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LEDESMA UNDER THE DOMINATION OF CASTILE IN THE 15TH CENTURY

A description of Castilian Community and Society

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Figure 1. This map of the Iberian Peninsula has been created by the author to highlight the main cities mentioned in the thesis, located within the borders of modern Spain.

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>

Castile in the 15th century was the largest kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula. Stretching from the province of Seville in the south to the province of Oviedo in the north, in 1465, Castile bordered the other main kingdoms of the peninsula: the Christian kingdoms of Portugal, Aragon and Navarre and the Muslim Emirate of Granada. At that time, the king of Castile, Henry IV, ruled the provinces of Castile, León, Toledo, Galicia, Seville, Cordoba, Murcia, Jahen, Algarbes, Algeciras, Gibraltar and Molina.[1] His predecessors had conquered these territories in the 10th to the 15th centuries within the historical context known as *Reconquista*. The Reconquista, carried out not only by the Castilian kingdom, but also by the other Christian kingdoms mentioned above, moved against the territories controlled by Muslim emirates within the Iberian Peninsula.

The result of the Reconquista in Castile was the creation of a new society of several communities that differed by social class, gender, ethnicity and, especially, by religion, all of which lived in a situation of co-habitancy. This particular co-habitancy, known as *convivencia* in the texts of scholars such as David Nirenberg and Raja Sakrani, reflects a division of spaces and integration that lasted until the late Middle Ages.[2] In terms of Jewish traditions, given the complexity of Castilian society, Jews were peacefully accepted for most of the Middle Ages. This pacific acceptance, the legacy of the previous co-habitancy between Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus, lasted until the beginning of the 14th century, when attacks against the Jewish population became consistent; these include the Holy Week riots in different kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula, which fragmented the Iberian convivencia.

According to Nirenberg, the Holy Week riots are collectively considered 'the tremors that precede an earthquake, signs of escalating stress at the fault lines of society', a reality that was present in the rest of Europe well before the events recorded in the Iberian Peninsula.[3] However, Nirenberg has retraced the role of riots in the Christian tradition, seeing them not as the end of co-habitancy with Jews but as the re-enactment of the triumphant place of Christianity in sacred history.[4] In this sense, Nirenberg identifies the riots as the defence of tradition and not as a religious attack because of the

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[1] A. M. Expósito, J. M. Monsalvo Antón, *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma* (Salamanca, 1986), 173.
[2] R. Sakrani, 'The Aesthetics of Convivencia. Visualising a Mode of Living Together in Al-Andalus' in: C. Delage, P. Goodrich, M. Wan eds., *Law and Media. West of Everything* (Edinburgh, 2019), 31-55.
[3] The first cases of Holy Week riots were recorded in different areas of the Mediterranean Basin, like in the case of the event of Toulouse occurred in 1018. D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), 201-202.
[4] Ibidem, 228-229.

repetitive, ritual nature of the Holy Week events both in the Iberian Peninsula and in the rest of Europe.[5] Thus, the Holy Week riots did not reduce the presence of convivencia, but they modified its definition, which changed from a pacific co-habitancy to a necessary one that was useful for the ritual stability of the Christian majority. However, regardless of the actual definition of convivencia, the acceptance of the Jewish population definitively ceased in 1492 with the Alhambra decree, a document that forced the expulsion of Jews from the Castilian and Aragonese territories.[6]

The intent of this master thesis is to expand knowledge of the concepts of community and society within the extended kingdom of Castile in the 15th century, with a particular focus on religious acceptance and convivencia. This research does not aim to revolutionise the characteristics of community found in late medieval Castile, but it expects to enrich the reconstruction of the main ones.

The main differences between the concepts of community and society are discussed throughout this research, in which community refers to the aggregation of people within a delimited setting and geographic area, while society denotes the unity of different communities and groups in the same kingdom. This differentiation is a direct consequence of the definitions of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* of both Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber, and it is a direct consequence of the reception of these definitions.[7] Using the terminology of Tönnies, community and society can be identified as 'unity in plurality and plurality in unity', meaning that community occurs when there is a perception of unity in a context of plurality, while society occurs when there is a perception of distinctiveness in a social unit.[8] This dichotomy, even if considered valid, has limitations; therefore, it deserves a more extended explanation that is given in the following pages, with a particular focus on the idea of community and its peculiarities.

In 15th-century Castile, Christians, Muslims and Jews shared laws, jurisdiction, common spaces and neighbourhoods. The co-existence of these different realities has been the object of much research, as in the works of Teofilo F. Ruiz and David Nirenberg, but nowhere in the literature is the actual co-habitancy of several groups in a single, small community delineated.[9] In order to enrich the description

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[5] Ibidem, 201.

[6] After the caliphate of Omar (632-661), the relationship between Muslims and Jews in the territory of al-Andalus was based on the acceptance of religious differences and this template has been kept by the Castilian rulers after the Christian Reconquista of the Muslim territories in the Iberian Peninsula. However, in the 14th century, violent attack against Jews started to frequently rise in Castile and other Iberian territories, like the numerous riots, starting from the riots in Girona in 1302 and 1331 to others occurred in Barcelona, Camarasa, Pina, Valencia during the 14th and 15th centuries. J. Gorsky, 'Jews of Muslim Spain' in *Exiles in Sepharad. The Jewish Millennium in Spain* (Lincoln, 2015), 25-34, q.v. 25-26. J. R. Marcus, M. Saperstein, 'The Expulsion from Spain 1492' in *The Jews in Christian Europe. A Source Book, 315-1791* (Cincinnati, 2015), 181-192, q.v. 181-183.

[7] F. Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundbegriffe der Reinen Soziologie* (Darmstadt, 1979); M. Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, transl. E. Fischoff (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1978); M. Weber, *The City*, transl. D. Martindale (London, 1958).

[8] Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 3; N. Bond, 'Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber', *Max Weber Studies*, Vol. 12, 1 (2012), 25-57, q.v. 42.

[9] T. F. Ruiz, *Crisis and Continuity. Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia, 1994); D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), 202-228.

of the multicultural society in 15th-century Castile, I approach the topic from a micro-historical point of view, analysing the plurality of a specific community, that of Ledesma, a small town in the region of Castile and Leon.[10] Despite its ancient origin, Ledesma began presenting considerable institutional and architectural development after the 11th century. Major urban construction was only undertaken in the 15th century, when Beltran de la Cueva, King Henry IV's counsellor, was granted jurisdiction over the town by the King himself.[11] Ledesma was not only a city, but also the centre of a civic jurisdiction called *Tierra de Ledesma,* which consisted of 170 villages.[12] These villages, called *aldeas*, were small collections of houses, and each usually had fewer than 100 inhabitants.[13] The council of Ledesma controlled the aldeas' rights, and they were subject to the laws of the main town.

USE OF MICROHISTORY IN LEDESMA

Microhistory is a branch of history that seeks to understand a general trend by observing details.[14] Its name might lead the reader to believe that it focuses on minor problems, but in fact it derives from the same prefix as in the word 'microscope', a tool used to enlarge an object to highlight its components. The Italian scholar Carlo Ginzburg first used the term in this sense in his book *Il Formaggio e i Vermi,* published in 1976.[15] After a brief, retrospective investigation, the author admitted that other scholars had used the term *microstoria* in the past, but with other meanings.[16] The first scholar to use this term with a specific connotation was George R. Stewart in 1959. In his *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Charge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*, Stewart analyses a 20-minute fragment of the battle of Gettysburg over more than 300 pages, trying to capture the details of the event.[17] The Mexican scholar Luiz González y González also used the term in 1968.[18] In his *Pueblo en Vilo*, the author employs the term *microhistoria* as a synonym of local history without referring to a connection with the contemporary history of Mexico. The last author Ginzburg mentions is Fernand Braudel, who used the term *microhistoire* in the *Traité de sociologie,* edited by Georges Gurvitch.[19] In that context, Braudel attributes a negative connotation to 'microhistory', understanding it as a synonym of *histoire événementielle*, which in his opinion less is interesting than 'traditional' history.[20]

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[10] J. L. Martín Martín, S. Martín Puente, *Historia De Ledesma* (Salamanca, 2008), 19-22.

[11] M. Del Pilar Carceller Cerviño, *Beltrán de La Cueva: El Ultimo Privado*, (Madrid, 2011), 71-80.

[12] Martín Martín et al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 91.

[13] Ibidem, 119-122.

[14] C. E. Orser, 'Microhistory' in *A Primer on Modern-World Archaeology* (New York, 2014), 87-100, q.v. 93-94.

[15] C., Ginzburg, *Il Formaggio e i Vermi. Il Cosmo di un Mugnaio del '500* (Milano, 1976).

[16] C. Ginzburg, 'Microhistory. Two or Three Things That I Know About It' in *Threads and Traces. True False Fictive* (Los Angeles, 2012), 193-214, q.v. 194-195.

[17] G. R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Charge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston, 1959).

[18] L. González y González, *Pueblo en Vilo. Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (Mexico City, 1968).

[19] G. Gurvitch, *Traité de Sociologie* (Paris, 1958).

[20] Ginzburg, *Microhistory*, 195-196.

The term's use has developed since then and reached different areas of the globe, in particular France, the United Kingdom and Germany, but also Hungary, Austria and Iceland. The Icelandic researcher Sigurdur Gylfi Magnùsson, who established the Centre for Microhistorical Research at the Reykjavik Academy in 2003, exemplifies this global expansion.[21] Oliver Jens Schmitt is also worth mentioning; a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, he has spent the last nine years focusing on microhistorical research on 15th-century Korčula, an Adriatic island that is now part of Croatia.[22]

Microhistory can be a useful tool in different types of research; it is not confined to textual research and is also used in investigations with images. An illustrative example of this can be found in cinema. Directors and screenwriters have created movies based on the microhistory of local areas, smaller cities or villages. One example is the Hungarian Miklòs Jancsò, who, in the 1967 movie *Csillagosok Katonak,* used microhistory to describe the Russian Civil War, focusing on a local point of view in a single village. Another example is the movie *Novecento,* directed by Bernardo Bertolucci in 1976.[23]

After providing some examples of the extensive use of microhistory, it is necessary to consider to possible approaches to the subject in 'textual' research. For the sake of clarity, I cite the following two as individual and collective approaches. In his first book on the subject, *Il Formaggio e I Vermi*, the pioneer of microhistory, Ginzburg, uses a decisively individual approach. He presents the history of Domenico Scandella, also known as Menocchio, a Friulan miller who, in 1583, was accused of making heretical claims about the figure of Christ by the priest of his town, Montereale Vercellina. This individual history is used as a reflection of the fight of the lower class against the strict inquisition of the Catholic Church, which had expanded after the promulgation of Luther's theses and the spread of the Protestant ideals.[24]

A different way to use microhistory is the collective approach, adopted by Oliver Schmitt in *Korčula sous la Domination de Venise au XV Siècle.* In this text, the author does not use the history of a single person, but rather focuses on the life of the community within the Adriatic Island of Korčula. Schmitt divides the topic into different sections—power, land and sea—analysing each with the support of the extensive archive present on the island.[25] Schmitt considers Korčula as a single community, a reality on its own that is clearly connected to the Venetian power but that has its own system of traditions and values.[26] In his analysis, Schmitt detects a subdivision of the ideas of community and society into groups

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[21] S. G. Magnùsson, 'Views into the Fragments: An Approach from a Microhistorical Perspective', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 20, 1 (March 2016), 182-206, q.v. 194-195.

[22] O. J. Schmitt, 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia' in: E. Hovden, C. Lutter, W. Pohl eds., *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia* (Leiden, 2016), 125-147.

[23] P. Burke, *Testimoni Oculari. Il Significato delle Immagini* (Eyewitnessing. The Use of Images as Historical Evidence; London 2001), transl. G. Brioschi (Roma, 2019), 191-195.

[24] G. Francesconi, 'Uno Storico, un Mugnaio, un Libro. Carlo Ginzburg, «Il formaggio e i Vermi», 1976-2002', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. 164, 1 (January 2006), 188-192.

[25] O. J. Schmitt, *Korčula sous la Domination de Venise au XV Siècle. Pouvoir, Économie et Vie Quotidienne dans une Île Dalmate au Moyen Âge Tardif* (Paris, 2019).

[26] Schmitt, 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia', 133.

in Korčula, and this subdivision articulates three layers of communitarian belongings: *others within*, *close others* and *foreigners from far away*.[27]

In the case of the Dalmatian island, *others within* was the opposite part of the population that did not have the same social status. For instance, patricians perceived non-patricians as part of the community, but as still different from themselves. The *close others* were outsiders, usually Venetians, who started living permanently or temporarily on the island. They were indeed part of the community, but they were perceived as foreigners. Finally, *foreigners from far away* were once again outsiders, usually Venetians, who simply passed a short period of time on the island. They were not considered part of the community because they did not share the same traditions and local spaces; as a result, the population vigilantly observed them.[28]

This thesis uses a similar approach to that of Schmitt in 2019, focusing on the life of Ledesma in the second part of the 15th century. The timeframe 1465–1499 is the most effective for this research for two main reasons: first, during this century, many documents were issued in comparison to the previous periods, and second, under the control of Beltran de la Cueva, major changes in the structure of the community occurred. For example, multiple documents from the local *ayuntamiento* provide ample information about the institutional organisation of the territory. They address the division of power within the city, the changes in the urban layout and economic activities, as well as the relationship with the central administration and with other cities in the region.[29] Today, these documents can be found in two major collections: *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma* (DML) and the *Fuero de Ledesma* (FDL).

The DML contains 120 documents issued between 1161 and 1499, and they refer to the administration of the town, ranging from the confirmation of rights to the organisation of the market and the sale of properties. The FDL is a collection of laws promulgated by King Fernando II in 1161 that consisted of 400 articles that establish different categories of rules. The only version of this collection of documents available is a copy; therefore, it is difficult to determine whether this collection grew to 400 articles over the course of several centuries or if it was issued as a definitive corpus of laws in the 12th century.[30] The FDL addresses an ample variety of issues: the application of the city's laws and jurisdiction, the punishment for robberies, the administration of animals and farming, the control of properties, the division of the territories in the *Tierra de Ledesma*, the relationship with the local church, the network with bordering cities and the treatment of sick people.[31]

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[27] Ibidem, 140-143.
[28] Ibidem.
[29] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*; A. Castro, F. De Onís, *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba De Tormes* (Madrid, 1916).
[30] The precise date of this copy has not been confirmed. The first proof of this collection dates back to 1491, as stated in the introduction to the *Fuero de Ledesma* of *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba De Tormes*, 211, 212. Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, doc. 107.
[31] Castro et al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*.

THE WEBERIAN MODEL OF EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL CITIES AND ITS LIMITS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF LEDESMA

In order to follow the style Schmitt used in 2019, I apply the Weberian model of European Medieval cities to the town of Ledesma. In the book *The City*, published posthumously in 1921 and later included in a more complete work titled *Economy and Society* in 1924, three main theses about cities are presented, and these must be considered to understand my research. The first point concerns the identification of five principal features that, according to Weber, defined each European city in the Middle Ages: a market, a fortress, its own laws and administration, related forms of association and, finally, a degree of political autonomy.[32] Weber argued that these five features are part of an historic stage, and he underscored the importance of human aggregation for the formation of medieval cities.[33] The use of these features allows for a structure similar to the one found in *Korčula sous la Domination de Venise au XV Siècle*, and a further explanation of the Ledesmine community is presented for each of these features.

The second of Weber's concepts that is essential here directly concerns the dichotomy between community and society, referred to as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*; these concepts are discussed over the course of chapter 1.[34] Finally, Weber's third thesis relates to the superiority of European cities over their Islamic counterparts, indicating that the latter were supposedly less organised, and that people living in Islamic urban centres were only minimally involved with urban administrative power.[35]

These three Weberian theses have limitations when applied in practice to the specific case of Ledesma. These include the application of the five features and the definition of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft; these are discussed in chapter 1 because, as part of the background of this study, they require a more extensive explanation. Chapter 1 discusses how the Weberian model can provide only partial insight into the structure of the Ledesmine community and society because it refers to the description of the features within the community, but it does not produce specific information about the way groups of people interact and how the totality of the community relates to the wider society in which it operates. Therefore, this model is only used as a tool of this microhistorical approach, and with the description of the society, it is also necessary to consider the network between Ledesma and other

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[32] M. Weber, *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, transl. E. Fischoff (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1978); M. Weber, *The City*, D. Martindale (London, 1958).

[33] According to the definition of city given by Georg Simmel, the identification of a city as such, depends on the size and population of the urban area itself. Following this interpretation, Ledesma could not be considered as a proper city because of its limited extension and a small number of inhabitants. However, Weber himself refused the definition given by Simmel which he considered inaccurate. In the course of the next chapter, Ledesma will be shown to have all the five features described by Weber and therefore it can be referred to as a city. G. Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in: K. H. Wolff ed., *Sociology of George Simmel* (Chicago, 1950), 409-424

[34] M. Weber, 'On Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology' in *Collected Methodological Writings*, transl. Hans Henrik Bruun (London and New York, 2012), 273-301.

[35] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1226-1236; Weber, *The City*, 42-62; N. L. Schwartz, 'Marx and Weber on the City', *Polity*, Vol. 17, 3 (Chicago, 1985), 530-548; S. Zubaida, 'Max Weber's *The City* and the Islamic City', *Max Weber Studies* 6, no.1 (2005), 111-118, q.v. 111-112.

cities within the Iberian Peninsula.

On the subject of the proposed superiority of European cities over their Islamic counterparts, many scholars have proved its inaccuracy, which mainly results from Weber's strong Eurocentric views; these were deeply affected by his imperialism, distorting his view of Islamic countries.[36] In response, Ira Lapidus has argued that, even if general institutions were often missing or were rare, it does not follow that the Islamic urban population lived in anarchy; it simply means that it was organised differently, and its institutions were therefore more informal and flexible.[37]

Janet Abu-Lughod has suggested that scholars studying the organisation of Islamic cities should focus on the social relationship within the ambit of urban settlements.[38] This new form of analysis could allow a clearer and more complete picture of the topic to emerge and provide an analytical and objective depiction of Islamic urban organisations.

Finally, in 2017, Maaike van Berkel investigated the administration of the water supply in the city of Cairo, proving that the very arrangement of a communal water supply was controlled by the strong presence of public institutions.[39] Her study argues that simply defining Islamic cities as less organised than their European counterparts is incorrect because public institutions existed in Islamic cities, as well, but they were usually based on a more informal societal organisation.

METHODOLOGY

The focal point of this research is the consolidation of community and society within the town of Ledesma in the second half of the 15th century. This analysis is used to reveal a considerable amount of information about the administration of Castile, a state that had to balance the unity of several communities within the kingdom at the very end of the Middle Ages.

I believe that an example from Ginzburg in 1979 can clarify why the use of a microhistorical approach in this context can present new information about the life of 15th-century Castile. In his *Clues: Roots of a Scientific Paradigm*, Ginzburg associates the work of a microhistorical researcher with the work of an art historian who has to determine the attribution of ancient paintings.[40] The author provides the example of Giovanni Morelli, an art historian who has been able to definitively attribute important ancient paintings previously considered masterpieces of Tiziano to the artist Giorgione. In explaining his findings, Morelli declared that the details are often under-considered. He believed that the major

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[36] K. Allen, *Max Weber. A Critical Introduction* (London, 2004), 175.

[37] I. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, 186-187; O. Grabar, 'Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages by Ira Lapidus', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 88, 3 (1968), 599-601.

[38] J.L. Abu-Lughod, 'The Islamic city – Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance', *International Journal of The Middle East Studies,* 19:2 (may, 1987), 155-176, q.v. 157.

[39] M. van Berkel, 'Waqf Documents on the Provision of Water in Mamluk Egypt' in: M. van Berkel, L. Buskens, P. M. Sijpesteijn eds., *Legal Documents as Sources for the History of Muslim Societies* (Leiden, Boston, 2017), 231-244.

[40] C. Ginzburg, 'Clues. Roots of a Scientific Paradigm', *Theory and Society, Vol. 7, 3* (May 1979), 273-288, q.v. 273-274.

techniques of artists were easy to emulate, whereas the focus on other, often-forgotten details could lead to the actual author of a painting.

In much the same way, I recognise the importance of focusing on the minor details of larger realities, within which new perspectives can be observed. These perspectives can express a consistent amount of information that an observation of the totality could easily conceal. In the case of this thesis, the microhistorical approach used for the analysis of Ledesma results in unexpected insights into the idea of convivencia found in the community and society within the Castilian kingdom in the 15th century. In order to provide a proper delineation of this research, it is necessary to address several sub-questions that are fundamental to the subdivision of the topic. These sub-questions are as follows: Is Ledesma considered a Weberian city in terms of the analysis of its community and society in the 15th century? What does the application of a microhistorical approach disclose about the community of Ledesma? What does the analysis of the networks of Ledesma disclose about the perception of society in the town?

The research itself can be seen as a functional analysis that expands the knowledge on convivencia within community and society in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages, which has not been sufficiently explored in terms of the limited realities of smaller towns. This work therefore tries to determine if 'the tremors that precede an earthquake' can be detected in the daily life of burghers. In much the same way, this research demonstrates the importance of microhistorical analysis, which does not have to be considered a minor branch of history but as a further support for the analysis of macro-contexts.

The Weberian model on its own is not appropriate for this analysis because its macro-approach is utilised to create a theory meant to represent the totality of European medieval cities. However, the micro-approach utilised in this case benefits from applying the Weberian classification because it clearly delineates the main features of a civic community.

In order to concentrate exclusively on the details, I take into account a selection of documents of the DML and the FDL.[41] All the *statuta* and *ordinamenta* here studied, issued by the royal court and addressed to the local authorities of Ledesma, were created to organise life within the Tierra de Ledesma.

Each of the features Weber described is linked to a limited number of charters and laws, this providing information on daily life in the Ledesmine community. The main features of the market are investigated in document 87 of the DML*,* and it presents a description of the free market in 1465. The main use of a fortress in Ledesma is addressed by analysing document 265 of FDL*,* which clarifies a strict division between the inside and outside of the town. The administration of laws and the major officials in Ledesma are presented with the support of document 107 of DML. The degree of autonomy acquired by the Ledesmine administration is highlighted in documents 247 and 262 of the FDL*,* which

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[41] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*; Castro et al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba De Tormes*.

describe the rules for obtaining offices in Ledesma. Turning to Weber's last feature, forms of associations, only religious associations are considered. Weber considers these only minimally, but they have significant potential to describe the co-existence of different religions in a small community. Documents 162 and 163 of the FDL provide insight into the attention granted to the Muslim minority, while document 393 exposes the relationship between Christians and Jews.

As mentioned earlier in this introduction, these five features can provide a solid foundation for the study of a small town such as Ledesma, but they cannot show the interconnection of the town and other cities within the kingdom. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the set of networks between Ledesma and the rest of Castilian society in order to grasp how the Ledesmine community perceived society. To demonstrate this point, I provide an overview of the location of senders and receivers for all the documents of the DML to show how the network of the town expanded during the course of the second part of the 15th century.

All the evidence collected in the microhistorical analysis of market, fortress, law and administration, degree of autonomy, forms of associations and networks is used to answer the research question, which investigates what the microhistorical approach to analysing Ledesma discloses about the idea of convivencia in the community and society within the Castilian kingdom in the 15th century.

CHAPTER ONE: LEDESMA AS A WEBERIAN CITY IN THE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

The analysis of the concepts of community and society within late medieval Ledesma requires the presentation of a structured *modus operandi* that results in a coherent answer to the main research question. This chapter presents an overview of the town itself, linking it to the definitions of community and society given by Tönnies and Weber and the analysis of their reception, which is useful for applying the Weberian model in this micro-historical approach. It is crucial to be aware of the limits of the Weberian model, which have been used to support the comparative analysis of Oliver Schmitt in 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia' in chapter 2. This chapter investigates if Ledesma can be considered a Weberian city in terms of its community and society in the 15th century.

1.1. LEDESMA IN THE TERRITORY OF CASTILE

As illustrated in Figure 1, the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century consisted of five main areas: Portugal, Castile, Navarre, Aragon and Granada. Ledesma was part of Castile, which united with Aragon in 1469, when Isabella of Castile, stepdaughter of Henry IV, married the future king of Aragon, Fernando. Matrimonial alliance was viewed as the solution to the instability of the kingdom. It was also the best option to negotiate peace and expand the national territory, and it soon became the most commonly used political weapon in the Castilian court. Thus, in 1441, Henry IV married Blanche of Navarre, daughter of the King of Navarre; however, after the failure of the wedding, the Castilian monarch married Joan of Portugal, daughter of King Edward of Portugal.[42]

The process of expansion not only brings new territories and new people into the same kingdom, but it also increases the plurality of communities within a single unity. One of the communities in Castile was in Ledesma, a town located in the central-western region of the Iberian Peninsula that belonged to the province of Salamanca. The population of the *pueblo* in 2019 was approximately 1,700, slightly higher than its population in the 15th century, which was estimated to be between 1,200 and 1,400.[43] During the rule of Emperor Augustus in ancient Roman times, Ledesma was known as Bletisa.[44] Although it constituted a small village in late antiquity, Bletisa had a direct connection to major cities

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[42] T. F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis. 1300-1474* (Malden, Oxford, Carlton, 2007), 95-98.

[43] City Population, *Ledesma in Salamanca (Castilla y León)*, <https://www.citypopulation.de/php/spain-castillayleon.php?cityid=37170>, (19th January 2020); Martín Martín et al., *Historia De Ledesma*, 128-129.

[44] Martín Martín et al., *Historia De Ledesma*, 43-44.

in the Iberian Peninsula because of the *Vía de La Plata* (its modern name), which linked Mérida in the south to Astorga in the north.[45]

A dynamic development of Ledesma started in the 12th century, when the benefits of the state centralisation King Fernando II wanted with the support of local laws boosted the country's economy.[46] For instance, in the second part of the 12th century, King Fernando II issued several collections of laws that codified the rights of different Castilian cities. Ledesma obtained its *Fuero* in 1161, when a collection of rules created on the basis of the *Fuero de Salamanca* became the general template of laws to follow.[47] The *Fuero de Ledesma* had to be followed not only by the people within the walls of the town, but also by the population of the Tierra de Ledesma.[48] The only exceptions were the aldeas of Villarino and Pereña, which had their own officials and could issue their own documents.[49]

A more decisive development of the town's economy and architecture during the medieval period occurred in the 15th century, under the control of Beltran de la Cueva, King Henry IV's counsellor, Lord of Ledesma and Earl of Albuquerque. The importance of Beltran to the royal family is proved by the court's visit to Ledesma in 1465, a rare event in the area.[50] Prior to the rule of Beltran de la Cueva, the town did not include all of a major city's buildings and structures; for example, Beltran de la Cueva undertook the construction of several buildings in Ledesma, such as the main bridge and the main church of Santa María la Mayor.[51]

In order to address this topic fully, it is necessary to analyse the definition of community or *Gemeinschaft* and the definition of society or *Gesellschaft*.

1.2. DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY - From Tönnies to Schmitt

The terms Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft were first applied in Ferdinand Tönnies' works.[52] Tönnies proved that the existence of community and society is based on 'normal concepts' that Weber later called 'ideal types'.[53] According to Tönnies, the 'great variety in characters of human wills ... is related to these normal concepts', which differentiate between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In Tönnies' view, community is characterised by essential or free will, while society is characterised by arbitrary will. This happens because the development of communities that spread in smaller areas is driven by

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[45] Ibidem, 46-48.
[46] A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London, 1977), 32-35.
[47] *Fuero* is a collection of laws and privileges applied to a specific city or region.
[48] Martín Martín at al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 91, 119-122.
[49] Ibidem, 106.
[50] Ibidem, 98.
[51] Ibidem, 97-98.
[52] Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*.
[53] F. Tönnies, *Einführung in die Soziologie* (Stuttgart, 1931), vi; M. Weber, 'Die "Objektivität" sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis' in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre* (Tübingen, 1968), 146-214, q.v. 190-191.

biological and anthropological explanations of affective relations, while the spread of society in larger cities and organised state structures is driven by rational, more impersonal relations.[54] Therefore, Gemeinschaft cannot be considered a logical process, and it must be recognised as a natural practice of human life. Tönnies thus moves towards a theory of social transformation, recognising the increase in rational relations as a development of human will and human organisation. Using the metaphor of human life, Tönnies concludes that, with the passing of time, the 'cultural body' gradually became more rational, but at the very end, its existence concludes.[55]

The idea of affective relations in forming a community has been accepted and was also developed in the more recent studies of Otto Gerhard Oexle. These refer to it as a system of 'sworn friendship' dictated by blood-brotherhood that is useful for creating mutual support via artificial kinship when the presence of actual kinship was not possible because of war and trade.[56] Oexle argues that this creation of affective bonds was at the base of medieval guilds and in villages and towns centuries before centralising states exerted control.[57]

Weber's definitions of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft move in another direction. Weber often referred to community and society as *Gemeinschaftshandeln* and *Gesellschaftshandeln,* implying the continuous presence of actions.[58] Gemeinschaftshandeln, according to Weber, was the collection of social actions without organisation, while the transition to Gesellschaftshandeln implied the regulation of social actions. If, in the case of Tönnies, the step between community and society was perceived as a social transformation and the development of the 'cultural body', in Weber's eyes, it simply meant the limitation of freedom.[59]

The definitions of Tönnies and Weber appear to differ because of their 'deviation in concept formation', but, as Weber himself stated, their peculiar, distinct theories did not always result in opposing opinions.[60] In fact, both approaches contain the more structured essence of society, which is driven by more rational, regulated relations than its more casual counterpart.

Even if similarities can be detected, several divergences in the two scholars' theories stem from the fact that Tönnies focused on individual relationships between people, while Weber elaborated a theory that described an historic stage, especially when referring to the concept of society, which, in his opinion, was too wide-ranging to describe individual relationships.[61]

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[54] Bond, 'Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber', 42.

[55] Tönnies, *Einführung* in die Soziologie, 78.

[56] O, G. Oexle, 'Conjuratio und Gilde in Frühen Mitter. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Sozialgeschichtlichen Kontinuität Zwischen Antike und Mittelalter' in: Berent Schwineköper ed., *Gilden und Zünfte. Kaufmännische un Gewerbliche Genossenschaften im Frühen und Hohen Mittelalter* (1985), 151-214.

[57] V. Palsson, *Power and Political Communication. Feasting and Gift Giving in Medieval Iceland* (Berkeley, 2010), 7-9; A. Kieser, 'Organizational, Institutional, and Societal Evolution. Medieval Craft Guilds and the Genesis of Formal Organizations', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 34, 4 (Ithaca, 1989), 540-564, q.v. 550.

[58] Weber, 'On Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology'.

[59] Bond, 'Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber', 48-49.

[60] Weber, 'Über einige Kategorien der verstehenden Soziologie', 427.

[61] Bond, 'Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber' 42,47.

Tönnies and Weber represented the idea of community and society with distinctive definitions. However, problems in the reception of these definitions have to be considered, especially with respect to community. Both Tönnies and Weber defined society only as a regulated and rational reality, while community was seen as an unregulated, illogical reality. In this case, Ledesma cannot be considered either because, in the 15th century, it was regulated by law (contained in the FDL and DML), and it still had personal and affective relations within the city, thus creating an identity of community. Certainly, a more regulated system of organisation was applied in Ledesma after the societal approach of King Fernando II, but the town still had to be recognised as a community due to its smaller size and the personal relationships within the population.

The two scholars' problematic definitions of community, inapplicable in the context of Ledesma, can find a more convincing development in the reception of their ideas made by Roberto Esposito. In his book *Communitas*, the Italian philosopher refutes Tönnies's idea of seeing the community as a concept linked to affective relations that are increased by *il nostro proprio*—our own.[62] In fact, Esposito retraces the meaning of the word 'community', connecting it to the Latin term *communitas* (*cum munus*), that is, with an obligation.[63] This term reverses the idea that community is based on belonging through biological and anthropological affective relations; instead, it states that people are kept together in a community by the power of *doverositá,* obligations. Thus, according to Esposito, people who are part of a community need 'an expropriation of their own essence' because community does not have to be perceived as having something in common, but rather as the fulfilment of obligations that keep people united.[64]

The existence of munus certainly undermines 'their (people) own being subjects', but people are still part of a community in which differentiations are made based on characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, religion and craft, which allows individuals to recognise themselves as different from other members of the community. That is, the affective relations and sworn friendship that Tönnies and Oexle describe express exclusiveness on the basis of biological and anthropological kinship, blood-brotherhood and ethnicity, while Esposito's communitas expresses inclusiveness between different groups within the same geographical area, thus creating the requirements for community.[65]

In this regard, a brief mention of Peter Burke and his idea of 'other between us' is apt. Burke, borrowing the term from Jacques Lacan, highlights the importance of the 'gaze' people use to see the others in their surroundings. A 'gaze' can be amongst others, masculine, religious, civic or ethnic. Whenever we look at people with a certain gaze, we identify them as others when they are not part of that particular gaze ideal.[66]

Oliver Schmitt used a similar approach in 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia',

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[62] R. Esposito, *The Origin and Destiny of Community*, transl. T. Campbell (Stanford, 2010), 2.
[63] Ibidem, 3-4.
[64] Ibidem, 138.
[65] Palsson, *Power and Political Communication*, 8-9.
[66] Burke, *Testimoni Oculari*, 157-158.

which discusses the conformation of the community of Korčula, a small island in the Adriatic Sea. The author focused on how the islanders perceived the others on the island, with particular attention to the 'gaze' given to Venetians, who were the new governors of Korčula starting in 1409, living on or visiting the island. Schmitt described the community 'as a consciousness of belonging, which was repeatedly visualized in daily social practice, especially in cases of conflict and dissent that activated communitarian solidarity'.[67] According to the author, in 15th-century Dalmatia, three layers of communitarian belonging could be found: *others within*, *close others* and *foreigners from far away*.

Esposito's definition of community allows for the analysis of the heterogeneous Ledesmine community, while the three layers of communitarian belonging Schmitt describes are applied in order give a more precise description of the divisions of people within the Castilian town in the 15th century. The concepts *others within* and *close others* are directly connected with the life within a community, while the concept *foreigners from far away* relates to the connections between a community and the wider society in which it is inserted. Therefore, the first two concepts are investigated with the support of the five features of the Weberian model, while a different tool is necessary to describe *foreigners from far away*.

1.3. THE FIVE FEATURES OF THE WEBERIAN MODEL OF EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL CITIES

The detailed description of the five features of the Weberian model in this section is not meant to prove the accuracy of the Weberian model; on the contrary, it aims to reveal the limits of its application and the necessity of utilising another tool of analysis to describe the idea of society spread in Ledesma. Furthermore, this analysis allows for a better understanding of the characteristics that are investigated in the documents found in the FDL and the DML in relation to the Ledesmine community.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Weber detected five main features that he deemed common to all European medieval cities: a market, a fortress, its own laws and administration, a degree of political autonomy and, finally, related forms of association.[68] Weber listed the market as the first feature. In his early works *The Stock and Commodity Exchanges* and *Outline of General Economics*, Weber outlined a history of the market, arguing that trade was absent very early in history and explaining that humanity gradually transitioned from a small-scale, luxury trade that was not protected by law to a widespread daily market controlled by local and central authorities.[69] In his later works, such as *The City*, which was written after the turn of the century, Weber adopted a slightly modified view of the market, moving from a mere description of its characteristics to a deeper social analysis of its development, explaining

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[67] Schmitt, 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia', 125.
[68] Weber, *Economy and* Society; Weber, *The City*.
[69] M. Weber, *Die Börse* (*The Stock and Commodity Exchanges*; Göttingen, 1894); M. Weber, *Grundiss zu den Vorlesungen über Allgemeine ("theoretische") National-ökonomie* (*Outline of General Economics*; 1898).

the relationship of the economy with family, religion and law.[70]

In the 20th century, Weber conducted a more thorough investigation in which he considered the medieval market a social action with its own inner dynamics, presenting the following precise, complete definition of the market:

> A market may be said to exist wherever there is competition, even if only unilateral, for opportunities of exchange among a plurality of potential parties. Their physical assemblage in one place, as in the local market square, the fair (the 'long distance market'), or the exchange (the merchants' market), only constitutes the most consistent kind of market formation. It is, however, only this physical assemblage which allows the full emergence of the market's most distinctive feature, viz., dickering.[71]

The second feature to consider is the presence of a fortress, which is a construction related to the defence of the city. It may pertain to a collection of garrisons or a proper set of city walls, but its aim is the defence of the inner population from attacks by outsiders.[72] City walls or garrisons were built by the initiative of the population or by the authorities for the population. The bond of affiliation prompted the population to willingly defend the other members of the closed community, especially when cities had to provide their own protection because of the main authorities' inability to control the totality of a kingdom or empire.[73] Nevertheless, fortifications became not only a defence device, but also a border that differentiated the inside from the outside.[74]

The third characteristic is the application of autonomous laws and administrations in cities. Urban jurisdictions in the Middle Ages had the opportunity to organise matters related to lands, taxes and minor crimes, particularly problems related to the legal status of burghers.[75] The central power evidently had an influence on the organisation of cities within a kingdom or empire. For example, central authorities frequently managed major crimes, such as capital offenses. In this situation, cities could generally still be part of the jurisdiction because judges were selected within the city walls.[76]

The fourth feature Weber describes is strictly connected to law and jurisdiction, that is, the degree of autonomy that a city has with respect to the central authority. The main power's inability to capillary control the totality of the territory is again relevant here and necessitates the grant of a degree of autonomy to cities. Urban areas had civic and penal control over the city itself and the rural areas in the

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[70] R. Swedberg, 'The Role of the Market in Max Weber's Work', *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29, 3 (New York, 2000), 373-384, q.v. 377, 378.
[71] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 635.
[72] Schwartz, 'Marx and Weber on the City', 545.
[73] M, Montanari, *Storia Medievale* (Roma, 2002), 204-207.
[74] M. Wolfe, *Walled Towns and the Shaping of France. From the Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York, 2009), 62-65.
[75] Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1237- 1241.
[76] Ibidem.

surroundings, which a considerable quantity of officials guaranteed control.[77] The officials' actions were not totally autonomous because the main authorities often controlled them thanks to the power of laws issued by the monarch or emperor; this was the case of Ledesma, where local authorities were to submit to the rules present in the *Fuero de Ledesma*, which the king issued.[78] These laws, depending on the area of Europe in question, were mostly issued after the 11th century. For example, in Castile, these laws were issued in the 12th century, while previously, the use of oral laws that differed from one *regnum* to the other was common.[79]

Finally, the fifth feature Weber describes is forms of association. The proliferation of smaller communities within the wider community was a typical characteristic of medieval cities. Weber depicted these communities as confraternities in which associates had their own reunions and ceremonies.[80] Examples of these associations include the medieval guilds or groups of *magistri* who were united by their arts and crafts; in some Italian *comuni*, these medieval guilds had the overall control over civic jurisdiction in the 14th and 15th centuries.[81] However, guilds were not the only form of association present in medieval cities; in fact, military, private and religious associations could be found.

This last feature of the Weberian model seems to present an actual subdivision of the community into smaller parts, similar to the three layers of communitarian belongings of Schmitt. Indeed, different forms of association describe the existence of several groups within a community, but they do not explain their actual co-habitancy.

The description of the five features of the Weberian model has highlighted the possibility of applying this model as a tool to analyse the community of Ledesma, but it proved to lack a description of the reality outside a city, making an analysis of the society in which Ledesma is inserted impossible. Therefore, even if Ledesma could be defined as a Weberian city in terms of its inner features, the detailed analysis of *others within* and *close other* can be undertaken with the support of the Weberian model, while the identification of *foreigners from far away* requires another tool that focuses on the societal aspect of late medieval Castile linked to Ledesma.

In order to present a proper definition of *foreigners from far away* as perceived in the medieval community of Ledesma, I analyse the networks that the town itself constructed with other urban areas within the kingdom of Castile. The description of these networks is presented in chapter 3 of this thesis and is conducted via a review of the 120 documents found in the *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, highlighting the location of the sender and/or receiver for each document.

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[77] P. Grillo, *L'Ordine della Città. Controllo del Territorio e Repressione del Crimine nell'Italia Comunale* (Rome, 2017), 37-43.
[78] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, 19.
[79] A. Padoa Schioppa, *Il Diritto nella Storia d'Europa. Il Medioevo* (Padova, 2005), 112.
[80] Weber, *Economy and Society,* 1246-1248.
[81] Montanari, *Storia* Medievale, 208, 209.

CHAPTER TWO: THE APPLICATION OF THE FIVE WEBERIAN FEATURES OF EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL CITIES TO LEDESMA

This chapter presents the three layers of communitarian belonging found in the micro-analysis of Schmitt, supported by the five features of the Weberian model of European medieval cities as applied to the community of late medieval Ledesma. Each of the five Weberian features, market, fortress, having its own laws and administration, degree of autonomy and forms of associations, is analysed with the support of a limited number of documents found in the DML and FDL. The analysis of law and administration appears first in this chapter in order to introduce the collections of laws and the officials who organised the legislation within the town. Therefore, this chapter aims to reveal what the application of the microhistorical approach discloses about the community of Ledesma.

2.1. LAW AND ADMINISTRATION

Ledesma in the 15th century had a structured system of laws formed by both fixed rights, found in the FDL, and by new regulations, now part of the DML collection. Today, the 400 documents in the FDL can be found in a collection that aggregates the rights of Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma and Alba de Tormes.[82] A brief overview of this volume shows similarities between the articles of these towns, highlighting a strong correlation between the fueros of Salamanca and Ledesma. Naturally, some of the Ledesmine articles differ from those found in other urban areas, especially when on topics that strictly relate to the conformation of the town (document 265 of the FDL, whose analysis is presented in 2.3, is an example of a unique article).

Document 107 of the FDL is used here to underline some features of law and administration in Ledesma in the second part of the 15th century. Written in 1491, at the moment of the shift of power from Beltran de la Cueva to his son Francisco de la Cueva, this document was composed in order to reconfirm the local rights. This text proves that the FDL was still used in 1491 and that the copy we have today is the same one used that year. In fact, at the very end of the document (lines 26–31), the author of the text, the *escribano* and notary of the king, Pedro Ferrández, testified to having signed each of the 47 papers that comprise the FDL with his name and its *rúbryca*. These signatures can still be found in the copy we have today, proving that the only copy of the FDL available now can be dated to

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[82] Castro at al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*.

at least 1491. Unfortunately, this document also notes the loss of parts of the FDL, considering that, today, the papers that constitute the entire collection are only 42 and not 47, as in 1491. Clearly, this document (107) cannot provide an explanation of this loss, or a description of the missing articles, but it is still a vital proof in determining who administered the application of these laws in the late 15th century.

Pedro Ferrández, while reconfirming the rights in the FDL, clearly lists the witnesses of the event, for the most part members of the *Concejo* of Ledesma (lines 4–6). Those part of the reconfirmation's event are the following: the escribano, Pedro Ferrández himself; the *regidores* (governors) of the town; the alcade (mayor); the *procurador*; the *bachiller*, a member of the Ledesmine militia; the *corregidor*, or co-governor; and finally, the administrator of justice, the magistrate, also known as the *alguacil* (lines 6–12). These people, the highest figures in the administration of Ledesma, gathered to confirm the rights present in the FDL. This event was held inside the chapel of Gonzalo Rodríguez, part of the church of Santa Maria Mayor (line 8), and can be considered a tradition thanks to a particular expression used by the text's author. In line 9, Pedro Ferrández certifies that the presence of witnesses in this celebration was *de huso e de costumbre*, meaning their presence was part of habit and tradition.

Document 107 of the FDL presents an overview of the main offices within the town of Ledesma, and it also, most importantly, proves the continuity in use of the town's fuero from the 12th to the 15th centuries, highlighting an organised, rooted system of regulations within the small Castilian urban area.

2.2. MARKET

The market can be understood not only as the actual location of the local marketplace, but also as the movement of economic activities through the sale of products between different cities or merchants. The development of both ideas of the market in Ledesma is directly connected to the expansion of the city's limits and population. As numerous documents of the FDL and DML show, in the 12th century, the Ledesmine legislation already included several market regulations. For instance, in the FDL, out of 400 articles, 30 regarded the regulation of economic exchanges, ranging from the sale of animals, salt and properties to the regulation of prices and rules for shopkeepers.[83] This particular section of the thesis focuses on document 87 of the DML, written in 1465. This document primarily focuses on the regulation of the marketplace in the second half of the 15th century, in which, under the approval of King Henry IV, a *mercado franco* or free market was present. In particular, this document clarifies the role of the central power in controlling the marketplace of a small city and how it affected the idea of convivencia.

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[83] For example, in the *FDL* doc. 33 and 223 regulated the buying of animals; doc. 100 regulated the prices of goods; doc. 187 and 220 regulated the role of shopkeepers; doc. 306 regarded the selling of salt and doc. 214-216 regulated the property of houses.

The very beginning of the text (lines 1–5) states that King Henry IV, the author of the text, intends to regulate economic exchanges in the marketplace of the Castilian town.[84] Beltran de la Cueva, lord of Ledesma, asks for the reconfirmation of rights in economic matters, which King Fernando IV of Castile had previously granted in 1312 (lines 3-8).[85] The need for this reconfirmation is explained by the limited independence of the Lord of the town, who is subordinate to the authority of the king, considering that Beltran received jurisdiction over Ledesma from the king himself.[86] The document continues by specifying its subject: King Henry IV allows the spread of a mercado franco within the limits of the Tierra de Ledesma, not only in the city itself (line 9-14). The large area of the mercado franco shows the limits of applying Weber's idea, which argues that the presence of a market makes a city, considering that, in this case, the marketplace identifies not only Ledesma, but its entire Tierra.

The regulation of the marketplace regards the totality of the inhabitants, members of the Council of Ledesma, knights, squires, and also *omes buenos* without exceptions, Jews and Muslims included (line 15-18). This element of integration shows King Henry IV's interest in maintaining a convivencia, which was the basis of organisation within the Iberian Peninsula since the rule of Muslim caliphates in the seventh century, and which was difficult to maintain because of different cultures and traditions.[87] In these lines, the king's effort to create unity within the *Tierra*, regardless of the social status and the inhabitants' religious beliefs, is evident.

The document continues highlighting the conditions of a free market; it states that the people of Ledesma and its *Tierra* were not required to pay *alcavalas,* taxes, on the products they traded within the market (line 25–30), and their right of exemption in payment was to be controlled and regulated by the local authorities within the Concejo de Ledesma (line 35-38). In addition, the local market could occur every Thursday and was open to anyone, people of any condition and from any location within the Kingdom (line 42-45); furthermore, the King's role was to guarantee the security and defence of the main roads to reach the market, with the purpose of avoiding robberies, illegal taxes and illicit confiscation of goods by both inhabitants and local authorities (line 49-52). Thus, outsiders were welcome to negotiate with the Ledesmine population, but they were required to pay 15 *monedas* for the privilege of entering the marketplace. To be more precise, every outsider had to pay 15 monedas every year, corresponding to a total of 660 *maravedís*, 270 of which destined for the Lord of the town (lines 70-77). This information helps give a precise value of the maravedís, a coin that fluctuated in value in the second part of the 15th century.[88] This document shows that, at the time, one moneda (referring to

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[84] At the end of document 87 (lines 118-121) are visible the signatures of both the King and his secretary Iohán Gonçalez, the person who allegedly wrote the text.

[85] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, doc. 9.

[86] Martín Martín et al., *Historia De Ledesma*, 97-98.

[87] Gorsky, 'Jews of Muslim', 25-26.

[88] D. Espinar Gil, 'La Moneda de Enrique IV de Castilla y Sus Textos Legislativos', *Ab Initio*, Vol. 2 (2012), 25-55, q.v. 26-27.

the silver real, the main currency of the kingdom of Henry IV) corresponded to 44 maravedís.[89]

The payment of these taxes needed to be controlled and documented, and this information had to be saved in two registers: the *Quaderno de las alcavalas* and the *Quaderno del obispado de Salamanca* (lines 82–83). The former was officially property of the king, and it enabled the analysis of the taxes collected in different areas of the kingdom, while the latter was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Salamanca.[90] This double annotation demonstrates both the interest in supervising the economy of the town and the strict correlation between the town itself and its diocese of Salamanca, which partly administrated the economy of the province.

The king, recognising the limit of his possible supervision in these areas, required dukes, earls, marquises, *magistri de las Ordenes* and wealthy people to be vigilant regarding the activities of control of all local authorities (lines 97-100). King Henry IV required everyone to obey his decisions, and if anyone was found to have moved against his decisions regarding the regulation of the mercado franco, the offender was to be removed from his role, and all his possessions were to be confiscated (lines 107–109).

The analysis of document 87 reveals interesting observations. It shows the presence of the convivencia of different religions within the same marketplace. This convivencia enforced an idea of community similar to the one Esposito described. The community of Ledesma, seen as communitas, had a mixture of people with different cultures and social roles. However, in the organisation of the mercado franco, the main element that stands out is the fulfilment of munus, obligations, and not the differences between groups. In this context, local authorities had the independent role of controlling the effective functioning of the free market, but at the same time, their actions had to be controlled by the central power, which had to ensure the correct application of laws. This document shows the strong correlation between independence and institutionalisation, the former given by the roles of local authorities and the latter given by the oversight of the central state, which granted regulations and controlled the actions of local authorities with the support of the other inhabitants and the compilation of registers. The Ledesmine marketplace in 1465 is an example of convivencia between the parts of the population, which were regulated by the power of obligations and laws.

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[89] It is complicated to state the precise value of maravedís in 1465 according to the price of goods. Taking an example of 1470, with 40 maravedís it was possible to buy 2kg of mutton. M. Almagro-Gorbea, *Monedas y Medallas Españolas de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 2007), 78-81.

[90] M. A. Solinís Estallo, *La Alcabala del Rey. 1474-1504. Fiscalidad en el partido de las Cuatro Villas cántabras y las merindades de Campoo y Campos con Palencia* (Santander, 2003), 103-107.

2.3. FORTRESS

Fortifications of medieval cities are usually the most visible characteristic, even from a distance. Fortifications were established not only to protect the population from possible attackers but also to demonstrate the city's power to outsiders.[91] Ledesma's main structures of defence in late medieval times consisted of the Fortaleza, a fortress located on the southwest border of the town, and of walls along its perimeter. Little information about the construction of the fortress and fortifications can be found in documents, but the most accepted theory is that the construction of fortifications began during the reign of King Fernando II.[92] According to scholars such as Eduardo Azofra, the burghers used the ruins of old constructions to erect the Ledesmine defensive apparatus.[93]

One of the few documents regarding local fortifications is article 265 of the FDL. This particular short text does not refer to the building process of fortress and fortifications, but, based on the analysis of the language and the words used, the historian Josè Luis Martín Martín dates it to the 12th century, arguing for the existence of solid fortifications in that timeframe. Even if this conjecture is correct, this document can still be applied to 15th-century Ledesma, considering that, as discussed in the introduction and in section 2.1, the collected FDL was surely utilised until at least 1491.[94]

This article refers to one of the purposes of fortifications in late medieval Ledesma; fortification walls were obviously a structure used to defend the burghers, but in this case, they were also intended as a social divisor that differentiated the inside from the outside. In its three lines, the article states that people on the other side of the bridge or outside the city walls were not eligible as authorities of the city itself, and in fact, outsiders could not be *alcadia* (alcade), *iurado* (*alguacil*), *encoyeturja* (there is no direct translation of this role, but it probably referred to the *roda*, controllers of the *aldeas* within the *tierra*) and, finally, they could not be part of the *conceyo* (concejo) because they were not part of the population.

In slight contrast with the analysis of document 87 of the DML, these lines highlight a strict division between the outside and inside of the city. This demarcation can be translated to signal an interest in the preservation of the inside, in which burghers evidently had a sentiment of belonging, and therefore they did not wish to share offices with foreigners.

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[91] S. G. Heller, 'Medieval Towers, or a Pre-History of the Louvre', *L'Esprit Créateur*, Vol. 54, 2 (2014), 3-18, 6-8.
[92] Martín Martín et al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 99.
[93] E. Azofra, 'Ledesma conjunto historico', in: A. Casaseca ed., *Jardines, Sitios y Conjuntos Históricos de la Provincia de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 2002), 95-109, q.v. 102.
[94] See note 21.

2.4. <u>DEGREE OF AUTONOMY</u>

The presence of an autonomous corpus of laws and regulations permitted a partial degree of autonomy in Ledesma, but, as seen in previous sections, the concessions given to the population were granted by the king himself or by one of his official delegates, usually an escribano. Given this information, having a peculiar and unique system of laws applicable only to the Tierra de Ledesma is not sufficient to consider Ledesma a town with a degree of autonomy. The short documents 247 and 262, articles of the FDL, provide further evidence of this Castilian urban area's degree of autonomy, but they also show the strict division between people of the Ledesmine community and outsiders, who thus had fewer rights.

On the one hand, document 247 clearly states the obligation of living in the town of Ledesma in both the winter and summer for people's rights to be recognised. In fact, the three lines of the article declare that anyone not living in the town in both parts of the year was not allowed to build new properties and could not be alcade or a member of the concejo because inhabitants should not have abandoned properties and services in consideration of the safety of the rest of the population.[95] On the other hand, in document 262, there is a further specification of the obligation of residence within the fortifications. The article states that anyone whose house was not populated for at least two years consecutively could not be alcade or a member of the concejo, highlighting the necessity of being an inhabitant inside the city walls for a certain amount of time to occupy the town's offices.

Both documents emphasize the existence of rules to follow in order to become active members of the concejo, and one of them was to live permanently within the city walls. These rules are evidence of a considerable level of autonomy within Ledesma because they prove the closeness of the town in terms of organising daily life in the Tierra; outsiders could not control the administration of Ledesmine burghers. Again, this highlights the presence of a strict division between outside and inside that made people feel part of a community. Despite the degree of autonomy represented in this case, as with the case of the market (document 87 of the *DML*), this feeling of belonging was fuelled by laws granted by the central state, and it was not (only) an uncontrolled development of the natural human aggregation. Therefore, in this particular matter, even if a degree of autonomy in Ledesma is apparent, there is proof of central regulations that influence the 'affective categories' of belonging according to Oexle's descriptions.

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[95] In the book *El Contrato de servicios en el derecho medieval español*, it is well explained the meaning of the word *encanpelo* (line 3 of document 247). This term is connected to the abandonment of fields, property and cultivation, an action that could have damaged the rest of the population. R. Gilbert, *El Contrato de servicios en el derecho medieval español* (Buenos Aires, 1951), 102.

2.5. FORMS OF ASSOCIATION

A city's population cannot be categorised as a unique agglomerate; it must be characterised by further divisions according to gender, age, profession, religion, interest and social class. The situation in medieval Ledesma, as seen in previous sections, was no different. As one might expect, people tended to associate in different confraternities, creating groups that could have specific rules and habits. According to Oexle, a peculiar characteristic of these associations is the presence of affective bonds that permit participation in a closed group of artificial kinship.[96] In much the same way, Ledesma had inner associations based on free association, such as guilds, based on the differentiation of crafts.[97]

Turning to Weber's ideas, in his discussion of associations, he did not consider religious forms of association an essential feature of the development of a European city.[98] In fact, he believed that only civic associations could shape life within a city. However, analysing the situation in medieval Ledesma, the importance of religious faith in the development of this Castilian town is evident. For instance, the ample variety in religious beliefs in the Iberian Peninsula permitted a high degree of diversity within urban areas. Differences in celebrations, traditions, eating habits and official holidays could be found in Ledesma's religious minorities. The existence of different religions was a major factor in the perception of another person as 'other', and therefore the analysis of religious minorities in Ledesma can give a more accurate picture of the diversity within its community. In this regard, documents 162 and 163 of the FDL describe how Muslims were perceived by the 'others', in this case Christians, while document 393 of the FDL highlights the level of acceptance of Jewish traditions; both discussions allow a closer examination of the Ledesmine convivencia.

Both documents 162 and 163 prove the attitude towards Muslims within the town's collection of rights. However, Muslims were not considered a single entity that had to be treated only on the basis of their religion; they were also categorised according to their actions. In fact, document 162 refers to '*alfaqueque o moro que a Ledesma uenier mercador*', meaning that it refers to Muslims who had to deal with *alfaqueque* and Muslims who came as merchants. Alfaqueque were officials who negotiated exchanges and ransoms for Muslims who were *hechos cautivos* (made prisoners).[99] Document 163, meanwhile, refers to *moro o mora engos* (free Muslims) who were not involved in any type of crime and were considered part of the city. Different categorisations mean different applications of rights, and Muslims in the first group were allowed to enter the town, but they could remain within the limits of the Tierra for no more than three months, while Muslims in the second group could be inhabitants of Ledesma with no limits on time. Thus, document 163, as well as documents 247 and 262, indicate a level of hidden discrimination regarding outsiders.

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[96] Oexle, 'Conjuratio und Gilde in Frühen Mitter'.
[97] The town, within its limits counted several crafts amongst others, barbers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, painters, millers and many others. Martín Martín et al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 113.
[98] Schwartz, 'Marx and Weber on the City', 546.
[99] Martín Martín et al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 115-116.

These two articles depict a surprisingly high level of acceptance of another religious beliefs considering that the major judgement concerning Muslims' was towards their actions and their condition of free man rather than towards their religious beliefs. Still, they were not fully considered part of the single, large group because they were not Christians. Moreover, even if they could be considered *moravis* (inhabitants), the FDL does not refer to them simply as inhabitants; rather, the documents always refer to Muslims who were part of the population as moro or moras engos, creating a sub-division between them and the rest of the burghers.

Document 393 refers to the relationship between Jews and Christians. The perception of Jews was more positive compared to that of Muslims. For instance, Jews who committed a crime were not defined with a particular appellative, and their punishments were similar to those inflicted on Christians.[100] Document 393 focuses on the right of Jews to practice their religion and honour their traditions. In lines 1–2, it is accepted that Jews did not have to work or look after their animals on Saturday and on Easter. The article continues, stating that Jews had to refer to their own Jewish legislation regarding religious behaviours. Several other rules in this article concern the non-necessity of entering the church; they did not need to pray for John the Baptist and did not need to answer to people shaming them for being Jews (lines 4-8).

In these few lines, the interest in preserving the identity of Jewish people, part of the Ledesmine community, is evident, even though, as in the case of Muslims, they were always labelled Jews and therefore could somehow be defined as 'others'. This tendency toward a separation between Christians and Jews is present not only in document 393, but also in other parts of the FDL, such as in documents 176, 303, 392, 395, 397, 399 and 400.

Given these examples of documents that refer to Muslims and Jews, it is clear that Jews were more legally accepted by the Christian majority compared to their Muslim counterparts. This acceptance can be connected to the economic role that Jews had with their loan activities, but it can also be associated with the timely rooted co-habitancy of Christian and Jewish people.[101] The most interesting factor, however, is that these documents demonstrate how the convivencia was mostly regulated by the social actions of individuals and less by their cultural and religious background.

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[100] Document 32 and 395 show that in case of murder, both Christian and Jews were punished with death penalty. Castro et al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, art. 32, art. 395.
[101] Martín Martín et al., *Historia de Ledesma*, 117.

2.6. <u>CONCLUSION</u>

This case study has allowed a variegated description of the Ledesmine community to emerge. It has shown how this small Castilian town presented a community that, at times, was not as united as one might expect. In fact, some parts of the population were represented in normative sources as others. Still, unlike Weber's main idea, the community of Ledesma presented itself as an organised and regulated reality, administrated under the power of laws and the jurisdiction of local authorities. It is surprising that most of the laws used in the town were granted by the central power via the figure of kings themselves or their escribanos. The rooted presence of central control within the legislative system of this small urban area indirectly influenced the idea of community developed in Ledesma over the centuries. Given the market described with the support of document 87 of the FDL, it is clear that the king precisely declared the mercado franco open to every social group, to Christian, Jews and Muslims, but also to the inhabitants of the aldeas within the Tierra de Ledesma.[102]

This last statement demonstrates how the central state had a major role in the consolidation of the idea of community in this Castilian town, and this is visible not only in the case of regulations on the market. It has also been highlighted in articles 247 and 262, which noted the obligation of residence in order to be part of the concejo, and in article 395, which demonstrated respect towards Jewish traditions and holidays. The documents analysed here display how a peaceful convivencia of different groups permitted the formation of a community (or communitas, to use Esposito's term), regulated by laws and obligations granted by the central power.

The application of the Weberian model allowed for a structured division within the community of Ledesma, which, even if under the same communitas, still presented sub-divisions within its population based on the perception of others. In this regard, it is useful to apply the Schmitt's definitions of *others within* and *close others* to highlight more classified sub-groups in Ledesma. On the one hand, in the case of late medieval Korčula, Schmitt recognised *others within* as people in the opposite part of the population with a different social status; for example, patricians perceived non-patricians as part of the community but nevertheless as different from themselves. On the other hand, the *close others* were outsiders, usually Venetians, who started living permanently or temporarily on the island. They were indeed part of the community, but they were perceived as foreigners. In the case of Ledesma, this classification can be made with a similar approach. The *close others* in the case of the Dalmatian Island are certainly part of the community, but they were the part of the population that was visibly more different from the self, as with non-patricians for patricians.

In Ledesma, however, the most visible and clear differences between parts of the population were dictated by religion, ethnicity, and traditions, making Muslims and Jews the *others within* for the Christian majority. This situation can occur in a mixed cultural Peninsula such as Iberia, while this

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[102] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, doc. 87, lines 15-18.

differentiation was not to be found on the Dalmatian Island because of the ethno-religious homogeneity within its territories.[103]

Another group in Ledesma that can be identified as *others within* are the inhabitants of the aldeas within the *Tierra*. They are without doubt part of the community because they shared the same collection of rights and could freely participate in the market economy of the town, but their physical division from the inhabitants within the walls made the insiders perceive them as *others within* because they were not eligible for the political offices of Ledesma, as they were located outside the city walls.[104]

In the case of 15th-century Ledesma, it is possible to identify two different groups of people as *close others*. The first group is the merchants who participated in the economic life of the town, living non-permanently in the town itself and who were obliged to leave the Ledesmine territory after three months, as stated in article 162 of the *FDL*. They participated in the communitarian life of the town, but they were not strictly part of it.

The second group that can be identified as *close others* is the population of Salamanca, Zamora and Alba de Tormes. They were certainly less intertwined with the daily and economic life of Ledesma compared to the groups mentioned above, but their similarities in the fueros and their geographical proximity made these cities comparable and close. The correlation between these Castilian cities is mostly the result of the will of control of the central power; granting similar fueros to these cities implied a correlation between their organisations. Furthermore, as stated in document 87 of the DML, all of the requests of merchants coming to Ledesma from a different city needed to be recorded in the *quaderno del obispado de Salamanca*, creating a more decisive link between Ledesma and the main city of the diocese, Salamanca.

In conclusion, the analysis of 15th-century Ledesma, supported by Schmitt's concepts of *others within* and *close others*, has presented an image of the Ledesmine community at the very end of the Middle Ages, showing indications of communitarian belonging, the main differences between the inhabitants and the role of the central state in the organisation of the community. In spite of this, this chapter did not support a description of the idea of society as perceived by the Ledesmine community; therefore, the following chapter does so with the support of the concept of *foreigners from far away*, which Schmitt has used.

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[103] Schmitt, 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia', 130.
[104] Castro et al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba De Tormes*, art. 245.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ANALYSIS OF LEDESMINE NETWORKS

The previous chapter delineated the main characteristics of the Ledesmine community, focusing especially on the main differences between *others within* and *close others*. The limits of the Weberian model did not allow for a proper description of the society in which the Ledesmine community was inserted. This chapter aims to analyse the network of Ledesma with other Iberian cities, underlining how the network expanded during the course of the 15th century. This description is associated with Schmitt's definition of *foreigners from far away*, resulting in a clearer description of the idea of society spread within the limits of the Castilian town. Therefore, this chapter seeks to determine what the analysis of the networks of Ledesma discloses about the perception of society in the town itself.

In order to answer this sub-question, this chapter focuses on the collection of DML and the analysis of mobility in the documents based on the location of senders and receivers.

3.1. NETWORKS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Weberian model lacked a attention to the idea of society in a city. As the analysis above has shown, its five features were not sufficiently specific to describe the nature of Castilian society, which is thus analysed with the support of the Ledesmine network in the 15th century. A network allows a city to flourish, establish a more direct connection with the capital, increase the size of the market and demonstrate that a town is not only an entity on its own but also a part of the kingdom, and, more importantly, part of a society. In the case of Ledesma, the documents found in the local *ayuntamiento* emphasize the presence of a network. Most of the documents in the DML collection state the location of senders and receivers. Some documents pertain to the organisation of the political life of Ledesma, others refer to the coordination of the market and still others deal with the land division of the *Tierra de Ledesma*. Together, they allow an identification of Ledesma's network, demonstrating the interconnection between this city and other Castilian urban areas.

Before starting this analysis, it is important to remember that the overview of these documents can detect only the official and legalised network of Ledesma, while the uncharted relationships of the inhabitants cannot be proved. In this regard, a digression is required to partly address this point. In fact, there is one document in the DML that can partially clarify uncharted Ledesmine networks. Document 65, written in 1411, indicates indirect evidence of uncontrolled networks between Ledesma and the Kingdom of Portugal. This document shows that the government tried to convince people not to trade with Portugal, as it would allegedly damage the Castilian economy. If the royal court felt the need to

issue an order to avoid exchanges with Portugal, this could only mean that some uncontrolled relationships already existed before 1411. This case is the only proof of a connection outside political control, but it is sufficient to question the idea of network as a feature that depends only on the central power. Still, the documents of the DML present a clear overview of the controlled network of Ledesma, which useful to delineate the idea of society in the town.

The following maps visualise how Ledesma's network developed during the course of the 15th century. Documents 64 to 84 of the DML led to the maps depicted in *Figure 2*, while documents 85 to 120 led to the map depicted in *Figure 3*. In both maps, blue represents the location of the sender, whereas red denotes the location of the receiver.

Figure 2 displays a representation of the Ledesmine network between 1411 and 1456, illustrating the connection between cities before the unification of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

Figure 2. Network of Ledesma (1411–1456)[105]

Figure 3. Network of Ledesma (1465–1499).

Figure 2 presents an overview of the Iberian Peninsula and displays the other urban centres to which Ledesma was linked. An examination of the map reveals several considerations. First, most of the network is concentrated on centres within the *Tierra de Ledesma* area or in the close vicinity. This visualisation evidences the Ledesmine authorities' interest in controlling the development of the relationship between the main city and the smaller *aldeas*. This major connection with *aldeas* within the *Tierra* can be also connected to Ledesma's limited importance in the national economy.

Second, as expected, Ledesma is connected to larger and more distant cities in the Peninsula. As confirmed by the creation of the FDL, the central power of Castile had attempted to create a more rigid net of relations between the royal court and various towns and cities of the kingdom since 1161; indeed, the volume *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes* not only proved the central state's control over Ledesma only, but also over other main cities in the vicinity of Salamanca.[106] The map in *Figure 2* clearly shows Ledesma's connection to a city in the South of the kingdom: Cordoba. An answer can be found in the history of Castile. During the late Middle Ages, the royal court needed to create a strong connection between the central power and urban centres to have a capillary control over the kingdom. Achieving this goal required the court to become adaptable and mobile, and cities such as Valladolid, Toledo, Burgos, Segovia, Avila, Léon, Guadalajara, Seville and Madrid were used as 'host' cities, where the court could stay and control the neighbouring areas.[107] Most of the documents sent from the kings to Ledesma were indeed delivered from those cities. A review of the documents in the DML sent from 1253 to 1456 (documents 2 to 84) shows that eight documents were sent from Seville, two from Madrid, 10 from Valladolid, three from Guadalajara, one from Léon, six from Burgos and one from Cordoba.[108] Still, these documents were not the only ones issued by the royal court; some lacked a precise location because, at the time, the court was moving from one city to another. For example, documents 11, 19, 53, 67 and 76 were all issued between 1411 and 1456, and they do not include a sender's location.[109] Returning to documents 64 to 84, Ledesma's connections with Cordoba are clear, as are those with another major city, Valladolid, meaning that these two cities, amongst others, were used as 'host' cities for the royal court between 1411 and 1456.[110]

Finally, the last city that seemed extensively connected with Ledesma is Salamanca. This map (*Figure* 2) again confirms an obvious point: as Ledesma was part of the province of Salamanca, these two urban areas were closely associated. As stated in Chapter 2, Ledesma's strong dependence on Salamanca perhaps explains the multiple similarities between the *Fuero de Ledesma*, issued in 1161, and the *Fuero de Salamanca*.

Turning to documents 85 to 120, *Figure 3* presents the full network of Ledesma between 1465 and

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[106] Castro et al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, 211-212.
[107] Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis*, 115.
[108] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*.
[109] Ibidem.
[110] The connections with Valladolid between 1411 and 1456 can be detected in documents 64, 77, 78 and 80 of the *DML*.

1499. I decided to separate this visualisation to prove the direct connection between the history of Castile and the history of Ledesma, demonstrating a consistent shift of the network in the second part of the 15th century.

Figure 3 allows several conclusions to be drawn. First, Ledesma still had connections with major cities within the Kingdom of Castile. This is proved by documents 86, 112 and 117, connected to the city of Vallodolid, and document 85, connected to the city of Madrid. These show that Ledesma had periodic communications with 'host' cities of the royal court. In this regard, it is necessary, as in the case of the documents of *Figure 2*, to remember the texts that do not present the sender's location but are sent by the monarch, namely documents 88 and 108.

Second, the Castilian town was still well connected to the main city of its province, Salamanca, proving the interconnection of the administration and legislation between the two cities. Documents 87, 94, 115 and 119 have Salamanca as the sender location of the texts, proving that the stable connection and control over Ledesma, which persisted for centuries, also continued after 1465.

Finally, the most interesting fact visualised in *Figure 3* is the evident deviation of the network to the Eastern side of the Iberian Peninsula. After the wedding of Isabella of Castile and Fernando of Aragon in 1469, a wider network emerged between the two kingdoms, which were officially united in 1474.[111] Ledesma, which was merely a small city on the outskirts of the kingdom, was not the centre of the economic life of Castile. Nevertheless, it still depended on the national situation and on royal decisions. A comparison of *Figure 2* and *Figure 3* indicates that the connection with the eastern side of the Iberian Peninsula developed after 1469, thereby implying that Ledesma started to interact with the kingdom of Aragon only when Castilian politics permitted this exchange.[112]

Examining the two maps using network analysis can show the connectedness of even a small city within a larger political framework and how this connection grew quantitatively and geographically over the course of the 15th century. To begin, as mentioned above, the network expanded geographically, including a considerable connection with cities inside the Kingdom of Aragon. In addition, 21 documents were issued between 1411 and 1456 (a timeframe of 45 years), while 30 documents were issued between 1465 and 1499 (a timeframe of 34 years); thus, the interest in preserving and controlling the networks and the relationships between smaller cities and the monarch increased after the arrival of Beltran de la Cueva, a lord strictly connected to the central court, given that he was a counsellor of King Henry IV.

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[111] H. Kamen, *Brevísima Historia de España. Un Ameno y Riguroso Recorrido por Nuestra Historia* (Barcelona, 2014), 52.
[112] The Kingdom of Aragon in the 15th century comprised the region of Aragon, Catalunya and Valencia. T. F. Ruiz, *Spanish Society. 1400-1600* (New York, 2014), 22-23.

3.2. CONCLUSION

The analysis in this chapter has highlighted the shift of networks in Ledesma during the 15th century. It has shown that Ledesma moved from a legalised relationship with cities within the Castilian Kingdom only to a new set of relationships that also involved the Kingdom of Aragon. This shift happened after the unification of the two Iberian kingdoms, meaning that the Ledesmine community was only allowed to communicate within the same region of rule. This enforced communication with the inside was further substantiated with the support of document 65 of the *DML,* which shows the attempt of the central Castilian power to prevent negotiations with the Kingdom of Portugal. The setting of the Ledesmine network, strictly controlled by the central power, reflects the town inhabitants' idea of society. It is plausible that Ledesmines considered only those who had a connection with them to be part of the society. This means that, on the one hand, until 1469, the idea of society the Ledesmine community perceived was to be reconducted to the Castilian inhabitants only, while all others were considered outsiders. On the other hand, after the unification of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, Ledesma's connections reached the territories of Aragon, Valencia and Catalunya, meaning that the idea of society changed, becoming larger and incorporating the inhabitants of the Aragonese kingdom, as well.

Now that the limit between the inside and outside of the society has been delineated, it is still necessary to distinguish between community and society. In this sense, it is useful to consider Schmitt's definition of *foreigners from far away* regarding 15th-century Korčula to address people outside the community, but who were still part of the life of the island and part of the Venetian society. In the case of Korčula, *foreigners from far away* were Venetians who did not live on the island, who were only passing through and whom the population vigilantly observed because they were not part of the community.

In the case of Ledesma, *foreigners from far away* can be identified as people not part of the community who had a slight connection with the town and who did not reside in it, but who still shared the same national economy and the same monarchs. In this sense, the idea of *foreigners from far away*, in a way that was directly linked the idea of society, shifted during the course of the 15th century. If, until 1469, the idea of society could be identified with all of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Castile, after the marriage of Fernando of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, this concept also included the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Aragon. The central Castilian power managed to exclude the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Portugal from the idea of a unitarian society. Despite all of the central power's effort to create a united idea of society, however, the Ledesmines perceived the inhabitants of the Castilian and Aragonese Kingdoms as *foreigners from far away*, obliviously still part of the society, but not participants in their daily life and community. In this sense, they were thus not perceived as part of a unitarian system because the Ledesmine *communitas* did not have any obligations towards the other Castilian and Aragonese inhabitants in their daily organisation.

CONCLUSION

During the course of this thesis, I aimed to glean unexpected insights into the idea of convivencia in the community and society within the Kingdom of Castile in the 15th century using a microhistorical approach. To answer the research question, I focused on the case study of Ledesma, a Castilian city which underwent a consistent development in the organisation of its territory during the late Middle Ages. Throughout these chapters, I investigated several sub-questions.

Chapter 1 addressed the definitions of community and society and the limited application of the Weberian model of European Medieval cities by answering the following sub-question: *Is Ledesma considered a Weberian city in terms of the analysis of its community and society in the 15th century?* Offering insight into the five features of Weber, I defined the Weberian model as a valid tool to investigate the nature of the community within the town of Ledesma. However, Weber wrongly considered the community a disordered reality, where actions occur without control. On the contrary, Esposito's definition of community, which he defined as communitas, presents the conformation of the community as the fulfilment of obligations. This definition, united with the layers of communitarian belongings (*others within*, *close others* and *foreigners from far away*) presented in Oliver Schmitt's 'Addressing Community in Late Medieval Dalmatia', allows for a proper analysis of Ledesmine community and society.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the following question: *What does the application of the microhistorical approach disclose about the community of Ledesma?* By analysing Weber's five features, it has been possible to describe the conformation of the Ledesmine community using Schmitt's division of the concepts presented. The community of Ledesma was driven by a pacific convivencia controlled by the regulation of the central power. However, this convivencia did not dissolve the differences within the inhabitants that led other groups to perceive them as others. For the Christian majority, Muslims and Jews and the inhabitants of the aldeas of the *Tierra de Ledesma* have been identified as *others within*, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities of Salamanca, Zamora and Alba de Tormes have been identified as *close others*. It was not possible to detect the concept of *foreigners from far away* with the Weberian model because it was strictly connected with the idea of society, which cannot be sufficiently described with Weber's theory.

Chapter 3 investigated the idea of society spread within the community of Ledesma with support from the concept of *foreigners from far away* and the analysis of Ledesmine networks. This final chapter answered the following sub-question: *What does the analysis of the networks of Ledesma disclose about*

the perception of society in the town itself? The analysis of the legalised network of Ledesma in the 15th century helped delineate the definition of society within the Castilian Kingdom, but it also highlighted how the inhabitants of Ledesma perceived the members of Castilian and Aragonese society as *foreigners from far away*, that is, those who were clearly part of the society but not part of a unitarian system.

As stated in the introduction, this research does not aim to revolutionise the characteristics of community found in late medieval Castile; rather, it expects to enrich the reconstruction of its main characteristics. These three chapters have comprised a microhistorical analysis of the town of Ledesma that disclosed much information about the administration of Castile in the 15th century. First, it has been highlighted the kingdom's interest in keeping the cities' economies within the limits of the kingdom itself. Indeed, the small city of Ledesma was allowed to exchange goods only with cities within the Castilian territory, and from 1411 onwards, it was obliged to cease any economic relations with the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Portugal.[113] The analysis of the Ledesmine networks has underlined the increase in political relations with the Kingdom of Aragon only after 1469, proving that these territories had a united organisation due to the marriage between Fernando of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.

Second, in order to maintain an economy limited to the Castilian territory (and after 1469, to the Aragonese territory, as well), the central state expanded its control over the population using laws and bureaucracy. Since the 12th century, Castile tried to capillary control different areas of the Kingdom. As the case of Ledesma shows, several officials were enlisted to regulate life within the town.[114] Officials' and inhabitants' actions were regulated by the laws of the *Fuero de Ledesma*, which had many similarities with the fueros of neighbouring cities, such as Zamora, Salamanca and Alba de Tormes. The presence of similarities between these fueros, all of which Fernando II granted in 1161, highlights two major considerations: on the one hand, the central state divided the Kingdom in different areas that had to be controlled with similar collections of laws. On the other hand, this division does not seem to be made based on a division dictated by specific reasons; rather, it seems to have been made in order to rapidly control the entire Kingdom with the power of law. It was not possible to take such action in a capillary way because of the Castilian bureaucracy's limited capacity to control. This second consideration is noticeable in the case of cities such as Salamanca and Ledesma, which differ greatly in size, number of inhabitants and in their roles in the organisation of the territory, which was regulated via *fueros* that shared most of their laws.

Third, the micro-analysis of Ledesma has permitted a clearer definition of the relationship between people of different religions within the same town. As seen in documents 162 and 163 of the FDL, Muslims who were considered moro o mora engos (free Muslims) had the same economic privileges as Christian inhabitants, while other Muslims, those who committed crimes, did not have the right to

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[113] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, 65.
[114] Ibidem, 107.

remain inside the territory of the *Tierra* for more than three months. Furthermore, document 393 revealed a peculiar acceptance of Jewish traditions and an interest in preserving them with the support of this law. Together, these documents underscore the overall acceptance of other religions within the communities of the Kingdom of Castile, even if those who not Christians were seen as 'others'.

These three main aspects, which disclosed significant information about the administration of Castile in the 15th century, all have a common thread that leads to an interesting conclusion. The combination of these three characteristics, which were part of the Castilian administration, reveals the role of the central state in controlling communities within the Kingdom. The central power, with the support of local laws, tended to regulate the relationship between people and their convivencia in order to strengthen the feeling of unity, which was useful for developing the Castilian economy. Documents 87 of the DML and 163 and 393 of the FDL prove the central powers' interest in uniting people of different religions and cultures under the same market and under the same privileges. Documents 247, 262 and 265 of the FDL also prove the central power's strict differentiation between the inside and outside of the city walls, denying those living outside this physical border the possibility of becoming an official of the *Tierra*. All of these texts, written between the 12th and the 15th century, clarify how the idea of community and unity developed within the walls of Ledesma is not an unregulated process driven only by biological and anthropological explanations of affective relations; rather, it is the product of the regulated control of the central power of Castile. Unlike the analyses of Tönnies and Weber, in this case, the formation of a community derives, at least partly, from the will of regulation granted by the royal court, marking the presence of a community seen as a communitas.

However, the administration of the Ledesmine community presented profound differences compared to the administration of the totality of the territories within the Castilian and Aragonese kingdoms. For example, the Jewish acceptance shows that the administration of Ledesma and the administration of the totality of Castile took different trajectories. As seen in documents 87 and 107 of the DML, in both 1465 and 1491, Ledesma's regulations stated their acceptance of religious differences, while the Castilian and Aragonese courts in the second part of the 15th century started to heavily move against the Jewish minority, reaching a peak in 1492, when the Alhambra decree ordered the expulsions of all practicing Jews from the Castilian and Aragonese territories. Similar to other European countries, the new Iberian unification moved against religious minorities in order to create a stronger feeling of affiliation within its borders.[115] In this sense, the administration created a clear dichotomy between community and society. On the one hand, communities shifted towards the pacification of the parts thanks to the establishment of inclusive economic and religious rules. On the other hand, the society needed to find a feeling of affiliation, which was difficult to grasp because of several religious, linguistic

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[115] During the Middle Ages several European countries moved against Jews. For example, in 1242 in Paris, 24 carriages of manuscripts had been burnt. Also, Jews have been expelled from different European territories: in 1290 from England, in 1296 from Normandy and in 1394 from France. F. Soyer, 'The Dehumanization and Demonization of Medieval Jews' in *Medieval Antisemitism?* (York, 2019), 45-66.

and cultural differences that co-existed in a large territory.

The desire to create a strong, united political entity created an interest in preserving the vast majority of the population, Christians, that after the eradication of other religious minorities could have eventually felt more part of a united society. Still, in light of the documents analysed in this thesis, this societal affiliation (strongly sought by the central power) was not firmly established in the *Tierra de Ledesma*; on the contrary, we can define the other members (the outsiders of the Ledesmine community) of the society as *foreigners from far away* because the Ledesmine inhabitants did not have any daily obligation towards them.

Nirenberg does not consider the Holy Week riots 'the tremors that precede an earthquake', and this conclusion moves in the same direction. The Holy Week riots were more of a religious ritual than a symptom of disharmony between the parts. Therefore, the actual expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula occurred in 1492, and the end of convivencia should not be linked to a religious necessity. Instead, given the absence of religious discrimination within the limits of small communities like the one of Ledesma it signals an increased economic and political interest in preserving the sense of unity within a non-united society.

The documents studied here only concern the Ledesmine community, but they can nonetheless provide critical insight into the Castilian administration. In order to deepen the research conducted in this thesis, a further analysis could answer the following research question: *How did the layers of communitarian belonging develop in Spain after the spread of a stricter idea of Castilian and Aragonese society that disrupted the religious convivencia?*

GLOSSARY

- *Alcabala*: local tax in the kingdom of Castile in the late Middle Ages.
- *Aldeas*: villages.
- *Alguacil*: magistrate.
- *Ayuntamiento*: town hall.
- *Concejo*: council.
- *Consuetudo*: repetition of behaviours overtime.
- *Escribanos*: notaries.
- *Fuero*: collection of laws.
- *Iglesia: church.*
- *Juez*: person representative of the monarchy.
- *Letrados*: university-trained bureaucrats.
- *Magister*: member of a medieval guild.
- *Maravedís*: Castilian coin.
- *Oikos economy*: house economy.
- *Pecheros*: collectors of taxes.
- *Pueblo*: town.
- *Quaderno:* tax register
- *Rodas*: administrators of villages.
- *Rúbryca*: signatures of initials used to sign documents.
- *Synoikismos*: the unification of diverse political entities forced by military and cultural control.
- *Tierra*: land.

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TOOLS

❖ Highcharts, <https://www.highcharts.com/>, (24th January 2020).
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FIGURES

❖ Figure 1: This map has been created by the author, in order to highlight only the most important cities and towns mentioned in this thesis.
❖ Figure 2, 3, 6: *Figure 2* and *figure 3* have been created with the website Nodegoat. <https://nodegoat.net/login/data>, (5th February 2020).

I. DOC. 87: Don Enrrique, por la graçia de Dios rey de Castilla, de León, de Toledo,

de Gallizia, de Sevilla, de Córdova, de Murçia, de Jahén, del Algarbe, de

Algezira, de Gibraltar, e señor de Vizcaya e de Molina. Por quanto don Bel-

trán de la Cueva, duque de Alburquerque, conde de Ledesma, mi vasallo e del

5   mi cosejo, me ovo mostrado e mostró una carta de previllejo del rey don

Fernando, fijo del rey don Sancho onde yo vengo, confirmada del rey don

Iohán, mi señor e padre, que Dios dé santo paraýso, por la qual paresçe que

el dicho rey don Fernando, por fazer bien e merçet al conçejo e vezinos e mora-

dores de la villa de Ledesma e sus arravales, les fizo francos e libres e quitos e

10   esentos para sienpre jamás de todos los pedidos e tributos, asý reales conmo

conçejales, el qual dicho previllejo fasta aquí non ha seýdo guardado: e el

dicho duque de Alburquerque me suplicó e pidió por merçet que fiziese francos

e quitos e esentos a la dicha su villa de Ledesma e sus arravales de pedidos o

monedas e moneda forera e les diese mercado franco.

15   E yo, por fazer bien e merçet al dicho duque de Alburquerque e al dicho

concejo, alcalles, alguaziles, regidores, cavalleros, escuderos e omes buenos de la

dicha villa de Ledesma que biven e moran e bivierene moraren de aquí adelante

en la dicha villa e sus arravales, asý cristianos conmo judíos e moros, tanto que

non sean de los vezinos que agora biven e moran e bibieren e moraren de aquí

20   adelante en la tierra de la dicha villa de Ledesma, e tengo por bien e es mi mercet

que este año de la data desta mi carta e dende en adelante en cada año para

sienpre jamás sean francos e libres e quitos e esentos de pedidos e monedas e

moneda forera e pedido del señor, e que non sean tenudos de los dar nin pagar

nin den nin paguen agora e de aquí adelante para sienpre jamás. E mando a

25   qualesquier mis tesoreros e recabdadores e arrendadores mayores e menores e

reçebtores e otras personas qualesquier que ovieren de coger e de recabdar en

qualquier manera los dichos pedidos e monedas e moneda forera, e asimismo el

dicho pedido del señor en la dicha villa de Ledesma e su tierra, que non demanden

nin consientan demandar, agora nin de aquí adelante para sienpre jamás, al dicho

30   conçejo e vezinos e moradores de la dicha villa de Ledesma e sus arravales, asý a

los que agora son conmo a los que serán de aquí adelante, tanto que non sean de

los que venieren de aquí adelante a morar de la tierra de la dicha villa de Ledes-

ma, conmo dicho es, los dichos pedydos e monedas e moneda forera e pedido del

señor nin cosa alguna nin parte dello, nin les prenden nin prendan nin fatiguen

35   por ello. E mando al dicho conçejo, justiçia, regidores e omes buenos que ge lo

non den nin paguen, mas que se defiendan con esta mi carta e con el traslado della

signado de escrivano público, por quanto yo les fago francos, libres e quitos e

esentos de todo ello, conmo dicho es, para sienpre jamás.

E, otrosý, por fazer más bien e merçet al dicho duque de Alburquerque e

40   al dicho conçejo, justiçia e regidores e vezinos e moradores de la dicha villa de

Ledesma, tengo por bien e es mi merçet que agora e de aquí adelante para

sienpre jamás aya mercado franco en la dicha villa de Ledesma, el qual sea el

dia del jueves de cada semana, e que gozen del dicho mercado franco todas las

personas, de qualquier estado o condición, preheminençia o dignidat que sean,

45   que venieren al dicho mercado, ecebto e sacado los vezinos e moradores en la

dicha villa de Ledesma e sus arravales. E que todos los que venieren al dicho

mercado, asý de la tierra de la dicha villa conmo de todas las çibdades e villas

e lugares fuera de la dicha villa, asý de mis reynos conmo de fuera dellos,

vengan e puedan venir libre e seguramente, e los yo tomo so mi guarda e anpa-

50   ro e defendimiento real, e por la venida al dicho mercado e por la estada en él

e por la tornada a sus casas, e que non sean presos nin enbargados nin deteni-

dos, ellos nin sus bienes e mercadurías e bestias e otras cosas qualesquier que

llevaren e traxieren nin las otras sus cosas, non enbargante qualquier debda o

debdas que ayan a dar, asý a mí conmo a otras qualesquier personas en qual-

55 quier manera e por qualquier razón; e que todas las dichas personas que asý

venieren al dicho mercado e vendieren e conpraren qualesquier cosas, así de

viandas e mantenimientos e mercadurías de paños en lienço e oro e plata e

joyas e bestias e otras cosas qualesquier, non paguen alcavala de todo lo que

vendieren e conpraren en el dicho mercado, pero que los vezinos e moradores

60 de la dicha villa de Ledesma e sus arravales paguen la dicha alcavala de todo

lo que ellos vendieren en la dicha villa en el dicho mercado; e mando a quales-

ier mis thesoreros e recabdadores e arrendadores mayores e menores e fieles

e cogedores, que agora son o serán de aquí adelante, que para sienpre jamás

pon demanden la dicha alcavala a todos los que venieren al dicho mercado de

65 todo lo que en él vendieren e conpraren, eçebtos e sacados los dichos vezinos

e moradores de la dicha villa de Ledesma, segunt dicho es. E mando a los mis

contadores mayores que tomen en sý el traslado desta mi carta signado de

escrivano público e lo pongan e asyenten asý en los mis libros e en lo salvado

dellos.

70 E de lo que tiene de cabeça de pedido la dicha villa de Ledesma e su tierra

e les cabe a pagar en cada pedido de quinze monedas descuenten por lo que en

el tal pedido cabe o copiere a pagar a la dicha villa de Ledesma e sus arravales

seysçientos e sesenta maravedís en cada un año que oviere el dicho pedido con

quinze monedas, e dende ayuso e dende arriba a este respecto.

75 E por lo que cabe a pagar en el pedido del señor a la dicha villa de Ledesma

e sus arravales es mi merçet que se descuente en cada año, para sienpre jamás,

dozientos e setenta maravedís.

E otrosý, que arrienden las monedas e la moneda forera de la dicha villa de

Ledesma e su tierra e del obispado de Salamanca, donde entra la dicha villa,

con condiçión que la dicha villa de Ledesma e sus arravales non paguen las

dichas monedas para sienpre jamás.

E, asymesmo, que pongan por salvado en el quarderno e condiçiones de las

mis alcavalas e del obispado de Salamanca que aya el dicho mercado franco en

la dicha villa de Ledesma el dicho día de cada semana, segunt e por la forma

e manera que dicha es, e sobreescrivan esta mi carta e den e tornen el oreginal

a la parte del concejo de la dicha villa.

Lo qual todo que dicho es e en esta mi carta se contiene es mi merçet e

mando que se faga e cunpla asý, non enbargante qualesquier leyes e fueros e

derechos e ordenamientos que en contrario sean, con lo qual todo e con cada

cosa e parte dello, aviéndolo aquí por espresado o declarado conmo sy de

palabra a palabra aquí fuese puesto e espaçificado de mi çierta çiençia e propio

motuo e poderío real absoluto, de que quiero usar e uso, en esta parte dispuso

con todo ello, e quanto esto atañe lo abrogo o derogo. De lo qual todo mando

a los dichos mis contadores mayores e al mi chançeller e notarios e a los otros

que están a la tabla de los mis sellos que libren e pasen e sellen al dicho

conçejo de la dicha villa de Ledesma mi carta de previllejo e cartas e sobrecar-

tas, las más firmes e bastantes que menester ovieren. E mando a los ynfantes

duques, condes, perlados, marqueses, ricos omes, maestres de las Ordenes,

priores e subcomendadores e a los del mi consejo e oydores de la mi abdiençia,

alcalles, alguaziles e otras justiçias e ofiçiales qualesquier de la mis casa e corte

e chançellería e a todos los conçejos, corregidores, alcalles, alguazilles, regido-

res, cavalleros, escuderos, ofiçiales e omes buenos de todas las çibdades e villas

e lugares de los mis reynos e señoríos e a cada uno dellos que guarden e fagan

guardar a la dicha villa de Ledesma esta merçet que les yo fago en todo e por

105   todo, segunt que en ella se contiene, e non vayan nin pasen nin consyentan yr

nin pasar contra ella en ninguna manera.

E los unos nin los otros non fagades ende al por alguna manera, so pena de

la mi merçete de privaçión de los ofiçios e confiscaçión de todos vuestros

bienes para la mi cámara e fisco e, demás, mando al omne que vos esta mi

110   carta mostrare que vos enplaze que parescades ante mí en la mi corte, doquier

que yo sea, del día que vos enplazare fasta quinze días primeros seguientes so

la dicha pena, so la qual mando a qualquier escrivano público que para esto

fuere llamado que dé ende al que vos la mostrare testimonio signado con su

signo, por que yo sepa en cónmo se cunple mi mandado.

115   Dada en la çibdat de Salamanca, siete días de junio, año del nasçimiento

del nuestro señor Ihesuchristo de mill e quatroçientos e sesenta e çinco años.

Va escrito sobre raýdo o diz «en la dicha villa», e en dos lugares o diz

«Fernando».

Yo el rey.

120   Yo Iohán Gonçález de Çibdat Real, secretario del rey nuestro señor, la fiz

escrevir por su mandado.[116]

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[116] Expósito et al., *Documentación Medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, doc. 87, p. 173-176.

II. DOC. 107: En la villa de Ledesma, viernes, çinco días del mes de junio, año del nasçi-

miento del nuestro salvador Ihesuchristo de mill e quatroçientos e noventa e

un años.

En presençia de mí, Pedro Ferrández de la Plaza, escrivano del rey e reyna

5   en todos los sus reynos e señoríos, e escrivano de los fechos del conçejo de la

dicha villa por merçed del duque de Alburquerque, mi señor, e de los testigos

de yuso escriptos vi en como estando los señores conçejo, justiçias, regidores

juntos en su consystoryo en la capilla de Gonçalo Rrodríguez, a canpana

tañida, según que lo han de huso e de costunbre, estando presente Nuño Gon-

10   çález, procurador de la dicha villa e tierra (...) el bachiller (...), alcalde por el

honrrado cavallero Gonçalo Ferrández de Mercado, corregidor en la dicha

Villa por el duque de Alburquerque (...) justiçia (...) dicha villa tenía un

Tuero en la dicha arca de concejo por donde la dicha villa e tierra se rregía e

governava, e que se temían que por fuego o agua o vejez se perdería o rronpe-

15   ría o por otro caso fortuyto e por esto mandasen sacar de la dicha arca de

conçejo e lo mandasen autorizar e synar a mí, el dicho escrivano, e sacar del

dicho fuero un traslado hu dos hu más e los diese synados al dicho procurador

para su guarda de la dicha (...). E luego los dichos señores mandaron sacar [el]

fuero e lo leyeron e miraron e vieron como aquel era el dicho fuero de la dicha

20   villa, e luego mandaron a mí, el dicho escrivano, que lo rrubrycase e fyrmase

e synase de mi syno e que sacare dél un traslado o más e los dyese synados al

dicho procurador, e que para ello ynterponían e ynterposyeron su abtorydad e

decreto en la mejor manera e forma que podían e de derecho devían.

Testigos que fueron presentes a todo lo susodicho: Christóval de Ledesma

25   e Juan Álvarez e Alonso Méndez, vezinos de la dicha villa.

E yo, el dicho Pedro Ferrández, escrivano e notario público sobredicho

que fuy presente a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos, este

autoryzamiento deste dicho fuero escriví e fize escrivir en estas dichas quarenta

e syete fojas e en fin de cada foja va puesta mi rúbryca e por çima tyldado de

30   mi nonbre, e fize aquí este mi syno e fyrma acostunbrado que es atal (signo)

en testimonio de verdad.

(Firma).

Pedro Ferrández, notario.[117]

III. DOC. 162: Todo alfaqueque o moro que a Ledesma uenier mercador,

non este en Ledesma plus III meses; e se plus estodier, peche cada

dias .x. moravis, e el su huelspede peche .x. moravis a conceyo.[118]

IV. DOC. 163: Moro o mora engos uayan sueltos e non den por-

Talgo njn nulla ren.[119]

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[117] Ibidem, doc. 107, p. 211-212.
[118] Castro at al., *Fueros Leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, doc. 162, p. 245.
[119] Ibidem, doc. 163, p. 245.

V. DOC. 247: Todo omne que morar ante en Ledesma las dos partes

del anno, non saque solariegos, njn prenda alcadia njn portiello de con-

ceyo; e quienlo aydar o lo razonar, peche moravis encanpelo.[120]

VI. DOC. 262: Quien su casa non touier poblada en uilla con omne de su

pan e con su mugier dos annos ante, que non prenda alcadia njn por-

tiello de conceyo; e filo prendier, peche .c. moravis e ixca dela alcadia.[121]

VII. DOC. 265: Todo omne que estodier enpuente o en muro, non

Entre en alcadia =, nin fea iurado, nin encoyeturia, e quien esto fizier

Peche .c. moravis; e conceyo uiedegelo.[122]

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[120] Ibidem, doc. 247, p. 260.
[121] Ibidem, doc. 262, p. 262.
[122] Ibidem, doc. 265, p. 261.

VIII. DOC. 393: Nullo omne que non prinde aiudio njn su bestia endia sabado

Njn en sus pascuas. Judio iure, asta medio moravi oualia de medio mo-

Ravi, iure sin karta et desde medio moravi ariba, iure per karta en sig-

nagoga. E non iure en sabado njn en suas pascuas, njn entre en circo, nin

5   iure per san Iohan batista. E non responda adestayas aquien dizen non

es iudio njn fijo de iudio. E non den posteria njn den fazendera, njn

uayan en apellido njn ensonsando. E non iure si non por su cabo

achristiano; et christiano otrosi aiudio. E ela saquenlla .II. fieles,

.I. christiano e .I. iudio; e quien non [iurar] sin karta, tres uezes respon-

10   da amen.[123]

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[123] Ibidem, doc. 393, p. 285.