The Lost Treasure of Valencia: Fugitive Muslims from the Kingdom of Valencia 1290-1410

Ryan

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses

Part of the History Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/3890
THE LOST TREASURE OF VALENÇIA: FUGITIVE MUSLIMS FROM THE KINGDOM OF VALENÇIA 1290 - 1410

by

Michael A. Ryan

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of The Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts Department of History

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
August 1998
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

People have joked that the easiest part of writing a thesis or dissertation is the acknowledgments. Why? Because there is no need for obscure citations or endless translations. However, I think that the acknowledgments can be the hardest part of the thesis to write. The thesis often challenges the author physically, mentally, and emotionally and requires one to make many sacrifices. And although it is a great relief to have finished, it is nonetheless bittersweet to see the end of such a labor. I name these people who have been there for me, in one capacity or another, and without whom such work would be empty, for me at least.

First, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Larry Simon. You have helped me in countless ways, steering me clear of the pitfalls that are a part of graduate study which can easily entrap the unwary. Thank you for your help, advice, and your kind words when things seemed most bleak, academically. I would like to also thank the other members of my thesis committee, Dr. Rand Johnson and Dr. E. Rozanne Elder, who graciously accepted to read and critique this work. There are those faculty members with whom I have never taken a class, but nonetheless have supported me with their time, energy, and friendship; to Dr. Jose Brandão, Dr. Judith Stone, and above all, Dr. Jena Gaines, many, many thanks. Finally, to Dr. Patrick Geary and Dr. José Enrique Ruiz Domenech, both of whom have been separated from me by a physical distance, but who have given me their unconditional support in my academic endeavors.

Many friends of mine have helped me along the way as well. To Scott Bahrke, Bruce Baltis, Chris Baltis, Gregory Beckelhymer, Douglas Becker, Larry Beets, Almyr Bump, Jana Byars, Doris Dirks, Elizabeth Frost, James Gavan, Matthew Gillis, Alison
Acknowledgments—continued

Gillis, Bill Hamilton, Patricia Hamilton, Oliver Hanson, Stephanie Jass, Erik Kuryliw, Paula Lange, Michael Mahovic, Michael Martin, Maureen O’Brien, Deborah Oosterhouse, Kevin Ritter, Matthew Torrence, Joshua Westgard, and Paul Zweckbroner, I give my thanks and no small amount of my love. To all the employees at the Portage Barnes and Noble, who have been the best group of people I have had the pleasure to suffer the horrors of retail with, many thanks for all of your support, and for listening to my endless prattle about fugitive Muslims. To both of the groups of friends above, you all make the world a better place, overall.

To the first people that I met from Western Michigan University, Robert Doyle and Colleen Bos. Both of you have been there for me countless times through the writing process and editing process of this thesis, and even outside the hallowed halls of academia. I thank you for the endless hours of fun, laughter, wonderful companionship, and love that you have provided.

To Christopher and Jessica Gotwalt, who have inspired me with their boundless energy and given me the drive to continue studying medieval history when the discipline seemed pointless to me. Your endless fascination with things medieval inspired me to question my own thoughts and ideas, and for that I am grateful.

To Melinda McCool and Eric Rzeszut, two of my oldest friends who have continued to support me in all my deeds and accomplishments and without whom there would be an emptiness in my life. To Raya Cantor, who has been there since the first day at the University of Florida, and who has been one of my closest friends since, much love and congratulations on your own accomplishments.

To Juliann Hickey and Susan Rodnite, who have been there for me to relieve me with humor and compassion when the weight of the world was on my shoulders.
Acknowledgments—continued

Further thanks to Susan for giving me the opportunity of a lifetime with the simple question, “So, you wanna go to Spain?”

To Keith Green and Jim Kollenbroich, who have opened their hearts and their home to me on many an occasion. To Keith, I give much love and thanks for all your sage academic and personal advice which has helped me countless times.

To Traci Mahoney, Deborah Blain, and to my comrade in arms, Leo Barron. What can I say? We have weathered the many storms that graduate school can throw at students and come out ahead (i.e., endless red tape; too many credit hours; “Rueben and Ed,” etc.). A greater group of friends I don’t think anyone can find. The three of you have become, in a very short time, three of my closest friends, and I will cherish you all always. Best of luck to you all in everything that you do.

To Michael Mullis, in whose chest beats a heart of gold. Your strength and determination have been an inspiration to me. Much love goes your way, my friend.

To Kacy Ranostaj, who will always have a special place in my heart, love and thanks.

Finally, I dedicate this work to the most important people in my life, my family. To my grandparents, Ferdinand and Loretta Mariano, who have constantly been at my side and who have given me all of their love and kindness. To my mother, Doretta Ryan, who sacrificed everything to give me the opportunities she never had, and instilled in me the values that I hold most dear: loyalty, responsibility, and selflessness. There are people in this world, although not my family by birth, who are no less important to me and constitute family members in my opinion. To Lora Pelligrino, my thanks for being a constant, loving presence over the years. To Stacy Crickmer and April Pickrel, two sides of the same coin, yet so very different, whose
Acknowledgments—continued

kind words, gentle demeanors, and inimitable senses of humor have left permanent imprints on my heart, much love always. To Colby Mills, my closest childhood friend who has grown up with me, and shared countless trials and tribulations, you are the twin I have never had. My eternal thanks and love go to you for all of your strength and support. To Eric Owen, who has been my closest friend, my brother, and a father figure, I give you my love and devotion. You have provided both quiet, strong guidance and raucously fun times, and you will always be a presence in my heart and my soul. To all of these people, my family, I devote this work. The hours upon hours of analyzing documents, translating medieval languages, writing down my theories and questions, would count for naught without you all. All the love I have to give is yours.

Now everyone stop reading all this feel-good squishy stuff, and go read about fugitive Muslims! It took me long enough to write about them, gosh darn it!

Michael A. Ryan
The fourteenth century, an epoch infamous for war, disease, famine, and devastation across the whole of Europe, also saw an increase in the number of fugitive Muslims from the Christian kingdom of Valencia. Due to the reconquest of Valencia in the thirteenth century, an immense Muslim populace found itself subject to a dominant Christian minority. These Muslims had been either enslaved outright for resisting the Christian domination, or had been placed into a semi-free status. The members of this latter group were known as the Mudejars, and like the Muslim slaves, fled when their social and political standings were in dire straits.

This thesis has investigated the external and internal circumstances that led Muslims to flee from Valencia for Islamic lands, most notably the kingdom of Granada or the North African coast. It has argued that the Muslims used flight, or the threat of flight, as forms of passive resistance and a chance to gain some degree of control in a period when they were being denied self-determination. Chapter I investigates the Christian reconquest of Valencia and the experiences of Muslims during and after the capture of the city. Chapter II studies the circumstances which led Muslims to run away. Chapter III details the Christians' responses to fugitive Muslims, from the issuance of licenses preventing movement to the holding of the Muslims' loved ones as hostages. Finally, the last chapter sums up my conclusions, that the Muslims indeed used flight as resistance, and that such methods of passive resistance were not alien to the medieval world.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ......................................................................................... ii  

CHAPTER  

I. INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................... 1  
II. THE FLIGHT OF MUSLIMS ................................................................. 25  
III. THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSES TO MUSLIM FLIGHT ......................... 46  
IV. FLIGHT AS RESISTANCE AND FREEDOM .................................... 65  

APPENDICES  

A. Documents Referring to “Slaves” and “Vassals” .................................. 76  
B. Legislation Restricting or Permitting the Movement of Muslims .......... 88  

BIBLIOGRAPHY .............................................................................................. 108
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Professor John Boswell's doctoral dissertation, The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), seeks "to provide a detailed study of the nature and situation of the Muslims living under Christian rule." He does this by investigating the archival sources of medieval Aragon which point to the relationship between the Crown of Aragon and its "treasure," the substantial Muslim communities that lived in the cities of Aragon, Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia. The Muslims were a double-edged sword for the Crown of Aragon; the Crown needed its sizeable subject Muslim community for economic and political stability, but the Crown viewed it in a highly suspicious light. The title of this present thesis, "The Lost Treasure of Valencia: Fugitive Muslims from the Kingdom of Valencia, 1296-1410," deliberately plays off of Dr. Boswell's title. What I intend to do with this investigation is two-fold: I will explore the topic of Muslim slaves and vassals who fled from the kingdom of Valencia in the period 1290-1410, by investigating the archival sources as provided in the appendices from María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol's four studies on Christian-Muslim relations in medieval Valencia; and I will attempt to prove my theory that Muslims in the kingdom of Valencia used flight, or the threat of flight, in order to gain valuable concessions from the Crown, especially in regards to their degree of personal movement. The extant literature on slavery in general and on slavery within medieval

---

The extant literature on slavery in general and on slavery within medieval Spain is truly overwhelming. Most of these works are meticulously researched and written with precise scholarly acumen. I find it surprising, however, that so few of these works touch upon the nature of the flight of Muslim slaves and vassals. Presumably this is due to the dearth of sources that deal specifically with fugitives. One must glean from the documents what one can, and largely hypothesize about the nature of slavery, since the slaves themselves have left no personal records. Boswell, Robert I. Burns, Mark Meyerson, Charles Verlinden and Joaquín Miret y Sans are all notable scholars who have studied medieval Spanish slavery. What I will attempt to do in this thesis is to “flesh out” some of the concepts that they, and others, have said concerning fugitive slaves and vassals in medieval Spain. We must first ask, however, how did so many Muslims become slaves or vassals?

The answer lies in studying two concepts that the historiography of medieval Spain has traditionally cherished: *convivencia*, the peculiarly Iberian way of life that resulted from the interplay and stress among three different societies within medieval Spain, (i.e., the Christian, the Jewish, and the Islamic); and the *reconquista*, the Christian-dominated program of military reconquest of Iberian lands considered to be

---

2 See María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *La Frontera amb L'Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i Sarrains al Pais Valencia; Els Sarraines de la Corona catalano-argonesa en el segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació; Les Aljames Sarraines de la Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV; and Organització i Defensa d'un Territori Fronterer: La Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV* (all Barcelona: Instituto Mila i Fontanals, Consell Superior d’Investigaciones Científiques [CSIC], 1987, 1988, 1988, 1990). Note the comments of Robert I. Burns, “Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon: Interaction and Reaction,” *Muslims Under Latin Rule: 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 57-102, on 94: “Ferrer i Mallol is exploring a wider trajectory in that century [the fourteenth], with a steady leakage of Mudejar population, punctuated by exoduses during the 1296-1304 Castilian war, the Granadan invasions of 1302 and 1331/32, and the civil wars in 1336 and 1347. She finds a truly troublesome diminution of Mudejar population at least from 1345, aggravated by the Black Death and the Castilian wars, then decreasing more drastically while authorities variously tried to stem the flow, until major legislation was introduced in 1403 to immobilize the Mudejars.”
held hostage by the “infidels,” the Muslims. Many of the monographs and articles of medieval Spanish history written within the last hundred years have touched upon, at least in part, one or both of these concepts. Both the reconquista and convivencia are integral to the formation of medieval Spanish historiography. The existence of three religions, three cultures, three ways of life in close proximity was vital for the unique qualities of Spanish history. The Iberian crusades resulted in the acquisition of more territories under Christian hegemony. This forced newly-conquered Muslim and Jewish populations to interact with the Christian society in a new manner, to see them as their sovereigns and overlords. The elements of the Muslim societies would have essentially two choices. Those who decided not to convert to the religion of their new sovereigns could live in relative peace, albeit in a status far less prominent than previously. Those who worked within this society, those who agreed to the domination of the Christians, were considered vassals of the state, and were accorded certain rights, but they were subservient nonetheless. As L. P. Harvey writes,

There were broadly two ways in which the Muslim populations were treated. Those who surrendered by treaty might be allowed to remain and become Mudejars ... Those who had lived in areas that held out to the bitter end and refused terms of surrender were expelled (the place of refuge they eventually found was almost always somewhere in the Kingdom of Granada). \(^3\)

Those Muslims who had fought against the Christian armies and survived, however, and who were not expelled from their former homes as punishment, would find that their decision had already been made by their new Christian lords: they often became slaves. Regardless of the status, vassal or slave, the Muslims of the reconquered cities would now be subject to the whims of their new leaders. They would be regulated as to where they could go, what they could do, where they could

\(^3\) See L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 12.
live. Boswell comments that the Muslims who had stayed on after the reconquest of their cities, even if they had surrendered on fairly amicable terms with their new masters, were physically displaced, forced into ghettos. "During the reconquista the Muslim population had generally been moved out of the central city to morerias outside the walls, e.g., in the case of Huesca in 1096."

The reconquista began in the mountainous region of northern Spain, where the waters of the Cantabrian Sea crash against the rocky shores. It was in the province of Asturias that the reconquista started. There, sometime in the late eighth or early ninth century, a Christian warrior-noble, Pelayo, and a handful of soldiers, armed with nothing but a few swords and a devout Christian faith, defeated a numerically superior Muslim horde. The Muslims' first arrival in Spain in 711, when Tariq’s combined Berber-Arab force crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and began its rapid sweep across the Iberian peninsula, virtually unopposed, resulted in the defeat of the Visigothic king, Rodrigo, and his army; the capture of his capital, Toledo; and the subsequent collapse of the Spanish Visigothic kingdom. Moreover, it resulted in the placement of a largely Christian populace of Spain under the domination of Islam, forcing those who would neither submit nor convert to the religion of their new Muslim masters to flee northwards, to the foothills of the Cantabrian mountains, whence eventually they attempted to regroup and "reconquer" their homeland.

Whether the story of Pelayo defeating the Muslim forces is historically accurate or not is not the issue at hand. The systematic, at times well-organized, program of Christian reconquest of Spanish lands had begun to be undertaken is the more relevant

---


aspect. After the defeat of the Muslim army at Poitiers by Charles Martel in 732, the belief in the supposed invulnerability of the Muslim armies was shattered. It was seen that the lightning-fast expansion of Muslim domination could be checked. The Christian armies began to hammer, bit by bit, against the political and cultural frontier that had been established between the two religions. After the 1050s, the Christian *reconquista* proved to be a sure political expansion into the southern parts of the peninsula.

The slow Christian push resulted in warfare in the peninsula. There were virtually no parts of either Spain or Portugal left unscathed by war. The armed conflict was not, however, constant. There were indeed long periods of relative peace existing between the Christians and Muslims. These were, however, sandwiched between the times of battle between the two societies. As said above, though, the Iberian peninsula was a battlefield, and all of the strategic cities of Islamic Spain were eventually taken by the Christians, with Nasrid-held Granada, the last Muslim stronghold, falling in 1492.6

Valencia city, situated on the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula, succumbed to the Christians in 1238. After its initial conquest by the Muslim armies in the eighth century, Valencia had been a part of Islamic Spain. After the dissolution of the Ummayad dynasty in Spain, however, Valencia found itself independent, and in the 1040s-1050s it became a fairly strong *taifa* kingdom, an Islamic state owing allegiance to no one but itself.7 Valencia was conquered by a Christian warrior in 1094, a certain

---

6 The Nasrid principality of Granada was founded by a certain Ibn al-Ahmar, with the assistance of a rebel Almohad splinter-state at Hafsid Tunis and Marinid chieftains in Morocco. Prior to 1233, the Almohads were being persecuted bloodily by the radical Abbasids and their leader, Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Hud al-Mutawakkil, or Ibn Hud. For more information, please see Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 30-31.

7 Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, 85.
Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, later known to history as El Cid.\(^8\) Within a few years of his death, though, an invigorated Muslim army, disciplined by the stern, ascetic Almoravids from Morocco, recaptured the city.\(^9\) It was not until the thirteenth century, under the Catalan and Aragonese forces of Jaume I, that Valencia would once again come under Christian control. With Jaume’s conquest of Valencia, the *taifa* kingdom was incorporated as a wholly distinct entity of the Crown of Aragon.

Valencia capitulatated by the stroke of a pen rather than by the swing of the sword. Valencia fell gradually, after Jaume’s army defeated a Tunisian relief fleet. The army slowly strangled the city by blockading it, resulting in famine for Valencia’s inhabitants. Finally, in 1238, Jaume received the formal capitulation of Ibn Mardanish Zayyan, Valencia’s ruler.\(^{10}\) Such was the hallmark of Jaume’s style, a piecemeal acquisition of territories, rather than a vicious, lightning-fast campaign of conquest.\(^{11}\) The settlers who came to receive the benefits of the *repartimiento*, the distribution of the lands, homes, and business of the exiled Muslims to the victorious members of the

\(^8\) It is interesting to note the shifting of alliances within the various stages of the *reconquista*; Christians did not always fight against Muslims, and Muslims did not always fight against Christians. Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 44, writes: “At the time of the first conquest of Valencia, in 1094, several of the Muslim warriors who fought under the Cid and other Christian chieftains abandoned Islam.”

\(^9\) Richard Flechter, *The Quest for El Cid* (London: Hutchinson, 1989) is an excellent study detailing the life of Rodrigo Díaz, from his development and rearing as a Castilian nobleman from Vivar, near Burgos; his fall from grace as a vassal of Alfonso VI of Castile; his subsequent life as a mercenary, offering his military services to Christian and Muslim alike; and his siege and conquest of Valencia. Fletcher looks at both the Christian and Arabic sources, and charts the progress of how an historic personage becomes a figure of epic proportion, separating the legendary from the accurate.


Christian conquest, were overwhelmingly Catalan, rather than Aragonese. They brought with them their distinct laws, languages, and customs, all of which differed from those of Aragon, and which served to separate the two groups of settlers.

This was to provide for the unique nature of the Crown of Aragon and the kingdom of Valencia. Although Valencia, as said above, was part of the Crown, the development of the kingdom of Valencia was designed to act as a buffer state. Burns states that Jaume set the kingdom of Valencia up to place it beyond jealous interference from Aragon proper. In 1319, Jaume II “formally decreed the indissolubility of the union of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia,” but this union was only in the sense of the royal name and person. This is not to say that the kingdom of Valencia was a simmering powder-keg of ethnic and regional tensions, but there was a distinct awareness of the differences between the Aragonese and the Catalans. Jaume II’s deed, however, not only coalesced Christian power along the eastern coast of Spain, but also forced the remaining Muslim states to contract to lower Andalusia, with the kingdom of Granada being the newest focal point of Muslim political power. The separate, constituent elements of the Crown of Aragon --- Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia --- would later develop their own parliaments, or corts, with Valencia’s first cort being summoned at the behest of Pere el Gran, Jaume’s son, in 1283. The kingdom of Valencia provided a testing ground for the balancing act between the positive and negative aspects of both Aragon and Catalonia. “Urbanism acted as a lever for royal against baronial power, while its wealth and extent made it a compensating

---


balance for political reverses in Aragon."

Valencia city submitted to Jaume on September 28, 1238, as mentioned above. The surrender treaty drawn up between Jaume and Zayyan, the ruler of Valencia, is fairly generous in the concessions accorded to the vanquished Muslim population. This is apparently in keeping with Jaume’s tradition of granting leniency to the defeated populaces. As Anwar Chejne states, “James I, who had ambitions of conquering the eastern shore of Spain, showed magnanimity toward the subject people by entering into treaties guaranteeing their safety, freedom of movement and of worship, and protection of individual rights.”

The fact that Abu ‘Zayd, the immediate predecessor to Zayyan’s brief rule in Valencia, had converted to the Christian faith prior to the final conquest of Valencia undoubtedly provided the Christians to include additional favors for the vanquished populace.

The treaty between the two kings, Jaume and Zayyan, is forthright in the concessions granted to the Muslims of Valencia. All the Valencian Muslims, men and women alike, were permitted to leave the city, with all their weapons and goods without fear of Christian retribution. Those who chose to stay also were guaranteed a safe and secure way of life within the Christian city of Valencia:

“We, Jaume ... promise to you Zayyan ... that you and all your Muslims, men and women alike, who wish to leave from Valencia, may go and leave safe and secure with all their weapons and all their movable items that they wish to carry with them in our [good] faith … Meanwhile we wish and we grant that all those Muslims who wish to

---


17 Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 136: “The spectacle of an erstwhile ruler of Muslim Valencia becoming Catholic and assisting the crusaders of Jaume I of Aragon in the conquest of his former possessions boded well for further conversions.”
remain in the boundary of Valencia, may remain in our [good] faith safe and secure.\textsuperscript{18}

Valencia was not the only Christian area to be granted the choice to accept these offers. Joseph O’Callaghan cites the Muslims of Úbeda, whose surrender document of 1233 allowed them to carry their movable goods to Islamic lands, under the protective mantle of royal safe conduct. Robert I. Burns even describes Jaume’s core privileges ceded to the Islamic communities in his various conquests as a kind of “constitution.” The privileges reflected a policy that was half-magnanimity, half-pragmatism, one that allowed the Christians to be merciful to their new subjects, but prudent nonetheless.\textsuperscript{19}

Although it is not expressly stipulated in the treaty, those Muslims who refused the extension of Jaume’s offer or who continued to rebel against the new Christian presence, by initiating revolt for example, were themselves enslaved.\textsuperscript{20}

Those Muslims who chose not to emigrate to other Muslim-controlled lands,

\textsuperscript{18} Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, Documentos de Jaime I de Aragon (Valencia: Anubar Ediciones, 1976), 2:39. The wording of the document, dating from September 28, 1238 - Ruzafa and located in theArchivo de la Corona de Aragon [hereafter referred to as ACA], in the section ofPergaminos de Jaime I no. 734, is unambiguous: “Nos Iacobus ... [editing mine] promittimus vobis Çayen ... [editing mine] quod vos et omnes mauri, tam viri quam mulieres, qui exire voluerint de Valencia, vadant et exeant salvi et securi cum suis armis et cum tota sua ropa mobili, quam ducere voluerint et portare secum in nostra fide ... [editing mine] Preterea volumus et concedimus quod omnes illi mauri qui remanere voluerint in termino Valencie, remaneant in nostra fide, salvi et securi.”


\textsuperscript{20} See Mark Meyerson The Musims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 81. Meyerson, concerning the frequency and ferocity of Mudejar revolts against the Christians, writes: “Rebellions progressively decreased in both incidence and ferocity over the centuries. In the thirteenth century they were numerous and threatened the new kingdom’s survival; in the fourteenth century they were few and ineffective; and in the fifteenth century there were no incidents, save for the minor disturbances caused by the messianic preaching of a Muslim claiming to be sent by God.”
but instead chose to live under Christian dominance as vassals instead of slaves, were the Mudejars.\textsuperscript{21} The number of Mudejar households after the conquest of Valencia is unclear. Burns gives an interesting supposition:

The Mudejar population is difficult to total. Valencia city and Játiva, at a time in the thirteenth century when both cities had drastically reduced their Moorish quarters, each held about 300 households or some 1300 hundred Muslims. Valencia city’s total population stood at about 15,000 ... Historians variously conjecture the Valencia kingdom’s total, García de Valdevillano recently suggesting 150,000 Mudejars for Valencia and Majorca together ... Sixteenth-century Moriscos or neo-Christsians, remnant of Valencia’s Mudejars, numbered 30,000 households, or 135,000 individuals out of 300,000 -- in a Spain whose full population may have reached eight or nine million.\textsuperscript{22}

Other scholars as well have debated the population base for Valencian Mudejars. “Vicens Vives believed the population [of Mudejars] had dropped from about 500,000 in the thirteenth century because of emigration ... The estimate for Valencia is about 300,000.”\textsuperscript{23} Thomas Glick, according to Harvey, also ascribes the progressive decline in the numbers of Valencian Mudejars from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries to constant warfare and continued emigration.\textsuperscript{24} Regardless of the numbers one thing is abundantly clear: the situation of Valencia city, in 1238, reflects the existence of a dominant Christian minority over a subject Muslim majority. It may

\textsuperscript{21} Burns defines the term, “Mudéjar (Catalan mudèixar ) [as] deriving from Arabic mudajjan, allowed to remain.” Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), xii. According to Burns’ definition, Mudejars were those Muslims subject to Christians, yet who still retained formally constructed privileges, as is mentioned above. For this study, I use the term “Mudejar” to indicate those Muslims who were in a free state. Those Muslims who were enslaved outright were, to my definition at least, not Mudejars.

\textsuperscript{22} Burns, Medieval Colonialism, 13-14.

\textsuperscript{23} Harvey, Islamic Spain, 6.

\textsuperscript{24} Harvey, Islamic Spain, 8, cites Thomas Glick. Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 34-35.
be folly to stress that the Christians undoubtedly suffered from paranoia as a result of the proximity of "their" intimidatingly large Muslim populace. As Boswell writes, "Valencian Muslims . . . were the most recently conquered, existed in the largest numbers, and were the closest to lands still controlled by the Muslims." 25 Any activity that the Valencian Mudejars might have engaged in, from everyday work to begging for alms to going on pilgrimage, could be, and oftentimes was, seen as a threatening design by a potentially rebellious Muslim populace.

Freedom of movement was one of the most important concessions granted to the huge Muslim populace. Movement was vital for the Islamic faith. Two of the five "Pillars of Faith" that were enjoined upon each and every faithful Muslim were almsgiving, which was extended to wandering beggars, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj. 26 The hajj was performed in remembrance of Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina, the hajirah. Every Muslim was expected to perform the hajj at least once in his or her lifetime, travelling from wherever he or she was located in the world to Mecca, Muhammad's birthplace. The Koran, the holy text of the Islamic faith, expressly stresses pilgrimage for the faithful: "Make the pilgrimage and visit the Sacred House for His sake. If you cannot, send such offerings as you can afford and do not shave your heads until the offerings have reached their destination." 27 The Koran also says: "Exhort all men to make the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on the backs of swift camels from every distant quarter." 28 The freedom of movement

25 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 16.

26 The other Pillars of Faith would be fasting during the month of Ramadan, praying while facing the direction of Mecca, and the Profession of Faith: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet."


28 The Koran, 236.
granted by Jaume I would have been of highest importance for the subject Muslim peoples. With the ability to come and go as they wished, they were able to follow the orthopraxy of their faith to the letter.

Not all, however, would see it as such. Although the Valencian Mudejars did have rights accorded to them as freemen, they were, in a very real sense, the property of the Aragonese monarchy. Boswell, in describing his use of the term “treasure” to define the Muslims, states:

All Muslims were in a sense royal Muslims: the Crown of Aragon claimed ultimate jurisdiction over every Muslim living in lands under its rule, and described them as “our royal treasure,” “subject to our whim,” “servants of our household.”

The Muslims of Valencia, whether vassals or slaves, also suffered from some degree of paranoia and apprehension, thanks to their new, subservient status. Part of this was due to an increasing Christian confidence, both in the rightness of their program and in the political stability of their dominions. This shift from insecurity to confidence was gradual, occurring only after the establishment of Christian hegemony during the initial stages of the reconquista. Yet this idea of cultural superiority did indeed occur. Harvey writes, “there did indeed take place an enormous change in attitude between 1100 and 1300, and Christians in this period switch from the underdog mentality of the earlier Middle Ages to confidence in the rightness of their cause.”

This increasing confidence in the dominant Christian power undoubtedly made the subject Valencian Mudejars suffer from no small degree of apprehension. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the end of the period studied for this investigation, Muslims suffered an almost total abridgment of their social and cultural

29 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 30 [emphasis his].

30 Harvey, Islamic Spain, 9.
identity within Christian Valencia. Boswell writes, "It is abundantly clear that in succeeding years Mudejares as far away as southern Valencia felt severely threatened... about their right to chant the čala." To say that the Christians were completely confident in their supposed superiority would be misleading. They were still very much afraid of their much larger Mudejar population, and sought to regulate the latter’s actions as closely as they possibly could.

The legal arena provided no sanctuary for Muslims. Although they were theoretically to be tried according to their own religious and secular laws, as set down in the Llibre de Ĉuna i Xara, and by the judges of their own communities, this was not always the case. More often than not, they were tried according to the statutes of the Furs, the law code for the kingdom of Valencia. Although the Muslims’ judge was a member of the Islamic faith, any cases that would need to be heard by an appellate court would automatically come under the Christian king’s jurisdiction. Another Christian official, the Batle General, was ultimately responsible for the apprehension of runaway slaves and vassals. For the legal system:

The Islamic judge sat under a Christian judge, the bailiff (batle) general. As time passed, local jurisdictions fell increasingly into the hands of nobles; a Muslim living on a noble’s estates would find himself answerable in the court presided over by that noble. In such circumstances the fact that the code in use was allegedly “Islamic” might be of secondary importance. The Muslims nominally retained their own

31 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 266.

32 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 375, goes on to say: “The Christian populace of Valencia was notably mistrustful of its Mudéjar compatriots, and not only falsely accused them of selling Christians to Granada, but induced the monarchy to curtail their right to emigrate for fear of betraying secrets to the enemy.”

33 The Llibre and the Furs will be explained in greater detail, as seen below in Chapter II. They were quite specific on points concerning runaways and fugitives, as will also be discussed.

34 Harvey, Islamic Spain, 131.
system of justice and yet they did not.\textsuperscript{35}

This feeling of uneasiness and apprehension was only exacerbated by the fact that the Muslims believed that they had been set adrift from other Muslim communities. Boswell continues to assert that: “The Mudéjars of fourteenth-century Spain were cut off from the mainstream of Muslim culture, and subject to no central regulating authority other than the Crown of Aragon.”\textsuperscript{36} This feeling of isolation was made even more profound by the plan followed by the Christian leaders in the resettling of Christians in Valencia and the surrounding lands: “Immersing Christian immigrants in a sea of Muslims, clustered in city atolls or more often scattered adrift.”\textsuperscript{37} Moreover, the foci of Islamic secular and religious authority, the \textit{qadis}, had emigrated from the kingdom of Valencia long before the entrenchment of the remaining Mudejars within Christian Valencian society. The more powerful members of the \textit{aljamas}, the Muslim communities within the Crown of Aragon, were subject to a host of Christian abuses, including arbitrary seizure of both their person and their goods; unsubstantiated charges levied against them under hundreds of laws; and the outright embarrassment of being sold into slavery.\textsuperscript{38} The Muslims within the \textit{aljamas} could not expect solace, if their leaders could not hope for any leniency by the Christians. Boswell writes:

\begin{quote}
Other officials [of the \textit{aljamas}] did retain some competence in the face of the increasing concentration of power in the hands of the bailiff. Nobles
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{35} Harvey, \textit{Islamic Spain}, 133.

\textsuperscript{36} Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure}, 90. Boswell also remarks, on page 319: “The Valencian communities, more recently conquered and much nearer to the more Arabic culture of Granada and North Africa, still chafed, to a certain extent, under Christian domination and felt the pull of cultures more favorable to their religion.”

\textsuperscript{37} Burns, \textit{Medieval Colonialism}, 10. Also see the \textit{Libre del Repartiment del Regne de Valencia}, ed. María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt and Ramon Ferrer Navarro, 3 vols. (Zaragoza: Anubar Ediciones, 1979) which shows the allocation and distribution of Valencian lands by Jaume after the conquest.

\textsuperscript{38} Burns, \textit{Medieval Colonialism}, 105.
in Valencia could hold trials of their own Saracens, or appoint notaries
to do so, and in the larger cities both Muslim officials and the Christian
municipal bailiffs continued to conduct trials and exercise juridical
authority.\textsuperscript{39}

With social, cultural, and legal abuses being inflicted on an increasing scale ---
one of the most detestable being the account of forced conscriptions of Valencian
Mudejars during the war with Castile in the fourteenth century --- it is no wonder that
the well-to-do of Muslim society began to leave from Valencia for other Muslim lands
\textit{en masse}.\textsuperscript{40} When the religious leaders left Valencia, and resettled in Muslim-friendly
areas, they began sounding the cry for their brethren left behind to emigrate. “Muslims
\ldots were exhorted in the strongest possible terms to leave Christian Spain and to avoid
Mudejar status.”\textsuperscript{41} Those who could afford to leave, the affluent and those with
familial or business connections in other areas, did so.\textsuperscript{42} The artists, scholars,
scientists, political, and religious leaders of Muslim Valencia left for Granada and/or the
Barbary Coast if they had the financial resources to do so. This “brain drain” had dire
consequences for the Muslims left behind. They had to look to Christians, or to
Muslims appointed by Christian leaders, for the resolution to any problems they had.

The departed Muslim leaders continually urged the faithful Mudejars in Valencia
to depart. “Muslim jurisconsults argued that the faithful were required to withdraw
rather than to submit to Christian authority.”\textsuperscript{43} Some of the descendants of those
wealthy Muslim families who emigrated included such luminaries as Ibn Khaldun, the

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{39} Burns, \textit{Medieval Colonialism}, 145.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Burns, \textit{Medieval Colonialism}, 187.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Harvey, \textit{Islamic Spain}, 60.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Burns, “Muslims in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragon,” 75.
\item \textsuperscript{43} O’ Callaghan, “The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the Twelfth and
Thirteenth Centuries,” 18.
\end{footnotes}
fourteenth-century Muslim historian, scholar, and writer, whose family had elected to
move first to Granada, and then to North Africa. But the most vociferous of the
jurists who called for flight from Christian lands was a certain al-Wansharishi, who
died in 1508. Although he lived after the period studied here, we can see in his
writings sentiments that must reflect in his predecessors' writings. Al-Wansharishi
“charged those who remained in Spain as infidels for living under Christian
rule instead of returning to the land of Islam.” He believed that Muslims who chose to stay under
the rule of the Christians were not following their religion as they should. He theorized
that it was impossible for Muslims to exercise their religious duties to the fullest while
living in Christian-dominated lands. Indeed, it was felt by him that emigration and/or
flight from the Christian lands, by any means necessary, was a religious duty for those
who remained Muslims. Emigration was vital for the preservation of the Islamic faith
and for the distinctively Muslim culture; to have stayed would have eroded both, it was
feared.

Legal emigration was fine if one could afford it. The majority of the Muslim
population could not, however, and had to make a choice: either to stay under the
Christian domain and hope that one would receive relatively good treatment, or to take
one’s chances and flee toward Muslim lands. “The existence of the Muslim frontier
made possible a safety valve of another type for Muslims . . . a crossing of the frontier
by flight.” Many Muslims, both free and slave, refusing to assimilate to Christian

44 O’ Callaghan, “The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal,” 54
45 Chejne, Islam and the West, 24.
46 Chejne, Islam and the West, 182. Also see Harvey, Islamic Spain, 56.
47 James M. Powell, “The Papacy and the Muslim Frontier,” Muslims Under
Latin Rule.
society, chose flight as a means of self-preservation. It was better to risk one’s life on the roads (today’s convenient and comfortable amenities being absent; they were filled with all sorts of nasty brigands, border skirmishes, mercenaries, and wild animals, such as boars and snakes) and hope for some solace in Muslim lands (from which presumably they would not be returned to Valencia) than to stay in a land where they would continue to face increasing oppression.

As said above, this thesis investigates the many facets of subservience and flight from 1290-1410. The fourteenth century was an incredibly turbulent time for the political and natural spheres of Iberia: since the great Mudejar revolt in Valencia in 1276 to just about the appearance of the Black Death, in 1348, there was a relative domestic peace established, but it was an uneasy one. When the Black Death arrived on Valencia’s shores in 1348, neither Christian nor Muslim was spared. In addition, the fourteenth century saw a three-year drought in Valencia, starting in 1354; an infestation of locusts around 1358; a Mudejar uprising led by a certain Cilim in 1361; and the beginning of pogroms against the Valencian Mudejar and Jewish communities in 1391. Since the fourteenth century was a time of increased Christian anxiety, as reflected in the increase of legislation enacted in order to keep the Muslims firmly rooted in place, due in part to the war waged with Castile between 1355 and 1366, is it any wonder that it is also a time of increasing flight on the Muslims’ part?

I also seek to investigate, in greater detail, the experiences of fugitive Mudejar

---

48 Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 354. For more information on Cilim, please see Chapter III.

49 Please see Appendix A, which charts the number of times Muslims are referred to as either “slave,” “sharecropper,” or “vassal,” and Appendix B, which refers to documents that refer to restrictions or allowances for movement of Valencian Muslims. As will be discussed, I have found that the greatest number of documents as concerns both topics proceed from the years 1361-1370.
slaves and vassals, and how they used flight to their advantage in garnering some
degree of social control. Chapter II will investigate the roles of the Muslim slave and
the Muslim vassal in both Islamic and Christian society. What do the legal and
religious texts of both cultures have to say about slavery in general? What were the
respective duties of the Muslim slave as contrasted to those of the Muslim vassal? How
can one differentiate between the two? What was the social mobility of these distinct
classes? I hope to see what duties the slaves and vassals abandoned, what outside
elements encouraged those fugitives to take advantage of their situation, and who or
what the fugitives left behind? The fines, seizure of goods, and/or holding of loved
ones hostage which followed flight only resulted in increasing attempts by Muslims to
flee and increasing attempts by Christians to regulate the movement of “their” Muslims.

Chapter III investigates these Christian attempts to regulate or restrict the
movements of their Muslim slaves and vassals. In the modern world, the freedom of
movement is seen as a right and largely taken for granted, what with our modern
expectance of and dependence on methods of transportation. Although we can hardly
assume that this freedom of movement is applicable to the medieval mind, I say that the
personal freedom of a slave or a vassal was of no small importance. The liberty of
movement that could possibly allow for that individual freedom was of equal
importance. The very states of the slave and vassal, after all, are defined by the lack of
personal freedom. Their movement was very closely guarded by the Christian
overseers. The documents show the methods by which Christian nobles regulated the
movements of their slaves. There were two ways Christians could prevent “their”
Muslims from running away: they could work within a very informal system, one that
was defined by patrolling their own estates, doling out punishment within their own
individual jurisdiction, seizing personal goods the Muslims left behind, or by holding
the Muslims' loved ones hostage; the other method was to work within a very formal, very bureaucratic system, one that entailed asking for direct royal assistance in the search for and apprehension of fugitives. Increased legislation during 1361-1370 required those Muslims who sought to emigrate to go through ever-constricting legal channels. As the Christian leash tightened, more Muslims sought to wriggle out of it.

The fourth and final chapter of this study seeks to investigate a more confounding aspect of the fugitive Muslims. Much of the royal legislation enacted stipulated, in no uncertain terms, that Muslims who chose to return to the kingdom of Valencia might do so safely and securely, without fear of Christian reprisal and/or seizure of their goods. The question is: why would someone who escaped from what was presumably an intolerable situation, seek to return to it? My hypothesis is that they would do so in order to gain some degree of personal control over their life, no matter how small. To leave the only home one has known for lands that are paradoxically familiar and alien is surely a daunting experience. The challenges posed to the fugitive were great, to risk stating the obvious. There was no assurance that a fugitive Mudejar would be able to assimilate to his or her new home, provided he or she survived the hazardous journey southwards. The Muslim fugitives, I would argue, used flight, or the threat of it, as a form of passive and active resistance. The Valencian Muslims were vital to both the economic and political well-being of the kingdom, as I will discuss below. Flight would deprive both the local Christian nobleman and the Aragonese king of both economic and political sovereignty. By "stealing one's self," the Muslim withheld his or her valuable personal economic worth from his or her master, decreased the total possible amount of revenue available to his or her master, and also caused an enormous expenditure of time and money on his or her recovery. And the Muslims did gain valuable concessions, as the Christian kings were not willing to risk losing their
valuable Muslim populace. Although these concessions proved ultimately to be moot points, for slavery continued to thrive well after the period studied and Christian oppression continued to increase, additional concessions were nonetheless granted. With the fall of Granada in 1492, however, another door to freedom would be shut, and fugitive Muslims could only hope to book passage on a ship bound for Tunis and the Maghrib Coast.

What is the state of studies today, as concerns fugitives and their history? It is disheartening that there is very little that discusses fugitive slaves and vassals at any length, especially in regards to medieval Spain, but understandable nonetheless. Of Burns, Boswell, and Meyerson, three of the most respected scholars who study the history of the Crown of Aragon and of slaves within the Crown of Aragon, Meyerson has provided the most information as concerns fugitive Muslims. Burns' *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) provides ample account of the methods Jaume employed to conquer the eastern coast of Spain and administer his new kingdom. He also talks at length about slaves in general, but the only references that he makes to runaway slaves are to the clauses in the surrender charters from the Muslims of Xivert and Xàtiva which prevent Christians from searching for fugitives in the Muslims' quarter without a Muslim accompanying them.50 He goes on to write, "Valencian surrender treaties sometimes guaranteed that local Muslims might hide runaway slaves with impunity, indicating a natural and universal situation."51 Boswell's investigation of the legal rights for Mudejars to emigrate is extensive, and was extremely helpful for my investigations, but he too provides scant information as


51 Burns, *Islam*, 111.
concerns runaways. Meyerson’s investigations have shed enormous light on questions concerning the status and identity of Valencian Mudejar slaves. He writes that runaway Muslims would be aided on their journey southwards by their brethren in the other morerías, or Muslim quarters, peppered throughout the cities in the kingdom:

A number of documents ... [mention] the whereabouts of runaways [and] sound a similar note: the runaways traveling through and hiding in the morerías ... [this] suggests that some sort of network was organized ... for the purpose of abetting escaped slaves.

He describes this “network” as a fourteenth-century “underground railroad”: “Valencia’s Mudejars operated a kind of ‘underground railroad’ for runaway slaves through the network of their communities.” Meyerson, especially in his articles, investigates the different methods that the Mudejars used in aiding enslaved brethren, and the Christian barons’ attempts to restrict Muslim movement, but he does not mention flight as a form of resistance on the fugitive’s part. He does, however, investigate excellently the role of the Mudejar as a fellow resistant to the imposed Christian order; by aiding the fugitive on his or her road to freedom, the Mudejars “criticized [by Muslim jurists] for not emigrating to the dâr al-Islâm found themselves in a position to aid the enslaved inhabitants of Muslim lands.”

---

52 My theories, as concerns emigration and freedom of movement, are very similar to Boswell’s. Where he has mentioned runaways from the Crown of Aragon, I have incorporated into the body of this text, but I have also tried to elaborate on points where he is silent.

53 Meyerson, Between Coexistence and Crusade, 83.


Articles written by European scholars have tended to produce more tangible results as concerns the study of fugitive slaves. Charles Verlinden’s *L’Esclavage dans L’Europe Médiévale*, 2 vols. (Bruges: De Tempel, 1955) is the seminal work on medieval slavery that no bibliography can afford to lack. The first volume is devoted entirely to slaves in the Iberian peninsula and France. His article, however, “Esclaves fugitifs et assurances en Catalogne (XIVᵉ-XVᵉ siècles),” as published in *Annales Du Midi*, 62 (1950), pages 301-328, is of greater importance for the specific study of fugitives in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. It studies the legal aspects on how one insures his or her slave in case of flight, and what rights and responsibilities the master or mistress has in recapturing and/or punishing his or her slave. It also shows the creation and further refinement of the bureaucratic, formal system of regulating the movement of slaves. The royal administration, by 1352, defined who actually constituted a fugitive, “all slaves who will be absent for two days without the permission of his owner will be considered as a fugitive,” and by 1381 the royal administration created various offices, such as the *magister excubie seu guayte*, “a special functionary charged with the guarding of slaves.” The insuring of slaves and the punishing of runaways were also dealt with in Joaquin Miret y Sans’ article, “La esclavitud en Cataluña en los ultimos tiempos de la Edad Media,” as published in *Revue Hispanique*, 41 (1917), pages 1-110. Miret y Sans’ article is the first of its kind to

---

56 Meyerson, “Slavery and Solidarity,” 327. Also see his discussion on 339-43.


deal with fugitive slaves at any length, and it has been the starting point for many
studies into medieval slavery. In addition, he includes a valuable twelve-page appendix
which is a register of "indemnizaciones" paid for fugitive slaves. Although he
occasionally makes unsubstantiated statements, his work is nonetheless an important
step in the advancement of our general knowledge of fugitive slaves.60 In both
Verlinden’s article and Miret y Sans’s, an ever-increasing royal Aragonese bureaucracy
is attempting to keep the subject Muslims rooted firmly in place.

What is the documentary evidence that can prove my assertions about runaways
and resistance? The documents compiled by Ferreri Mallol, and her cadre of graduate
assistants, have been published in four volumes and provide useful accounts of fugitive
Muslims. The documents overwhelmingly come from the Cancellería section of the
Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA) and were the property of the royal crown,
either issued by the scribes of the reigning monarch or received by him from his
various barons and officials scattered throughout the kingdom. This indicates that they
are records of cases which came directly to the attention of the monarchs.61 These royal
documents, however, only give the Christians’ perspectives of the emigration of
Muslim slaves and vassals. They are written by Christians for an audience of
Christians. A very one-sided and biased version of the events is preserved. In the
absence of personal accounts written by fugitive Muslims who successfully escaped, or

59 Joaquín Miret y Sans, “La Esclavitud en Cataluña en los ultimos tiempos de
la Edad Media,” Revue Hispanique, 41 (1917), 1-110.

60 Miret y Sans, “La esclavitud en Cataluña,” 25. For example, at one point he
makes the bold assertion that the problem of fugitive slaves was growing in the 15th
century, and that the primary destination was France. This seems unlikely, since
fugitive Muslims overwhelmingly left for North Africa after the fall of Granada in
1492. “Uno de los mayores peligros era la creciente pérdida de esclavos por la fuga a
otros países limítrofes, principalmente a Francia.”

61 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 149.
accounts from *qadis*, who might have commented upon an influx of refugees, these documents, whatever their shortcomings, are the best accounts available to anyone investigating the identities and experiences of the runaway slaves. The years 1296 to 1410 saw an increasing number of Muslim fugitives and Christian restrictions. The “royal treasure” of the Aragonese and Valencian monarchs was rapidly being pilfered. Ironically, the treasure was pilfering itself.
CHAPTER II

THE FLIGHT OF MUSLIMS

Before one can make foray into the research of the flight of vassals and slaves, one must first investigate why certain Muslims became vassals or slaves. What makes a vassal a vassal and a slave a slave? Those Muslims who either collaborated with the Christian forces or at the least accepted their rule, no matter how grudgingly they might do so, became vassals of the Christians. Muslim vassals, like slaves, were the property of the royal court and constituted a great part of the Aragonese-Valencian "royal treasure." The Mudejar vassals were in constant contact with their Christian lords, and were, in theory at least, accorded the full benefits of the surrender treaties. Those free Muslims who chose not to emigrate of their own volition could remain as peasants, freemen, or vassals. They were bound to either the Aragonese crown itself or nobles who certainly were allied with the crown, and they were members of a large Muslim majority which found itself politically subject to a Christian minority.

Slaves were a different matter altogether. The definition of the slave as "a person, male or female, subject to the absolute dominion of a master in virtue of purchase, inheritance, or war," although overly-simplified, is nevertheless inherently correct. Leopoldo Piles Ros, in his study on the socio-economic history of Valencia, analyzes the continuing existence of slavery in Valencia during the fifteenth century. He makes mention of the two main methods on how one could become a slave,


dividing them into the "essential" and "secondary" sources of enslavement:

The sources of slavery can be divided into essential and secondary. The first ones are constituted by conquest, piracy, raidings, and the slave trade. And the second are constituted by servitus poenae (slavery derived from the commission of a flagrant act), obnoxiatio (slavery derived from debts), voluntary agreement and imprisoning of a free man in order to reduce him to slavery.\textsuperscript{64}

Piles Ros' comments reflect methods of enslavement that developed as a result of practices implemented and perfected during the thirteenth and especially fourteenth centuries. The concept of voluntary consent, that an individual would willingly allow himself or herself to become a slave, is explored further by Boswell who writes:

The Crown and local nobles, moreover, made servitude as attractive as possible by offering free land, remissions of taxes and rents (to which Mudejar vassals would undoubtedly be subject), and protection from creditors or legal penalties to those who would inhabit their lands.\textsuperscript{65}

Slavery was also a source of revenue for the crown treasury. Boswell continues:

Considering that the monarchy received at the very least one-fifth of the sole price of every Saracen sold [according to fourteenth century prices], and in many cases the whole value, it was obviously in the king's interest to see many Muslims as possible confiscated and enslaved.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{64} See Leopoldo Piles Ros \textit{Apuntes Para la Historia Económico Social de Valencia Durante el Siglo XV} (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1969), 162: "Las fuentes de la esclavitud, pueden dividirse en esenciales y secundarias. Las primeras están constituidas por la conquista, la guerra de corso, las razias y la trata. Y las secundarias por la servitus poenae (esclavitud derivada de la comisión de un delito), la obnoxiatio (esclavitud derivada de deudas), el consentimiento voluntario y el apresamiento de un hombre libre para reducirlo a esclavitud."

\textsuperscript{65} Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure}, 42.

\textsuperscript{66} Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure}, 53. J. Lee Shneidman, in his \textit{The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire 1200-1350} 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 2:375, provides a chart of the variable increase and decrease in prices of slaves in the thirteenth century, right after the conquest of Valencia. He ascribes this variability to changes in economics and politics, as well as the quality and age of the slave, but he does not indicate the recipient of the funds used to purchase slaves, whether the Crown or the individual seller:
I have also constructed a chart from the examples as presented in Miret y Sans' article. All prices are in pounds of Barcelona, unless otherwise indicated. This extends the examples of slave prices into the thirteenth century. Moreover, it includes examples that indicate that age, sex, and even ethnicity play valuable roles in determining the prices of slaves. Miret y Sans, “La Esclavitud en Cataluña,” 9, writes “the prices [of slaves] oscillated over the course of the years and obeyed in great part the law of supply and demand, and always took into account the capacity of the captive for a predetermined job or office, his or her physical strengths and health, and especially the age.” (“Los precios oscilaban en el curso de los años y obedeciendo en buena parte a la ley de la oferta y la demanda, y teniendo siempre en cuenta la capacidad del cautivo para determinado trabajo u oficio, sus fuerzas físicas o salud y especialmente la edad.”):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1246</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>102 sous (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1248</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>161-165 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1252</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Female</td>
<td>180 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1258</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>160 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1261</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>230 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1263</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>200 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>110 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>130 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1275</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>500 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>200 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1284</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Female</td>
<td>312-316 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1289</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>410 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1295</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>81-85 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>230 Melgorian sous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Male</td>
<td>375 Melgorian sous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saracen Girl</td>
<td>120 Melgorian sous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1252</td>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim Female</td>
<td>9 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1261</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two Male Muslims</td>
<td>460 Barcelonan s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1263</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>6 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1265</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Muslim</td>
<td>101 Barcelonan s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Muslim</td>
<td>110 Barcelonan s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Muslim</td>
<td>130 Barcelonan s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1267</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>72 Jaquenses s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1273</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Muslim Girl</td>
<td>11 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1275</td>
<td></td>
<td>Black Female Muslim</td>
<td>10 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1275</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blond Male Muslim</td>
<td>500 Barcelonan s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>9 Valencian £, 15 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1276</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>40 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1277</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Male Muslim</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1277</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>6 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1278</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>11 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1279</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>17 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>13 Barcelonan £, 15 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Male Muslim</td>
<td>10.5 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1282</td>
<td></td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>11 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1283</td>
<td></td>
<td>Black Female Muslim</td>
<td>13 £</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, the Crown of Aragon also received monetary compensation for the freeing of slaves. Freedmen paid an annual tax of about 5 sous in Catalonia, and within the Valencian walls, a licensing fee of a *dobla* was paid.\textsuperscript{67}

Slaves also provided another economic role in medieval Valencia besides fattening the royal treasury. They were used as merchants, artisans and day-laborers. They were the sources of an indispensable economic boon for their urban masters, and were used (if found to be especially trustworthy) as envoys, translators, and guides.

Women were primarily used as domestic servants, though they were also found within the urban sector.\textsuperscript{68} The duties of the domestic slave, male or female, are those which

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1285</td>
<td>Blonde Female Muslim</td>
<td>9 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1288</td>
<td>Blonde Female Muslim</td>
<td>14 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1292</td>
<td>White Female Muslim &amp; 2 children</td>
<td>60 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1295</td>
<td>Black Male Muslim</td>
<td>8 Valencian £, 10 s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1295</td>
<td>Black Male Muslim</td>
<td>20.5 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td>White Male Muslim</td>
<td>50 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1296</td>
<td>White Female Muslim</td>
<td>12 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1344</td>
<td>Baptized Male</td>
<td>10 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1352</td>
<td>Two Female Greeks</td>
<td>139 Mallorcan £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1364</td>
<td>Female Greek</td>
<td>25 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1365</td>
<td>14-yr old Male Muslim</td>
<td>20 Valencian s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1368</td>
<td>Female Tartar</td>
<td>25 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1369</td>
<td>25-yr old Female Tartar</td>
<td>33 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370</td>
<td>Female Tartar</td>
<td>21 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371</td>
<td>Female Greek</td>
<td>25 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371</td>
<td>White Female Tartar</td>
<td>30 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1372</td>
<td>Female Tartar</td>
<td>27 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1372</td>
<td>Female Tartar &amp; child</td>
<td>49.5 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1373</td>
<td>Female Tartar</td>
<td>30 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1376</td>
<td>Female Tartar &amp; child</td>
<td>34 £</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1385</td>
<td>Married Tartar couple</td>
<td>77 £</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{67} Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 52. The double dinar of the Almohads was known to Christian Spaniards as the *dobla*. From the reign of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-50), it became the standard gold coin of Castile. The average value of the *dobla* between the years 1296-1410 was roughly 16 Valencian sous. For more information, see Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986), 161.

\textsuperscript{68} See Susan Mosher Stuard, “To Town to Serve: Urban Domestic Slavery in
the master or the mistress would not deign to perform:

the tasks that devolve upon all ... menials are ... those that are too hard, too ‘vile,’ or to constraining for the mistress ... drawing water and stoking the fire; cooking, housekeeping, washing; maintaining the chicken coops and stables; spinning the flax, wool, and hemp; and washing, suckling, and watching over the children are the tasks that fall on those persons brought perforce into the family as slaves.69

The agricultural duties of the Muslim slaves produced more individual wealth for a Christian magnate, however. Although Father Burns states that “slavery was an urban rather than rural phenomenon, though occasional helpers in the countryside may have been slaves ... Mediterranean slavery ... was domestic or personal instead of agricultural or collective,” there were undoubtedly hundreds of enslaved Muslims who worked the Valencian lands of their Christian lords.70 Boswell writes that the Christians depended heavily upon Muslim skills in agricultural venues. They were used to harvest grain and salt, to work the irrigation systems that they themselves developed, and to work the valuable paper mills of Xàtiva.71 The economic revenue that they provided from their agricultural tasks fattened the coffers of the individual nobles or ecclesiastics, substantiating the latter groups’ land-based wealth. One of the

Medieval Ragusa,” Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe, ed. Barbara A. Hanawault (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), 44-45. William D. Phillips, Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 166, also mentions the duties of Muslim slaves. He notes that: “Most slaves worked as domestic servants; others worked in all sectors of the economy. They were prohibited from being sailors or galley oarsmen, because of the suspicion that they might use their relative freedom to flee.”

69 See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Women Servants in Florence during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe, 60.


71 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 58. The mills at Xàtiva are the reason we have so much documentary evidence at hand. With the Christian conquest of the city, the conquerors had the ability to print as much of their new laws and proclamations as they could, at only a fraction of what it would normally cost.
documents Ferreri Mallol provides, dating from 1296, mentions that those slaves who escaped could return to their agricultural tasks if they so desired to return:

> It pleases us that you return and [we grant that] each and every one of you may return and come to the aforesaid places safely and secure and [where you can] collect your bread and tend your fields, and we say to you and command you to return to the said places. But we, with this our present letter of ours guide you and each and every one of you, that [your] goods return to the said places and are here.72

Although this does not prove the extent of agricultural tasks to which the slaves may have been assigned, it does show that both Muslim slaves and vassals were employed as farmhands, and that their abilities as such were, if not respected, at the very least needed.

Slavery was nothing new to Islamic society. The Muslims themselves were familiar with slavery and submission, as they were vital elements for their religious identity; to submit (Islam) one’s will to Allah was central. W. Montgomery Watt mentions that “it is difficult to speak about the concept of freedom within the context of medieval Islam because in the strict sense it does not occur there.”73 The term that is applied to humans in relation to Allah is ‘abd, “slave,” and in Islamic theology all humans are, in effect, slaves of Allah. Watt also makes an interesting insight:

> A corollary of regarding human beings as the slaves of God is that a good Muslim cannot think of freedom as desirable. To aim at changing one’s status from that of slave to that of free man would be tantamount to rebelling against God.74

72 Les Aljames, doc. 5, 186-87: “Com a nós plàcia que vosaltres tornets e puschats tornar cascuns e venir als dits locs salvament e segura e cullir vostres pans e fer vostres feynes, deým-vos e manamvos que vós als dits lochs tornets. Nós, emperò, ab aquesta present carta nostra guiam vós e cascuns de vosaltres en persones e en béns tornant als dits lochs e aquí estant.”


74 W. Montgomery Watt, “Islamic Alternatives to the Concept of Free Will,” 20.
Therefore, to rebel against a Muslim master in any manner, whether violently, as in armed rebellion, or passively, as in the breaking of tools, feigning ignorance, or flight, is considered a transgression of the highest order, akin to apostatizing against Allah. It is unacceptable for a slave to rebel against his or her Muslim master, since the former’s period of enslavement was a learning period, a chance to identify with the Muslim master and the Islamic faith. When Muslims were enslaved by Christians, however, there was no sin committed in rebellion. As discussed earlier, the learned Muslim jurists called for mass emigration from Christian lands, lest Muslims lose their Islamic identity. Al-Wansharishi, whom we met on page sixteen, compiled an enormous collection of fatwas, or learned opinions having the strength of law, known as the Kitab al-Mi’yar. In it he stresses that Muslims are, in accordance with the teachings of Ibn Rushd, to “emigrate from the lands of unbelief . . . up to Judgment Day.”

To be a slave to Allah was expected of every Muslim. To be a slave to another Muslim was a chance to become familiar with the niceties of the faith and to become a member of that religious society. To be a slave to an infidel, a conquering Christian who saw Muslims only as property and who grew rich off of the labor of that property, was another thing entirely. Al-Wansharishi felt that there was no sin in fleeing or emigrating from the Christians. It was, instead, a religious duty of the highest order.

The law, both Islamic and Christian, is often quite specific about rebellion and flight. In the Llibre de la Çuna E Xara, the principles of Islamic law as set down in both the Koran and in Islamic tradition were codified for the Islamic communities. The

---


76 Harvey, Islamic Spain, 56.
*Llibre* does reflect at times, according to María Carmen Barceló Torres, the existence of a relationship between the Mudejar community of Valencia and the kingdom of Nasrid Granada. This is seen in the incorporation of different *fatwas* from Granadan Muslim jurists. More important for this thesis, however, the *Llibre* makes clear the statutes of Muslim law concerning fugitives. One of the chapters of the *Llibre* discusses the nature of fugitivism and the rights of the fugitive Muslim. It does not urge Muslims to flee, but states that those who do flee, and later recaptured, are to receive a fair trial, as set down in accordance with the tenets of Islam:

> All Muslims who depart or flee secretively from whatever location, and are found in whatever area by whatever manner [and] must stand by the right of the claimant [of the fugitive] ... are to be tried according to the principles of the Sunna.  

Fugitive Muslims must, if recaptured, provide their former lords some sort of recompense, but still be tried according to orthodox (Sunni) law. The *Llibre* also deals with the subject of Muslim emigration. Chapter 279 states that any Muslim who chooses to leave either the city or the kingdom of Valencia in order to live somewhere else must pay a tithe: “If any Muslim will leave the city or the Kingdom in order to live in another region, he or she must give the tenth part of their goods to the King or to his *Batle.*”

---

77 María Carmen Barceló Torres, *Un Tratado Catalan Medieval de Derecho Islámico: El Llibre de la Çuna E Xara dels Moros* (Cordoba: Área de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos Cátedra de Lengua y Literatura Árabes, 1989), xiii. She cites the *fatwa* of the Granadan al-Haffan (d. 1408). Chapter 220 can be used as evidence pointing to the social and cultural relationship between Valencia and Granada. In it, the decision on where to plant a tree on alien, and presumably Valencian, soil was adusted to take in the judgments of al-Haffan.

78 Barceló Torres, *Llibre de la Çuna E Xara*, 62: “Tot sarrahí, de qualsevol loch se partirà o fugirá amagadament, en alguna manera en qualsevol loch serà atrobat deu star a dret del clamant ... [editing mine] a fer compliment de justícia al clamant sobre les dites coses segons Çuna.”
The laws as set out in the *Llibre*, however, were not always followed by the Christian lords. They often did not consult Islamic law as they were supposed to, in accordance with the original surrender documents from the thirteenth century. More often the Christians would rather that their Muslim subjects be tried according to the Valencian laws, the *Furs*. The *Furs*, an entire corpus of law comprised of seven volumes, dedicates the whole first rubric of the sixth book to fugitive slaves. Within this rubric, there are 34 chapters in all, dating from 1238, at the time of Jaume I, to Ferdinand of Aragon's last addition in 1488. The *Furs* from the earlier period are rather frank in what they stipulate a master can or cannot do in the case of a fugitive slave. For example, in the very first chapter, Jaume writes, "If any captive or slave flees from his or her master, and that flight from their master, for whatever reason it was caused, does not to damage to them [the masters?], the lord is able to recover them." As time progresses, however, the *Furs* become more and more convoluted, taking into account external circumstance, differing situations, and precedence from other kings. Ferdinand writes:

And if any of the said Muslim inhabitants from the said kingdom are found to leave, against the said prohibition or leaves from the said kingdom by sea or by land or by *aygua dolça*, the Muslim or Muslims will be made captives; without that they can neither allege nor ask for a passport, license, permit, or any other of our securities from us nor from our officials or have the power from us or the power of the lords of the places where they were vassals or by whomever that they are recovered, in the sole instance that whichever person or persons of the said ecclesiastical [or] military lands, and from the cities and royal villages or only of the military land syndicate (?), the said Muslim or Muslims will be imprisoned by whichever official that will make a request for the captive, as it is said, at which the captive will be judged

---

79 Barceló Torres, *Llibre de la Çuna E Xara*, 77: "Si algun sarrahi exíria de la ciutat o del Regne per rahó de habitar en altre regió, deu donar la dehena part de sos béns al senyor Rei o a son Batle."

80 Germà Colon, ed. *Furs de València*, 7 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1970), 6:97: "Si los catius o los servus fugiran a lurs senyors, aquela fuita que ells faran per alcuna rahó no puske tenir dan als senyors que no-Is pusquen recobrar."
in accordance with the said *fur*. 81

The Valencian *Furs*, like any laws, evolved as the centuries passed and the Muslim communities from the kingdom of Valencia were judged according to the changing Christian law. In a document dating from 1317, Gilabert de Centelles, the *portantveus*, or lieutenant of the governor general, 82 of the royal procurator in Valencia wrote to Jaume II, and expressed his opinion that certain Muslims from the suburb of Xàtiva, accused of having hidden a fugitive Muslim woman in order to liberate her from captivity, ought to be tried according to the *Furs*. Gilabert writes:

Against certain Muslims from the suburb of the said place [Xàtiva], those who have been accused of giving advice and aid to a captive woman from the said Berenguer [de Fluvià] that she isques (???) from captivity, and they hide her and keep [knowledge about her] secret ... [He goes on to discuss, at great length, the statute that says that if any Muslim commits this crime, he or she is to be tried against either the Sunna or the *fur*, whichever penalty being the greater. Gilabert admits that in this case that the Sunna would be harsher, but then goes on to state that he believes the *fur* would be better applied.] ... I believe this ... because that crime [of collaborating with fugitives] is so very frequent among them and all the other [Mudejar communities] of the kingdom, that no man can hold any captive safe.83

81 *Furs de València*, 6:127: "E si algú dels dits moros habitadors del dit regne serà atrobat que contra forma de la dita prohibició exirà o se n’irà o s’arà per la dita prohibició, los tal moro o moros sien catius sens que no piuxen al·legar ne ajudar-se de guiatge, licència, permís, o altra seguretat nostres o de nostres oficials o havents poder de nós ne dels senyors dels lochs de on seran vassalls e one overol que seran atrobut, a sola instància de qualsevol persona o persones dels dits staments ecclesiàstich, militar e de les ciutats e viles reals o sols de síndich del statement militar, los dits tal moro o moros sien preses per qualsevol official que'n serà request per catius, com dit és, lo qual cativeri se haja de partir juxta forma del dit fur."

82 O’Callahagan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 592. The *portantveus* was also the administrator of a *governació* in the kingdom of Valencia, of which there were four: Valencia, Xàtiva, Castellón, and Oriola.

83 *La Frontera*, doc.46, 266-67: "Contra alguns moros del ravall del dit loch, los quales se dehie aver donat consell e ajudà a una cativa del dit en Berenguer que aquella isques de cativitat, çelan e amagan aquella ... [editing mine] creu senyor que ... [editing mine] per ço car aquest crim se freqüente molt entre és e entre tots los altres del regne, axí que a penes nuyl hom hic pot tener negun catiu segur."
Muslims' legal rights were not the only items subject to abuse. Their homes and their very lives were also at risk, threatened by religious intolerance. The fourteenth century saw a rise in attacks against Muslim (and Jewish) quarters in the cities of the kingdom of Valencia. Some of these attacks were based on motives for personal gain, others were induced by fear. One of the documents from the early part of the fourteenth century shows a messenger from the *aljama* of Elx supplicating the king for royal protection against rioters' attacks. The rioters' hysteria was fueled by some troublemakers who circulated a rumor that the Muslims of Elx were conspiring with hostile Granadan forces, and were going to destroy the city:

Before our presence ... a messenger from the *aljama* of Elx humbly made known to us that ... a certain rumor that *geneti*, or Muslims from Granada, were going to invade our land, sprung up in that said city, and that certain young men of that place, led by boldness, were stirring up the mob against the aforesaid [Muslim quarter], crying out, "to the ghettos, to the ghettos," ... to invade and destroy the ghetto and the Muslims' goods ... we say and command ... that all the Muslims and their goods stay secure under our defense.  

The king had an obligation to protect his Muslim inhabitants, as set out in the surrender agreements. Ostensibly, this was done for reasons spurred by morality and duty, but more likely the king saw an incredible amount of money taken from his hands when his Muslims fled due to the attacks or threats of attacks. Raids upon the Valencian Muslims, with the accompanying loss in revenue as they were killed, captured, or fled, were tantamount to stealing from the royal treasury. In a document from 1386, Pere el Ceremoniós told his *portantveus* of the governor of the kingdom of Valenciana...

---

84 *La Frontera*, doc. 44, 265: "In nostri presencia ... [editing mine] nuncius aliame sarracenorum Elchii exposuit humiliter coram nobis quod ... [editing mine] cum insurgit rumor aliquis in dicho loco quod geneti seu sarraceni de partibus Granate intrant hostiliter terram nostram, aliqui homines iuvenes loci ipsius temeritate ducti, concitando populum contra sarracenos loci predicti vociferant et dicunt 'al raval, al raval' ... [editing mine] ad invadendum et devestandum ipsum ravallum et bona sarracnorum ... [editing mine] dicimus et mandamus ... [editing mine] quod sarraceni ipsi cum bonis eorum sub nostra deffensione securi permaneant."
Valencia, Aznar Pedro de la Casta, to severely punish the men of Biar, Ontinyent and Bocarient who, fearing a supposed Muslim attack, attacked the *aljama* of Elda. Thirty Muslims were killed in the battle and eight more were killed afterwards, two while searching for food. He commanded Aznar:

> We command ... under penalty of the loss of [your] office and a fine levied [against you] of two thousand gold *morabetins* ... that you make a diligent investigation or inquisition into all of the [afore]said statements, and that you imprison and guard all the men of the cities [Biar, Ontinyent, Bocarient] and [so that they do not escape] that against those found guilty by due process you administer great justice, [with] the gravity and the immensity that those crimes merit.\(^{85}\)

This policy of royal protection was also continued under Pere’s successors.

Martí l’Huma, writing in 1397, commanded Arnau de Vilarnau, lieutenant governor of the kingdom, that he protect the *moreria* of Valencia from further attacks by rioters, since “two great riots of young people against the Muslims of the *moreria* have occurred.”\(^ {86}\)

So the situation of fourteenth century Valencia is as follows: there exists an immense Muslim community that is held subject to a Christian minority. Those Muslims who exist in the kingdom of Valencia do so as either freemen or vassals, the Mudejars, or as slaves. In addition, foreign Muslims are being incorporated into the society almost on a daily basis, as they are enslaved and sold for a variety of reasons.\(^ {87}\)

\(^{85}\) *La Frontera*, doc. 136, 358-60: “Volem e-us manam ... [editing mine] sots pena de privació del offici a vós comanat e encara de deu mille morabatins d’or ... [editing mine] reebats diligent informació o inquisició de totes les dites coses e de fet prengats e preses e bé ferrats e guardats tingats tots los hòmens d’aquells, per migençant justícia, faent-ne tal e tan greu càstich, la gravitat e imensitat dels crims atteses.”

\(^{86}\) *La Frontera*, doc. 179, 413-14: “Entès havem que en aquexa ciutat [Valencia] se ha mogut deus vegades gran avalot de infants contra los moros de la moreria d’aquella.”

\(^{87}\) The Valencian slave markets auctioned off Greeks, Armenians, Tartars, Slavs, and Sardinians as well. See Charles Verlinden, *L’Esclavage dans L’Europe*
Although the Muslim communities did provide a “safety net” for the preservation of identity, these communities were looked upon by Christians as threats that provided not only “safe havens” for rebellious Muslims but also were the sources of many potential members of a supposed “fifth column.” Royal decrees stipulated that the Muslims were royal property, and therefore covered by the mantle of royal protection, but they were drawn up often after the attacks on Muslim quarters by paranoid or greedy Christians. No amount of legislation could bring back either the Muslim dead or restore the stolen and/or destroyed personal possessions. The only methods available to the desperate Muslim, who lacked the sufficient funds to liberate himself or herself and emigrate legally or who was unable and unwilling to stand up to such legal and social persecutions, were either armed rebellion, which would have only led to even further repression and injustice, or to take one’s chances and flee, in order to gain some measure of self-preservation. As will be expounded upon in greater detail in Chapter IV, many of these fugitive vassals and slaves used flight as an option to express their dissatisfactions. Most of the Muslims who fled would try to make it to either Granada or the Maghrib coast although some, notes Cortes, would not try to return to Muslim lands. They, the descaminants, would rather wander aimlessly.88

What were the fugitives like? What was the “typical” fugitive? What did they leave behind? Because of the nature of flight, which generally does not allow for long periods of reflection and introspection, we have few records of successful journeys to Muslim lands, or of the evils that befell those who tried to take their liberty into their own hands. Therefore, our theories of the experiences of the runaways themselves

---

must largely be based on hypothesis and supposition. There are few documents in Ferrer i Mallol’s books which describe the physical characteristics or ages of the fugitives in any detail. Verlinden supposes, however, that due to the hazards one encounters by running away, fugitives were normally young.89 In the slave markets children were usually preferred, since it was believed that they would assimilate more readily into the dominant culture of their masters, and therefore be less likely to flee.90 By and large, however, all manners of Muslims fled, young and old, male and female, free and slave. From the 802 documents from all four of her books, 144 deal with slaves’ and vassals’ movements, from out-and-out flight to royal restriction of movement.91 She describes the “typical” runaway account as that X amount of Muslims fled from Y person during Z situation. The wording of the documents is unambiguous about missing Muslims: those Christians who drew them up couched them in terms connected with flight. The documents are worded in such a manner that it is difficult to conjecture that the Christian masters believed that their Muslims had not fled, regardless how innocuous the reality of the situation was. Time and again we come across, “Three families of Muslims ... who fled recently from the kingdom of Valencia with genets, when they invaded the said kingdom.”92 The documents are

89 See Charles Verlinden, L’Esclavage, 1:333. Verlinden cites a document from 1425 which describes two fugitives who are 18 and 22 years old, respectively.

90 Phillips, Slavery from Roman Times, 127.

91 See Appendix B for a more statistical analysis of the documents.

92 La Frontera, doc. 18, 238. “Tres casatos sarracenorum ... [editing mine] qui ... [editing mine] affugerunt [emphasis mine] nuper a regno Valencie cum janetis, qui intraverant dictum regnum.” The number of documents that mention, in either the Latin or 14th century Catalan vernacular, how many Muslim vassals and slaves that fled is truly staggering. To count the exact number of times a certain word that even remotely deals with fugitivism in the documents would tax both the researcher’s and readers’ patience.
more valuable in that they show the certain environments from which the Muslims fled.

Suspicion and fear, aroused by uneasy Christians fearing a Granadan attack, in turn fueled the Muslims' own anxiety and provided ample opportunity for flight. When those attacks actually came, those Muslims who wished to flee sometimes used the battles to cover their escape. For example, one document from 1305 shows how Muslims fled when a Granadan army attacked Valencia. They used the attack to cover their own escape to Granada. Jaume II told Guillemó de Belvis that he could readmit those fifty Muslim families who fled during the attack and later sought to return to Valencia, stating:

> We concede graciously that you can ... readmit and have ... 50 families of Muslims from these or other [parts] who most recently fled from our domain with the Muslims of the king of Granada, when they [the latter] invaded our land.93

The Muslims, as said above, often fled under the cover of an attack. Yet sometimes they fled because they were under suspicion of collaborating with Granadan genets, or cavalry divisions. In a document from 1332, Alfons el Benigne pardoned the Muslims from Elx and Crevillen, accused both of having favored an attack by the Granadan army against Elx and also of deserting with the invaders. Alfons states that those Muslims who wished to return could do so, safe and sound, without fearing Christian retribution in the form of personal punishments or the seizure of moveable goods:

> We, Alfons ... acquit, resolve, remit, and forgive each and every Muslim, male and female alike, one time inhabitants of the village of Elx and the place of Crevillen, [them of] all action, question, petition, and demand and also [from] every civil and criminal and any other penalty [that] we can level, inflict, and hold against them and their goods by

93*La Frontera*, doc. 20, 241: “Concedimus graciose possitis quinquaginta casatos sarracenorum ex illis aut allis qui cum sarracenis regis Granate recesserunt a dominio nostro nuperrime, quando terram nostram hostiliter intraverunt ... [editing mine] recipere et tenere.”
reason of the invasion, siege, conspiracy, and attack inflicted upon the
said village of Elx ... [who] with wives and moveable goods, fled with
the Muslims of the kingdom of Granada, our enemies, who came to
destroy the said city ... we therefore ... guide and assure each and every
one of the aforesaid Muslims, and whichever others from whatever
place, to live in the city and the boundary of the aforesaid [places] as
long as they will not have been the [attacking] Muslims of the kingdom
of Granada. 94

Accusations that the Muslims were fleeing in order to conspire against the
Christians, were levelled by “good men of good fame and good condition,” and could
not have eased any anxiety suffered by the Muslims. 95 The Muslims may have felt that
the king or Christian judges would automatically side with these men, and not give
them a chance to explain themselves or allow them to be tried according to Islamic law.
The fact that Muslims often fled to escape persecution only justified, in the Christians’
eyes, the veracity of their suspicions. In their collective opinion, only those guilty of
harboring intent to revolt would flee once they had been “found out.” Guillem Serrà,
the Batle General of Valencia, and therefore the person responsible to track down
fugitive Muslims, wrote to the king about the rumor circulated in Valencia that many of
the Muslims who fled have gone to help the sultan of Granada attack Castile:

To your highness, lord, it is made known that I have heard from good
persons of good fame and condition that many Muslims from the
kingdom of Valencia have gone to the parts of the kingdom of Granada
in order to help the king of Algar and the king of Granada and in order

94La Frontera, doc. 56, 277: “Nos, Alfonso ... [editing mine] absolvimus,
diffimimus, remitimus et relaxamus universis et singulis sarracenis tam hominibus quam
feminis, olim habitatoribus ville de Elchio et loci de Crivillen, omnem actionem,
questionem, peticionem et demandam et omnem etiam penam civilem et criminalem et
aliam quamlibet, quam contra eos et bona eorum possemus movere, infilgere et habere
racione invasionis, obsidionis, conspiracionis et pugnacionis facte contra villam de
Elchio ... [editing mine] cum uxoribus, liberis et bonis mobilibus recesserunt cum
sarracenis regni Granate, hostibus nostris, qui ad expugnandum dictum locum venerant ...
[editing mine] Nos enim ... [editing mine] guidamus et assecuramus predictos
omnes et singulos sarracenos et alios quoscumque et undecumque ad habitandum in
villa et termino dictorum ville dum tamen non fuerint sarraceni regni Granate.”

95La Frontera, doc. 69, 290: “Per persones bones e de bona fama e condició.”
to be in the battle between those kings and the king of Castile ... there is a great rumor in the city of Valencia [about this].

Rumor, however, did not always corrupt the sensibilities of those individuals concerned with discovering the truth. King Pere el Ceremonioso wrote to the count of Denia in 1362. He asked him to see if a group of Muslims that fled from the fields, and subsequently hidden in Elx with their families, had indeed constituted a peril to the security of the village, as the men of the city had proclaimed. There is nothing that indicates the results of the investigation, nor even if the Muslims really constituted any sort of danger at all:

The men of the place of Elx have written us that in the said place [Elx] all the Muslims of the fields, along with their wives and children, have gathered together and the said men, according to what they know, doubt that, in case the king of Granada comes to these parts, the said Muslims will not incur damage, nor allow that the said city not be hurt ... we write to you that you find out if the Muslims have massed together in the said city.

Regardless of the situation, Muslims were easy scapegoats for paranoid or jealous designs. The threat of persecution alone forced many vassals and slaves to flee. The actions of rioters themselves, attacking both Jewish and Muslim quarters alike, only made the option for flight more attractive:

I have written in other letters to your great highness of the huge riot that was levelled the past Sunday against the Jews of this city [Valencia] and of the other things that followed that day. The Monday after, sir, they looted the juderia ... [and] many people began to riot against the Moors.

---

96 *La Frontera*, doc. 69, 290: “A la vostra altea, senyor, ffaç saber que yo he enteses per persones bones e de bona fama e condició que molts sarraïnes del regne de València són anats a les parts del regne de Granada en ajuda del rey de Algar e del rey de Granada e per ésser en la batalla que entre aquells reys e lo rey de Castella ... [editing mine] ha gran murmuru en la ciutat de València.”

97 *La Frontera*, doc. 89, 311: “Los hòmens del loch de Eltx nos han escrit que en lo dit loch se són recollits tots los moros de la orta ab lurs mullers e infants e los dits hòmens, segons que fan saber, dubten-se que, en cas que·l rey de Granada venga en aquellas partidas, los dits moros no faessen o no consentinssen alguna cosa per donar dampnatge al loch ... [editing mine] vos scrivim e·us pregam que vós sapiats si en lo dit loch massa moros.”
in the said city, and in order to do so, went to the morería ... and a great many of the Muslims fled.  

The Muslims were not completely friendless, however. At times the royal presence would attempt to protect them, in order to minimize the circumstances which induced flight. A more tangible form of aid came in the form of other Islamic communities within Valencia and Aragon. As Mark Meyerson mentioned, these communities oftentimes made up stations on a fourteenth-century "underground railroad," providing food, shelter, rest, and funds to assist fugitive Muslims on their way to Granada or the Barbary Coast. Boswell writes that when royal officials searched for runaways, "the traditional sanctuary offered . . . by cities to runaways was denied to aljamas: runaways could be and frequently were extracted from morerías." These aljamas ran the risk of receiving the king's ire if they helped runaway slaves. Writing in 1407, Martí l'Humà commanded the governor of the kingdom of Valencia, Guillem Ramon de Montcada, to investigate the aljamas of Aragon and Valencia. He believed that six fugitive Muslims from Castile (whose names and origins had been distributed, presumably to aid in their recapture) were helped there in their flight to freedom:

It was recently brought to our attention that Muhammad Abdulaziz from Tripoli in Barbary, Zayt Abenomer of Huara, a natural citizen of Almeria, Muhammad Abenabrafit, Ali Abenmucen, Imram Abenali from Ronda and Juceff Abenali from Gibraltar, fugitive Muslim slaves, escaped from Castile into our domain, passing secretly through the kingdom of Aragon and Valencia, [where] they were received in various places by the [Muslim] vassals of prelates, ecclesiastics, barons, 

---

98 *La Frontera*, doc. 156, 384-85: "Per altres letres he scrit a la vostra molt gran senyoria del gran avalot qui fon mogut lo digmenge prop passat contra los juheus d'esta ciutat e de les altres cases qui·s seguiren aquell dia. Après, senyor, lo dilluns robaven en la dita juheria ...[editing mine] molta gent se començà de avalotar contra los moros de la dita ciutat, e de feyt anaren a la moreria ... [editing mine] E dels dits moros fugiren-se'n gran partida."

soldiers, citizens and other persons.  

Aid to fugitive Muslims not only came from their own subject brethren, but surprisingly also from Christian priests at times. They too would give food and shelter and at times they would provide aid in the form of baptisms. Even the members of the Church in Valencia assisted in the baptizing and aiding of fugitive Muslims. Jaume II wrote to the bishop of Saragossa in 1313, thundering against the situation that the chaplain of Ricla, a certain Pere Martín, along with some of his followers had hidden a fugitive captive woman and her child, and subsequently baptized them. He wrote:

It was exposed before us ... that Pere Martín, the chaplain of the church at Ricla, and certain other priests of the church ... received and retained against the wish of our faithful Pere Egidius of Azarol ... a certain

---

100 *La Frontera*, doc. 235, 476-77: “Auribus nostris noviter est deductum quod Mahomet Abdulaziz de Tripol de Barberia, Çaat Abenomer de Huara, naturalis et habitator de Almeria, Mahomat Abenabrafim, Ali Abenmucen, Imbram Abenali de Ronda et Juceff Abenali de Gibaltar, sarraceni captivi, fugitivi, exeuntes a regno Castelle in nostrum dominium, intrantes per regnum Aragonum et Valencie discurrentes clandestine fuerunt receptati in diversis locis prelatorum, religiosorum, baronum, militum, civium et aliarum personarum per vassallos eorum.”

101 Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 48. Does the baptism of a slave automatically entail his or her manumission? This question was debated time and again in the Middle Ages. The dilemma is this: theoretically, if a slave wanted to convert to Christianity, he or she should be allowed to do so, without hindrance, and the converted slave should be considered for manumission. The problem arises when slaves convert not out of true devotion, but in order to free themselves. Moreover, the baptism of so many slaves, whose presence was vital in Spain and in the Crusader States of the Near East, would result in a diminution of a free labor force. How does one reconcile the two problems?

Ramon de Penyafort was the first Catalan to tackle this problem, and argued that the baptism of slaves does not automatically bestow free status, but that Christian masters should free their converted slaves in a gesture of good faith and for the remission of their sins. Pope Gregory IX was the one to tackle the problem most effectively. Gregory stated, in 1237, that baptized slaves were to remain as slaves. They were not to be hindered from going to church or attending the sacraments, but their legal standing as slaves was nevertheless to be unaltered. See Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 213, “Appendix 2c: Gregory IX to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and His Suffragans. Lateran, March 9, 1238”: “In any event, as those [converts] are to receive the baptismal sacrament and to hear the preaching at church and at special holidays, they stay, once and for all, in the original [state of] servitude” (“Ut ipsos saltem semel in mense ac in precipuis festivitatisbus predicationem audire ac sacram baptisma suscipere, in servitate pristina moratus”).
captive Muslim woman of ours ... and that they baptized her ... and provided her aid and advice that she, with her certain small child, fled from that said place [Jaume II commands the bishop that Pere and his clerics that] ... they compel strongly and forcefully to pay restitution to the above mentioned Pere Egidius or to our bailiff, the above-mentioned baptized woman with expenses and damages that were or will be made or sustained on account of this [event].

The flight of Muslims was increasing during the fourteenth century, exacerbated by the trials of war, plague, and intolerance. According to the legislation which dealt with the restriction or allowance of movement, as presented by Ferreri Mallol, the flight of Muslims gradually increased until the second half of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the century, 19 of the 144 documents, or 13.19%, deal with movement. This drops to 3.47%, or 5 out of 144, the next decade, but starting in the 1320s, there is a gradual increase until the 1360s, when 22 of the 144 documents, or 15.2%, deal with movement restrictions and/or allowances. This is concurrent with the height of the war between Aragon and Castile.

Made uneasy by the constant threat of Christian attacks against their quarters, some of which saw light, many Muslims decided that neither royal nor noble protection were forthcoming in any way, shape or form. Many of those dissatisfied Muslims chose to face whatever risks they might encounter by fleeing from areas where they did not receive any cultural, emotional, or physical solace. If Muslims could not, or would not, stay of their own volition, the Christian kings and nobles had to find other ways to

---

102 Sarraines, doc. 16, 226-27: “Exposuit coram nobis ... [editing mine] Petrus Martini, capellanus ecclesie de Ricla, et quidam alii clerici ecclesie ipsius ... [editing mine] receperunt et retinuerunt contra voluntatem fidelis nostri Petri Egidii de Azarol ... [editing mine] quandam sarracenam captivam nostram ... [editing mine] eamque batbizarunt et ... [editing mine] prestiterunt dicte batbitzate consilium et iuvamen, quod se a dicto loco una cum quodam eius filio parvulo absentavit ... [editing mine] eos compellant fortiter et districte ad restituendum dicto nostro baiulo vel Petro Egidii supradicto, batbitzatam predictam cum dampnis et expensis, que facte aut sustente sunt et fuerint hac de causa.”

103 See Appendix B for details.
keep their sources of revenue from being depleted. What avenues lay open for the Aragonese nobles? How could they regulate the movement of their vassals? More importantly, how could they punish those Muslims who fled from their dominions? Those are questions better answered in the following chapter.
CHAPTER III

THE CHRISTIAN RESPONSES TO MUSLIM FLIGHT

King James described the surrender of the Alcira region. "And they made a treaty with me by which they would stay in Alcira with those laws and customs [furs e custumes] which prevailed in Almohad times ... and that every Saracen slave who might come to Alcira be free and I could not seize him, or any man for me." The last item went beyond the right of asylum accorded in surrender or settlement pacts. At Chivert and Jáviva, for example, the local people could hide fugitive slaves without fear of punishment, and Christian searchers could not investigate a suspected asylum unless accompanied by a Muslim.104

Thus writes Father Burns in his description of some of the concessions from thirteenth century surrender agreements. According to the surrender documents from Jaume I's era, Christians could neither search for nor seize fugitive slaves without warrant. This apparently was a common concession from Jaume. Verlinden tells us:

We learn of the privilege granted by Jaume I to the Muslims of Xàtiva in 1251 that if a fugitive slave is found in the house of a person of that location, that person can not be molested, neither his person nor his goods. The Muslims of Xàtiva will not pay, moreover, any tax for the captives whom they will ransom to their masters, on the condition that they come free to live in the Arab quarter of the city.105

By the end of the period studied for this investigation, however, Christians persecuted runaways with increasing severity.106 By the advent of the fifteenth

104 Burns, Islam, 128.

105 Verlinden, L'Eslavage, 1:317: "Le privilège accordé par Jaime Ier aux Sarrasins de Játiva en 1251 nous apprend que si un esclave fugitif est trouvé dans la maison d’un habitant de cette localité, celui-ci ne pourra être inquiété ni dans sa personne ni dans ses biens. Les Sarrasins de Játiva ne payeront, en outre, aucun droit pour les captifs qu’ils rachèteront à leurs seigneurs, à condition que les affranchis viennent habiter le faubourg arabe de la ville." Watt, Muslims Under Latin Rule, 16, mentions that: "When Úbeda surrendered, the Moors were permitted to leave, taking their movable goods under safe-conduct to Muslim territory." Cf. 6, n. 12.
century, Christians had already seized the movable goods and families of countless Muslims as punishment for flight. They had restricted the personal movement that was vital for the Islamic faith, denying the Mudejars the right to go on pilgrimage or to beg for alms. They had enacted legislation that required steep fees to be paid by Muslims who wanted to emigrate from Valencia legally. Finally, they made sure to regulate movement as tightly as possible, by forcing the Mudejars to purchase licenses for travel. Failure to carry these licenses could result in the payment of a fine, the seizure of personal items, or even enslavement.

The fourteenth century, mired in the political and natural confusion it could offer, saw the departure of the royal court from Valencia to Aragon largely as a result of the ravages of the Black Death. Presumably, this withdrawal was done to protect the royal person from the disease which traveled along maritime trade routes and affected coastal enclaves especially hard. The Black Death, and the war between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, both added fuel to the fire that was the already tense relationship between Christians and Muslims. This resulted in a furthering abridgment of Muslims’ individual liberties. This chapter will investigate the progression of that abridgment.

The number of Muslims leaving swelled thanks both to the physical and political calamities of the fourteenth century and also that the watchful eyes of the Crown were now farther away. What were the methods the Christians employed? Who were in charge of tracking down fugitive Mudejar vassals and Muslim slaves? How did the Christians perfect these tools of regulating movement? Christians used two systems

---

106 For the decade of 1391-1400, 21 of the 144 documents, or 14.58%, reflect documents which deal with movement. The subsequent period, 1401-1410, sees 10 out of 144 documents, or 6.94% dealing with movement. See Appendix B for more details.

to regulate their Muslims' movements, in order to stem the growing tide of Muslim emigrants. There was an informal system, characterized by fines, the seizure of goods and the holding of loved ones hostage. The more formal system was a direct outgrowth from the royal bureaucracy, one that used a network of officials to hunt down and recapture fugitives.

Valencian Mudejars, according to the Christians, were more likely to flee from the kingdom for Muslim parts. The Aragonese Mudejars had more liberties of personal movement. Boswell writes, "although Aragonese Mudéjars enjoyed extraordinary--by medieval standards--freedom of movement, it is difficult to agree with Roca Traver that the same was true of their Valencian brethren."108 The Aragonese Mudejars could indeed wander, begging for alms, going on pilgrimage, emigrating. The Aragonese Mudejars had more readily assimilated into the Christian society. They had, by the advent of the fourteenth century, adopted the language and many of the customs of their Christian overseers, and therefore did not pose as great a threat as did their compatriots to the south. Valencian Mudejars, on the other hand, were more "Arabicized," as it were, tenaciously holding onto their distinctive language, way of dress, and religion. Boswell states that the "Valencian Muslims . . . spoke no Romance, had few contacts with Christians, and felt little kinship to the Crown of Aragon."109 The Aragonese Muslims, however, did feel some greater degree of kinship with the Aragonese Christians, and therefore were less likely to flee for Islamic areas, where the society would be more alien than welcoming. Harvey argues that a "frontier of the mind" had been established between the Christians and the Muslims of Iberia, but this concept can


also be applied to the psychology of the Mudejars of Aragon and the Mudejars of Valencia. 110 The latter “kept in communication with Muslims overseas,” and as such held on to their old ways. 111 Such a population was more likely to flee and therefore its movement had to be tightly regulated, according to the Christians.

Geography was also an important factor in determining the likelihood of flight. Muslims from the kingdom of Valencia did not have to travel as far as Muslims from Aragon. The fact that Murcia, Alacant, and Valencia were 278 km, 353 km, and 519 km from Granada, respectively, whereas Saragossa, Huesca, and Barcelona were 759 km, 831 km, and 868 km from Granada, was an important factor for the decision to flee. Even if an Aragonese Muslim were dissatisfied with his or her station in life, a journey that was more than 700 km long could be far too dangerous to risk undertaking. The longer that the journey took meant the greater the chance of being recaptured. The Murcian Muslim, on the other hand, might take his or her chances for freedom in a mad 300 km dash to the Granadan gates.

“In the years 1358-59 no Muslims legally departed from Valencia.” 112 If then, those Muslims who did leave Valencia did so clandestinely, outside of the boundaries established by law. Who were the people that would search for and apprehend these Muslims? There were two main “agencies,” if one can define them as such. The Crown itself, and officials acting in the stead of the Crown, tracked fugitives down; or the nobles and knights who actually enjoyed the fruits of the labors of their Muslim slaves and vassals could search for runaways themselves. It should come as no


111 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 15.

112 Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 318. Unfortunately, Boswell provides no evidence to support this claim.
surprise that the people who looked for their missing treasure were also the same people who hoarded it oppressively.\textsuperscript{113} The ways the Crown, the royally-appointed \textit{Batlle General} (see below), or the various territorial magnates could regulate movement were various. They could seize the personal goods of Muslims who had fled. They could hold family members as potential hostages, to prevent Muslims from fleeing.\textsuperscript{114} They could levy stiff fines against recaptured Muslims. These are all elements of an informal system of repression of movement. Sometimes Mudejars were even prohibited from going on pilgrimage to the shrines of the Islamic holy dead:

We have heard that according to different people, in the location of Atzeneta, which is in our land, a great congregation of Muslims is at one Muslim's tomb who, they say, is a saint, and there they come with weapons and in such different manners and in such a multitude that it could be a danger and a great scandal could follow in that group [were] Muslims from Granada and Barbary [to] come, which we ask, wish and command that with temperate care and diligence you prevent that ... the said Muslims do not follow any [program of incurring] damage or scandal in the said kingdom.\textsuperscript{115}

The nature of flight does not permit the fugitive to transport all his or her personal goods: time constraints do not allow one the luxury to pick and choose what will or will not come along and, on a practical level, extra baggage tends to slow one down. Those personal items left behind instantly became the property of the Christian

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{113} Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure}, 330: “Real oppresion of Muslims was either royal--by the Crown itself or its officials--or individual--by nobles or knights who abased their Muslim vassals.”
\item \textsuperscript{114} Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure}, 187.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Sarrai'nes, doc. 106, 321. Pere el Ceremoniós commands the marquis of Villena that he take measures to prevent this Muslim pilgrimage to Atzeneta: “Segons que havem entès per diverses persones, en lo loch de Atzeneta, qui és en vostra terra ... [editing mine] any gran congregació de moros per I moro qui y jau, lo qual dien ells que és sanct, e aquí venen ab armas e en diverses maneres e en tanta multitut que poria ésser perill e se-n poria seguir gran escàndel, car en aquest ajust venen moros de Granada e de Barberia, per què-us pregam, volem e manam que ab sobirana cura e diligència façats guardar que ... [editing mine] dels dits moros no s puga seguir en lo dit regne algun perill ne escàndel.”
\end{itemize}
masters, as a form of compensation. In 1304, Jaume II commanded Ramon, the bishop of Valencia, to seize the goods of those Muslims who fled and were later rumored to participate in the siege and destruction of Cocentaina:

Who fled from the kingdom of Valencia with *genets*, who left behind [their] goods in the said kingdom, which they [the masters] claim those goods as [payment of ] debt with the goods of the said Muslims, some of whom were personally at the siege and destruction of Cocentaina and the skirmish at the place of Alcoy and other damages inflicted by the said *genets* in the said kingdom of Valencia.  

The documents, such as this one, often do not stipulate what exactly was left behind and given to the owner of the fugitive Muslims. They merely state that the abandoned goods are rightfully the property of the Christian masters, to make up for the loss of food and income that the Mudejars provided:

It was brought before us that Muslims, who were tending [the fields] or working in the city of Busot ... were in debt to him [Jacobo Garriga] by the portion of foods ... and that recently the above-mentioned Muslims fled from the said place of Busot with *genets* of the king of Granada [who] entered the kingdom of Valencia and left with those above-mentioned *genets* for Granadan parts ... to what extent we say and command that if it stands to you [as true?] about the above-mentioned facts, the said indebted goods are to be given to the said Jacobo Garriga [and] that is stands to you and the said Muslims (?) are to be indebted to him, in as much as it will be according to the manner."  

---

116 *La Frontera*, doc. 14, 234: “Qui cum genetis de regno Valencie recesserunt, qui ad se bona ipsorum sarracenorum, que in dicto regno dimiserunt, asserunt minus debite pertinere, cum pocius bona dictorum sarracenorum, quorum aliqui etiam obsidionem et destruccione loci de Cocentayna et expugnaiconi loci de Alcoy et aliis dampnis datis per dictos genetos in dicto regno Valencie personaliter affuere.”

117 *La Frontera*, doc. 28, 248. However, this was not always the case. In a document dating from 1305, Gombau d’Entenqa donates to the monastery of Valldigna the pregnant cow of one of their Muslims who fled: “We gladly give and donate to the Venerable Brother John, abbot of the monastery at Valldigna and his congregation a certain pregnant cow that was, as it is said, of a certain Muslim who fled from the kingdom with [Granadan] genets.” (“Cum nos graciose dederimus et concesserimus venerabilibus fratri Johanni, abbati monasterii Vallisdigne, et conventui eiusdem quandam vaccam cum fetu suo, que fuit, ut dictur, cuiusdam sarraceni qui cum genetis recessit de regno.”)
In addition, the threat alone of the royal confiscation of goods was used to prevent Muslims from leaving Valencia without royal permission. In a document from 1363, Pere commanded that the bailiff (batle) of Lleida not permit certain merchants to transport Muslims overseas. If those Mudejars disobeyed the royal decree, then their personal effects became the property of the Crown: “Except that [they] will have made by rejecting these same requirements [of movement], we want that you seize them and receive their goods by your hands in the name of our court.”

More emotionally devastating than the seizure of goods that might or might not have had sentimental value is the seizure of those items that most certainly held some sentimental worth: families, spouses, and children. If children were the preferred items at the slave markets, then the next best thing were entire families. Although entire families were given the opportunity to emigrate from or return to Valencian lands, as the fourteenth century progressed such concessions by the Court became increasingly rare:

[Although] you will have gone illegally from the said city of Girona and you will have gone to the land of the Muslims [Granada?], you can return to our land and the said city of Girona or to whatever other place of ours you wish, with your family, things and goods standing, equally safe and secure.

118 Aljames, doc. 27, 199-200. In a royal document from 1304, Jaume II writes: “fuit expositum coram nobis quad sarraceni, qui excolebant sive laborabant in loco de Busot ... [editing mine] erant ei obligati in debitis, tam racione ... [editing mine] et quod nuper, cum geneti regis Granate intraverunt regnum Valencie, predicti sarraceni recesserunt de dicto loco de Busot et iverunt cum dicits genetis ad partes Granate ... [editing mine] vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus, si vobis constiterit de predictis, faciatis satisfieri dicto Jacobo Garriga de dictis bonis in debitis que vobis constiterit ei deberi per sarracenos predictos, prout fuerit racionis.”

119 Sarraïnes, doc. 89, 299-300: “Quod nisi fecerint, ipsas requisiciones spernendo, volumus ut ipsos capiatis et bona eorum as manus vestrás nomine nostré curie recipiatis”; No mention is made of what might happen to the merchants and their goods if they transport the Muslims in spite of the royal document, although one might assume that those, too, would be confiscated and a heavy fine be levied. Also see Harvey, Islamic Spain, 105.
Families provided extra labor, of course, and the children of slaves were slaves themselves, a self-perpetuating cycle providing no small amount of economic gain for the Christians. Moreover, the presence of a wife and children certainly cut down on the risk of flight. Facing the risks of flight, accompanied by a wife and child who would slow down the pace of running away, was not an attractive prospect for a Muslim. As a final “safety valve,” those wives and children left behind by fugitive Muslims were automatically held hostage. If the Mudejar were a semi-free vassal who fled, then his family would be sold as slaves. Thus, it behooved the Christian master to have families working his fields rather than single, young males who would more readily seize the opportunity to run away.

Although entire families sometimes fled en masse, this was extremely rare. Those Muslim families, if caught, would be subject to the royal anger. In a document from 1402, Martí l’Humà told Guilem Pérez de Vayllo, the lieutenant governor of

---

120 Sarraines, doc. 19, 229. Jaume II, writing in 1315, permits Abdolmelic Moligellia, from Girona, that he and his family could return to Girona, safe and sound, despite having left the area without license: “Illicenciatus absentaveris te a dicta civitate Gerunde et iveris ad terram sarracernorum, possis redire in terram nostram et in dicta civitate Gerunde vel quocumque alio loco nostro volueris, cum familia, rebus et bonis tuis comorari, salve pariter et secure.”

121 This, however, was not always the case. See Sarraines, doc. 17, 227-28. In this case dating from 1313, Jaume II commanded Ximén Pérez de Salanova, the justice of Aragon, to decide if the child of a baptized Muslim woman and a Christian father is a captive as well. The mother was imprisoned for having relations with the Christian father: “When recently a certain baptized Muslim woman of our village of Ricla was captured by our Aragonese bailiff or his assistant, and confiscated by our curia, because there existed [that state] that the Muslim woman had carnal access to a Christian man, and on our part a certain child was set free ... we say to you and command that you ... decide whether our said child remains a slave or is free.” (“Cum nuper quedam sarracena nunc babtizata ville nostre de Ricla per baillum nostrum Aragonie veri mandato ejusdem capta fuerit et nostrre curie confiscata, eo quia existendo sarracena ad quendam christianum carnalem accessum habuit, et pro parta nostra asseratur quendam filium ... [editing mine] vobis dicitus et mandamus ... [editing mine] cognoscatis an dictus filius noster remaneat vel libertatem.”)

122 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 334-35.
Xixona, to go to Elda where “Abolaix Algalliner and Abraffim Algerechi with their wives, children, and goods have been detained and imprisoned by the officials of the queen Yolanda.” What seems to have been more common than outright imprisonment was to keep wives and children as hostages. In 1308, the justices of Oriola had made known to Pero López de Rufes, the lieutenant procurator of Xixona, and to Ferrer Descortell, the Batle General, that two genets, or military units, from Jaen had entered their lands, and that it was rumored that the Muslims from that area were going to help others flee. If that were to occur, then “the wife [of whomever might provide food and/or assistance] and his children would be captured and delivered to Bera as captives.” Unfortunately, there is no response on how effective this preventive measure was. One can only assume that those Mudejars who cared for the welfare of their families refused to help or emigrate with the Muslims from Jaen.

If the seizure of goods and the detaining of families were not enough to keep the Muslims firmly rooted in place, then they were also regulated by economic measures. The fourteenth century saw the rise in taxes for the right to emigrate, as well as the rise in the price of fines if a Muslim fled and was recaptured. Many of the well-to-do Muslims emigrated with their families long before the crackdown of the fourteenth century. Those Muslim vassals who wished to do so after often found themselves in dire straits, financially speaking. “Emigrants taxed at the port of Valencia--mostly freed captives and therefore hardly well-to-do--wore clothing worth on the average 30 s, and most had at least 25 s in cash on them.” In addition, a tax was paid for the right to

---

123 Sarraïnes, doc. 149, 368-69: “Són stats presos e detenguts Abolaix Algalliner e Abraffim Algerechi ab lurs mullers, fills e bens d’aquells per los officials de la reyna dona Yolanda.”

124 Organització, doc. 70, 409: “La muller e sos fills fosen presos e tramesos per catius a Bera.”
emigrate, costing about 15 s. In 1361, Pere el Ceremoniós told the Muslim community of Valencia that they could emigrate with the Granadan ambassador Muhammad ibn Faraig if they wished, provided that they pay the accustomed fees. It appears that these costs were set standards, though variations in fees and taxes undoubtedly occurred. The monetary gain that the Crown received made up for the losses that happened when the “royal treasure” fled. Those Muslims who fled and were later recaptured, or who returned of their own volition, were expected to pay a fee. This replaced the money that the Crown and nobles spent in order to track down the fugitives. This fee, however, could be waived in a spirit of generosity. Writing to his brother Ferran, Jaume II pardoned a group of Muslims who fled from Siella and later returned. He stated that the fine would be waived, but for future reference the fine would increase to 200 Valencian sous:

125 Boswell, _The Royal Treasure_, 234.
126 Boswell, _The Royal Treasure_, 303.
127 Sarraines, doc. 80, 289-91: “Whoever wishes to go to the kingdom of Granada with the noble arayz Muhammad ibn Faraig, messenger of the king of Granada ... with all their company and goods, can do so, without any restraint, provided that they pay us or to you in our place, the accustomed fees.” (“Qui se·n volran anar en lo regne de Granada ab lo noble arayz Mahomet aben Farayg, missatger del rey de Granada ... [editing mine] ab totes lurs companyes e béns, ho puxen fer sens tot enbarch, pagan emperò a nòs o a vòs en loch nostre los drets acostumats de pagar.”) Also remember that the _Llibre de Çuna e Xara_ stated that whosoever wanted to leave must leave a tenth of his or her belongings as a form of compensation. Boswell, _The Royal Treasure_, 310, also writes that during the year 1360, Muslims who wished to depart for Islamic lands could do so: “As long as they paid the Court one-tenth the value of all their possessions -- including clothing worn on their persons -- and ‘other rights customarily paid us on such occasions.’”

128 Aljames, doc. 66, 232. Yet this was not always the case. In 1321, Jaume II writes to Alfons Guillem, the collector of royal debts from Elx, that he fine some of the Muslims of that location who fled whenever the royal tax collector came by: “When it arrived to our attention that frequently the Muslims of Elx and its surrounding areas flee and hide, while our judges are assembled, so that they can avoid their judgment [to pay taxes] ... we say to you ... and we command you to inflict upon these Muslims the said penalty of twenty açots.” (“Cum ad audiencam nostram pervenerit quod plerumque sarraceni Elchii et termini sui, dum iura nostra congregantur, ut possint solucione
It is recently known to us at the insistence and prayer of the noble Ferran, our brother, of the remission of grace of 12 Muslim families of the place of Siella, which is Eximini d’Oris, because they were with *genets* for that, we increase the total [of the fine] to 200 Valencian sous. Wherefore we say and command to you as far as the exaction of the said penalty as done and to be dropped, nor that you bother ... the said Muslims [and] that, more precisely, you permit those Muslims to return to the location of Siella and they are equally to be there and stay there safe and secure.  

Fines, fees, hostages, the taking of personal goods were the informal methods employed by Christians to keep Muslims from moving without royal permission. In addition, Muslims who were free or semi-free, but caught wandering aimlessly or begging for alms, the *descaminants*, would run the risk of being enslaved:

That all approaching or foreign Muslims, who are not residents in any places of the said kingdom of Valencia, leave from the entire kingdom within 15 days ... And furthermore, with the aforesaid 15 days having been past, if they will be discovered in any part of this same kingdom, they will be made ... captives and also acquired for our treasury. 

129 *La Frontera*, doc. 29, 248-49: “Noveritis nos, ad instanciam et preces nobilis Fferdinandi, fratris nostri, remisisse de gracia decem casatis sarracenorum loci de Siella, qui est Eximini d’Oris, penam in qua inciderunt, pro eo quia fuerunt cum genetis, ascendentem summam ducentorum solidorum regalium Valencie. Quare vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus ab exacione dicte pene cessetis et cessari faciatis nec dictos sarracenos ... vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus ab exacione dicte pene cessetis et cessari faciatis nec dictos sarracenos ...”

130 See *Sarrainés*, doc. 33, 241-42, for enslavement for wandering: “Quod omnes sarraceni advene sive extranee nacionis, qui domiciliati non sint in aliquibus locis dicti regni Valencie, exeant a toto regno infra XV ...” For enslavement for begging of alms [To aid in the acquisition of the money required to pay the emigration fees? Pere admits his concerns, however, that the vagrant Muslims might be congregating to conspire against Valencia], see *Sarrainés*, doc. 87, 297-98: “Which, in the cities and prominent places of the said kingdom of Valencia you make it to become prohibited expressly that no Muslim, except in the place where he or she was accustomed to stand, hear the wishes of or request alms; if he or she does the contrary, he or she incurs the penalty of captivity and is acquired as a captive by our curia” (“Quas in civitatibus et locis insignibus dicti regni Valencie fieri faciatis prohibeatis expresse ne quis sarracenus, nisi in loco ubi consuevit morari, durante Guerra Castelle elemosinas
These methods of repression, designed to minimize the number of runaways by making the penalties as unappealing as possible, would ironically only serve to increase the number of runaways, especially during 1361-1370. Boswell writes that by the mid-fourteenth century: "Defections by Mudejar communities and individuals snowballed into staggering proportions."\(^{131}\) Since that was the case, more drastic measures had to be taken. Officials whose main duties were to track down fugitives and issue licenses for travel and emigration had to be employed.

A more formal form of repression, established by the Crown during the fourteenth century and perfected in the succeeding centuries, was to charge the *Batle General* with the task of tracking down runaways, and issuing licenses to those Mudejars who wished to emigrate. This latter aspect was wrapped up in the usual fines and bureaucratic red tape.\(^{132}\) By regulating the movement of Muslims in and out of the kingdom of Valencia, the Court could attempt to keep a tighter leash on its Muslim population. The licenses also permitted the Court to seize the Muslims themselves, in order to fill in the holes that had been made with the departure of vassals and slaves due to the plague, war with Castile, or flight. Employing its tradition of being able to seize any Muslim it wished,\(^{133}\) the Crown could use licenses, or rather the lack thereof, to enslave any Muslims caught begging for alms, or by entering or leaving the kingdom, without them.

---

querere audeat seu presumat et, si contra fecerit, penam captivitatis incurrat et ut captivus nostrre curie adquiratur”.

\(^{131}\) Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 391.

\(^{132}\) Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 234.

\(^{133}\) Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 36: "The king could also simply confiscate and Mudéjares he wished to have, by right of ultimate juridical authority."
When a vassal or a slave ran away, the primary duty of the master was to track him or her down and recapture him or her. Fugitive Muslims, regardless of the economic loss, posed a threat to the normal social order. A fugitive Muslim could inspire other slaves to runaway, at the very least. They could also provide a greater threat; they could be wandering vagabonds passing through other areas who could possibly stir up other slaves to revolt against their masters.\textsuperscript{134} In order to minimize the threat of revolution, fugitives had to be apprehended as soon as possible; every second away from their masters increased the fugitives' sense of confidence.

The lengths to which one could pursue a fugitive were great indeed. Phillips writes, "pursuit could be far-reaching. A slaveowner in Barcelona wrote to an Italian living in Avignon asking him to be on guard for two runaways."\textsuperscript{135} The pursuit of runaway slaves could even cross the boundaries of ethnicity and politics:

A debtor’s episode in 1284 involved Muslims who fled, deliberately leaving their debts behind them. Unhappily for the delinquents, their overlord was Samuel b. Manasseh, distinguished chancellor for Arabic documents and affairs, counselor and physician to the king ... pursuit got under way. "Wherever our Arabic secretary Samuel will indicate to you the Saracens who were cultivating lands as sharecroppers for the said Samuel," the royal writ ordered, "arrest and hold them until they have paid to the said secretary the money that they owe him." Since no more is heard, presumably the culprits were apprehended.\textsuperscript{136}

The kingdoms of Aragon and Castile made a mutual promise after the war. Those Muslims who fled from either kingdom, and were captured in the other, were to be returned:

Also, that whichever Muslims are found in Castile, that fled from Aragon, that had the marks (?) of those [pertaining to Aragon] will be searched for in Castile and sent imprisoned to Aragon. And the

\textsuperscript{134} Piles Ros, \textit{Historia Económico Social de Valencia}, 171.

\textsuperscript{135} Phillips, \textit{Slavery from Roman Times}, 101.

\textsuperscript{136} Burns, \textit{Medieval Colonialism}, 324.
senyorío of the king of Aragon will do the same for those Castilian Muslims found captured here.\footnote{La Frontera, doc. 208, 446-47: “Otroí, que qualesquier moros que sean fallados en Castiella, que sean furtados de Aragón, que sean tenudas las comarcas d’ellos buscar por Castiella e los embiar forros Aragón. E esso mesmo fagan los del senyorío del rey de Aragón a los moros que fueron robados de Castiella fasta aquí.”}

Slaves were often insured in case he or she were to run away. If a slave were insured for flight, a master would be covered economically at the very least.\footnote{See Miret y Sans’ appendix concerning paid indemnities, in “La esclavitud en Cataluña,” 91-103.} If insurance policies refused to cover a slave in case of flight, it behooved the Christian master to have that slave apprehended as soon as possible. The policies depended both upon time and region. Phillips writes:

Iris Origo found an insurance policy dating from 1401 for the shipment of a Tartar slave, Margherita, from Porto Pisano to Barcelona. The value of the slave was set at fifty gold florins, and the owner would receive reimbursement if the slave met misadventure at sea. But the policy specifically excluded the illness or death of the slave and any “attempt at flight or suicide” ... a risk which would hardly have been specified, had not such incidents occurred fairly often.\footnote{Phillips, The Royal Treasure, 101.}

Verlinden, on the other hand, provides a different account of the insuring of slaves. He writes:

In Roussillon one was guaranteed against the flight of slaves as in Catalonia. We recall that the owner insured the slave for a determined value. If the captive fled, the Deputation of Catalonia paid the indemnity and was charged with the pursuit of the fugitive. The guards of the Generalitat who charged the bounties were also charged with the pursuit and arrest of the slaves.\footnote{Verlinden, L’Esclavage, 1:813: “En Roussillon on s’assurait contre les fuites d’esclaves comme en Catalogne. Rappelons que le propriétaire assurait l’esclave pour une valeur déterminée. Si le captif s’enfuyait, la Députation de Catalogne payait l’indemnité et se chargeait de la recherche du fugitif. Les gardes de la Généralité qui percevaient les primes se chargeaient aussi de la poursuite et de l’arrestation des esclaves.”}
Pursuit of slaves was either individual, as was in the case of Samuel b. Manasseh, or collective, with agents working within an established bureaucratic system. This system involved officials who were commissioned by, and generally loyal to, the Crown and who were charged with the pursuit of fugitives, as was in the case of the guards of the Generalitat. The Governor of Valencia, for example, was but one small cog in this very formal, royally-constructed machine:

The Governor of Valencia ... had rather limited jurisdiction. Officially, his primary duty in regard to the Muslim population of Valencia was probably the capture and prosecution of runaway slaves (even those not vassals of the king) which was the one area where there was no dispute between him and the general bailiff.141

The General Bailiff was far more important than the governor in the pursuit of fugitive slaves, however.142 More or less comparable to a modern state governor, the General Bailiff was the official who oversaw the ordinary functioning of the laws of the realm. Boswell describes his rule as “ubiquitous and all-encompassing,”143 which is accurate:

He was ... responsible for the pursuit and apprehension of fugitive slaves and for the sale of slaves that came to be owned by the crown. These were generally transgressors such as vagabonds, unlicensed beggars, and convicted adulterers, whose crimes were punished by enslavement, and recaptured runaway slaves.144

The Batle General was also the official who regulated the movement of the “royal treasure” of the Aragonese bureaucracy. By issuing “licenses to bear arms ... change residence, visit enemy countries, transport merchandise, and emigrate, and [by

141 Boswell, 117.

142 Sometimes referred to as the bayle general or batle general. Hereafter, he will be referred to in the Catalan as the Batle General.

143 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 113.

144 Phillips, Slavery from Roman Times, 166.
prosecuting] anyone caught doing these things without one of his licenses,”
the Batle General reinforced the Crown’s attempt to control the movement of its Muslims. In addition, as the fourteenth century dragged on, the Batle General was given more sweeping liberties by the Crown. Peter Boil, the Batle General for the kingdom of Valencia during most of Pere el Ceremoniós’ reign, was granted “absolute criminal and civil jurisdiction over a number of areas of Valencia formerly not subject to the general bailiff.”

If the Crown could not physically stay in the area to watch over its Muslims, it could employ civil servants as watchdogs as the next best thing.

Licenses were the most formal manner of regulating movement. The desire to move freely, to come and go wherever and whenever one pleases, can be a liberty taken for granted. One might argue that such conceptions as the right of free movement would have been wholly unthinkable during the Middle Ages, that the modern sensibility of individual liberty is anachronistic and cannot come into play. We have seen, however, that the surrender documents did indeed allow for free travel and personal movement, provided it was within Christian regulation. Muslims who were wandering aimlessly, however, without royal regulation, would come under scrutiny and suspicion. “Any Muslim found by Christians who could not or would not identify his lord or owner was automatically enslaved by the Crown.”

To add insult to injury, those Muslims who had paid all the required fees and tried to emigrate legally


146 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 115. It is interesting to note that as time progressed, the Batle General’s jurisdictional powers increased dramatically. By the sixteenth century, the Batle General could search morerías with impunity, regulate all movement into and out of the kingdom, and increase the fees for leaving Valencia. According to Cortes, La Esclavitud en Valencia, 79-92, the fees for emigration also increased: 121 s per person, 2 s for clothes worn, 8 s for the right of “media dobla,” (a sort of licencing fee), and 4 s for the besant.

147 Cortes, La Esclavitud en Valencia, 50-51.
were subject to name checking and thorough inspections. These were done in order to catch Muslim runaways fleeing from an intolerable situation or mounting debts.  

Thus was the purpose of the licenses; to regulate all movement in and out of the kingdom of Valencia. Muslims who wished to return to the kingdom without license in hand were imprisoned, as in the case of 450 Muslims imprisoned by Gombau d'Entença in 1306:

Know, sir, your royal majesty, that today, which is Sunday, February 27, by one command of yours ... [I have] captured and imprisoned those Muslims, which had left with the genets and have returned ... without your consent, and on the said day, imprisoned 450 people, among them the poor and the rich, males and females.  

The king could give, and the king could take away. The Crown could grant licenses for travel to Muslim lands, as Pere did in 1347:

From which the Muslims of the said kingdom of Valencia by royal license are able to abandon our lands and kingdom whenever they wish, with their wives, children, and moveable goods, for whichever parts they choose ... these same departing Muslims [give to] our curia a tenth and a besant and [as to] accustomed law, as with their goods and possessions having been left behind, so they [stay] in the kingdom.  

---

149 Organització, doc. 3, 336. Movement in and out of the Aragonese army could even be regulated. Writing in 1296, Jaume II told Ramon D'Urg that those men who had left the army without license ("Fem-vos saber que nós avem entès que mols homes de nostra host se-n van sens licència e voluntat nostra") should be imprisoned.  
150 La Frontera, doc. 24, 244: "Sàpia, senyor, la vostra real magestat que huy, que és dicmenge, III kalendas marci, per I manament per vós ... [editing hers] enantar e pendre d'aquells moros, los quals se'n eren anats ab los jenets e eren tornats ... [editing hers] sens voluntat vostra, e en lo dit dia pris-ne CCCCL persones, entre pochs e grans e mascles e fembres."  
151 Maria del Carmen Barceló Torres, *Minorías Islámicas en el País Valenciano: Historia y Dialecto*. (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1984), 96; Ferreri Mallol, in Sarraines, doc. 57, 264-66, also provides us an account of Pere's "generosity," his granting that Mudejars who wished to leave with their families and goods could do so, as long as they had his royal license of permission: "Ex quo sarraceni dicti regni Valencie ... [editing mine] de licencia regia possunt, quandocumque voluerint, cum uxoribus, filiis et bonis suis mobilibus regna et terras nostras deserere et ad partes alias,
The Crown could revoke those licenses just as easily, as Pere did in 1361.152

Boswell writes:

Muslims suffered a considerable decrease in their personal mobility: royal Mudéjares were prohibited from exercising their traditional right to move to other domains, those who moved out of towns out of fear of the war [with Castile] were ordered to move back in, and the right to wander about begging alms was effectively terminated.153

To go against the royal will was to risk falling into captivity. Any Muslim who dared go against any royal prohibition of movement lost all personal freedoms, regardless of age, station, or gender:

That if any Muslim man or woman, led by such foolhardy boldness, were to dispute [or] to come indiscreetly against this, our command, and were to be someone of our aljamas, he or she is to be acquired for us and for our treasury as a captive forever.154

The “royal treasure” was expected to be a loyal, docile, subject populace, one that would know its place within society. This mentality, however, was imposed upon the Valencian Mudejars in order to regulate their movement and contain their presence.

152 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 311. Also see Sarraines, doc. 84, 294-95: “However once we granted license to all the assembled Muslims in the said kingdom [for the purpose of] leaving the said kingdom and crossing to Barbary or Granada ... therefore we say to you and to anyone of yours from certain knowlegde and we expressly command that you hold and observe this kind of suspension [of the right to emigrate] of ours, and that you not come against it during the above-mentioned time.” (“Quamvis dudum licenciam dederimus omnibus sarracenis in dicto regno collocatis exeundi ipsum regnum ad partes Barbarie seu Granate transfretandi ... [editing mine] idcirco vobis et cuilibet vestrum ex certa scientia dicimus et expresse mandamus quatenus supersedimentum nostrum huiusmodi teneatis et observetis et contra illud non veniatis durante tempore supradicto.”)


154 Sarraines, doc. 128, 342-43: “Quod si aliquis sarracenus vel sarracena tam ausu temerario ductus contra hanc nostram ordinacionem venire inconsulite atemtaverit et aliciuus nostrarum aliamarum fuerit, nobis et fisco nostro pro captivo perpetuo adquiratur.”
It was an ideal forced upon a subject populace which chafed against it constantly. Indeed, that constant stress sometimes saw simmering conflicts come to a head. The revolt of the Muslim Cilim, whom we met on page 17, caused the free license for emigration to Tremissén to be revoked:

Recently we granted as legal, at the request of the messenger of the king of Tremissén, a license with other statements of ours to each and every Muslim of the kingdom of Valencia leaving the said kingdom and moving themselves to the lands of the said king of Tremissén ... nevertheless, on account of the riot, which is now in the said kingdom [Valencia] by the occasion of that perfidious Muslim, named Cilim, of the place of Antella, the said license ... [is to be] revoked.”

The traditional liberties of free movement, concessions according to the initial surrender agreements, were swept aside. The royal legislation that attempted to keep the Muslims in check only inspired them to flee. The only way to leave, for those Muslims who were too indigent and/or desperate for freedom, was to grasp their liberty with their own hands. Those who fled, and therefore broke the law, were hounded relentlessly by their masters and/or the General Bailiff of Valencia until they reached Granada or Barbary, were recaptured, or died on the way to freedom. The kingdom of Valencia was the site where the *Batle General*’s rule was most encompassing, and from where Muslims fled in the greatest numbers. The words of Boswell most accurately define the situation of the fourteenth century:

What emerges most clearly from all this is that, in direct contrast to the case in Aragon-Catalonia, where the Muslim communities regularly enjoyed the right to emigrate but rarely exercised it, in Valencia a great many Mudéjares would have liked to leave but could not, because it was seldom allowed them under the law.\footnote{\textit{See Sarraines,} doc. 77, 288: “Licet nuper ad supplicacionem nuncii regis Tremicen licenciam contulerimus cum aliis litteris nostris universis et singulis sarracenis regni Valencie exeundi regnum predictum et se ad terras dicti regis Tremicen transferendi ... [editing mine] tamen quia propter tumultum, qui contigerit nunc in dicto regno occassione illius perfidi sarraceni nomine Cilim, loci de Antella, dictam licenciam ... [editing mine] revocandam.”}\footnote{Boswell, \textit{The Royal Treasure,} 318.}
In 1407, Martí l’Humà sent a cryptic letter to his archivist, Gabriel Segarra. He requested to see the surrender documents drawn up between Jaume I and the Muslim population of the newly-conquered Valencia. Specifically, he wanted to review the right conceded to the Muslims concerning free emigration. He wrote:

As for some reasons very urgent to us, which we can not explain here [in any great detail], it is of great necessity to have found all the pacts, contracts, permissions, and concessions that were made or drawn up between the lord king Jaume of glorious memory, our predecessor, conqueror of that kingdom of Valencia, and the Muslim population of the said kingdom during the conquest of that kingdom, as it is, about the remainder of the said Muslims or [their] ability to leave whenever they wish ... from there [Valencia] to whichever place they wish, they and their successors without any contradiction [of the right].

Scarcely four years earlier, Martí prohibited the emigration of all Mudejars from Valencia “for all time,” whether they had license to travel or not, under the penalties of personal enslavement and the seizure of goods:

We ordain forever that some Muslims of the kingdom of Valencia cannot or do not attempt to go to Granada, Barbary or other parts outside of our jurisdiction, even if they have license or provision from us or our officials ... and if the opposite is attempted or done, those aytals are by right and law captives, and those goods that they carry, confiscated.

---

157 Sarraines, doc. 156, 374-75: “Com per algunes causes a nòs molt urgentes, les quals ací no curam explicar, hajam de gran necessitat haver trellat de tots los pactes, contractes, promissions e avinences qui fom fets o fetes entre lo senyor rey en Jacme de gloriosa memòria, predecessor nostre, conqueridor de aquest regne de València, e los moros poblats en lo dit regne en la conquesta de aquell, ço és, sobre lo romanir dels dits moros o poder de anar-se·n quant se volguessen ... de aquell a lur voler, ells e lurs successors sens contradicció alguna.”

158 See Furs, 6:123-24 and Sarraines, doc.151, 370-71: “Ordonam perpetuament que alcuns moros del regne de València no se·n puxen o attenten passar
Why would Martí later ask to see documents that dealt with the permission to travel if he had prohibited that travel? Boswell stated that "by the early [13] sixties practically all of Valencia west of Játiva was destitute and depopulated."159 I hypothesize that, by the advent of the fifteenth century, the Muslim populations defected in such numbers from the kingdom of Valencia, and in outright defiance of the royal proclamation that, if they continued to do so unchecked, Valencian economy and Valencian society would be affected severely. Muslims were tracked individually and regulated collectively, but if entire Muslim communities defected en masse, a true threat would be posed to the established social order. The mere threat of defection could also, I would argue, have Muslims gain concessions from the nobles for whom they worked. Muslims knew well the value of flight as a form of resistance. They used this threat of clandestine emigration as a force that threatened an established social order. Moreover, by "stealing themselves," by running away, Muslims deprived the Christian landholder economically. This could happen in two ways: by depriving the landholder his or her valuable economic service as a laborer; and by forcing money to be taken directly from the pocket of the noble or from the royal treasury. This money was paid to those individuals who aided in the search and recapture of the rebellious Muslim. Muslims used flight, or the threat of flight, as forms of active and passive resistance.

Resistance to slavery can either be active, in the form of outright armed rebellion against the slaveholder and/or his family, or passive, by feigning ignorance,
breaking tools, even committing suicide.160 Active resistance was less successful and
less popular. By engaging in acts of armed rebellion, the slave or servant starts down a
path that will likely result in his or her death. In addition, the laws that regulated their
movement, along with the implicit threat of severe Christian retribution, prevented
Valencian Muslims from entertaining ideas of physical resistance.161 Medieval
Portuguese towns offered bounties on wandering slaves, and a slave who fled had his
or her foot cut off as punishment.162 The *Furs* expressly prohibit masters from
inflicting corporal punishment on their slaves, presumably since it was a matter that
was of the jurisdiction of the royal administration:

The lord king (Joan I) adds to this *fur* that no lord or teacher can inflict
corporal punishment on his servant nor his student nor his slave, as it
stands, that [corporal punishment being] removing any of his members,
either his foot or hand or nose or ear or eye, or any other similar
things.163

The physical mutilation of recaptured slaves, from lashings to brandings to
castrations, are outright symbols of brutality but also of defiance. The scars indicate to
other slaves and servants the attempt made by the recaptured fugitive. The scars serve

160 See Daniel E. Meaders, “Fugitive Slaves and Indentured Servants Before
1800” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1992), where he studies the resistance efforts of
African slaves and Irish and Scottish indentured servants in colonial America. The
desire to be free is a human universal. Slaves and servants unhappy with their lot in
life, whether they be Muslims in fourteenth-century Valencia or African slaves in
seventeenth-century South Carolina, would attempt to ameliorate their condition by any
means necessary. See also Michael Bush’s “Servitude in Medieval and Modern Europe:
A Comparison” in *Servitude and Slavery*, 207.


162 See Powell, *Muslims Under Latin Rule*, 29. The bounty offered was half a
maravedi.

163 Colon, *Furs*, 6:104: “En aquest fur enadex lo senyor rey que negun senyor
ni maestre no pusque fer justícia corporal de son servent ni de son dexeble ne de son
catiu, ço és a saber, de tolrre negun de sos membres, axí com és mão peu o nas o
orelles o hyuls ne altres coses semblants.”
as physical reminders of rebellion, inspiring others to take their liberty into their own hands and attempt to escape.  

Slaves used flight as a method to protect their way of life. Powell writes that “in order to preserve identity, one had to accomplice in one’s own exclusion. Subject communities perforce assimilated to a degree, and to a degree had to refine themselves in bastard forms.” The legislation that had sought to restrict personal movement, perfected during the reign of Pere, further sought to entrap the subject Muslim populations:

Peter initiated a process that certainly left in being a large Muslim population in Valencian lands, but as the years passed by these Muslims became increasingly enmeshed and entrapped in Christian society. The economic exploitation to which they were subject might seem a price which was prudently paid to secure relative religious freedom; their political subservience to a Christian land-owning class might seem a reasonable bargain because Christian lords often proved effective advocates of the interests of “their” Moors.

Runaways, however, resisted in becoming these accomplices to their own dissolution of identity. Not all Muslims were content to play the role of the happy slave. By running away, they resisted redefining themselves in the casts imposed by their masters. Flight was resistance by the Muslims, a chance to keep their identities, shaken by the processes of capture by, enslavement by, and subjection to a populace that was less than sympathetic, intact.

How could one suppose all of this from the evidence at hand? These are very lofty claims indeed, that the Muslims were consciously using running away, and the threat of flight, as forms of resistance. The answer lies in the concessions granted to

---

164 Meaders, “Fugitive Slaves and Indentured Servants,” i.


166 Harvey, Islamic Spain, 124-25.
the Muslims as outlined in the royal documents. Time and again, the documents offer a perplexing grant. The documents often state “we wish and grant that those three families of Muslims may be able to return here [if they wish], stay here, and be safe and sound.” This statement, allowing the Muslims who fled to return if they so wished, is confusing. Realistically, why would one who was desperate enough to risk everything by fleeing seek to return to his or her captors’ lands?

One reason might be in order to gain concessions. As we have said above, the Muslims’ presence was vital to the economic, political, and social stability of the kingdom of Valencia. The threat of running away allowed the Muslims a bargaining chip that would allow for some degree of self-determination. Boswell writes that, in order to staunch the flow of Mudejars, “Crown and nobles would go to [great lengths to] win back or attract Muslim serfs and vassals.” To make staying an attractive option and to lure fugitives back, the monarchs and nobles needed to grant certain rights to the returning Muslims. In addition, those Muslims who stayed within the kingdom of Valencia during the peak period of Castilian occupation, and did not flee, were recipients of the royal gratitude. They were given the ability to go begging for alms and to go on pilgrimage. They had greater control over their personal property, although this could be, and was, amended with royal interests in mind.

167 La Frontera, doc. 18, 238: “Volumus et concedimus quod ipsi tres casati sarracenorum possint ibi redire et stare et esse salvi et securi.”


169 See La Frontera, docs. 96-99, 317-22. Ferrer i Mallol provides these documents, which are extensive lists of demands made by the Muslims and the king’s responses. Some of the more important concessions included: “[that] they can chant the çala, as they have been accustomed to” (“Demanen que puxen cantar la çala, segons que han acostumat” doc. 98, 322); “[that] they are not obligated to bring water to the castle[s]” (“Demanen que no sien tenguts de pujar aigua al castell” doc. 96, 319); “[that] no [royal] official can enter their land” (“Demanen que negun official no puxa entrar en lur terra” doc. 99, 324); and “[that] they are judged in all their deeds by the
important concession, however, "was the right to emigrate to Muslim lands without royal interference of any kind." It was just as common, however, for the king to renge on such promises, to prevent any Muslims from receiving the licenses necessary for emigration. Ostensibly, this was done for the protection of the kingdom, but more often than not it appears to point to cases of continuing persecution.

Another reason for the return of runaway Muslims may have to do with the feelings of alienation and detachment that can result when one moves to a new land. Valencian Muslims had more in common with their brothers and sisters in Granada and the Barbary Coast than with the Aragonese Mudejars. It might be argued, then, that those Valencian Muslims who survived the journey southward to Granada might quickly have felt at home in their new area. Many fugitives who made the safe havens

Çuna and Xara, and not by fur, nor other case of law, as the Muslims are accustomed to judge ("Que sienjutjats en tots lurs feyts per çuna e per xara e no per fur ni per altre cas de dret, segons que moros són acostumats de jutjar" doc. 97, 320)

Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 277, states: "One of the demands made of the king by the returning Muslims of Valencia in 1365 was the right to sell their goods to anyone who chose ... The king rejected this demand -- one of the very few he would not accept -- and granted instead that they could sell to any Muslim." [emphasis his]

170 Boswell, The Royal Treasure, 396. See also La Frontera, doc. 97, 320-22: "[that] they can go, if they wish, to Muslim lands, or wherever they wish." ("Que se·n puxa anar, si·s voldrà, a terres de moros o là on se vulla.")

171 Sarraïnes, doc.101, 315. Pere writes to the batle of Tortosa that he not grant any licenses to emigrate to the Barbary coast, for fear of a mass emigration and possible mischief: "Know that we have heard that some Muslims of our jurisdiction, by the inducement of some other Muslims from foreign kingdoms, that 60 or 70 [Muslims] wish to leave and wish to go to Barbary and this [is] in such great quantity and in such an area that they [Christians?] beg us not to grant this license to such a great quantity of Muslims [who are] not serious [on voyage] but rather bent upon the destruction of our patrimony, which we command ... that they do not grant license to pass to any parts to any Muslim, neither man nor woman, nor to boys or girls." ("Sapiats que entès havem que alguns moros de nostra senyoria, per induïment d'alguns altres moros d'estranyes senyories, volen passar en la Barbaria e açò en gran quantitat e com ací nos hagen supplicant que LX o LXX se·n volen passar e açò no serie sinó destrucció de nostre patrimoni donar licència a tanta quantitat de moros, perquè-us manam ... [editing mine] que no donets licència de passar a negunes parts a negun moro ni a mora ni a fills o filles.")
of Granada and Tunis did assimilate into their new homes. They found new jobs, made new lives for themselves and/or their families. It can be just as easily argued that those Muslims who fled from Valencia found themselves in a world as alien as the one they had left. This, at least, may have been the situation of Abouraffe Almedini and his family, who left Elx with their goods only to return later. His situation might be indicative of these feelings of alienation and detachment:

Abouraffe Abe Almendini, who once stood as the *alcald* of Elx, who left for Muslim parts, to have guided and to have assured this same Abduraffe with all his family and things ... in returning to our land by standing here and also by detaining no impediment or contrary thing be made or permitted to become [made]. Nevertheless, the inheritance that he used to have in Elx you are to return to him from our part and [make restored] ... we command each and every one of our officials that they observe our pledge and that they make it to be observed without problems.172

In 1492, a Genoese sailor, placed in command of three caravels flying the Spanish colors, stepped into the breathtakingly blue waters offshore a small island, later known as Hispaniola, half a world away. The historical significance of this event has sometimes shadowed another occurrence for Spanish history during the same year, an event no less monumental. That same year, the program of the Spanish *reconquista* was completed; the last Muslim stronghold of Nasrid Granada fell to the armies of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, signalling the near end of over seven

172*Sarraïnes*, doc. 9, 221: “Abouraffe Abe Almedini, qui olim consuevit esse alcaldu sElxii, qui ad partes sarracenorum se contulit, guidasse et assecurasse ipsum Abduraffe cum tota familia et rebus quas secum aducet in redeundo ad terram nostram ibique stando ac etiam [c]omorando, quare vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus predicto Abduraffe, familie rebusque suis in redeundo ad terram nostram ibique stando ac etiam comorando nullum impedimentum seu contrarium faciatis seu fieri permittatis et nichilominus hereditamentum quod [ha]bebat in Elxio ei ex parte nostra restituatis ac restitui faciatis. Mandamus etiam universis et singulis officialibus nostris quod dictum assecuramentum nostrum observent et faciant inviolabiliter observari.” It could just as easily be argued that the reason Abouraffe returned with his family may be due to the fact that, at Elx, he was *alcald*, and therefore an important figure, whereas in Granada, he might not have had a comparable social standing.
hundred years of a dominant Islamic presence on the peninsula. Though the last Muslim domain had fallen, it would take centuries before the majority of the peninsula was Christian, Castilian-speaking, and unified.173

The fall of Granada was a tremendous blow to the Islamic collective consciousness. Now the Christians had had full political domination over the Iberian peninsula. Granada had been the easiest, and most desired, destination for Muslim runaways. It was the safest haven for a fugitive Muslim, an area where he or she would not fear his or her Christian pursuers, an area from which he or she would not be forcibly returned. Indeed, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Granadan sultan Yusuf III made public the lure of Granada for harried Muslims, which was later copied and relayed on to Barcelona. He writes:

The sultan of Granada ... our lord and master Abu’l-Hajjaj Yusuf [III] ... O Brethren, manifest your devotion to the service through emigration [hijra] as is enjoined on all Muslims by God Almighty ... By God, O Muslims, Granada has no equal, and there is nothing like service on the frontier during the Holy War; as the tradition [hadith] has it in the words of the Prophet.174

Many of the Muslims did flee to Granada, dissatisfied with their station in life. When Granada fell, the borders within Spain effectively closed for fugitive Muslims; it was now part of the Christian dominion, no longer a safe haven for Muslim runaways. Those Mudejars who sought to flee now had to risk an ocean voyage, to go to the Maghrib Coast or Tunis.

173 Regional tendencies in Spain never fully died out. The country was politically unified only until the 18th century and Aragonese-Catalan identity, Galician language and culture, and the peculiarly Basque way of life were never fully extinguished. During the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, Francisco Franco’s draconian tactics and forced cultural unity was a simmering powder-keg of tension. This forced unity gave birth to such separatist groups as the pro-terrorism ETA, the Basque Separatist Alliance. In the post-Franco Spain of today, autonomy and regional identity are seeing a resurgence.

174 Harvey, Islamic Spain, 59.
The complete Christian conquest of Iberia changed the history of the region. "The Spanish Crown" could now focus its attention westward, to the newest lands to come under the royal mantle, the lands of the Caribbean "New World." These new lands beckoned for further political, economic, and religious conquests. These new military ventures in the Indies and North America changed the history of the world. They also changed the faces of the cities of continental Spain. Piles Ros writes:

The commercial progress that is initiated in the fourteenth century and culminates in the fifteenth, produces an augmentation in the economic relation with new and distinct countries, and one of those products that in some is offered and in others are needed, are the slaves; and consequently Valencia is converted into a place of redistribution of slaves, that, bought in the North of Africa, Andalucia, or other points, are sold or sent to Majorca, Italy...175

Valencia became known as a center for slavery and the slave trade during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a slave center that had reflected and kept alive the older patterns of medieval Mediterranean slavery.176 Such a continuation of slavery, however, a continuation of the oppression and abridgment of individual rights, only resulted in an increase of desperate measures on the part of the Muslims, including an increase in the amount of runaways: "The sad perspective of a future of constant submission was alleviated with the hope of a coming rescue attempt, of a charitable liberation, and, in the last and desperate extreme, of an unfortunate flight."177

175 Piles Ros, Historia Económico Social de Valencia, 163: “El progreso comercial que se inicia en el siglo XIV y culmina en el XV, produce un aumento en la relación económica con nuevos y distintos países, y uno de los productos que en unos se ofrece y en otros se necesitan, son los esclavos; y consecuentemente Valencia se convierte en lugar de distribución de los esclavos que, comprados en el norte de Africa, Andalucía u otros puntos, son vendidos o enviados a Mallorca, Italia...”

176 Phillips, Slavery from Roman Times, 163.

177 Cortes, La Esclavitud en Valencia, 144: “La triste perspectiva de un futuro de constante sumisión se alegraba con la esperanza de un próximo rescate, de una caritativa liberación y, en último y desesperado extremo, de una afortunada fuga.”
The Christian state made no illusions of how the Muslim populations across the peninsula stood. They were completely subject to the dominant Christian majority, and now few concessions were made or needed. The status of Muslims changed completely after 1492:

After 1492, the Spanish Muslims lost all sorts of protection from within and without and became the objects of stringent measures concerning their beliefs, customs, language, freedom of movement, and individual dignity. Rightly or wrongly, they were considered a fifth column and enemy of state and religion. In the light of an outright persecution, Muslims and Moriscos [Muslim converts to Christianity] revolted in Valencia, Granada, and elsewhere, but they were so disorganized that the state did not have much difficulty in crushing them.178

Muslims were now the complete and total property of the Spanish Crown. By 1502, all those Muslims who had refused to convert to the religion of their overlords were forcibly converted and/or expelled from the country outright, a reflection of the new xenophobic program of Spain and the death of convivencia.

This study attempted to shed some light on the conditions and experiences of fugitive Muslims from the kingdom of Valencia during the fourteenth century. As said above, I hoped to add more to the state of knowledge concerning fugitive vassals and slaves, which I believe I have done. In addition, by studying the conditions that resulted in making running away more attractive --- plague, famine, war, and intolerance --- and by studying the responses the Christians employed to control their subject Muslim populations, I have tried to show how these Muslims used running away to their advantage. According to what I have studied, the peak time for flight was during the war between Aragon and Castile, from 1357-1366, since the greatest number of documents specifically referring to Muslims as vassals or slaves and the greatest number of documents restricting or allowing the movements of Muslims come

from that period. Many of my claims, unfortunately, must be based on personal theory. The fact that these documents provide a biased, Christian view undoubtedly colors results that I put forward. Working in a subject where very little has been written is both a rewarding experience and a trial. It is exciting to further explore uncharted territory, but by doing so one nevertheless risks entering dangerous ground. The statistical analysis I provide help clarifies issues that are otherwise murky, but to say that it has shed pure, blinding light on the subject is wrong. Future investigations will undoubtedly amend this study as is warranted; the possible sudden discovery of a treasure trove of medieval Muslim documents, providing the personal accounts of fugitive Muslim slaves and vassals, might even disprove this paper entirely.

One thing is certain, however, free of statistical analysis. Liberty, to one degree or another, is a universal desire. Although humans by nature are collective, we all express a desire to come and go when and where we please, to pick up and put down roots whenever and wherever the notion strikes us, to be free to love whom we wish, to be free to be whatever we want. When those liberties are denied, when our every movement is regulated, our every action deemed by others as good or ill without our consent, our futures determined by others who will not live our lives for us, then do instinctual tendencies of rebellion appear. When those situations close in ominously, narrowing the unfortunate individual into a tight little corner, is it any wonder why one desperately takes his or her own fortune into his or her own hands and flees?
Appendix A

Documents Referring to “Slaves” and “Vassals”
In this appendix, I refer to documents that couch Muslims in terms as "slave," (i.e., *servus*, *catius*), "vassal," (i.e., *vassalus*, *sūbdīt*), or as semi-free sharecroppers, (i.e., *exaricos*). There were 802 documents total from Ferrer i Mallol’s four books. Seventy-three of the 802 documents, or 9.10% of the total, have been listed in this appendix. Of the seventy-three, forty, or 54.8%, come from *La frontera amb l’Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i Sarraiñes al País Valencià*. (Barcelona: Consell Superior d’Investigacions Científiques, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 1988), hereafter referred to as *LF*. Twenty-one of the seventy-three, 28.7%, come from *Els Sarraiñes de la corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: Segregació i Discriminació* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d’Investigacions Científiques, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 1987), hereafter referred to as *ES*. *Organització i defensa d’un territori fronterer: la governació d’Oriola en el segle XV* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d’Investigacions Científiques, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 1992), and abbreviated as *O*, provided seven of the seventy-three documents, 9.59% of the total and *Les aljames sarraiñes de la governació d’Oriola en el segle XIV* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d’Investigacions Científiques, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 1988), produced a mere 6.85% of the total, or five out of seventy-three documents.

For the distribution of documents per decade, the following pattern has emerged. The greatest amount of documents mentioning terms associated with slaves and/or vassals hail from the decades stretching from 1300-1310 and 1361-1370:

- 1296-1300: 2/73 = 2.74%
- 1300-1310: 13/73 = 17.81%
- 1311-1320: 9/73 = 12.33%
- 1321-1330: 3/73 = 4.11%
- 1331-1340: 3/73 = 4.11%
1341-1350: 5/73 = 6.85%
1351-1360: 1/73 = 1.37%
1361-1370: 13/73 = 17.81%
1371-1380: 6/73 = 8.22%

All proper nouns were spelled following Ferrer i Mallol's examples.

Documents have been listed chronologically, with date, year, place of redaction, and from which Ferrer i Mallol volume it proceeds:

1. July 23, 1296 - Setge d'Elx - LF5 - Jaume II sends a letter to the justice of Xàtiva, commanding the latter to send him an imprisoned Muslim from Asp, Abrahim el Xinosí.

2. January 24, 1298 - Setge d'Alhama - LF7 - Jaume II commands Bernat Colomet, mayor of the kingdom of Murcia, that he send Muslims from surrounding areas to Bernat de Sant Joan to help transport a siege engine.

3. March 14, 1301 - Valencia - ES3 - Complaint brought before Jaume II by the Templars, one of whom was imprisoned, accused of having sexual relations with a Christian woman.

4. April 11, 1302 - Valencia - 026 - Jaume II tells both Christian and Muslim vassals that they do not have to serve in the army for six years, but must maintain the walls of Alacant.

5. October 20, 1304 - Valencia - LF16 - Jaume II demands Joan Manuel to severely punish the adalils of Tobarra, who robbed the Portitxol d'Elx, and killed three Muslims, while kidnapping nine more.

6. February 27, 1306 - Torralba - LF 24 - Gombau d’Entença tells Jaume II that he has imprisoned 450 Muslims who have returned to the kingdom without license.
7. April 22, 1306 - Valencia - LF25 - Jaume II confirms a privilege drawn up between the Muslims of Quart and Jaume I, which allow them to stay, leave for Muslim parts, marry, divorce, and be judged according to the sunna.

8. January 18, 1308 - Valencia - O59 - Jaume II tells Ferrer Descortell that the Muslim residents of Alacant must help in the construction of the city wall.

9. March 28, 1308 - Murcia - O61 - Juan Domínguez, deacon of Cartagena, tells Ferrer Descortell of a recent raid of genets, which resulted in some Muslim vassals being kidnapped.

10. June 4, 1308 - Oriola - O69 - The justice and jurors of Oriola let Pero López de Rufes know that two genets have passed through the territory and demand food. If any Muslims help them in any way, or if they flee with them, their wives and children will be imprisoned and sent to Vera.

11. June 8, 1308 - Elx - O72 - Ferrer Descortell informs the king that if Muslims help the two genets from Jaen (cf. 10), their wives and children will be imprisoned.

12. June 13, 1308 - Aiora - LF34 - The Council of Aiora tells Jaume II that Pero Miquel d’Elcoaus has established castles without permission and taken Muslim vassals as hostage.

13. April 7-8, 1309 [no place given] LF35 - Jaume II commands that the king of Castile retain Muslims from Granada in order to exchange them for Catalan merchants held prisoner in Granada.

14. June 11, 1309 - Barcelona - LF37 - Jaume II congratulates Pero Lopez de Rufes for his raid against Granada, where he captured thirty-nine Muslims.
15. December 21, 1310 - Xàtiva - ES10 - Jaume II commands Bernat d’Esplugues that he retract the sale of a Muslim who was captured in the morería of Xàtiva while trying to gather his converted sister’s personal items.

16. April 15, 1311 - Valencia - ES13 - Jaume II investigates the status of some Muslims from Granada who came to move to Xàtiva, and who were imprisoned as slaves.

17. January 12, 1312 - Elx - LF38 - Ferrer Descortell informs Jaume II about some Christians who have imprisoned two Muslims from Novelda, two from Marxena, and killed some additional Muslims near Oriola.

18. February 3, 1313 - Calataiud - LF39 - Jaume II tells the lieutenant procurator of the kingdom to pursue and punish those criminals who have kidnapped and slaughtered Muslims, and who have made sallies into Granada, in spite of the peace treaty between Valencia and Granada.

19. April 2, 1312 - Oriola - LF40 - Guerau de Clariana tells Jaume II that Muslim raiders have killed and kidnapped his vassals.

20. April 17, 1312 - Valencia - LF41 - Jaume II tries to protect the Muslims of Elx, who have been imprisoned and sold as slaves outside of the kingdom, by hiring Pere Miquel de Vaylo and Pero Sánchez de Boltaña to guard the Muslims.

21. November 30, 1313 - Tortosa - ES17 - Jaume II tells Ximén Pérez de Salanova, justice of Aragon, to decide if the child of an imprisoned baptized Muslim woman and a Christian man is free or slave.

22. December 13, 1317 - Valencia - LF47 - Jaume II tells his portantveus of the procurator of Valencia that he can interrogate a Muslim vassal suspected of aiding Granadan raiders. He can use torture to extract the truth, if necessary.
23. October 12, 1318 - Barcelona - ES26 - Jaume II commands Ferrer Descortell to give to Pere Descortell a Muslim woman, Axia, who was condemned to die by the qadi of Valencia for having sexual relations with both Christians and Muslims.

24. June 18, 1320 - Elx - LF48 - Jaume Andreu tells the king about a truce among Murcia and Lorca and Granada. Muslim vassals of Murcians will not have to stand watch at the guardhouses.

25. February 16, 1321 - Valencia - LF49 - Jaume II commands Acard de Mur to make an inquest into the claim that Christian raiders are kidnapping Muslim vassals to send them to Mallorca.

26. April 1, 1324 - Valencia - LA78 - Jaume II tells Jaume Andreu that he not demand tolls from the sharecroppers of Alacant, which is against the established tradition.

27. September 19, 1326 - Saragossa - ES31 - Prince Alfons commands Llorenç Cima to investigate a group of “converted” Muslims from Valencia who stick to their old Islamic tradition and raise money to free captive Muslims.

28. November 27, 1332 - Valencia - ES33 - Alfons el Benigne makes known that all foreign Muslims who do not leave the kingdom of Valencia within fifteen days will be enslaved.

29. January 28, 1338 - Valencia - ES43 - Pere el Ceremoniós concedes to the Muslims of the kingdom of Valencia licenses to beg for money for the redemption of enslaved Muslims.

30. May 4, 1339 - Valencia - LF65 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Guillem de Cervelló that he allow Guillem Serrà and Joan López de Boïl to inspect castles, so that, in case of an attack, Muslim vassals can hole up there.
31. January 13, 1341 - Valencia - ES49 - Pere el Ceremonios reissues the command that Muslims are to dress differently than Christians. If they do otherwise, they will be enslaved.

32. February 19, 1342 - Valencia - ES51 - Pere el Ceremonios commands the Batle General that he not give license to beg for alms to foreign Muslims, only to those of the kingdom of Valencia.

33. July 8, 1346 - Poblet - LF71 - Pere el Ceremonios revokes Alfons el Benigne's permission to the abbot of Poblet to expel Muslims from Quart, without recompense, and give their homes and lands to Christians.

34. March 13, 1347 - Valencia - O163 - Pere el Ceremonios communicates to Jaume Cervija that the monastery of Valldigna has protested that its Muslim vassals only pay forty sous a month, when they are supposed to pay sixty sous a month. Pere splits the difference to fifty sous a month.

35. September 8, 1347 - Saragossa - LF74 - Pere el Ceremonios commands his nobles and barons who posses lands populated by Muslims within the kingdom of Valencia not to expel them.

36. June 18, 1353 - Valencia - ES66 - Pere el Ceremonios commands Garcia de Loriz that he return to Alfons Roger de Llúria a Muslim girl from his senyoriu of Cocentaina, imprisoned for begging for alms without license.

37. March 1, 1361 - Lleida - ES81 - Pere el Ceremonios commands Peter Boil that he check that Muslims recently captured were active in the uprising by Cilim.

38. June 3, 1361 - Cariñena - ES85 - Pere el Ceremonios asks Jean II of France that if Arnau de Canet is in his lands, to please extradite him to Aragon, because he has kidnapped and imprisoned two Muslims emigrating to Granada with royal license in hand.
39. January 28, 1363 - Montsò - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the Batle General to prevent Muslims from wandering from aljama to aljama, begging for alms, as long as the war with Castile is being waged.

40. April 22, 1365 - Almenara - LF100 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Arnau Guillem Escrivà to start the judicial process against two captured Muslims who imprisoned the men of Arnau.

41. May 28, 1365 - Setge de Morvedre - LF 103 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Pere Arnau d’Esparça to comb the aljamas of various cities, to have lancers and ballista operators during the war against Castile.

42. June 9, 1365 - Barcelona - LF 104 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells his officials that the children of some Muslims who have gone to fight for Castile are to be imprisoned. If the parents return to Aragon’s side, they will have their children back. The children of those Muslims who are killed or stay with Castile will be sold as captives.

43. September 3, 1365 - Setge de Morvedre - O192 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells his army that he has granted Arnau Penedès the ability to gather one hundred men to save his wife and three children.

44. February 18, 1366 - Saragossa - LF 105 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the count of Urgel to return Muslim hostages that he has taken to Rodrigo Díez.

45. July 11, 1366 - Sargaossa - LF106 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands that the count of Urgel free twenty-one Muslim hostages to Guillem Colon.

46. September 21, 1366 - Barcelona - LF107 - Pere el Ceremoniós reclaims from the king of Castile thirty-five Valencian Muslims.

47. September 24, 1366 - Barcelona - LF108 - Pere el Ceremoniós demands that the king of Castile return the Muslim vassals of the monastery of Valldigna.
48. May 16, 1369 - Sant Mateu - LF110 - Pere el Ceremoníós approves of the confederacy between Murcia, Cartagena and other areas of Oriola, but wants to make sure that all the inhabitants are still the king’s vassals.

49. July 26, 1370 - [no place given] - LA109 - Pere el Ceremoníós suspends payments from the Muslims Rafi and Çaat, who have established themselves in the morería of Oriola, in order to repopulate it. The morería was abandoned when half the population was deported by Pere el Cruel of Castile and the other half fled.

50. April 27, 1371 - Valencia - LF114 - A list of complaints presented to the Corts of Valencia and to Pere el Ceremoníós from the military. One complaint has to deal with Muslim vassals who refuse to dress as they are supposed to.

51. September 26, 1371 - Valencia - LF115 - Pere el Ceremoníós commands his ambassadors at Castile to demand that Castile frees its Valencian Muslims captured during the war with Pere el Cruel of Castile.

52. July 10, 1372 - Barcelona - LA110 - Queen Elionor of Sicily commands Arnau Penedès not to force Muslim vassals to grind their wheat at the prince’s mill, where they pay twelve dinars for each sack.

53. August 27, 1376 - Montsó - LA114 - Pere el Ceremoníós concedes to the Muslims repopulating Alacant, who are also recultivating its fields, that they do not need to pay the besant for five years.

54. March 13, 1377 - Barcelona - LA115 - Prince Martí authorizes the aljama of Crevillen that they can rescue their friends and relatives, enslaved by the count of Carrión, from Castile.

55. January 17, 1379 - Barcelona - ES105 - Pere el Ceremoníós demands Joan de Castella that his father, the king of Castile, allow 70 Muslim families from Xiva and
Bunyell, who were imprisoned during the war with Pere el Cruel and brought to Palma as slave, to be freed.

56. April 25, 1383 - Tortosa - LF124 - Pere el Ceremonios directly commands the king of Castile to return those Muslims imprisoned during the war and that have still not been returned to Valencia.

57. October 23, 1383 - Montsó - LF125 - Prince Martí commands Francesc Miró that if the war between Aragon and Granada escalates, he is to take wives, children, and goods of the Muslims of Crevillen, and bring them to Elx.

58. July 8, 1384 - Tàrrega - LF127 - Prince Martí commands Pere Cardona if there has been war with Granada. If not, Pere is to free the hostages of Crevillen and return their goods.

59. July 9, 1384 - Tàrrega - LF128 - Prince Martí commands Francesc Miró to let him know if the king of Granada is thinking of waging war. If so, then the hostages from Crevillen are to be retained.

60. March 5, 1389 - Montsó - LF150 - Joan I commands his officials to not bother the Muslims of Navarrés, Quesa and Bicorb who killed two Muslim raiders who had captured a Muslim from Navarré.

61. March 11, 1389 - Montsó - LF151 - Joan I demands from Muhammad V of Granada that he release Bartomeu Ruvio from his eight years as a captive.

62. March 11, 1389 - Montsó - LF152 - Joan I demands from Muhammad V of Granada that he release Miquel de l’Abat from his fourteen years of captivity.

63. May 4, 1389 - Montsó - LF153 - Joan I demands from the king of Castile that he return four Muslims who fled from Mula and Pliego and who were captured by Bernat d’Ortoneda. In addition, the king of Castile had promised to return the hostages
and pay one thousand gold Aragonese florins, but he has not yet come through on his promise.

64. December 1, 1389 - Montsó - ES119 - General list of particulars presented to the king from the representatives of the kingdom and city of Valencia. One of the provisions prohibits the begging of alms to buy the freedom of captives from Granada or the Barbary Coast

65. March 14, 1390 - Montsó - ES120 - General list of particulars from presented to the king from the principality of Catalonia. One of the provisions prohibits anyone familiar with the arts of sailing and navigation to teach captive Muslims those arts.

66. July 6, 1391 - Saragossa - ES124 - Joan I tells his governors and procurators of Mallorca, Menorca, and Eivissa that they not prohibit Joan de Sant Joan from holding and selling sixty-six Muslims whom he captured sailing legally from Mallorca to Bugia.

67. August 9, 1392 - Barcelona - ES127 - Joan I commands his officials to return the goods of the sixty-six Muslims imprisoned by Joan de Sant Joan to their rightful places.

68. August 28, 1392 - Valldaura - ES128 - Joan I commands Roger de Montcada and Ramon de Soler that they make public the revocation of emigration licenses. Those who still emigrate will be imprisoned.

69. May 12, 1393 - Valencia - ES131 - Joan I communicates to his officials in Mallorca that he revokes the command of July 6, 1391, that the sixty-six imprisoned Muslims of Joan de Sant Joan can be held captive. The Muslims are to be set free and recover their goods.
70. January 19, 1396 - Perpinya - LF174 - Joan I complains to the king of Castile because the *adelantat* of Murcia allows Muslim raiders to pass through Murcia on their way to attack Oriola. Joan I says he will not allow the vassals of the king of Castile to pass through Oriola on their way to attack Muslim lands, nor will he allow Castilian Muslim vassals to pass through at all.

71. July 29, 1399 - Saragossa - LF192 - King Martí commands his officials in Oriola, Alacant, and Elx to look for those Muslim raiders who pass through their lands, under pretense of going to Granada, and who capture Muslim vassals.

72. July 29, 1399 - Saragossa - LF193 - King Martí tells the bishop of Cartagena that people from Oriola, Alacant, and Elx pretend that they are Muslim raiders and attack the Muslims of Granada, taking captives. He commands him that he find those pretenders and punish them.

73. October 9, 1399 - Saragossa - LF194 - Martí amplifies the powers given to Guillem Martorell in order to investigate and punish those raiders responsible for capturing Castilian vassals and selling them in Granada.
Appendix B

Legislation Restricting or Permitting the Movement of Muslims
This appendix catalogues those documents that are royal or baronial accounts of the movements of Muslim vassals and slaves. Included in this are those documents which grant licenses of emigration, restrictions of those licenses, increases in fees for the right to emigrate, and accounts of fugitive Muslims. From the 802 documents from all four of Ferrer i Mallol, 144, or 17.95%, fit the above criteria. Of those 144, eighty-one, or 56.25%, come from La Frontera; thirty-four, or 23.61% come from Els Sarraines; twenty-seven out of 144, 18.75%, come from Les Aljames; and only two from 144, or a scant 1.38%, come from Organització. 179

The distribution of documents per decade produces a pattern similar to that of Appendix A; the greatest number of documents proceed from the decade 1361-1370, which leads me to believe that the war between Aragon and Castile were direct factors in both the regulation of movement of Muslims and a greater attempt to delineate who actually was a “vassal” or a “slave”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1296-1300</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1301-1310</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1311-1320</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321-1330</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1331-1340</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1341-1350</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351-1360</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1361-1370</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371-1380</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1381-1390</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1391-1400</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

179 Please see Appendix A for a full bibliographic entry. The abbreviations (i.e., LF, ES, LA, and O) are the same for Appendix B.
All proper nouns have been spelled following Ferrer i Mallo’s examples. Documents have been listed chronologically, with date, year, place of redaction, and from which Ferrer i Mallo volume it proceeds:

1. May 4, 1296 - Setge d’Oriola - LA1 - Jaume II commands Aljafar, the arrais of Crevillen, that he return the Muslims from Crevillen to Alacant or any other of the king’s places.

2. May 10, 1296 - Oriola - LA2 - Jaume II commands the Christians and Muslims of Almoradí to return to Almoradí.

3. May 11, 1296 - Oriola - LA3 - Jaume II communicates to Sancho Jiménez de Lanclares that he has received his complaint about Muslims leaving Alacant.

4. May 14, 1296 - Oriola - LA5 - Jaume II concedes to the Muslims of Albatera, Coix, and Crevillen that they can return to their homes and agricultural tasks.

5. May 20, 1296 - Murcia - LA6 - Jaume II tells all the Muslims of the kingdom of Murcia that the arrais of Crevillen, Muhammad ibn Hudayr, can insure the goods of returning Muslims in the name of the king.

6. May 24, 1296 - Murcia - LA8 - Jaume II grants passport to the Muslims who go to establish themselves in the fields of Alacant and who reside there personally.

7. May 24, 1296 - Murcia - LA12 - Jaume II tells his officials that Ahmad ibn Hudayr, the arrais of Crevillen, has conceded passport and entry to Crevillen from fugitive Muslims from Elx.


9. July 25, 1296 - Setge d’Elx - LF6 - Jaume II commands his officials that they look for two escaped Muslim prisoners of Ferran Garcés de Rueda.
10. July 31, 1296 - Murcia - LA16 - Jaume II grants passage to those Muslims who wish to move to the kingdom of Murcia, especially who come from Elx, Xinosa, Monòver and Salines, as long as they pay the accustomed fees.

11. August 5, 1296 - Alacant - LA17 - Jaume II commands the arrais of Crevillen that he not impede the Muslims from Elx who wish to return.

12. April 25, 1303 - Valencia - LA24 - Jaume II, at the request of the Muslims of Elx, concedes that all Muslims who go there to live or conduct business affairs are to be judged as accustomed to in Islamic society.

13. September 27, 1304 - Tortosa - LF14 - Jaume II commands the bishop of Tortosa that he seize the goods of the Muslims who have fled and put them in the royal treasury.

14. October 8, 1304 - Albocàsser - LA27 - Jaume II commands the bailiff of Alacant to see if the goods of fugitive Muslims from Jaume Garriga and Ramon Sacoma, and who have subsequently been imprisoned, have been donated in part to the royal treasury, as they should have been.

15. November 30, 1304 - Valencia - LF17 - Jaume II commands Bertran de Canelles to make a formal inquest of the matter where fugitive Muslims' goods have been stolen by looters.

16. November 26, 1304 - Valencia - Jaume II commands the Muslims of Elda and Novelda to return to their homes and goods.

17. December 23, 1304 - Valencia - Jaume II tells Guillemó de Bellvíis that he can readmit three Muslim families, who lived in Valencia and fled with genets who entered the area, and who now wish to return.
18. February 1, 1305 - Calataiud - LF19 - Jaume II responds to some of the questions Bertran de Canelles raises. One of them deals with Muslims who have fled with Granadan raiders and now wish to return to their prior residences.

19. April 1, 1305 - Barcelona - LF20 - Jaume II tells Guillemó de Bellvís that he can readmit fifty Muslim families, who originally fled with raiders and have returned.

20. May 14, 1305 - Valencia - ES6 - A judicial inquisition made concerning the veracity of Pere Arau’s imprisoning of Muslims who were emigrating from Valencia with royal license in hand.

21. December 29, 1305 - Saragossa - LF23 - Jaume II tells his procurator and Batle General that he has allowed Joan Ximèn d’Orís that he can readmit thirty Muslim families who fled and later returned.

22. February 27, 1306 - Torralba - LF24 - Gombau d’Entença tells Jaume II that he has imprisoned 450 Muslims who have returned to the kingdom without license.

23. April 9, 1306 - Valencia - LA31 - Jaume II, at the request of Juan Manuel, concedes to the Muslims of Xixona that they can establish themselves on don Juan Manuel’s lands.

24. January 31, 1308 - Valencia - LF28 - Jaume II tells Gombau d’Entença that he has donated the pregnant cow to the monastery of Valldigna of a Muslim who fled.

25. March 21, 1308 - Valencia - LF29 - Jaume II pardons two Muslim families from Siella the fine for running away. Nevertheless, he increases the fine for flight to two hundred sous.

26. April 22, 1308 - Elx - O64 - Ferrer Descortell lets the king know that Gonçalvo García has seen many Muslims from Crevillen and Vall d’Elda who wish to leave.
27. June 4, 1308 - Oriola - O69 - Ferrer Descortell informs the king that if Muslims help the two *genets* from Jaen, or leave with the *genets*, their wives and children will be imprisoned.

28. July 31, 1308 - Valencia - LA35 - Jaume II commands Gombau d’Entença that he make sure that the five Muslims from Xinosá, who were imprisoned by four men of Ricote when the former were going to Negra to get grain, that they receive restitution from the goods of these men from Ricote.

29. February 22, 1309 - Barcelona - ES9 - Jaume II concedes the restitution of goods and free license to return to Elx to Abouraffe Almedíní and his family.

30. April 14, 1309 - Barcelona - LF36 - Jaume II tells the Muslims of Elx that, in the case of a Granadan attack, Ferrer Descortell can herd them into the *raval*.

31. November 29, 1313 - Tortosa - ES16 - Jaume II tells the bishop of Saragossa that he is to punish the chaplain of Ricla, Pere Martín, who aided a fugitive Muslim woman.

32. May 28, 1315 - Barcelona - ES19 - Jaume II concedes to Abdolmelic Moligelli, a Muslim who once resided in Girona, that he could return to Girona with his family and goods, even though he passed through enemy Muslim lands and left the city without royal license.

33. June 13, 1315 - Barcelona - ES20 - Jaume II commands the bailiff of Lleida that he not permit a family of Muslims to emigrate to Tunis, even though they have license to do so, because they are carrying weapons with them.

34. February 4, 1317 - Valencia - LF46 - Gilabert de Centelles informs the king of a judicial process occurring against the Muslims of Xàtiva, who are accused of hiding a fugitive Muslim captive.
35. March 10, 1318 - Valencia - LA54 - Jaume II commands Jaume Andreu that he cite all those Muslims who have fraudulently fled from Elx in order not to pay their tribute to the king.


37. February 22, 1322 - Tortosa - LA75 - Jaume II responds to Jaume Andreu's report of the Muslims who have emigrated from Elx to Granada.

38. March 10, 1324 - Barcelona - LA77 - Jaume II demands from all his officials in Elx the reasons why so many Muslims have left for Granada or the Barbary Coast. If it is because of injustices that his officials committed, the royal officials will be severely punished.

39. September 4, 1325 - Tarragona - ES30 - Berenguer de Jorba tells Jaume II that two Muslims have fled for Muslim lands.

40. January 30, 1326 - Oriola - LF52 - Guillem Ramon de Montcada tells Jaume II that he has captured a fugitive Muslim woman from Granada.

41. February 6, 1328 - Oriola - LA81 - The Council of Oriola demands that Alfons only request five thousand sous from the aljama of Oriola. Jaume II had demanded at the more than that, and as a result, many Muslims left Oriola to live in Elx, Crevillen, or Favanella.

42. September 29, 1329 - Valencia - ES32 - Alfons el Benigne authorizes Futeny, widow of Mahomet Calderer, and her children to return to Valencia.

43. October 23, 1331 - Alcoi - LF54 - Llop Ximenis de Perencisa describes to the jurors of Valencia the looting of Guardamar by a Granadan army. Four hundred Muslims from Elx fled during the battle.
44. June 12, 1332 - Valencia - LF56 - Alfons el Benigne pardons the Muslims of Elx and Crevillen, accused of having favored the attack by the Granadan army and also of having left with the invaders.

45. September 26, 1332 - Valencia - LF57 - Alfons el Benigne, at the request of Gonçalvo García, allows those Muslims who left Daia when Granadan troops entered the area to return.

46. February 6, 1333 - Valencia - ES34 - Alfons el Benigne allows those Muslims who wish to emigrate from the kingdom of Valencia to do so, as long as they pay the Batle General the accustomed fees.

47. January 14, 1337 - Valencia - ES37 - Pere el Ceremoniós grants to Gonçalvo Díez d’Arenós that two Muslims families can settle in his lands. They were originally from Pere de Xèrica’s domain.

48. January 21, 1337 - Valencia - ES38 - Pere el Ceremoniós concedes passage to sixty-six Muslims from Navarrés and Quesa.

49. July 28, 1337 - Montalbán - ES39 - Pere el Ceremoniós confirms the ordination of his father, Alfons el Benigne, prohibiting foreign Muslims to be captured within their lands.

50. September 4, 1337 - Daroca - ES40 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Arnau Samorera that he authorize the emigration of Muslims who wish to go to Barbary.

51. February 17, 1339 - Valencia - ES62 - Pere el Ceremoniós concedes that the Muslims who have left the kingdom for other Muslim lands, and have now returned, can do so without fear.

52. October 27, 1339 - Barcelona - ES47 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Arnau Samorera that he make public that all Muslims who wish to leave the kingdom of
Valencia are to only leave the tenth of their goods to the Batle General, and nobody else.

53. July 6, 1340 - [no place given] - LF69 - Guillem Serrà makes known to the king that there is a rumor that many Muslims have left the kingdom of Valencia to go to Granada, in order to help the sultan wage war against Castile.

54. March 16, 1343 - Barcelona - ES52 - Pere el Ceremoniós communicates to the Batle General that he authorizes Martí de Gurrea that he can bring with him those Muslims who wish to emigrate from Valencia.

55. June 6, 1345 - Perpinyà - ES54 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the governors of Valencia and Morella and the Batle General of Valencia, to suspend all licenses of emigration.

56. May 2, 1347 - Valencia - ES57 - Pere el Ceremoniós notifies the Batle General of the liberty of Muslims to emigrate, provided that they pay the accustomed fees.

57. May 4, 1347 - Valencia - ES58 - Pere el Ceremoniós request the list from his councilor, Berenguer de Codinacs, of the exaction of payments of the Muslims who emigrated from his lands.

58. August 2, 1347 - Lleida - ES59 - Pere el Ceremoniós promises not to expel the Muslims from their lands within the kingdom of Valencia, in accordance with the laws and actions of his predecessors.

59. September 10, 1347 - Saragossa - ES60 - Pere el Ceremoniós grants liberty to the Muslims of the kingdom of Valencia to voyage for commercial affairs or pilgrimage.
60. October 18, 1347 - Saragossa - ES62 - Pere el Ceremoniós states that
Famet Ceria, a Muslim resident in Borja, has to pay seven sous a month if he changes
his residence without royal consent.

61. March 4, 1349 - Valencia - ES64 - Pere el Ceremoniós concedes license to
Azmet, a Muslim from Valencia, that he can go to Barbary and return to Valencia with
two Muslim families who had emigrated with royal license.

62. June 18, 1353 - Valencia - ES66 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands García de
Loriz that he return to Alfons Roger de Llúria a Muslim girl from his senyoriu of
Cocentaina, imprisoned for begging for alms without license.

63. February 16, 1356 - Barcelona - ES67 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands
Garcia de Loriz to make an inquisition in the matter concerning the capture of Valencian
Muslims by Juan Sánchez Manuel when they were going to live on the lands of Pere de Xèrica.

64. August 7, 1357 - Cariñena - ES69 - Pere el Ceremoniós concedes license to
the Muslims of his kingdom the right to emigrate to Barbary, as long as they paid the
accustomed fees.

65. September 7, 1357 - Saragossa - ES71 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands
Pedro Jordán de Urries to inform him about the accusation leveled against a certain
Fatima of Aranda, who was accused of wanting to change her residence without
license.

66. October 18, 1357 - Saragossa - ES72 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands
Garcia de Loriz that he inform him about the abandonment of Aranyuel by the Muslims.

67. October 24, 1359 - Cervera - ES74 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Pere
Boïl, the Batle General of Valencia, that he make an investigation of the matter of a
female Christian who sought to move to Muslim lands, and was found dressed as a Muslim woman when she was captured.

68. December 9, 1359 - Cervera - ES75 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells his prelates and nobles that they respect the concession made to the Muslims to change residence without problems.

69. January 18, 1360 - Saragossa - ES76 - Queen Elionor commands Domingo Llull that he make public an ordination that states that, during the war with Castile, no Muslim may leave his or her home or change residence.

70. June 18, 1360 - Saragossa - ES77 - Pere el Ceremoniós revokes the license to emigrate to Tremissèn, on account of Cilim’s rebellion.

71. September 1, 1360 - Montblanc - ES78 - Pere el Ceremoniós reprehends the Battle General, Pere Boïl, for inducing the Muslims to emigrate from Valencia to Barbary.

72. September 1, 1360 - Montblanc - ES79 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Garcia de Loriz that he return the goods he confiscated from Muslims who had wanted to emigrate with royal license to Barbary, and had already paid the fees.

73. February 17, 1361 - Barcelona - ES80 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Pere Boïl that he make public that all Muslims who wish to emigrate, may do so with the Granadan ambassador, Muhammad ibn Faraig, as long as they paid the accustomed fees.

74. March 1, 1361 - Lleida - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Pere Boïl he determine whether or not those Muslims, captured while passing through the kingdom, were instrumental in the sedition of Cilim.
75. March 12, 1361 - Lleida - Pere el Ceremoniós tells Berenguer de Codinacs and Arnau Joan that is not possible to prohibit the emigration of Muslims, because it goes against one of the clauses in the peace treaty signed with Granada.

76. April 12, 1361 - L’Almúnia - ES83 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells Jaume del Mas to make a public announcement that prohibits all those Muslims who wish to emigrate, from taking an overland journey, on account of the war with Castile.

77. May 14, 1361 - Calataiud - ES84 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells the portantveus of the governor and the Batle General that they suspend the Muslims’ licenses to emigrate to Barbary or Granada.

78. June 3, 1361 - Cariñena - ES85 - Pere el Ceremoniós asks Jean II of France that if Arnau de Canet is in his lands, to please extradite him to Aragon, because he has kidnapped and imprisoned two Muslims emigrating to Granada with royal license in hand.

79. August 12, 1361 - Barcelona - ES86 - Queen Elionor wishes to know of the situation concerning twenty-six Muslims from Seta who were imprisoned by Arnau de Canet while they were emigrating to Granada.

80. June 25, 1362 - Perpinyà - LF89 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the count of Denia to see if a group of Muslims who fled to Elx really constituted a problem to the security of the city.

81. January 28, 1363 - Montsó - ES87 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the Batle General to prevent Muslims from wandering from aljama to aljama, begging for alms, as long as the war with Castile is being waged.

82. March 22, 1363 - Montsó - ES88 - Pere el Ceremoniós prohibits the emigration of Muslims from the kingdom to Granada or Barbary, while the Corts of Valencia are in session.
83. September 16, 1363 - Saragossa - ES89 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the bailiff of Lleida that he not permit the merchants to bring Muslims to Ultramar, nor to induce the Muslims to come with them.

84. July 16, 1364 - Horta de Borriana - ES91 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands his officials to imprison the Muslims of Alfàndec who fled from there.

85. September 16, 1364 - Saragossa - LF94 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the bishop of Tortosa to determine if three Muslim children of Beniomer, imprisoned by Joan de Vilaragut, Nicolau de Pròixida and Pere Marc during their attack on various aljamas are considered to be spoils of war, and rightfully kept, or to be returned to their places of origin.

86. April 6, 1366 - Calataiud - ES92 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands his officials to imprison those Muslims from Garcia outside of their lands, who had fled on account of the war against Castile.

87. September 10, 1366 - Barcelona - LA95 - Pere el Ceremoniós, in order to stimulate the repopulation of the moreria of Oriola, waives all fees and tolls for four years.

88. September 26, 1366 - Barcelona - LA96 - Pere el Ceremoniós, in order to stimulate the repopulation of Alacant, waives all fees and tolls for five years, as long as those places do not fall within the legal jurisdiction of Prince Martí.

89. July 25, 1367 - Saragossa - LA97 - Pere el Ceremoniós grants to the Muslims of Elda that they can return safely to their homes and live as they did before abandoning them.

90. December 18, 1367 - Barcelona - LA105 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands his officials that they not allow those Muslims who have changed their location of residence secretly to be admitted to their lands.
91. July 25, 1369 - Valencia - LF111 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells Faraig de Bellvíís that he grants passport to those Muslims who wish to travel during a holiday.

92. November 10, 1369 - Valencia - ES96 - Pere el Ceremoniós responds to the peace proposal between Aragon and Granada, which allows the liberty of Muslims to emigrate from one kingdom to another to be reinstated.

93. February 20, 1370 - Sant Mateu - LF112 - Pere el Ceremoniós, at the behest of the military representatives of the Corts of Valencia, prohibits that Muslims travel armed.

94. February 20, 1370 - Sant Mateu - ES97 - Petitions presented by the military representatives of the Corts of Valencia, one of which asks the king to prohibit the emigration of Muslims, because many ecclesiastical and baronial lands have been abandoned. The king suspends licenses for two years.

95. December 28, 1372 - Barcelona - ES101 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands the bishop of Tortosa not to give licenses of emigration to Muslims outside of his patrimony.

96. [no date given], 1372 - Valencia - ES102 - Muhammad Benjucef, a Muslim of Eslida, pays the delme, mitja dobla, and besant in order to go to Barbary with his family.

97. November 25, 1373 - Barcelona - LF116 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands his first-born son to suspend all the legal actions from royal officials against the Muslims for one year, because many Muslims have felt threatened and left the areas.

98. February 27, 1374 - Saragossa - LF117 - Prince Martí censures the judge and jurors of Elx because they have enacted legislation restricting the liberty of movement for the Muslims without his consent.
99. March 24, 1375 - Lleida - LF119 - Pere el Ceremoniós confirms the ordinations made by Arnau de Torrelles, *portantveus* of the procurator of the kingdom of Valencia, dated July 22, 1315, “against” the Muslims of Oriola, most of which restrict the Muslims’ movements within and without of the city and surrounding areas.

100. June 5, 1375 - Lleida - ES104 - Pere el Ceremoniós grants license to the Muslims of Lleida to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and return.

101. July 17, 1377 - Barcelona - LA117 - Prince Martí, in order to facilitate the repopulating of Crevillen, commands a Jew of Elx, Abrahim Abenbahe, to suspend those fines levied against Muslims who fled from the area when it was occupied by the count of Carrión for one year.

102. February 7, 1379 - Barcelona - ES106 - Pere el Ceremoniós tells the marquis of Villena to prevent a pilgrimage of Muslims to the tomb of a Muslim saint at Atzeneta.

103. April 22, 1379 - Valencia - ES107 - Prince Martí commands his officials that they do not bother the twenty or twenty-five Muslim families from Sogorb and Eslida, who are travelling to Atzeneta.


105. February 22, 1380 - Barcelona - ES109 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Francesc Marrades not to grant and more licenses for emigration and moreover to revoke those licenses already granted.
106. May 12, 1384 - Lleida - LA121 - Prince Martí reprehends the bailiff of Elx, who has not been judging Muslims according to the Çuna I Xara, and as a result, many Muslims have left to live in other places.

107. May 10, 1385 - Llíria - LF133 - Prince Martí commands Jaume Juny to convince the Muslims of Crevillen to stay, since he has heard that many are planning to leave.

108. May 10, 1385 - Llíria - LF134 - Prince Martí commands Francesc Miró to retain those Muslims from Elx and Crevillen who wish to leave.

109. May 10, 1385 - Llíria - LF135 - Prince Martí requests that the governor of Oriola not mistreat his Muslim vassals from Crevillen, because he has heard that many are planning to leave.

110. February 17, 1386 - Barcelona - LF136 - Pere el Ceremoniós commands Aznar Pedro de la Casta to severely punish the men of Biar, Ontinyent, and Bocarient who attacked the Muslims of Biar, causing them to flee.

111. March 15, 1386 - Barcelona - LF140 - Pere el Ceremoniós promises the aljama of Xàtiva that he will punish those responsible for the riot against the morería. Nevertheless, he demands that the Muslims stay there, and do not change their location of residence.

112. February 13, 1389 - Montsó - ES116 - Joan I allows the Muslims of Saragossa to visit friends and family members, as long as they respect the prohibition of marrying outside of the aljama.

113. March 14, 1390 - Montsó - ES120 - List of demands presented to the king by the principality of Catalonia. One of the provisions prohibits people familiar with sailing and navigation from teaching enslaved Muslims those skills.
114. January 2, 1391 - Saragossa - ES121 - Joan I commands his officials to make a public announcement that any Muslim who changes residence without royal license will be sent back to his or her point of origin, and his or her goods will be confiscated.

115. July 6, 1391 - Saragossa - ES124 - Joan I tells his governors and procurators of Mallorca, Menorca, and Eivissa that they not prohibit Joan de Sant Joan from holding and selling sixty-six Muslims whom he captured sailing legally from Mallorca to Bugia.

116. July 12, 1391 - Valencia - LF156 - Prince Martí informs king Joan of the huge riot against the Jews of Valencia, causing many of the Muslims to flee, since it was said that they would be attacked next.

117. July 5, 1392 - Pedralbes - ES125 - Joan I tells the king of Tremissèn, Abderraman, that he has received his messenger, Alí Benyaça. The messenger has come to discuss terms which would allow the reinstatement of licenses granted for emigration to Tremissèn.

118. August 5, 1392 - Pedralbes - ES126 - Joan I tells the governor of Valencia of the rumor that the ambassador of Granada has come to demand for all the Muslims of Valencia liberty of emigration to Granada. He does this in order to stop the problems that have accompanied this rumor.

119. August 9, 1392 - Barcelona - ES127 - Joan I commands his officials to return the goods of the sixty-six Muslims imprisoned by Joan de Sant Joan to their rightful places.

120. August 28, 1392 - Valldaura - ES128 - Joan I commands Roger de Montcada and Ramon de Soler that they make public the revocation of emigration licenses. Those who still emigrate will be imprisoned.
January 29, 1393 - Valencia - ES130 - Joan I commands his officials that they free a Muslim, Hamet d’Alfarrazín, whom they have detained, alleging that he has travelled without license. Joan I granted license to his companion, the viscount of Vilanova, to bring Hamet with him.

June 2, 1393 - Valencia - ES134 - Joan I confirms the rights granted by Alfons in 1333 and by Pere in 1347, guaranteeing the right of Muslims to emigrate, as long as they pay the required fees to the Batle General.

July 22, 1393 - Tortosa - ES134 - Joan I concedes to his barons that Muslims cannot emigrate to Barbary or other locations for five years.

October 31, 1396 - Barcelona - ES138 - Queen Marie de Lune revokes the command made by Jaume Soler, prohibiting the granting of licenses for emigration to Muslims who wish to go to Barbary.

June 28, 1397 - Barcelona - ES139 - Martí l’Humà tells the Batle General that he revokes the command made on June 5, prohibiting the issuing of more emigration licenses.

July 8, 1397 - Barcelona - LF179 - Martí l’Humà commands Arnau de Vilarnau to guard the Muslims and morerías from rioters. Already two riots had occurred, and many Muslims have fled.

October 17, 1397 - Saragossa - ES141 - Martí l’Humà commands the Batle General to imprison the Muslims Mahoma de Baeyre and Juce de Baeyre, and confiscate their goods, because they were planning to leave for Barbary.

February 12, 1399 - Saragossa - ES142 - Martí l’Humà commands his royal officials that they free twenty Muslim families who were found in Oriola when they were fleeing to Granada.
129. January 8, 1400 - Saragossa - ES143 - Martí l’Humà commands Lope López Dávalos that he return Guillem Martorell’s Muslim vassals who were imprisoned by him when they were going to Granada to be at a wedding.

130. January 12, 1400 - Saragossa - ES144 - Martí l’Humà grants to Guillem Martorell the goods of some Muslims that he captured. They were secretly emigrating to Granada.

131. January 20, 1400 - Saragossa - ES145 - Martí l’Humà commands Guillem Martorell to open up an investigation about the continuing pilgrimage of Muslims to Atzeneta, in spite of the royal prohibition.

132. February 10, 1400 - Saragossa - ES146 - Martí l’Humà commands Guillem Martorell to search all the lands of the barons, knights, ecclesiastics, etc., to search for fugitive Muslims who may be hiding there after fraudulently emigrating.

133. February 10, 1400 - Saragossa - ES147 - Martí l’Humà commands the governor of Valencia, Ramon Boïl, to continue negotiating with the senior Muslim vassals over a clause prohibiting the Muslims to change residence.

134. July 20, 1400 - Barcelona - LF208 - A list of provisions drawn up between Aragon and Castile. One of them stipulates that runaway Muslims found in one kingdom will be returned to the other, and vice versa.

135. October 21, 1402 - Valencia - ES149 - Martí l’Humà commands Guillem Pérez de Vayllo to go to Elda and make an account of the situation of the Muslims Abolaix Algalliner and Abrafim Algerechi who, along with their wives and children, were imprisoned when they fled to Granada.

137. September 28, 1403 - Valencia - ES152 - Martí l’Humà presents a fur that says if Muslims change their residence, without paying their lord the accustomed fees, they will be imprisoned until that fee is changed.

138. August 26, 1404 - Valldaura - ES153 - Martí l’Humà tells Nicolau Pujada that he approves some modifications in the peace treaty as entered between Valencia and Granada, but he tells him not to include the compromise which would permit Valencian Muslims to emigrate to Muslim lands.

139. August 27, 1404 - Valldaura - ES154 - Martí l’Humà asks Joan Mercader, a doctor in law, to find a modification somewhere between the complete Valencian prohibition of movement and the Granadan liberty of emigration.

140. December 11, 1405 - Perpinya - ES155 - Martí l’Humà grants license to Çahat Barramonì, the ambassador of Granada’s brother, and his family, to emigrate to Granada. He may travel with his items and without paying a fee.

141. June 9, 1407 - Valencia - ES156 - Martí l’Humà demand from his archivist, Gabriel Segarra, to see those treaties signed by the Muslim communities and Jaume I, especially in regards to their liberty of movement.

142. August 16, 1407 - Valencia - ES157 - Martí l’Humà presents a fur which details exceptions to his previous fur of 1403, prohibiting all movement of Muslims.

143. December 7, 1407 - Valencia - LF235 - Martí l’Humà commands Guillem Ramon de Montcada to open up an investigation over six enslaved Castilian Muslims who fled through Aragon and Valencia and were helped by Muslims in those areas.

144. December 10, 1409 - Barcelona - LA137 - Martí l’Humà censures the bailiff of Xixona for levying excessive taxes against the Muslims there, a great number of whom have left by sea
BIBLIOGRAPHY


_____. Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture. Minneapolis: University of


Cohen, Mark R. Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages. Princeton:


Cortés Alonso, Vicenta. La Esclavitud en Valencia durante el Reinado de los Reyes


Davis, David Brion. Slavery and Human Progress. Oxford: Oxford University Press,
1984.


Dillard, Heath. Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society,


Epalza, Miguel de. Moros y moriscos en el Levant peninsular (Sharq al-Andalus):

Fabra, Pompeu. Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana. Barcelona: L’Institut
D’Estudis Catalans, 1962.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the

Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, ed. Les aljames sarràines de la governació d’Oriola en el
segle XIV. Anuario de estudios medievales, anex. 19. Barcelona: Consell

_____. La frontera amb l’Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i Sarràines al País Valencià.
Anuario de estudios medievales, anex. 18. Barcelona: Consell

_____. Organització i defensa d’un territori fronterer: la governació d’Oriola en el
segle XIV. Anuario de estudios medievales, anex. 22. Barcelona: Consell


Huici Miranda, Ambrosio and Maria Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, eds. *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragon.* Valencia: Anubar Ediciones, 1976-.


