowess of the troubadours and sought to model his *cántigas* after song forms he had learned from them. Numbering among the Provençal troubadours and Galician minstrels were Moors, Christians, and Jews who actively participated in music-making at Alfonso's court. Although few records from Alfonso's court remain, papers from his son Sancho IV's court show that in 1293 there were twenty-six minstrels, thirteen of whom were Moorish, one Jewish, and twelve Christian. Alfonso's court likely closely resembled that of his son and it was this musical exchange between cultures that resulted in a rich musical flowering that shows itself in the *cántigas*.⁴²

Many musicologists have worked to unravel the melodies and rhythms of the notated *cántigas*.⁴³ Modeled on French forms brought to the Iberian Peninsula by Provençal troubadours, the *cántigas* that depict Jewish characters are in the French *virelai* form. It has been accepted that the melodies were accurately notated, which allows modern scholars to decipher the intervallic movement of the melodies. Van der Werf has proposed that the versification of the *cántigas* closely matches that of the songs of the troubadours and the trouvères, in which the music is performed in a declamatory rhythm, with syllables accented by choice; although unimportant syllables may have been stressed

⁴² Higiní Anglés, *La música de las Cántigas de Santa María, del rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. 15 (Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1943-1964), 126.

⁴³ Anglés' 1934-1964 facsimile, transcription, and study of the *Cántigas* continues to be the leading authoritative work on the *Cántigas*. For more information on the rhythmic notation of the *Cántigas*, see Anglés, vol. 15: 18-19.

by repetition on a single pitch, this practice would not have sounded wrong to the medieval ear. Scholars now generally accept Anglés' proposal that the *Cántigas de Santa María* were written in a variety of rhythmic modes.⁴⁴ However, it has been accepted that the melodies were accurately notated, which allows modern scholars to decipher the intervallic movement of the melodies. Hendrik van der Werf has suggested that the partially mensural notation shows that, instead of conforming to the polyphonic and polytextual motets of the thirteenth century, they instead followed the monophonic traditions of the troubadours, whose songs were so widely performed and admired in Castilian courts.⁴⁵

Deciding on the melodic modes of the *cántigas* has also been extremely difficult for musicologists. In his dissertation on the modes of the *cántigas*, Gerardo Victor Huseby builds on van der Werf's pioneering work on the modality of chanson melodies and Harold S. Powers's discussion of mode during the Middle Ages to place the *cántigas* into various groups based on their finals, ambitus, and reciting pitches, among other factors.⁴⁶ In grouping the *cántigas*, Huseby does not rely on the modern idea of medieval Church modes. Instead, he follows van der Werf's proposal that medieval French chansons could be divided into groups of major modes (Mixolydian, Ionian, and Lydian)

⁴⁴ Appendix A, Table 3 shows the rhythmic modes used in the *cántigas* depicting Jewish character.

⁴⁵ Hendrik van der Werf, "Accentuation and Duration in the Music of the *Cántigas de Santa María*," in *Studies on the Cántigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry*, edited by Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987), 232.

⁴⁶ See Huseby, 9.

and minor modes (Dorian, Aeolian, and Phrygian).⁴⁷ Huseby proposed that the *Cántigas de Santa María* can be divided into four *manneriae* by their finals: protus (D), deuterus (E), tritus (F), and tetrardus (G).⁴⁸ When he considered the finals of the melodies, along with their ambitus, reciting tone, and affinalis, Huseby found that the *cántiga* melodies fall into three basic modal groups: protus, tritus, and tetrardus; the remaining melodies fall into categories of transposed modes, unusual mode types, and ambiguous modal configurations.⁴⁹

The melodies of the *cántigas* that depict Jews are divided relatively evenly between the three categories proposed by Huseby.⁵⁰ As deciphered by Anglés, almost every *cántiga* features a mixture of rhythmic modes I and II. Accordingly, the music of these *cántigas* does not appear to reflect any sense of “Jewishness;” however, it may be notable that not one of the *cántigas* depicting Jewish characters is a *cántiga de loor* (song of praise). Perhaps the inherent stubbornness and disbelief that medieval Christians believed to be possessed by Jews made them unfit to be included in songs of praise for the Virgin Mary.

In analyzing the melodies and process of accentuation in the *cántigas*, van der Werf has found that Anglés’ transcriptions are likely to be somewhat incorrect. Anglés’ transcriptions of the notation adhered closely to the rules of rhythmic mode, and his

⁴⁷ Ibid., 8-9.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 38.

⁴⁹ Huseby, 44.

⁵⁰ See Appendix III for the classification of the *Cántigas de Santa María* melodies that depict Jewish characters.

inclusion of barlines put many of the textual accent marks into conflict with music in performances of the *cántigas*.⁵¹ Drawing on van der Werf's proposition that medieval performers may have chosen which syllables to accent, it is possible that they could have stressed syllables that depicted the Jews as evil or enemies of Christendom. Additionally, while not much is known about the way the melodies line up with the text, John E. Keller has written that the music of the *Cántigas de Santa María* is extremely important, for without it, the *cántigas* are simply illustrated miracles and hymns set to verse.⁵² Thus, the *cántigas* serve as a tool for the transmission of various ideas and stereotypes, including anti-Judaism. It is now necessary to discuss the music, images, and texts of two specific *cántigas* in which Jewish characters are portrayed.

Cántiga 4

Written in the protus (final on D), *Cántiga 4* concerns a Jewish man who, upon learning that his son has gone to Church and taken communion on Easter, becomes angry and throws him into the furnace as punishment, against the protestations of his wife.⁵³ The Virgin Mary appears and pulls the boy safely out of the fire and the boy's mother, upon witnessing the Virgin's miracle, immediately accepts baptism along with her son.

⁵¹ For the following argument, see van der Werf, 222-34.

⁵² John E. Keller, "The Threefold Impact of the *Cántigas de Santa María*: Visual, Verbal, and Musical," in *Studies on the Cántigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz, John E. Keller, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph T. Snow (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987), 15.

⁵³ *Cántiga 4* is preserved in manuscripts *T*, *E*, and *To*. See Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3 for musical and narrative descriptions; see Figure 1 for miniature.

A mob of Christians, having been drawn to the scene by the mother's cries, pushes the Jewish father into the furnace as punishment.

According to the text of this *cántiga*, the Jewish father is a portrayal of the standard stubborn, disbelieving Jew of theological tradition. His anger at the boy's choice to take communion makes him an enemy of Christendom; he is portrayed in the miniature with a long beard and pointed yellow hat, with his face always in profile so the viewer is able to see his hooked nose. The mother, on the other hand, is a perfect representative of the pure, movable Jewess who easily chooses baptism after her son is saved from the fire.

Cántiga 107

Cántiga 107 was inspired by a popular story in which a Jewess from Segovia, known as Marisaltos, or "Leaping Mary," was thrown from a cliff for committing a crime (which is not specified in the *cántiga* text) and saved by her prayers to the Virgin Mary.⁵⁴ The text of the *cantiga* closely follows the popular story, in which the Jewess is led to the cliff by a mob of angry Jewish men and prays to the Virgin Mary that if she saves her from the fall, she will "become a Christian at once, before another day dawns."⁵⁵ Mary then comes to the woman's aid and allowed her to miss the rocks in her fall and land safely under a fig tree. The woman then praises Mary and is baptized without delay.

⁵⁴ *Cántiga 107* is preserved in manuscripts *T* and *E*. See Appendix A, Tables 2 and 3 for musical and narrative descriptions, as well as Figure 2 for the miniature.

⁵⁵ Kathleen Kulp-Hill, trans., *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cántigas de Santa María* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 133-34.

The miniatures in the manuscript follow the story closely. The Jewish men are again in profile, showing their hooked noses, and they wear pointed hats and long beards. The Jewess, on the other hand, is dressed in a long, lightly-colored dress and a light headdress, putting her in stark contrast with the dark colors of the Jewish men. When the Jewess is falling from the cliff, then standing on her feet in panels four and five, her hands are pressed together in prayer and a Jewish man, standing prominently at the edge of the cliff, points in disbelief at the Jewess, whose fall from the rocks appears to be very gentle in the miniature. In the final two panels, the Jewess is in a church, proclaiming her faith to a group of kneeling Christians, and is then baptized beneath the watchful eye of a statue of the Virgin and her Son.

The melody of this *cántiga* is in the tetrardus (final on G) and the rhythmic mode is binary, mixed with mode I, according to Anglés. Like *cántiga* 4, this is a depiction of both the villainous and the good Jew. The Jewess, in her fear of death, turns not to her own God, but to the Virgin Mary to be saved and she is quick to keep her promise of baptism after she is saved. Thus, she is depicted in miniatures in light colors, as if she is on the verge of Christianity and all she needs is the experience of a miracle by the Virgin Mary in order to completely abandon her Judaism. The Jewish men, on the other hand, are dark and unswayed by the Virgin Mary's miracle. Instead, they point with disbelief at the Jewess's escape from death, much as medieval Christians believed they did when presented with evidence of Christ's godliness.

Conclusion

Although Alfonso X was a liberal king who employed Jews at his court, his willingness to do so may have been inspired more by politics than personal tolerance. The nearly thirty songs in the *Cántigas de Santa María* that depict Jews show them as villainous enemies of Christianity (except for those willing to convert). This is not evidence of a tolerant mind, but of the popular anti-Jewish beliefs and laws that circulated Europe during the thirteenth century. Further evidence of this is Alfonso's compilation of the *Siete partidas* at about the same time, which exhibits the same anti-Jewish stereotypes as the *Cántigas*.

Formatted as songs with music, miniatures, and texts, the manuscripts of the *Cántigas de Santa María* are culturally powerful statements of anti-Judaism in thirteenth-century. As songs, the *Cántigas* would have been easily passed on orally through popular tradition, and anyone who had the opportunity to view the miniatures certainly would have recognized the Jewish characters from popular stories. Although not much is known about the way the melodies line up with the text, John E. Keller has written that the music of the *Cántigas* is extremely important, for without it, the *Cántigas* are simply illustrated miracles and hymns set to verse.⁵⁶ Without the representation of Jews in the *Cántigas*, anti-Judaism in thirteenth-century Spain would not be as well understood and Alfonso's reign would still appear to be highly liberal and tolerant of Jews. Instead, it

⁵⁶ Keller, "The Threefold Impact of the *Cántigas de Santa María*," 15.

must be accepted that Alfonso's tolerance of the Jewish community may have been politically motivated; when his goal was appealing to the public, he used popular anti-Jewish tales in a musical language that all Christians on the Iberian Peninsula would have been able to understand.

CHAPTER 2
COURTS AND *CONVERSOS*: ANTI-JUDAISM IN THE MUSIC OF
LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Introduction

The impact that the Inquisition and Expulsion of the Spanish Jews in the late fifteenth century had on Spanish secular song has yet to be thoroughly analyzed. Although little relevant music from this time has survived, it is important to consider the social impact of the few extant compositions and some literary works. This chapter continues to explore the political and religious role anti-Jewish music played in Spain on the eve of the Jewish Expulsion of 1492. Beginning with a brief outline of the state of Jewish persecution on the Iberian Peninsula during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, this chapter discusses the state of Jewish participation in the literary and musical life during the time of Henry IV Castile's reign (r. 1454-1474). The *Cancioneros* that were compiled at this time as well as the Inquisitorial records of Diego Arias de Avila are used as a basis for this discussion.⁵⁷ This is followed by a consideration of a "Kedushah-motet" from the *Cancionero de Sevilla*, preserved in ParisBNN N.A.Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1). The chapter continues to the second half of the fifteenth century, considering the joint reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile and the state of non-Christian

⁵⁷ Based on Eleazar Gutwirth's analysis in "Music, Identity, and the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 17 (1998): 161-81.

and *converso* musicians at their courts. Additionally, the life and eclogues of Juan del Encina are reviewed, as he is an example of a *converso* composer who buries his connection to Judaism through name change and anti-Jewish dialogue. This discussion is augmented by an examination of Juan de Anchieta's place at the Spanish courts and the influence that his mass on "Ea judios a enfardelar," a popular anti-Jewish song, may have had at the time of the Expulsion of 1492.

Mass Conversions and the Rise of the *Converso*

Following Alfonso X's death in 1284, Christians began to increase their religious attacks against the Jewish communities. Two of the most common accusations against were those of sacrilege and ritual murder. The devastation of the Black Death in Spain (1348-1350) provided the Christians with the opportunity to justify their violence against and forced baptism of the Jews, who they believed were enemies of humankind and had poisoned the wells in order to spread the disease.⁵⁸ The weakness of the Castilian monarchy following the death of John I in 1390 caused even further persecution of the Jews. Additionally, anti-Jewish preaching by Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican missionary from Valencia, prompted forced mass conversions of Spanish Jews in 1391 and led to the emigration of some to neighboring lands.⁵⁹

The early years of the fifteenth century, however, saw a marked change in the patterns of conversion by Spanish Jews. Following the mass conversions of 1391, many Jews voluntarily chose to convert to Christianity. The Hebrew vocabulary rabbis used to

⁵⁸ Michael Alpert, *Crypto-Judaism and the Spanish Inquisition* (Houndsmills, Hampshire, England: Palgrave, 2001), 10.

describe these conversions gives voice to the attitude Jews had toward conversion. During the early fifteenth century, rabbis referred to *conversos* as *anusim*, or “unwilling” converts; toward the middle of the century, these converts became *meshumadim*, or “renegades,” who were “real and voluntary Christians.”⁶⁰ Some of those *conversos*, especially those who became clergy, began to brutally persecute the Jewish people. Thus, when the Inquisition began in 1480, many Jews were willing to cooperate and accuse *conversos* living in their communities of continuing to practice Judaism in secret.⁶¹

The growing community of converted Jews initiated a new form of hatred from Christians, who resented the presence of the *conversos* and tried to create a social distinction between themselves, the “Old Christians,” and the *conversos*, or “New Christians.”⁶² Many Christians were suspicious of *conversos*’ claims of Christianity, since many had converted out of fear of death. Andrés Bernaldez, historian for Ferdinand and Isabella, gives voice to this in his hostile depiction of the mass conversions in Castille:

[After those who did not convert with Fray Vicente were killed by the people, Jews] then went to the churches themselves to be baptized . . . and after they were baptized, they went to Portugal and other kingdoms to be Jews; others, after some time, became Jews where none knew [that they had been baptized] . . . and those

⁶⁰ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 17.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶² The term *converso* was used by Christians to designate converts of both Moorish and Jewish descent. Other terms that were used include the derogative *marrano* (“pigs”), *alborayco*, and *tornadizo* (“fickle”); see Fred Skolnik, ed., *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 5 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 200.

baptized Christians who were called converts; and though they had converted to the true faith, they kept the bad . . . and most of them were and have been secret Jews, and are neither Jews nor Christians; they were baptized, but most were heretics and lawless.⁶³

Such suspicion of the *conversos*' intentions found its way into the work of many other Christian writers and religious figures, many of whom took advantage of it to advocate for the institution of inquisitions throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, when Ferdinand and Isabella came to power, the Christian suspicious of *converso* heresy was so widespread that it had only become a matter of time before they instituted their own Inquisition.

The new *converso* community also isolated itself by letting it be known that they considered themselves to be superior to "Old Christians" because their Jewish ancestry provided a direct line from Christ. Alonso de Palencia, a lexicographer of *converso* descent complained that *conversos* "acted as a nation apart, and nowhere would they agree to act together with the Old Christians . . . they openly and brazenly favoured whatever was contrary to the Old Christians."⁶⁴ The records of royal historian Andrés Bernaldez also include his observation that the *conversos* "entertained the arrogant claim

⁶³ "Asi no pudo fray Vicente convertir sino muy pocos de ellos...Entonce venianse a las iglesias ellos mismos a baptizer . . . y despues de baptizados se iban algunos a Portugal e a otros reynos a ser judios; y otros, pasado algun tiempo, se volvian a ser judios donde no los conocian . . . e quedaron los que se baptizaron christianos y llamaronlos conversos . . . la qual ellos guardaron muy mal, que de aquellos, y de los que de ellos vinieron por la mayor parte fueron y eran judios secretos, y no eran ni júdios ni christianos, pues eran baptizados, mas eran hereges, y sin ley . . .," in Andrés Bernaldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla, desde Don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Catolicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*, vol. 31, ed. M. Rivadeneyra (Madrid: Impr. de los sucesores de Hernando, 1878), 599a.

⁶⁴ Alfonso de Palencia, quoted in Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited: Exile and the Making of the Spanish Culture, 1492-1975* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 16.

that there was no better people in the world than they.”⁶⁵ Many *conversos* carried this attitude of superiority further by using it as justification to persecute those Jews who did not choose to convert.

Having religiously isolated themselves from the Jewish community and viewed with hostility by the “Old Christians,” *conversos* held a continuously precarious position in Spanish society. Contrary to the claims of the inquisitors, most *conversos* sought to distance themselves from Jews and Jewish practices. A strict division developed between the Jewish and *converso* communities and many Jews found the Inquisition to be an ideal opportunity to reverse the persecution committed by the *conversos*. Surviving fifteenth-century poetry exposes hostility even between individual *conversos*; the *Cancionero de Baena*, compiled by Juan Alfonso de Baena, a convert during the mass persecutions in 1391, gives voice to the complex place that *conversos* held in Spanish society.⁶⁶ Many poems in this work demonstrate poets going to great lengths to point out their competitor’s dubious break with his Jewish lineage; this can be seen in a verse written by the *converso* poet Anton Montoro, who sought to expose Juan Poeta’s heritage in the form of a friendly reprimand: “Juan, señor and great friend; with my very whole heart I

⁶⁵ Bernaldez, quoted in Kamen, *The Disinherited*, 42.

⁶⁶ See Yirmiyahu Yovel, “Converso Dualities in the First Generation: The ‘Cancioneros,’” *Jewish Social Studies* 4 (Spring-Summer 1998):1-26.

wish to chastise you . . . because we are of a common tribe, being both Jews, you and I . . . ”⁶⁷ The *Cancionero* contains yet another indictment of Judaism against Juan Poeta, this time in the form of a hostile accusation levied by the Count of Paredes:

Each of the following is his name—
Juan, Simuel [Shemuel] and Reduan [Arabic].
A moor, so he won’t be dead,
A Christian, so he’ll have more worth,
But a Jew he is for certain,
As far as I can know.⁶⁸

Infighting and accusations between *conversos* certainly would have only served to weaken their place in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, where they were forced to live in constant fear of charges of heresy from both the “Old Christian” and Jewish communities.⁶⁹

Another collection of satirical verses, possibly written by Fernando del Pulgar, is *Las coplas de mingo revulgo*, which date from the second half of the fifteenth century. The tenth poem in the manuscript complains of the inability to tell the difference between Christians, Jews, and Moors, due to the weak Christian leadership’s relaxation of the laws that dictate the wearing of badges. Pulgar wrote in his gloss of the poem that “this verse

⁶⁷ Translated in Yovel, “Converso Dualities in the First Generation: The ‘Cancioneros’”: 2.

⁶⁸ Paredes, translated in *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁹ Charges of heresy are referred to by historians as crypto-Judaism or “Judaizing”: the act of *conversos* or non-Jews secretly participating in Jewish ritual. Although reports of Judaizing occurred throughout medieval Spain and later evidence was extracted during the Inquisition, most of this information was obtained through torture, which has led historians to view it with caution; Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: The Free Press, Inc., 1992): 121.

means that, in order to be identified and separated from Christians, there must be a difference in the clothing worn by Jews and Moors.”⁷⁰ He further explains that:

according to the rules of the kingdom, Jews and Muslims must wear distinguishing clothing and signs by which a man could recognize them, because there is a difference between them and Christians, but this—like all good laws—is now ‘infirm’ [enferma] and all alike wear the same clothing, so that the difference between one and the other is unknown.⁷¹

This complaint served doubly to draw attention to the government’s ineffectiveness and the conviction that Jews and Moors must continue to be recognized in public, in order to avoid their corrupting religious beliefs.

Although many Old Christians attempted to block them from holding powerful political positions, *conversos* were often hired at the courts of powerful nobles and kings. Papal decree traditionally forbade Jews from holding posts in public service, but *conversos* were not subject to the same religious restrictions. This allowed *conversos* to work in a wide variety of trades previously unavailable to them, including many occupations that were traditionally held by Jews; thus, the names of some *conversos* can

⁷⁰ Fernando Pulgar, *Letras—Glosa a las coplas de mingo revulgo*, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, Clasicos Castellanos (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.), 172: “esta copla quiere decir que en los habitos que deben traer los judios y moros, senalados y apartados de los cristianos, no habia la diferencia que debe haber, y que todos traian un habito.”

⁷¹ Ibid., 172: “porque segun las constituciones del reino, los judios y moros deben traer habito y senales para ser conocidos, porque haya diferencia de ellos a los cristianos, dice ahora que toda buena constitucion estaba enferma, y esta asimismo de manera que no se conoceria la diferencia que en la vestidura y habito debe haber entre los unos y los otros.

be found in fifteenth-century records from the courts of Aragon and Castile, where they often served as financiers, royal secretaries, and treasurers.⁷²

Many of these *conversos* participated in courtly musical life, composing poetry and performing songs as they travelled with the royal households throughout the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.⁷³ Surviving Inquisitorial records, such as those of Diego Arias d'Avila, demonstrate both the unguarded hatred toward *conversos* and Jews and the connection *conversos* maintained with their Jewish upbringing, particularly within the realm of music-making. Meanwhile, poetic manuscripts such as the *Cancionero de Baena*, *Coplas del provincial*, and *Coplas del mingos revulgo*, all of which date from the fifteenth century, contain verses libeling the names of powerful *conversos* and question their breaks with Judaism.⁷⁴

The Case of Diego Arias d'Avila⁷⁵

Diego Arias d'Avila (d. 1466) was a *converso* and royal treasurer at the court of Henry IV of Castile, whose Inquisitorial records illustrate a complicated relationship

⁷² Jocelyn Nigor Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 150.

⁷³ Evidence of music-making by *converso* courtiers can be found in the Inquisitorial records concerning Diego Arias de Avila, see Gutwirth, "Music, Identity, and the Inquisition": 161-81.

⁷⁴ For a discussion of the *Coplas del provincial* and the *Coplas del mingos revulgo*, see Charlotte Stern, "The *Coplas del mingo revulgo* and the Early Spanish Drama," *Hispanic Review* 44, 4 (Autumn 1976): 311-32.

⁷⁵ The majority of this discussion is based on Gutwirth's important discussion of Diego Arias d'Avila's Inquisitorial records: Gutwirth, "Music, Identity, and the Inquisition": 161-81.

between *conversos* and Jews. Born to Jewish parents in Segovia in the early fifteenth century and converting with them as a result of Vincent Ferrer's sermons,⁷⁶ d'Avila is a prime example both of the strained relationship maintained between Jews, *conversos*, and Christians, and of the state of Jewish music-making at the royal court. As minister of finance, d'Avila wielded a large amount of power over the Castilian public, and he was a public figure throughout his life.⁷⁷ He constantly endeavored to separate himself from the Jewish community by acting generously toward the Church and maintaining a cold attitude toward the Jews.

D'Avila was never able to separate himself fully and was always considered to be a Jew by the Castilian public. His prominence and perceived ties to Judaism caused the author of the *Coplas del provincial* to address him as such: "To you, brother Diego Arias, who was and is a damn Jew, which you do not dispute . . ." ⁷⁸ D'Avila's heritage was also mentioned by Like other writers of the fifteenth century, the author of the *Coplas del provincial* did not express a distinction between *conversos* and Christian in addressing

⁷⁶ Mayer Kayserling, "Davila, Diego Arias," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* vol. 4, directed by Cyrus Adler (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1925), 472-73.

⁷⁷ In *Las Coplas de mingos revulgo*, d'Avila is portrayed as a man-eating wolf, to whom Candaulo, the degenerate shepherd (Henry IV) has entrusted the care of his flock of sheep; David W. Foster, *Spanish Writers on Gay and Lesbian Themes: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 1995), 55.

⁷⁸ From the *Coplas del provincial*, in Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, ed., *Poesía crítica y satírica del siglo XV* (Madrid: Castalia, D.L., 1989), 7: "A ti, fray Diego Arias, puto que eres y fuiste judío, contigo no me dispute . . ."

d'Avila. Other writers used metaphors of clothing or space to suggest that the main religious trait of *conversos* was change and not the transformation of religious identity.⁷⁹

Aside from the continued disbelief of witnesses, d'Avila's public and private activities, particularly his participation in music-making, further blurred the distinction between his Jewish and Christian identities. Publicly, he ignored decrees that condemned hiring Jews into positions of power by frequently enlisting Jews as tax-farmers. Inquisitorial testimonies have recorded that d'Avila privately sang Jewish songs in the company of *conversos* and Jews. Although his son, Juan Arias Davila, bishop of Segovia (1461-1497) acted with hatred toward the Jews, the Inquisitorial Tribunal proceeded to look into d'Avila's background in the late 1480s.⁸⁰ Notably, the records of this Inquisition not only document testimony concerning d'Avila's official work at the court of Henry IV, they also preserve evidence of his musical activities, thus giving great insight into the musical life of *conversos* in the years preceding the Inquisition and Expulsion.⁸¹

Although he was neither a composer nor employed as a musician, Inquisitorial records of d'Avila's activities show that he actively participated in music-making at

⁷⁹ Gutwirth: 180.

⁸⁰ Henry Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, vol. 2 (New York: MacMillan, 1906-07), 42: "[Bishop Davila] had given ample proof of orthodoxy, in 1468, when, at Sepulveda, the rabbi, Solomon Pico and the leaders of the synagogue were accused of crucifying a Christian boy during Holy Week. Bishop Davila promptly arrested sixteen of those most deeply implicated, of whom seven were burnt and the rest were hanged, except a boy who begged to be baptized . . ."

⁸¹ Gutwirth: 161-162.

Henry's court, especially when he journeyed with the king to various towns throughout his realm.⁸² Among these records are observations that d'Avila sang songs that came from his Jewish heritage while on the road and in private settings in Jewish houses, in his own house, in kitchens, and in his room at an inn in Medina del Campo. Thus, most of the witnesses who testified to his performance of Jewish songs were either Jews or *conversos*; one statement from 1486 shows that the servants at d'Avila's household witnessed him singing Hebrew songs. The musical intersection of Judaism and Christianity in d'Avila is also apparent in a testimony given by Alonso Henriquez in October 1487, in which Henriquez claimed that d'Avila once said that "if there was anything after this world for the soul . . . it was the voices of the prayers of the Jews which would do for him because behind the said monastery of La Merced [where d'Avila's tomb was to be] there was a synagogue."⁸³ Since music was not considered to be separate from religious identity during the fifteenth century, this testimony would have served as further implication that d'Avila's family may not have completely abandoned Judaism.⁸⁴

The "Kedushah-motet"⁸⁵

The first musical work we have to consider is a motet that was originally in the *Chansonnier de Sevilla* (Sevilla 5-1-43) and is now in Part I of ParisBNN 4379.⁸⁶

⁸² The information in this paragraph is from Ibid., 167-68.

⁸³ Ibid., 167.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 166.

⁸⁵ See Figures 4 and 5 in the Appendix III for facsimile and transcription.

Termed a “Kedushah” by Eric Werner in his examination and transcription of the work in 1945, it was first believed that the motet was composed in northern Spain during the mid-fifteenth century.⁸⁷ However, scholars now agree that it originated with the *Chansonnier de Sevilla*, a manuscript of primarily French chansons, although it contains a number of quodlibets.

Most likely copied in Naples, though a Roman origin is also possible, the chasonnier was acquired by Ferdinand Colón in 1515 in Rome.⁸⁸ The manuscript was then bequeathed to a chapter of the Seville Cathedral in 1552 by Ferdinand Colón’s nephew Luis. In 1884, several folios were removed from the manuscript and taken to Paris, which were then acquired by the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1885 and subsequently became Part I of ParisBNN 4379. It is now believed that the “Kedushah-motet” was most likely composed between 1470 and 1485. It is currently included in Part I of

⁸⁶ Dragan Plamenac was the first to reconstruct the *Chansonnier de Sevilla* and discover that Sevilla 5-1-43 and ParisBNN 4379 were from the same manuscript, which he published in three articles for *The Musical Quarterly*: “A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Sevilla—I,” *The Musical Quarterly* 37, 3 (October 1951): 501-42; “A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Sevilla—II,” *The Musical Quarterly* 38, 1 (January 1952): 85-117; “A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Sevilla—III,” *The Musical Quarterly* 38, 2 (April 1952): 245-77.

⁸⁷ See Eric Werner and D.A. Jessurun Cardozo, “The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant,” in *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, vol. 16 (New York: American Academy of Jewish Research, 1946-1947), 225-32.

⁸⁸ In his description of the manuscript, Allan Atlas notes and dismisses the possibility that the part of the manuscript copied by Scribe I may have originated in Rome, see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), n123. This idea was proposed by Stanley Boorman in “Limitations and Extensions of Finiation Technique,” 335-39.

ParisBNN 4379 (folios 8v-9r), and described in the Census-Catalogue as a mixed text that incorporates transliterations of Hebrew words.⁸⁹ The motet not unique to the repertory, as many motets composed at that time incorporated different languages, although it is notable that the language was so obscured that it is impossible to translate accurately.

Written for three voices, the macaronic motet contains a text of distorted Hebrew, Spanish, Arabic, French, German, Italian, and possibly Ladino words.⁹⁰ According to Sendry, the text reads as follows: “Cados, cados, adonay cherubim, cados, si smyyher, harumbrael, rausar maho, maho et ydrorum naiso sopo dislacherubim, a mealbul lumbi, lari discaho, cados, cados.”⁹¹ The first two words of the text—arguably the most identifiable of the motet—are Hebrew for “Holy, holy” and are the first three words uttered by the congregation as a response during the Kedushah.⁹² This evidence led Werner to call this motet a “Kedushah” and to claim it as a surviving testament to covert

⁸⁹ Herbert Kellman, ed., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, vol. 3, compiled by the University of Illinois, Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1979-): 29. Henrietta Schavran has postulated that the *Chansonnier de Sevilla* could have been compiled between 1470 the mid-1490s, based on the watermarks of the paper used by the scribes: “The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Codice Aldini 362: A Study of Song in Italy Circa 1440-1480,” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978), 53-58.

⁹⁰ Werner, 229.

⁹¹ Transliteration from Alfred Sendry, *The Music of Jews in the Diaspora, up to 1800* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1970), 165-68; see also Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 167.

⁹² In Jewish prayer, the Kedushah is a benediction that occurs during the Sabbath or a festival.

Judaizing by *conversos*.⁹³ However, Rabbi D.A. Jessurun Cardozo criticized Werner's claims, pointing out that it would have been highly unlikely that a *converso* in Spain would have taken the risk of writing down a Hebrew melody during the increasing Inquisitorial persecutions of the mid-fifteenth century.⁹⁴ Musicologists and religious theorists alike now agree that this motet is a possible example of *conversos* ridiculing Jewish religious practices, much like in the Italian *canti judei* (carnival songs ridiculing Jews) of the sixteenth century, in which musical caricatures were used to symbolize synagogue chants.⁹⁵

Few conclusive claims could be made concerning the nature of this motet. The meaning of the text is virtually indecipherable, and the musicologists and Hebrew scholars who have attempted to unscramble the words have had little success. Additionally, although Werner claimed that the cantus contains an Ashkenazic tune for the beginning of the Kedusah for the High Holidays the Tenor voices the rhythms of the shofar calls (Teru-ah, Shevarim-Teru-ah, Teki-ah), musicologists have since been unable to trace these Jewish characteristics in the music.⁹⁶

In his excellent book on music and the Jewish diaspora, Alfred Sendry gives voice to the basic problems of Werner's claims:

⁹³ Werner, 229.

⁹⁴ Cardozo, 231.

⁹⁵ Sendry, 344.

⁹⁶ See Appendix B, Figures 5 and 6 for a facsimile and transcription of the motet.

We have checked with many experts (cantors and musicologists) about this Cantus; but none would endorse Werner's contention. Furthermore, as Angles asserts, this manuscript originates in northern Spain in the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time Spanish Jews were familiar only with the Sephardic ritual and songs. It is highly improbable that a Jewish, or crypto-Jewish musician . . . could have been acquainted with an Ashkenazic melody for the High Holidays . . . [additionally] . . . Whether the melodic line [of the Tenor] is supplanted by a rhythmic design (the shofar signal, as Werner thinks) is very doubtful . . . We possess the rhythmical notation of shofar calls in two authentic medieval documents . . . The Tenor part of our piece does not show any similarity to these ancient rhythmical patterns.⁹⁷

Sendry argues that these musical characteristics, along with the reasons given by Cardozo, are strong evidence that the "Kedushah-motet" could not have been written by a Jew. Additionally, the Contratenor's frequent intonation of the familiar Marian hymn *Alma redemptoris mater* points to the much higher likelihood that this work was not a sacred piece, but a secular work composed by a trained musician—a *converso* cleric, perhaps—in an attempt to ridicule the music of the Jewish community.⁹⁸ Given the widespread anti-Judaism in Spain during the mid-fifteenth century, this scenario is much more likely. Similar musical parodies were common at that time as were *converso* fools who jeered at Judaism as part of public spectacles and court festivities.⁹⁹

Since Werner's examination of the motet, Dragan Plamenac and Alice Moerk have produced editions of the *Chansonnier de Sevilla* and discussed aspects of its

⁹⁷ Sendry, 167-68.

⁹⁸ Sendry, 168; see Appendix B, Figure 7 for the Marian hymn *Alma redemptoris mater*.

⁹⁹ See Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Jewish 'Fools of the Fifteenth Century,'" *Hispanic Review* 50 (Autumn 1982): 385-409.

origin.¹⁰⁰ Naples had been largely controlled by the Aragonese court since 1442 when Alfonso V conquered the Kingdom of Naples and unified it, with Sicily, under the crown of Aragon. Tess Knighton has posited that French polyphonic song was influential at both the Aragonese and Castilian courts during the fifteenth century, and that the Neapolitan court served as an important point of contact between Spain and the international repertory, which was widely cultivated in Italian circles.¹⁰¹ During the fifteenth century, Jewish financiers and performers were welcomed in Naples, as their talents were considered an asset to growing the economic and cultural standing of the kingdom.¹⁰² With so much economic and musical activity passing between the two kingdoms, the “Kedushah-motet” would have been easily transferrable between the two courts, and provided further inspiration for anti-Judaism in the poetry and music of the Iberian Peninsula.

While the circumstances of this “Kedushah-motet” may never be known, its macaronic mixture of corrupted languages with the Marian hymn solidifies its anti-Jewish character. Since the work is notated for three voices and draws upon the composer’s apparent knowledge of Church repertory, it is likely that it would have been

¹⁰⁰ See Dragan Plamenac, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Sevilla 5-1-43 and Paris N.A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1962); Alice Anne Moerk, “The Seville Chansonier: An Edition of Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris N.A.Fr. 4379, Parts 1 and 2,” (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1971).

¹⁰¹ Tess Knighton, “Isabel of Castile and Her Music Books: Franco-Flemish Song in Fifteenth-Century Spain,” in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 31-35.

¹⁰² See Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

performed in a private courtly setting, rather than at a public festival. The fact that the text of the piece is written in all Latin letters suggests that the work was composed by a non-Jew, most likely a *converso*, who would have been familiar with the language of the Jewish rite—though not the Hebrew characters—and with Catholic chants. Such a work would have served the same political purpose as the anti-Jewish poetry written by *conversos* and preserved in the *Cancionero de Baena*, by furthering the ridicule directed at the Jewish community in Aragon; this could have been advantageous to a musician of *converso* descent who hoped to separate himself from his Jewish lineage.

Ferdinand and Isabella

The second half of the fifteenth century saw sweeping change in the religious environment of the Iberian Peninsula, prompted first by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon (r. 1474-1516) and Isabella of Castile (r. 1474-1504), followed by the Inquisition and Expulsion of Jews and Moors from Spain. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (termed the Catholic Monarchs by Pope Alexander VI) in 1469 heralded the historic joining of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.¹⁰³ Although the two monarchs maintained separate courts and ruled their kingdoms independently, they issued similar policies for the duration of their rule.¹⁰⁴

Historians have claimed that, for much of their reign, Ferdinand and Isabella were not anti-Jewish rulers; in fact, they maintained lenient policies toward the Jewish

¹⁰³ See Appendix B, Figure 3 for a map of the Iberian Peninsula during the first part of Ferdinand and Isabella's rule.

¹⁰⁴ John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 38-39.

communities in Aragon and Castile. The problems Jews experienced during the latter part of the fifteenth century centered more on the attitudes and policies set forth by independent municipalities. Since they were determined to maintain the peace between Jews and Christians, Ferdinand and Isabella were forced to take the Jewish communities into the jurisdiction of the monarchy, claiming it was their duty to protect the rights of the Jews.¹⁰⁵ Referring to Spain under the joint reign as “self-consciously Christian,” historian John Edwards has pointed out that “the Christian majority among the population of the Spanish kingdoms defined its own identity in terms of opposition to the ‘enemies of Christ,’ among whom their non-Christian [Jewish and Muslim] neighbours were included.”¹⁰⁶ Thus, the integration of *conversos* into their communities led to an increase in anti-Jewish fervor and rumors of heresy and Judaizing circulated throughout the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, prompted both by “Old Christians” and finger-pointing *conversos* and Jews.

Following a series of small-scale inquisitions in Aragon beginning in the 1460s, Ferdinand and Isabella decreed that the Tribunal of the Inquisition be established in 1480, having been thoroughly convinced by the Inquisitor General Torquemada that Jews and Christians must be completely separated and Judaizers be identified. The decision to establish the Inquisition was met with great support by Old Christians and Jews alike. Bernaldez, in history of the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, commented that: “During this time, many Jews chose to cooperate with the inquisitors, as it was considered an

¹⁰⁵ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 16.

¹⁰⁶ Edwards, 194.

opportune way to exact revenge against the *conversos* who had persecuted their families. However, there was no benefit to this, since the Inquisition had also adopted a policy of partial expulsion, prompted by the Church's desire to maintain a distance between *conversos* and Jews.¹⁰⁷

By 1492, the Catholic monarchs had apparently been convinced that the small-scale local expulsions had failed, and that the only way to maintain complete separation between *conversos* and Jews was a complete expulsion. Thus, on March 31, 1492, following the final conquest and expulsion of the Moors from Granada on January 2, 1492, a joint edict of expulsion was issued by the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile:

The Holy Office of the Inquisition, seeing how some Christians are endangered by contact and communication with the Jews, has provided that the Jews be expelled from all our realms and territories, and has persuaded us to give our support and agreement to this, which we now do, because of our debts and obligations to the said Holy Office: and we do so despite the great harm to ourselves, seeking and preferring the salvation of souls above our own profit and that of individuals.¹⁰⁸

The edicts stated that Jewish subjects who had not been baptized or refused to convert to Christianity by July 31 of that same year were to exit the domains of Ferdinand and Isabella, which at this point spanned nearly the entire Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, any Christian who aided the Jews in avoiding the edicts would have his property confiscated and royal favors rescinded. Kamen has argued that, although the Catholic monarchs agreed to the terms of the Inquisition and later the exile of the Jews, they were

¹⁰⁷ Kamen, 19.

¹⁰⁸ Kamen, 21.

¹⁰⁹ See Edwards, 228-29.

quite aware that this would lead to the loss of many productive citizens, which in turn would dangerously damage the kingdom.¹¹⁰ Thus, many have contended that the goal of the Expulsion was not the exile of the Jews, but the religious unification of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. Although the Church maintained that the Expulsion solved the dilemma of a continued Jewish presence corrupting the ability of *conversos* to maintain their new religion, it seems that the Catholic monarchs hoped to set forth the image of religious unity by expelling the Jews—the others—while encouraging the baptism of the wealthier Jews, who often chose baptism in order to remain in the kingdom and retain their property.¹¹¹

Jewish, *Converso*, and Christian Musicians at the Courts of Ferdinand and Isabella

In both Aragon and Castile of the fourteenth century, there is evidence of non-Christian *juglars* being hired to perform at courts. Outside the courts, sparse extant records show that Jewish musicians did participate in public festivities. Two cases from fourteenth-century Aragon and Valencia respectively show Jews possibly participating in public music-making, dancing, and the imitation of courtly-love practices.¹¹² Since non-Christians were not allowed to participate in Church activities, it can be assumed that Jewish musicians rarely provided music during services. However, the practice of hiring

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 231-32.

¹¹¹ Alpert, 26-27.

¹¹² For more on these episodes, see Elena Lourie, “Cultic Dancing and Courtly Love: Jews and Popular Culture in Fourteenth-Century Aragon and Valencia,” in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York: P. Lang, 1995), 151-82.

Jews to play instruments and sing during nighttime vigils at churches in Valladolid (Castile) was common enough that it was condemned by the Church council in 1322.¹¹³ Although Jewish musicians were to be excluded from performing during Christian services in Spain, there is evidence that Jewish instrumentalists and dancers were called on to perform.¹¹⁴

The performance of music at the courts of Ferdinand and Isabella was quite similar to the practices of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Seeking to enrich the musical culture at their courts, the Catholic Monarchs routinely hired Spanish musicians from throughout their kingdoms. Unfortunately, the mass conversions of the fourteenth century and the subsequent attempts of *conversos* to obscure their Jewish lineage have made it difficult to identify who among the musicians at Ferdinand and Isabella's courts may have been *conversos*. Additionally, since many musicians at the courts of the Catholic Monarchs were generally recruited from ecclesiastical establishments in Spain,¹¹⁵ it is likely that few of their court musicians were Jewish, although some may have been descendants of *conversos*.

¹¹³ Ibid., 156.

¹¹⁴ An account from the bailiff of Aragon documents the Jews of Tauste demanding punishment for Hacen the Rabbi, who while maintaining a vigil at the church of St. Bartholomew, danced with the men and women who were there and “deliberately kicked the altar (*la table de altera*), in great contempt and disparagement of the Christian faith . . . ”; translation in Ibid., 151-52.

¹¹⁵ Tess Knighton, “The Spanish Court of Ferdinand and Isabella,” in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, Man and Music Series, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 353.

Ferdinand and Isabella often employed courtly and religious spectacle to increase their prestige and to provide a sense of political stability within their court. Their close ties with the Duke of Burgundy, whose court to the north was considered to be a model for courtly activity and music-making in medieval Europe, reinforced their belief that maintaining a large musical retinue was integral to enhancing their political power and maintaining a sense of stability.¹¹⁶ When they married, Ferdinand and Isabella maintained small chapel choirs, which grew in size throughout their reign. Although the choirs were generally kept separate, they were occasionally merged by the Catholic monarchs for performances at festivals.¹¹⁷ The need for musicians to participate in festivals, processions, and religious ceremonies promoted the exponential growth of their court chapels throughout the course of their reigns.

In her analysis of the musicians in the courts of Ferdinand and Isabella, Tess Knighton has provided an important catalogue of those musicians employed at the Aragonese and Castilian courts during the late fifteenth century.¹¹⁸ Existing studies do not discuss or point out the religions of the musicians employed at the courts of Ferdinand and Isabella. It is likely that most of the musicians employed by Ferdinand and Isabella were Christians; it can also be inferred that many of the musicians were not Jewish, since most of the names on the records are descended from the names of

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 347.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 348.

¹¹⁸ See Tess Knighton, "Música y músicos en la corte de Fernando el Católico, 1474-1516," PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1999. Although this dissertation was first written in English, a copy of this version was not available to this author.

Christian saints. However, *conversos* went through great pains to obscure their Jewish history, as the case of Juan del Encina will demonstrate; thus, it is quite possible that some of the musicians at the courts of Ferdinand and Isabella were descended from Jewish families.

The court chapel singers, in particular, certainly would have been Christians—even if with *converso* lineage—since they may have been hired out of chapel choirs throughout Castile and Aragon. However, most of the instrumentalists would not have been recruited from cathedrals. A particularly telling example is the presence of the names Cristobal el Negro and Alonso el Negro in the records of Aragonese and Castilian musicians. From 1476 to 1500, Cristobal el Negro appears as either a trumpeter or a drummer in the records of the Aragonese royal household.¹¹⁹ Alonso el Negro, a harpist, is recorded as having received 3,500 *maravedis* on November 22, 1495, in order to continue his service to the courts.¹²⁰ These musicians were likely Moors who were part of the musical retinue that accompanied Ferdinand and Isabella in their travels throughout their kingdoms. Their ability to continue working for the court following the Expulsion of the Moors in 1492 can perhaps be linked to the royal privileges they received as members of Ferdinand's musical retinue. The presence of these names indicates that the musicians may have been as religiously diverse as others employed at the Aragonese and Castilian courts.

¹¹⁹ For records of Cristobal el Negro, see *Ibid.*, Apendice I.d., 197-205.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

The Case of Juan del Encina

While d'Avila, discussed earlier, is an example of a *converso* whose clear familial connection to Judaism complicated his livelihood and interactions with the Jewish and Catholic communities, Juan del Encina's (1469-1529) ancestral Judaism continues to be questioned by musicologists and historians. Born in the Castilian city of Salamanca, Encina has been described as one of the few *converso* composers to be active and successful during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹²¹ He had an ambitious career, dedicated several of his works to the royal family, and may have held a post as a magistrate in northern Spain, which would have been a royal appointment, although he was never invited to join the royal chapel.¹²²

Encina's family has been cited as the strongest indicator of his Jewish beginnings.¹²³ Fermoselle, his father's surname, was the name of the small town in which Encina was born and indicates conversion in that it reflected the practice of

¹²¹ Norman Roth also posits Francisco de la Torre as a composer of possible *converso* descent, but he does not cite a reason either for this supposition or his belief that few *conversos* were active in music: Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 157-58.

¹²² Isabel Pope and Tess Knighton, "Encina [Enzina], Juan del [Fermoselle, Juan de]," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, www.grovemusiconline.com, 2003 (accessed 1 May 2011).

¹²³ The Spanish scholar Espinosa Maeso was the first to discover Encina's real name and family in 1921, following his research in the archives of Salamanca Cathedral. The results of this research has allowed subsequent scholars to discuss the possibility of Encina's *converso* origins. The details of Encina's familial connections are discussed in Gilbert Chase, "Juan del Encina," *Music & Letters* 20 (October 1939): 420-30.

conversos dropping their old surnames in favor of place names upon conversion.¹²⁴

Encina's father was also a shoemaker—a traditionally Jewish and *converso* trade—and his brothers went into “liberal” trades as well: law, embroidery, professor of music, and the priesthood. At the beginning of his career, Encina dropped Fermoselle and took Encina, instead. Henry Sullivan has suggested that this may have also served as a gesture of assimilation by Encina:

A symbol of Castilian purity and austere tradition, the [Encina, or holm oak] tree combines in its familiarly attached epithet ‘chaste’ (*casta* as an adjective) both the notion of (racial) purity as well as that of ‘caste’ (*casta* as a noun). The three cultures of medieval Spain...have been frequently characterized as distinct castes. Thus Juan's new name would strike a strong ‘Old Christian’ chord in the hearer's mind.¹²⁵

It is now generally agreed that, although his Jewish roots must be constructed from textual innuendo, Encina was likely descended from a family of *conversos* who converted at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The suggestion could also be made that the relative anonymity of his family's origins and the changing of his surname allowed him to further obscure his ties to Judaism.

Encina is widely recognized as a notable composer, poet, and dramatist. Although he was never officially linked to the royal chapel as either a singer or composer, the large body of songs in the *Cancionero musical de palacio* (II-1335, most likely copied for Ferdinand in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries) that are attributed to Encina shows that he may have had a hand in the compilation of the work,

¹²⁴ The following information on Encina is from Henry W. Sullivan, *Juan del Encina* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 45.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

along with the fact that other composers with a large volume of works appearing in the *Cancionero* spent at least part of the careers as members of the royal chapel.¹²⁶ In 1492, Encina joined the court of the duke of Alba, where he stayed until the end of the fifteenth century. While employed by the duke, Encina wrote many of his *eglogas* (short plays, or eclogues), many of which were representation of events in his life. It was with the Duke that Encina also journeyed to Granada and witnessed the 1492 Expulsion of the Moors, an experience upon which he based his romance “¿Qu’ es de ti, desconsolado?” (“Why are you heartbroken?”)¹²⁷

Two of Encina’s *eglogas*, which were composed as a pair for Holy Week in Cotarelo in 1493, display anti-Jewish sentiment.¹²⁸ *Egloga* III, *Representacion a la muy bendita passion y muerte de nuestro precioso Redentor* (Representation of the Very Blessed Passion and Death of Our Precious Redeemer) is a Good Friday play, in which two hermits learn of Jesus’s crucifixion and of the doctrine of Resurrection. In this eclogue, Veronica accuses the “evil Jews” of taking part in Jesus’s crucifixion with great enthusiasm:

¹²⁶ Tess Knighton, liner notes to *From a Spanish Palace Songbook: Music from the Time of Christopher Columbus*, Margaret Philpot, Shirley Rumsey, and Christopher Wilson (Hyperion CDA66454, CD, 1992), 2.

¹²⁷ An excellent source for the description of Encina’s music, along with the music of his contemporaries is Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960).

¹²⁸ Sullivan, 54.

Que desde muy gran manana,
Andavan ya desvelados
Estos judios malvados
Por matarle con gran gana.
(99-102)¹²⁹

On this very great morning,
They went and unveiled
Those Jews who arose
With a great desire to kill.

Veronica and one of the hermits then hurl violent invectives at Judas for his betrayal of Jesus:

Y el traydor de Judas fue
El que le trato la muerte.
(133-35)

And the traitor Judas was
The one why was sentenced to death.

¡O Judas, Judas maltido,
Malvado, falso, traydor,
Que vendiste a tu Senor
Siendo su precio infinito!
(148-51)¹³⁰

O Judas, cursed Judas,
Evil, false traitor,
Que sold out our Father,
For which your price is eternity!

Later, the younger hermit refers to the Jews as “cursed Jewish people, who transgressed the law”:

¡Pueblo judayco malvado,
Traspasador de la ley!
¡Matar a su proprio rey,
Aviendo de ser onrrado y
adorado!¹³¹

Evil Jewish people,
Trespassers of the law!
Killing their own king,

Eclogue IV, *Representacion a la santissima resurreccion de Cristo*

(Representation of the Most Holy Resurrection of Christ), is an Easter play that depicts four disciples’ reactions to Jesus’ resurrection. Dedicated to Ferdinand, Isabella, and the

¹²⁹ Humberto Lopez-Morales, ed., *Eglogas completas de Juan del Enzina* (New York: Las Americas, 1968), 98.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 99.

¹³¹ Ibid., 102.

their son, the Infante Juan, this play praises the Inquisition and Expulsion for glorifying the Christian faith, for recognizing the *conversos* as false Christians, and for punishing them as they deserved.¹³²

Given Encina's possible Jewish background, the anti-Jewish sentiment expressed in this dialogue is striking, to say the least. Calling the anti-Jewish language "obtrusive," historian Henry Sullivan has postulated that this may have been an "overreaction or 'overkill' cover."¹³³ While such feelings were normal in Spain in the aftermath of the Expulsion, the violent language could certainly be interpreted as Encina's attempt to obscure his family history. Additionally, while it cannot be considered an indicator of Judaism, it is notable that Encina's poetic and musical works, which initially come across as devotional or religious, are aimed for general audiences and based on popular idioms. He finally managed to obtain the benefice assigned to the *cantor* of Salamanca Cathedral through a papal bull issued in 1502, and following his ordainment in 1519, journeyed to Jerusalem to sing his first mass. Thus, although Encina strove for a religiously-supported career—first in his attempts to join the royal chapel, then in his repeated efforts to receive benefices from the Church—no masses or motets are included in his surviving collection of popular songs, poems, and religiously-inspired plays.

Juan de Anchieta

The career of Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523), whose mass incorporating a popular anti-Jewish melody will be discussed later, must be considered, as his lifelong

¹³² Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 178.

¹³³ Sullivan, 54.

involvement with the royal chapel made his musical output highly influential for years following his death.¹³⁴ Hired as a singer for Isabella's court chapel in 1489, Anchietta spent nearly thirty years in the employ of the crown of Castile. From 1495 until 1497, he served as chapelmaster to Prince Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, while still on the payroll for Isabella. Following Isabella's death in 1504, Anchietta went on to serve Juana of Castile (nicknamed Juana the Mad). In 1515, Ferdinand had Juana declared incompetent, and Anchietta was placed on the payroll of the Aragonese court chapel until 1519 when Charles V declared him too old to continue working for the court.

Anchietta's lifelong service to Isabella allowed him to become influential in the composition of sacred music. Kenneth Kreitner has argued that Anchietta's prominence in the Segovia MS (*Segovia Catedral, Archivo Capitular, s.s.*, late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries), which contains the greatest amount of surviving sacred music from fifteenth-century Spain, and the continued reappearance of his works in various manuscripts and performances for many years following the Segovia MS, shows that Anchietta was the first Spanish composer whose works continued to be remembered long after his death.¹³⁵ Anchietta's continued presence in Spanish sacred music is also a testament to the influence his compositional style had on contemporary Spanish

¹³⁴ The most thorough biography for Anchietta continues to be Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*. The same biography and works list can be found in Robert Stevenson, "Anchietta, Juan de," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, 2003.

¹³⁵ Nine of Anchietta's works are in Segovia MS, seven of which appear in Tarazona 2/3 thirty years later and Coimbra 12, collected at least fifty years later, contains other Segovia-era works. His four-voice motet, "Libera me," also continued to be performed well after that; Kenneth Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004), 126.

composers. This presence is likely the reason that, writing over fifty years after his death, Francisco Salinas, was aware of Anchieta's anti-Jewish mass based on the tune "Ea judios a enfardelar."

Unlike most composers of his time, Anchieta achieved success early in his career and maintained his post in Isabella's court chapel for the duration of his career. As Isabella frequently changed the location of her court, Anchieta travelled constantly and became acquainted with the polyphonic style of Franco-Flemish sacred music, which was characterized by several styles of sophisticated counterpoint and a great deal of variety and imagination.¹³⁶ The stylistic changes in Anchieta's music reflect the influence of Franco-Flemish music. His early polyphony was generally composed in the older style and closely tied to a *cantus firmus*, a practice frequently used by fifteenth-century Spanish composers. His later works were affected by Franco-Flemish polyphony and employ such techniques as three- and four-voice imitation, parallel motion, and declamatory homophony.¹³⁷ As one of the first powerful Spanish composers to come into contact with the northern polyphonic style, Anchieta's works would have been quite

¹³⁶ Kreitner, "Juan de Anchieta and the Rest of the World," in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara F. Weissberger (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 169.

¹³⁷ Kreitner has suggested many signs of Anchieta's developing style in his observations of a series of Marian Mass movements composed by Anchieta during the 1490s: the Gloria, which may have been composed during the early 1490s employs monophony and occasionally paraphrases the *cantus firmus* in different voices; the Credo, composed about the same time as the Gloria, also uses paraphrase and includes declamatory homophony and parallel motion in the three voices; the Kyrie, which was possibly written in the late 1490s, uses a Marian trope and provides opening points of imitation in all voices and the *cantus firmus* in the *superius*; Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth-Century Spain*, 109-13.

influential in the development of counterpoint in sacred Spanish music in the following years.

Anchieta's importance in the development of polyphony in Spanish sacred music was likely influenced by Isabella's devout Catholicism. In her endeavor to bring a sense of unity to Castile, Isabella used her royal chapel as both a practical tool to serve her personal religious needs and as a propaganda device to project a sense of her piety to the rest of her kingdom.¹³⁸ Ferdinand used his chapel in the same way. Thus, the joint political aspirations of Ferdinand and Isabella profoundly impacted the size and sound of their chapels.

Anchieta's Mass on "Ea judíos a enfardelar"

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, songs that vilified the Jewish people were prevalent in popular culture. One such song, "Ea judíos a enfardelar" ("Go on, you Jews"), was adapted as the basis of mass composed by Juan de Anchieta in the same year as the Expulsion. The surviving part of the song text, "Ea judíos a enfardelar/ que Mandan los reyes que paseis la mar" ("Go on, you Jews, pack up, since the kings order you to cross the seas"), refers both to the Expulsion and to the decree by the Catholic monarchs in March 1492.¹³⁹ Although Anchieta's mass has since been lost, the cultural and religious significance of Anchieta's composing of a mass with such anti-Jewish undertones in the year of the Expulsion must be recognized. This is further magnified by

¹³⁸ Knighton, "The Spanish Court of Ferdinand and Isabella," 349.

¹³⁹ An English translation of this text is in Sendry, 171.

the realization that Anchieta was an influential member of Isabella's court chapel when he composed the mass in 1492.

Francisco de Salinas's 1577 music treatise *De musica libri septem* has allowed for continued knowledge of this song and the mass by Anchieta. The seventh book of the treatise, which presents a discussion of rhythmic theory for the practical musician, includes over fifty Castilian songs that had been popular since the end of the fifteenth century. In discussing the meter of these songs, Salinas introduces "Ea iudios a enfardelar," describing it as a song that mixes duple and triple meters that was used as the basis upon which Juan de Anchieta composed a mass in 1492—the same year the Jews were expelled from Spain.¹⁴⁰ Although he does not present an example of Anchieta's mass, Salinas's knowledge of this work is possibly the only way such an anti-Jewish song would have remained in musical memory.

¹⁴⁰ Francisco Salinas, *De musica libri septem* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1958), 312: "Est tamen in hoc metrigenere apud Hispanos celeberrimum et "vsitatissimum?" dimetru catalecticum tribus pedibus et dichrono sono constant copulari solitum, vel ex duobus compositum tetrametrum catalecticum, quale reperitur in cantu cuiusdam cantionis, quae cum ab Hispanis Iudaei fuerunt exterminate, vulgo canebatur, qui talis est. Ad cuius thema missam Ioannes Ancheta tunc non in celebris symphoneta composuit Latinum tale singi potest. Et dimetrum acatalecticum ex duobus dipodies integris, ad cuius metri genus, institutae videntur copulae, quae artis maioris Hispani vocant: nunc quatuor integris pedibus, nunc una syllaba aut duabus in principio aut in medio aut fine deficientibus . . ."



FIGURE 1. “Ea judíos a enfardelar”

In discussing Salinas’s treatment of theory, Charles Burney reproduces Salinas’s notation of the melody in his *General History of Music*.¹⁴² Francisco Ansejo Barbieri, in his 1870 scholarly edition of the *Cancionero de Palacio*, points out Salinas’s mention of Anchieta’s mass as well, but he was unable to find the work in the archives.¹⁴³ In a paper published as a question-and-answer session following the fifty-fifth meeting of the Musical Association in 1928, John Brande Trend also briefly discusses the song, calling it “a rather cruel comic song, describing the departure of the Jews from Spain, which is said to be a parody of one of the chants of the synagogue.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, this mass and the

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 312.

¹⁴² Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 1789 Part 2 (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 239.

¹⁴³ Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical Espanol de los Siglos XV y XVI* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Schapire, 1945), 25: “Yo no he logrado hallar la tal misa, pero he copiado la dicha melodia, por si hubiera otro investigador mas afortunado que la encontrase.”

¹⁴⁴ John Brande Trend, “The Performance of Music in Spain,” *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 55th Session (1928-1929): 76. This author, however, was unsuccessful in tracing the provenance for Trend’s theory. Trend also discusses the tune in his book *The Music of Spanish History to 1600*, claiming that due to the widespread popularity of Ferdinand and Isabella’s decision to expel the Jews, it made sense that the such a tune would be sung, rather than a song commemorating the discovery of America in that same year; *The Music of Spanish History to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 118.

anti-Jewish tune attached to it, surely would have been lost, had Salinas not discussed it in his treatise.

Many important conclusions can be drawn if one accepts the validity of the song and Anchieta's use of it in his lost mass of 1492. Firstly, Anchieta composed this mass the same year of Isabella's edict of expulsion, only three years into his employment as a singer in her chapel choir. Secondly, the religious connotations of this work are quite extreme, as it would have been performed at a Catholic ceremony, possibly attended by the Queen. Working such a song as the anti-Jewish "Ea iudios a enfardelar" into a Catholic piece would have impacted the religious nature of anti-Judaism and thus possibly would have affected the relatively social and political act of expelling the Jews.

The performance of such a Mass would have also had significant religious influence. Anchieta, as a member of the royal chapel, would have exerted a high degree of influence on musical activity within the court. Meyerson contends that "No other group influenced popular opinion of the Jew more than the clergy. As ever, Catholic liturgy, parish life, and preaching accentuated the differences between the two religious communities and carried the kind of charge that could explode into anti-Jewish violence."¹⁴⁵ The religious and political implications of Anchieta's mass cannot be overlooked, particularly in the way Isabella may have experienced the Mass when it was first performed in 1492.

¹⁴⁵ Mark D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 96.

Conclusion

Despite the existence of only two extant musical examples, they are nonetheless telling in communicating the socio-cultural aspects of anti-Judaism in fifteenth-century Spain. By contextualizing these works with an examination of history, literature, and musicians, this chapter provides a revised historical view of the attitudes of courts and rulers toward the Jewish community in the years preceding their expulsion. The anti-Jewish tune, while it originated in popular song, permeated court culture and sacred music in the work of Anchieta. Although the mass based on it was not preserved and only a snippet of the song remains, preserved in Salinas's treatise *De musica libri septem*, Anchieta's influence as a composer likely aided in the remembrance of that song and the feelings that accompanied it. Additionally, while its popularity at the time of the expulsion cannot be remarked on, Salinas's mention of it in his treatise over sixty years later proves that anti-Jewish feelings and the momentous occasion of the Jewish expulsion continued to be felt well into the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, the enigmatic "Kedushah-motet" prompts multiple questions. If this work is a parody of the Jewish people, for what audience would it have been sung? Of those who heard a performance of this piece, would only the *conversos* have understood that the first three words referenced a Hebrew prayer? Or, given the frequency that this prayer occurs in Hebrew prayer, would Christians have understood the reference to Jewish services? The fact that these words occur in an amalgam of corrupted languages certainly makes this work seem like a parody, although this mix could simply be a musical representation of the many languages and cultures present in medieval Spain.

The contradictory lives of two *conversos* also bring about multiple questions. While d'Avila publicly pledged his faith, his prominence, his alternately lenient and severe treatment of Jewish taxpayers, and his performance of Jewish songs in the privacy of his home and Jewish lodgings were enough for people to question his devotion to Christianity. In this case, d'Avila's private musical activities weakened his status as a *converso* and his Inquisitorial records yield insight into the importance Jewish music maintained in a *converso* household. Alternately, Encina's life and works yield an intentionally obscured connection to Judaism. As a *converso* and priest, Encina appears at first glance to take on a status as one who diligently labored to distinguish any traces of his Jewish heritage. Yet his work, while it includes two eclogues that contain brutally anti-Jewish language, is fiercely secular. Even the works composed for the occasion of Christian feasts were intended for secular performance.

In this chapter, music served to preserve and obscure connections to Judaism, while it also parodied Jewish prayer and sacralized anti-Jewish tunes. In all these instances, musical examples of anti-Judaism reveal the complex place Jews held in the society of fifteenth-century Spain. Further records and musical examples must be uncovered and examined in order to continue this revised historical study of Judeo-Christian relations in medieval Spain.

CHAPTER 3

THE JUDEO-SPANISH *ROMANCERO*: A POSSIBLE REACTION TO THE EXPULSION AND OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER STUDY

The number of Jews who emigrated from Spain as a result of the Expulsion has long been a topic of debate. While fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources have claimed that anywhere from 150,000 to 400,000 Jews left Spain at that time, historians now estimate the figure to be closer to 80,000, since the Expulsion occurred one century after many had either converted or been expelled.¹⁴⁶ Those who did not choose to stay and convert to Christianity migrated to various regions of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the New World.¹⁴⁷ Many Castilian Jews immigrated first to Portugal, then to North Africa, particularly Tlemcen (between Algeria and Morocco), Fez, and Algiers. Many others went east to Italy, where the first Jewish ghetto was established in Venice in 1516; to the Ottoman Empire, where they established thriving communities in cities including Constantinople, Damascus, and Salonika; and a very small number benefited from Portuguese and Spanish exploration of the New World and Asia, settling in the New World (particularly Mexico City), Cochin (India), and Kaifeng (China). Spanish Jews

¹⁴⁶ Henry Kamen, "The Medierranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492," *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 33.

¹⁴⁷ See Dean Phillip Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2008), 35-92; for more on the Sephardic Diaspora, see Dolores J. Sloan, *The Sephardic Jews of Spain and Portugal: Survival of an Imperiled Culture in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2009).

also spread throughout Western Europe, including Amsterdam, Hamburg, Provence, and numerous cities in Poland, which was quickly becoming the most populous Jewish cultural center in Europe.

The expulsion of Jews from cities in Spain—and throughout Europe—continued throughout the early modern era. Portugal decreed an Expulsion in 1496, and then established an Inquisition similar to that of Spain in 1531. Naples, which had been under the rule of the Crown of Aragon since 1442 and likely encouraged a Jewish presence in order to improve the economic viability of that territory, ordered an expulsion in 1541.¹⁴⁸ Jews were also expelled from Prague in that same year. Further expulsions occurred in Florence and Tuscany (1494), Brandenburg (1510), Genoa (1550), and one was attempted in Venice (1570).

Following the Expulsion, the Inquisition in Spain continued—though it went through a long decline, it was not officially abolished until 1834—drawing its support from the favor of successive monarchs and Old Christians who hoped to track down heretics. Inquisitors concerned themselves with *alumbrados* (“illuminated ones”), many of whom were *conversos*.¹⁴⁹ Since no laws specifically addressed the beliefs of the *alumbrados*, the Inquisition was slow in drawing charges against them: in 1525, the

¹⁴⁸ Bonfil, 56.

¹⁴⁹ *Alumbrados* drew many of their ideas from fifteenth-century and Lutheran ideology. Stressing the idea of abandonment of will to God, *alumbrados* emphasized internal prayer and were skeptical of the value of good deeds. See A.W. Lovett, *Early Habsburg Spain, 1517-1598* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 286-88; for more on *alumbrados*, see Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

Inquisition of Toledo managed to pass an edict denouncing ideas important to the *alumbrados*, particularly those based on Lutheran ideology. Subsequently, they arrested leaders of the movement in 1529 with charges of heresy, holding Lutheran views, and madness.¹⁵⁰ The doctrine of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) continued to be influential in Spain, particularly with the presence of *conversos*. Proof of Christian ancestry gradually became indispensable for the promotion to higher offices within the Church and State, for association with certain religious orders, and for membership in the *colegios mayores* at Spanish universities.¹⁵¹

Isabella died in 1504 and was briefly succeeded by Philip I (r. 1504-1506) as husband of Queen Joanna of Castile (r. 1504-1555). Joanna was the first queen regnant over both the Crown of Castile and the Crown of Aragon (r. 1516-1565).¹⁵² The marriage of Joanna and Philip, who was of Habsburg descent, marked the beginning of Habsburg rule in Spain. Much of her reign was spent under the regency of her father (who forced her to yield her rule of Castile and Leon in 1506) her husband, and her son, Charles I of Spain (r. 1516-1556; Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, r. 1519-1556).

Under the rule of Charles V, *conversos* in Spain continued to be viewed with suspicion by Old Christians, although their influence became less threatening in comparison to the spread of Protestantism. While Charles chose to employ few

¹⁵⁰ Lovett, 287.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 213.

¹⁵² See John H Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

conversos at his court, he was more concerned by Protestantism and chose to support some Jewish and *converso* subjects as a counterweight against that movement.¹⁵³

Charles's decision to have few *conversos* at his court was also partly influenced by his belief that some had participated in the revolt of the *comuneros* (rebels), which occurred in Castile in May 1520 as a reaction to Charles's rule, who had departed for Germany following his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, leaving the Dutch cardinal, Adrian of Utrecht to rule in his absence. Additionally, the capture of Tunis in June 1535 resulted in the enslavement of Jews who had fled there decades earlier and their being sold into various kingdoms, including Naples and Spain.¹⁵⁴

The geographic movement of Jewish people as a result of anti-Judaism in various kingdoms affected music as well. Perhaps the most telling indicators of this are the Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) *romanceros*. The Judeo-Spanish *romancero* is an outgrowth of the early stages in the development of the Spanish ballad. Sung in Ladino—a language that originally incorporated Castilian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic vocabulary and now includes Turkish, Hungarian, and Greek elements as well—the *romanceros* were sung by Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and have since continued to be performed in Sephardic communities throughout the world.¹⁵⁵ These songs were

¹⁵³ Edward Peters, "Jewish History and Gentile Memory: The Expulsion of 1492," *Jewish History* 9 (Spring 1995): 14.

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans, and the Battle for Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 120-30.

¹⁵⁵ See Israel J. Katz, "Jewish Music IV, Non-Liturgical Music: The *romancero*," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 23 May 2011); Joseph H. Silverman, and Samuel G. Armistead, "The Judeo-Spanish Ballad

transcribed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, first by Menendez-Pidal, who took down the text from oral tradition, then by scholars who recorded and notated the music.¹⁵⁶ The *romanceros* are important links to both medieval Spanish and Judeo-Spanish secular music and literary ideas, although they tend to differ in subject matter, preferring the private matters of love and death to heroic and epic narratives; these songs include themes popular in medieval Spanish and French balladry; Biblical and classical antiquity subject matter; and perhaps most importantly, events from Spanish history.¹⁵⁷

One such *romancero*, “Arvoles yoran por lluvias” (“Trees Cry for Rain”), can be considered a lamenting commentary on an expulsion. Both a love song and a lament, this

Tradition,” *Oral Tradition* 2 (1987): 633-44; Shoshana Weich-Shahak and Judith Etzion, “The Spanish *romances viejos* and the Sephardic *romances*: Musical Links Across Five Centuries,” *Atti del XIV congress della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987* 3 (1990): 7-16.

¹⁵⁶ Those who have catalogued Judeo-Spanish *romanceros* include Ramon Menendez Pidal, “Catalogo del romancero judio-espanol,” *Cultura Espanola* 4 (1906): 1045-77; and Samuel G. Armistead, *El romancero judeo-espanol en el Archivo Menendez Pidal: catálogo-índice de romances y canciones* (Madrid: Catedra-Seminario Menendez Pidal, 1978); for musicological studies of the *romanceros*, see Judith Etzion and Shoshana Weich-Shahak, “The Music of the Judeo-Spanish *romancero*: Stylistic Features,” *Anuario musical* 43 (1988): 1-35; Edith Gerson-Kiwi, “On the Musical Sources of the Judaeo-Hispanic Romance,” *The Musical Quarterly* 50 (January 1964): 31-43; Judith Cohen, “Musical Bridges: The Contrafact Tradition in Judeo-Spanish Song,” in *Cultural Marginality in the Western Mediterranean*, F. Gerson and A. Percival, ed. (Toronto: New Aurora Editions, 1990), 121-28.

¹⁵⁷ Judith Etzion and Susana Weich-Shahak, “The Spanish and the Sephardic Romances: Musical Links,” *Ethnomusicology* 32 (Spring-Summer 1988): 3; for a discussion of thematic elements in medieval ballads of the Iberian Peninsula, including Judeo-Spanish *romanceros*, see also William J. Entwistle, *European Balladry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 152-92.

romancero is concerned with the loneliness and heaviness of being separated from one's lover and homeland:

Arvoles yoran por luvias
Y montanas por aires
Ansi yoran losmis ojos
Por ti querid' amante.

Trees cry for rain
And mountains for the wind
So my eyes cry
For you my love.

Penso y digo
Que va ser de mi
En tieras ajenas
No puetho bivar.

I ask myself
What will become of me
I cannot live
In foreign lands.

En frente de mi hay un angelo
Con tus ejos me mira
Yerar quere y no puetho
Mi corason suspire.

I see before me an angel
Looking at me with your eyes
I want to cry but I cannot
My heart is too heavy.¹⁵⁸

This *romancero* is typical of the Judeo-Spanish repertory in that the event that precipitated this text is not distinguished; the narrator instead focuses on a personal relationship. Like other Judeo-Spanish *romanceros*, "Arvoles yoran por luvias" is considered by many to be centuries old, yet has been sung in the United States as recently as the mid-twentieth century.¹⁵⁹

Romanceros such as "Arvoles yoran por luvias" are important to the study of anti-Judaism in Spain because they have preserved centuries of cultural traditions and stories, and provide the Sephardic perspective of Christian persecution. This thesis has focused

¹⁵⁸ Translated in Marie Jose Benardete, liner notes to *Sephardic Folk Songs*, Gloria Levy, record (Folkways Records Album No. FW 8737, 1958).

¹⁵⁹ Frederick P. Agard, "Present-Day Judaeo-Spanish in the United States," *Hispania* 33 (August 1950): 209; for more on Judeo-Spanish *romanceros* in the United States, see Marie Jose Benardete, *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from New York*, edited by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

on the prevalence of anti-Judaism in medieval Christian music in Spain. However, since much music has been lost—as with the full tune of “Ea judios a enfardelar” and Anchieta’s mass—further insight can likely be gained by a study of the modern *romanceros*. These texts can potentially provide meaningful new insight into the place of Jews and *conversos* in Spain’s Christian society, as well as into the Inquisition, and the Expulsion of 1492.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE *SIETE PARTIDAS* AND THE *CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA*

TABLE1. The Seventh *Partida*: Title XXIV

Law	Overview	Description
I	What the Word Jew Means, and Whence This Term is Derived.	One who adheres to the law of Moses, derived from the tribe of Judah and always in captivity, descended from those who crucified Jesus Christ.
II	In What Ways Jews Should Pass Their Lives Among Christians; What Things They Should Not Make Use of or Practice, According to Our Religion; and What Penalty Those Deserve Who Act Contrary to Its Ordinances.	Must live quietly and not preach to or try to convert Christians under penalty of death; if Jews should ever steal and crucify children or waxen images, and after found guilty by the king, be put to death; must stay inside house on Good Friday.
III	No Jew Can Hold Any Office or Employment by Which He May be Able to Oppress Christians.	As punishment for the treason their ancestors committed for crucifying Jesus Christ, no Jew could ever hold an honorable position or public office that might give him the opportunity to oppress a Christian.
IV	How Jews Can Have a Synagogue Among Christians.	All new synagogues must be approved by the king and existing ones cannot be expanded; Christians are forbidden from defacing, loitering, or putting any animal inside it, since it is a place where God is praised.
V	No Compulsion Shall be Brought to Bear Upon the Jews on Saturday, and What Jews Can be Subject to Compulsion.	A Jew cannot be ordered to work, brought to court, or arrested on a Saturday since it is their day to worship, unless he has committed a crime.
VI	Jews Who Became Christians Shall Not Be Subject to Compulsion; What Advantage a Jew Has Who Becomes a Christian; and What Penalty Other Jews Deserve Who Do Him Harm.	Christians cannot force a Jew to convert, they can only proselytize with texts from Scripture and if a Jew chooses to convert and Jews who try to harm him should be burned.
VII	What Penalty a Christian Deserved Who Becomes a Jew.	If a Christian converts, he should be put to death like a heretic and his property disposed of as a heretic.
VIII	No Christian, Man or Woman Shall Live with a Jew.	Jews are forbidden from keeping Christian house-servants; Christians and Jews forbidden from eating together and bathing together; Christians forbidden from receiving medical advice from Jews.

TABLE 1. Continued

IX	What Penalty a Jew Deserved Who Has Intercourse with a Christian Woman.	Jews who have sexual intercourse with Christian women should be put to death.
X	What Penalty Jews Deserve Who Hold Christians as Slaves.	Jews forbidden from purchasing or keeping Christian slaves and if they do, the Christians must be automatically released and the Jew put to death; if the Jew tries to convert either a Christian or Moorish captive, the captive should be freed at once.
XI	Jews Shall Bear Certain Marks in Order That They May Be Known.	Since Christians and Jews mix freely in Castilian cities, Jews are ordered to wear distinguishing yellow hats; if they do not, they must pay ten <i>maravedis</i> for each time accused of disobeying the law and if they are unable to pay, they must receive ten public lashes.

TABLE2. List of the *Cantigas* and the Role of the Jew¹

Cantiga	Summary	Role of the Jew
2	How Holy Mary appeared to Hildefonus (archbishop of Toledo) and gave him an alb from Paradise which he wore to say Mass.	Paired with heretics as people who spoke against the virginity of the Virgin Mary.
3	Holy Holy Mary made Theophilus (archdeacon of Adana) recover the letter he signed with the devil, promising to be his vassal.	Advised Theophilus to sign the letter to the devil.
4	How Holy Mary saved the son of a Jew who had thrown him into the furnace after the boy took communion on Easter.	The boy is thrilled and inspired by the sweetness of the vision of Holy Mary and the sacrament. When he hears about the communion, the father becomes angry and throws the boy into the furnace. After Holy Mary saves the boy from the fire, the boy's mother converts, the boy receives baptism, and the father was burned in the furnace.

¹ Translation: Kulp-Hill.

TABLE 2. Continued

Cantiga	Summary	Role of the Jew
6	How Holy Mary revived a boy killed by a Jew because he sang “Gaude Virgo Mary.”	The Jew kills the boy and buries him in a wine cellar. After the boy is saved, the Christians went and killed all the Jews and the one who had killed the boy was burned in a fire.
12	How Holy Mary lamented in Toledo because the Jews crucified a waxen image of Jesus Christ.	Jews were striking and spitting on a waxen image of Jesus Christ, for which they were all killed.
25	How Holy Mary served as witness in a loan between a Christian and a Jew.	The Jew lends money to the Christian, and then denies the Christian has repaid him in an effort to receive more money than he was owed. When Holy Mary appeared and showed the Jew’s lies, he believed in Christ and converted.
27	How Holy Mary took the synagogue from the Jews and made it into a Church.	Jews wanted to buy their synagogue back from the Christians who were using it as a Church.
34	How Holy Mary got even with the Jew who dishonored her image.	Stole an image of Holy Mary and desecrated it in his privy. He was then killed by the devil and sent to Hell.
39	How Holy Mary saved her statue from being burned in a fire.	Holy Mary protected her image in the fire the same way she protected the boy in the fire in <i>Cantiga</i> 4.
51	How the statue of Holy Mary saved a man from being hit by an arrow.	Count of Poitiers tried to capture a castle as if the people inside were Jews.
85	How Holy Mary saved from death a Jew who had been taken prisoner by thieves.	Captured and beaten by thieves who tried to steal his money. After Holy Mary saves him and shows him Heaven and Hell, he believes and converts to Christianity.
89	How Holy Mary delivered a Jewess who was in childbirth and near death.	Jewess in birth calls to Holy Mary as her last resort and the Jewess attending to her flee calling her “heretic,” “apostate,” and “Christian convert.” After Holy Mary saves her, the Jewess converted and had her children baptized as well.

TABLE 2. Continued

Cantiga	Summary	Role of the Jew
91	How Holy Mary descended from Heaven into a church and saved all who were sick.	Although they might try to say otherwise, Jews (and heretics) cannot contradict the miracles that Holy Mary performs.
107	How Holy Mary saved from death the Jewess who was thrown over a cliff in Segovia.	After committing a crime, she prayed to Holy Mary to save her from her punishment of being thrown over a cliff. Holy Mary saves her and she immediately converts.
108	How Holy Mary caused son of a Jew to be born with his head on backward, as Merlin had asked her.	The Jew swore against the name of Holy Mary, then tried to kill his son when he was born with his head on backward; the child is then saved by Merlin and used to convert the Jews.
109	How Holy Mary freed a man from five devils who tried to kill him.	When the Jew asks the devils why they do not molest Jews, they reply that Jews are already devils because they did not receive baptism.
133	How Holy Mary revived a dead girl who had been brought to her altar.	Referred to as people who killed Jesus Christ.
135	How Holy Mary freed from dishonor a couple who had sworn when they were children to marry each other.	Referred to as people who killed Jesus Christ.
149	How Holy Mary made a German priest who doubted G-d's sacrament see the truth.	Referred to as people who killed Jesus Christ.
238	How Jesus Christ took vengeance on a minstrel who denied him and Holy Mary.	Referred to as people who killed Jesus Christ.
286	How Holy Mary caused a portico to fall on two Jews who were ridiculing a good Christian man.	Two Jews laughed at a Christian who had been offended by a dog while praying to Holy Mary, then were crushed by the portico.
305	How Holy Mary made a confession by a woman weigh more than all the wealth a money changer heaped on a scale.	Certificate had enough weight on the scale that a Jew or Moor can be pardoned with it as long as they believed in Christ.

TABLE 2. Continued

Cantiga	Summary	Role of the Jew
312	How a knight was unable to have his way with his beloved in the same room as a statue of Holy Mary.	Referred to as one who loves usury.
333	How Holy Mary cured a crippled man in Terena.	Along with Christians and Moors, saw the man's deformed feet.
348	How Holy Mary revealed a great treasure of gold and silver to Alfonso X.	Their treasures were revealed to Alfonso X were taken, since they were the enemies of Holy Mary, hated worse than the Moors.
425	The third festival song about how Jesus Christ arose from the dead and appeared to the Apostles and the three Marys.	Referred to as disbelievers who fell to the ground with fear when they saw Christ arrive from Heaven.

TABLE3. Cantiga Incipits, Modes, and Forms²

Cantiga	Codex	Setting	Incipit	Rhythmic Mode	Melodic Mode Group	Form
2	T2, E2, To2	Toledo	Muito devemos varões	Mix I-II and binary	Tritus	Virelai
3	T3, E3, To3	None given	Mais nos faz Santa Maria	Mix of I-II and binary	Tritus	Virelai
4	T4, E4, To4	Bourges	A Madre do que livrou	Mode II and binary	Protus	Virelai
6	T6, E6, To5	England	A que do bon rey Davi	Binary combination of I-II	Tritus	Virelai
12	T12, E12, To13	Toledo	O que a Santa Maria mais despraz	Mix of I-II	Protus	Virelai
25	T25, E25, To38	Byzantium	Pagar ben pod/ o que dever	Binary	Tetrardus	Virelai
27	T27, E27, To25	Libia	Non devemos por maravilla tēer	Mix II-I	Tetrardus	Virelai
34	T34, E34, To36	Constantinople	Gran dereit' é que fill' o demo por escarmento	Mix I-II with binary	Protus	Virelai
51	T51, E51, To64	Orléans	A Madre de Deus	Binary	In G with B flat	Virelai
85	T85, E85	England	Pera toller gran perfia	Mix II-I-V	Protus	Virelai
89	T89, E89, ToAppendix 12	None given	A Madre de Deus onrrada	Binary	Tritus	Virelai
91	T91, E91, To82	Soissons	A Virgen nos dá saud'	Mix I-II	Tritus	Virelai
107	T107, E107	Segovia	Quen crever na Virgen santa	Binary combo with I	Tetrardus	Virelai

² Source: Anglés.

TABLE 3. Continued

Cantiga	Codex	Setting	Incipit	Rhythmic Mode	Melodic Mode Group	Form
108	T108, E108, ToAppendix 03	None given	Dereit' é de s' end achar	Mix II-I-V	Tritus	Virelai
109	T109, E109	Salas	Razon an os diabos de fogir	Binary	Tetrardus	Virelai
133	T133, E133	Elche	Resurgir pode e faze-los seus	Mix I-II	Mode 7 ending on affinalis	Virelai
135	T135, E135	Bretagne	Aquel podedes jurar	II with binary	Tetrardus	Virelai
149	T149, E149	Germany	Fol é a desmesura	Mix II-I	Protus	Virelai
238	F49, E238	Guimarães	O que viltar quer a Virgen	II with binary	Tetrardus	Virelai
286	F4, E286	None given	Tanto quer Santa Maria	Mix I-II	In G with B flat	Virelai
305	F35, E305	None given	Senpre devemos na Virgen	Mode I	Tritus	Virelai
312	F45, E312	Catalonia	Non conven que seja feita	Mix II-I	Protus	Virelai
333	E333	Terena	Connosçudamente mostra	Mix I-II	Tetrardus	Virelai
348	E348	Spain	Ben parte Santa Maria	Mix II-I-V	Protus	Virelai
425	ToFJC3	None given	Alegria, alegria	Binary- ternary, no modes	Tritus	Virelai

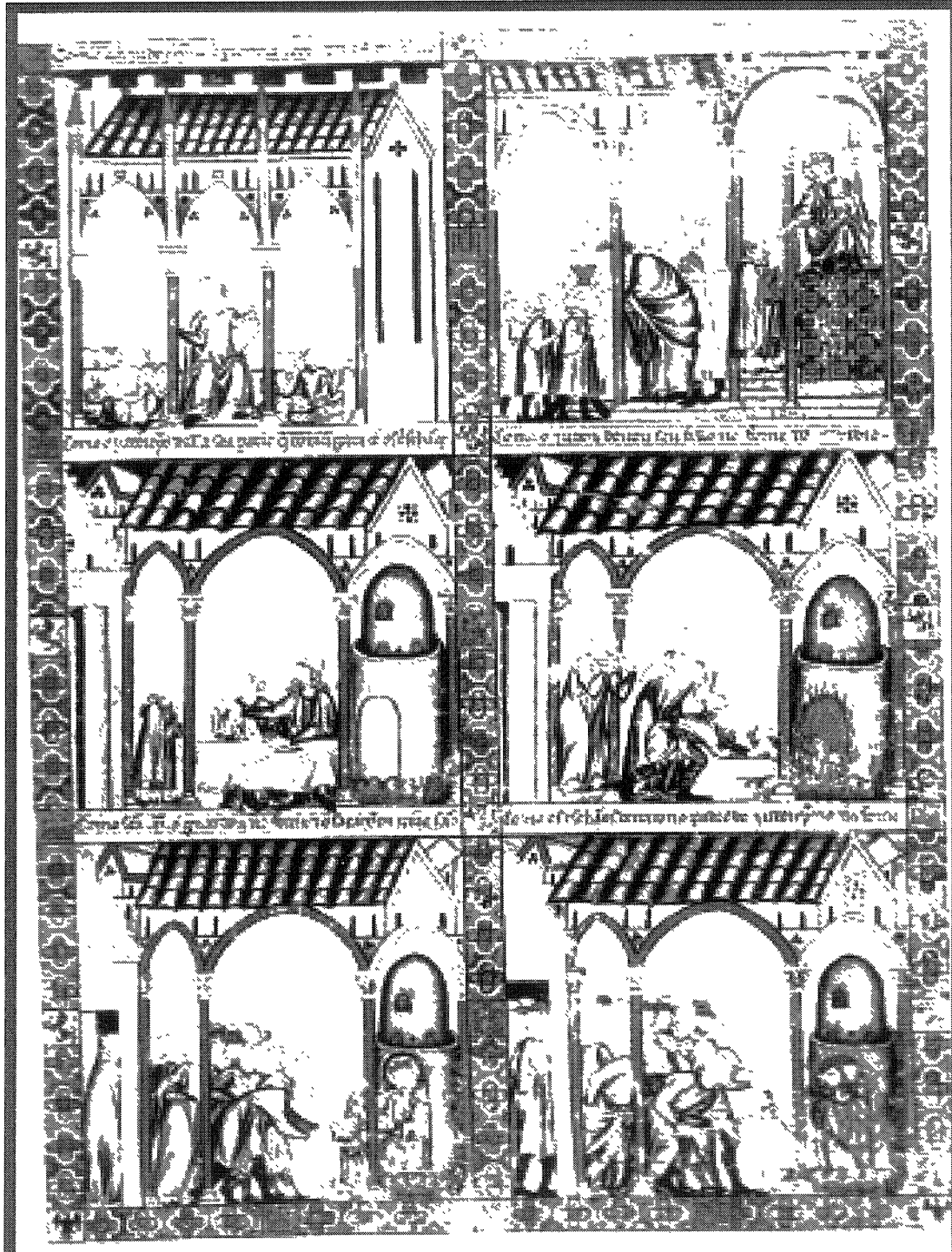


FIGURE2.CSM 4. Source: John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).



FIGURE2.CSM 107. Source: John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).

APPENDIX B

MAPS AND MUSIC UNDER FERDINAND AND ISABELLA



FIGURE 4. Iberian Peninsula under Ferdinand and Isabella

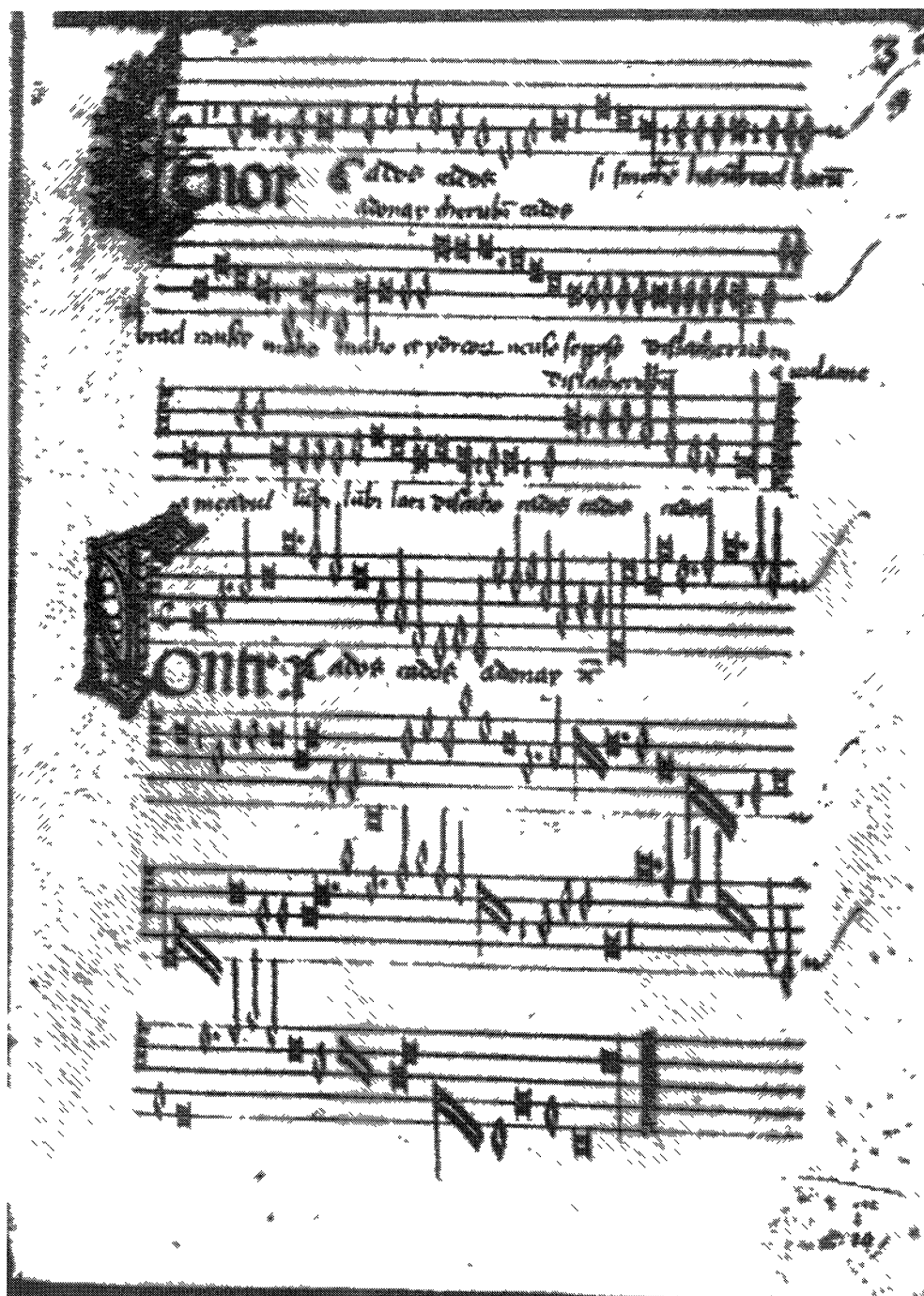


FIGURE 5. First page of “Kedushah-motet”

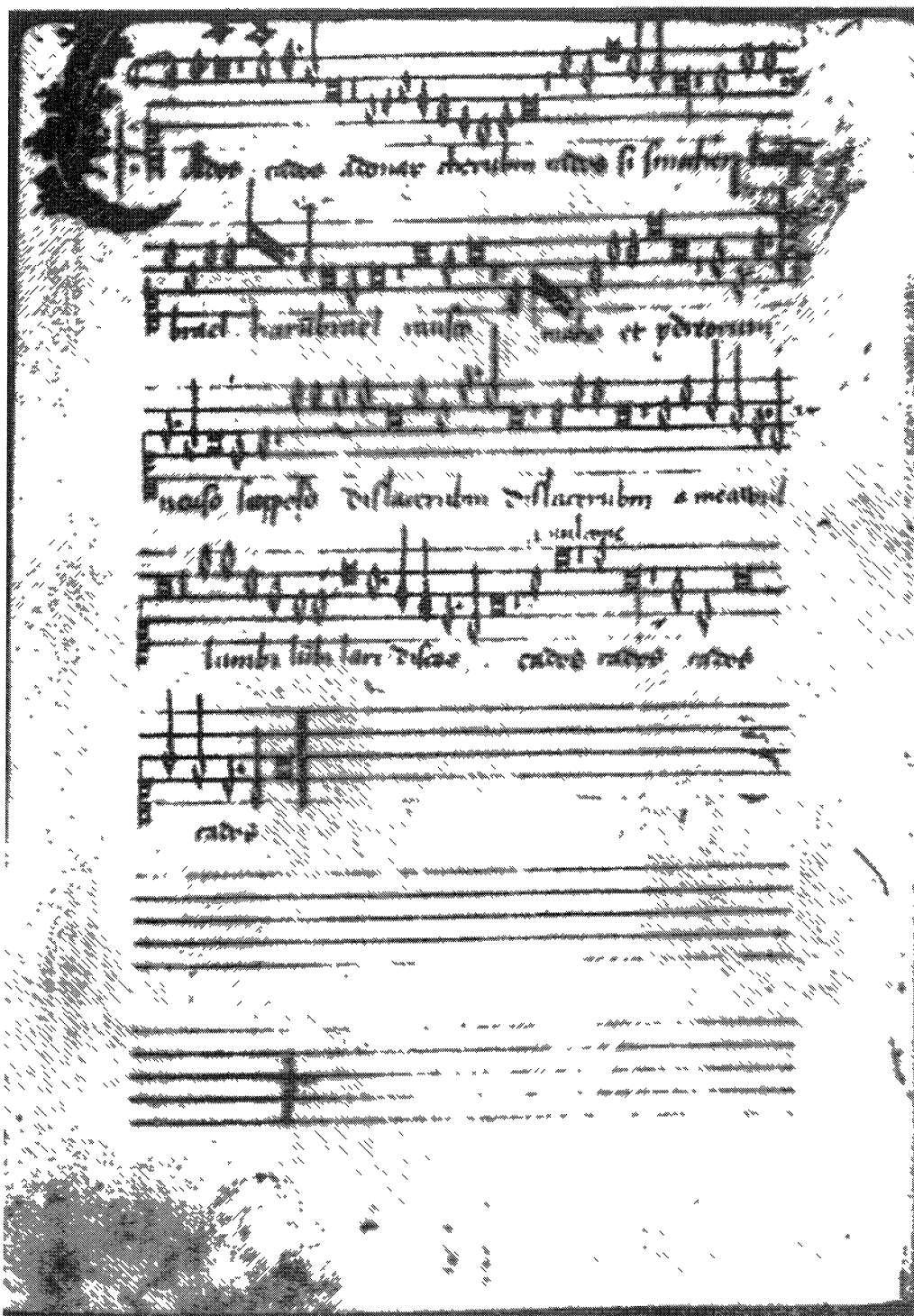


FIGURE 5. Second page of “Kedushah-motet”

"Kedushah-motet" Transcription

Anon./ Jessica Bedol

The image displays a musical score for a three-part setting of the Kedushah prayer. The score is written for Cantus (Cant.), Countertenor (Ct.), and Tenor (T.) voices. The lyrics are in Hebrew. The score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (1, 7, 14, 21). The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are as follows:

System 1 (Measures 1-6):

- Cantus:** cados ca dos a do nay che ru bim
- Countertenor:** ca dos ca dos a do nay che ru bim ca dos si smy
- Tenor:** ca dos ca dos a do nayche ru bim co dos

System 2 (Measures 7-13):

- Cantus:** cados si smy her ha rumba el ha rumba el rau
- Countertenor:** herharum bra el rausarma ho maho et ydrum maho et
- Tenor:** si smyy her harunbra el ha runbra el rau sar

System 3 (Measures 14-20):

- Cantus:** sar ma ho et y dro rum nai so so po
- Countertenor:** ydrorum ma ho, et yd rorum nai so, nai so so po so
- Tenor:** ma ho ma ho et yd ro rum nai so so po

System 4 (Measures 21-27):

- Cantus:** so dis la che ru bim dis la che ru bim a me al brum a me al
- Countertenor:** dis la che ru bim dis la che ru bim a me al brum
- Tenor:** so dis la che ru bim dis la che ru bim a me al brum a me al

FIGURE 6. First page of "Kedushah-motet" transcription

27

Cant. brum a me al brum lum bri, La ri dis ca ho, ca

Ct. lum bri lum bri La ri dis ca ho,

T. 3 brum lum bri lum bri la ri dis ca ho

32

Cant. dos, ca dos, ca dos ca dos

Ct. ca dos ca dos ca dos ca dos

T. 8 ca dos ca dos ca dos ca dos

FIGURE 6. Second page of “Kedushah-motet” transcription

Ant.
5.

L- ma * Redemptoris Má- ter, quae pér-
vi- a caéli pórtá má- nes, Et stél- la má- ris, succúrre
cadén- ti súrgere qui cú- rat pópu- lo : Tu quae genu- í-
sti, natú- ra mi- rán- te, tú- um sánctum Ge- ni- tórem :
Vír- go pri- us ac posté- ri- us, Gabri- é- lis ab ó- re
súmens illud Ave, * peccatórum mi- seré- re.

FIGURE 7. Alma redemptoris mater. Source: *Liber usualis*, Benedictines of Solemnes, ed. (Great Falls, MO: St. Bonaventure Publications, 1997), 273-74.

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