

1321: Sancho I of Mallorca Writes to James II of Aragon about the “Lepers’ Plot”

Kate Tinson



Kate Tinson, 1321: Sancho I of Mallorca Writes to James II of Aragon about the “Lepers’ Plot,” in: *Transmediterranean History* 6.1 (2024).

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18148/tmh/2024.6.1.75>

Abstract: In 1321, the so-called Lepers’ Plot caused widespread chaos and violence against lepers and Jews in Southern France, the Mallorcan County of Roussillon, and Aragon. The article focuses on a document that shows the Kings of Mallorca and Aragon communicating about the alleged plot and how it may affect their respective population. The article analyses the series of events and associated anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim polemics as part of a strong trend of “othering.” This trend was not only characteristic of Christian majority societies in the late medieval period, but led to unprecedented outbursts of violence against minority groups.

Source

Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327), ed. Heinrich Finke, Berlin: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1966, vol. 3, no. 178/1, pp. 390–391, trans. Kate Tinson.

Item sciatis, domine, quod leprosi capti [sunt in A]uinione et iam possiti in tormentis et, prout dicitur, confessi sunt, quod debebant intussecare omnes aquas puteorum atque fontium, qui extra domos existebant et quod hoc sit pre[sum]endum. Jam preconitzatum est in Auinione, quod nullus debebat uti aquis fontium extra existentium. Et dicitur, quod Judei in istis consensiebant.

Hec autem serenitati vestre duximus intimanda, ut precavere possetis, quod ex premissis vel similibus vestris gentibus non eveniant nocumenta. Ut enim de premissis maiorem certitudinem habeamus, missimus unum nostrum cursorem ad Romanam curiam nostro procuratori, ut de predictis plene se informet et de omnibus facientibus ad predicta et [... lacuna ...] plene postea nobis scribat. Et si qua nobis rescribat, quevobis

You should know, Lord [James II], that the lepers captured in Avignon have already been tortured and, as it is said, have confessed that they are guilty of having poisoned all the waters in the wells and springs, which are outside of houses, and this is what must be presumed. Additionally, it is already known in Avignon that no one should use the waters from the springs. And it is said that the Jews consented to this.

Moreover, this we have undertaken to intimate to your Serenity, so you are able to take precautions so that no harm results to your people from these aforementioned events or similar misdeeds. For in order that we have certainty about the circumstances, we have sent one of our couriers to the Roman Curia to our procurator, so that he may inform himself fully of the aforementioned things and write to us afterwards about all the things that have been done. And if he writes to us

significanda existant, ea seremitati vestre cicius rescribemus. something significant, we will write to you even more quickly, your Serenity.

Dat. Perpiniani quarto nonas Junii anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo primo. Given at Perpignan on the second of June, year of the Lord 1321.

Authorship & Work

[§1] The letter of Sancho I of Mallorca (r. 1311–1324) was written to James II of Aragon (r. 1291–1327). Born in 1274, Sancho was the second son of James II of Mallorca (r. 1276–1286 and 1295–1311) and ruled over the Balearic Islands of Mallorca, Ibiza, and Formentera, in addition to the County of Roussillon, whose capital, Perpignan, was where this letter was produced.

[§2] Sancho and James II of Aragon were first cousins, sharing James I of Aragon, also known as James the Conqueror (r. 1213–1276), as a paternal grandfather. Although this letter presents a polite exchange between the cousins, relations between the two branches of James's I family had been hostile to each other since his death had separated his kingdom into the mainland territory of Aragon and the smaller Balearic island kingdom. The Aragonese Crusade of 1284–1285, a war the Kingdom of France and the Pope waged against the Crown of Aragon as retribution for the Crown's involvement in Sicily, saw the Kingdom of Mallorca join France against Aragon. Although James II of Mallorca escaped with his life, Mallorca was proclaimed a vassal state of Aragon and was eventually reconquered by James's II nephew, Alfonso III of Aragon (r. 1285–1291), in 1285. Sancho, his elder brother James (fl. 1274–1330), and their mother, Esclaramunda of Foix (r. 1276–1311), were taken captive and confined in Barcelona, first by their cousin Alfonso III, and then by his successor James II of Aragon, the recipient of this letter. James II of Aragon did not release Sancho and his family until the treaty of Anagni in 1295. The treaty, alongside the treaty of Argelès in 1298, restored James II of Mallorca to the throne, paving the way for Sancho's succession in 1311.

[§3] With the restoration of Mallorca to James II, relations between Aragon and Mallorca appear to have normalised, as can be seen in the frequent exchange of letters between Aragon and Mallorca during the reign of James II of Aragon, who sent letters to James II of Mallorca and then his son Sancho I.¹ This letter from 1321 is part of an exchange of letters that also features a response from James II that arrived three days later. James II of Aragon and Sancho communicated about a number of other things during their reigns; among these communications there are letters about papal envoys from Clement V (sed. 1305–1314), meetings with Charles of Valois (r. 1284–1325) and meetings with French Kings, Philip V (r. 1316–1322) and Charles IV (r. 1322–1328), as well as those about the status of Templars in their respective lands.² Although Sancho does not seem to have mentioned the Leper's Plot again, James II continued to send out letters within Aragon, as reactions to the alleged Lepers' Plot spread south from Avignon and crossed over into his territories.³

¹ *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. Finke, vol. 1, p. 97.

² *Acta Aragonensia*, ed. Finke, vol. 1, pp. 466, 497; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 793; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 232, 684.

³ Nirenberg, *Violence and Persecution*, pp. 317–338.

Content & Context

[§4] Sancho's letter sought to inform James II of a series of events characterised by mass hysteria and violence that began in Southern France in the spring of 1321, spreading south into Aragon where it continued into 1322. Sancho tells James II that lepers have been captured and tortured in Avignon, having confessed to poisoning the town's wells. He continues that no one is drinking the water anymore and that the Jews of the town are thought to have been involved in the poisoning. Sancho expresses concern for his cousin, fearing that similar events might take place in Aragon. Finally, Sancho tells James II that he has written to the Roman Curia for more information on the events in Avignon and will write again to James with what information he gains.

[§5] In the first part of this letter, Sancho relates this conspirative idea to his cousin, explaining that lepers are poisoning the water in the wells and fountains. Sancho continues that it has been decreed that no one should use the water from the public fountains in Avignon, which would usually be used for drinking and bathing. It was thought that the poison the lepers had placed in the water would cause all who came into contact with it to become leprous. Interestingly, there are no contemporary reports of any sickness or plague due to drinking water or any other cause that might have led people to become suspicious of poisoning. As the alleged plot developed, the supposed aim of this poison was not just to cause everyone to become leprous but in so doing, to bring down Christianity.⁴

[§6] Next, Sancho shows himself to be aware of the alleged Jewish connection to the Lepers' Plot, when he notes, "it is said that the Jews consented to all this." Sancho's letter is the earliest evidence of the alleged involvement of Jews. Up until this point, it had only been lepers that had been persecuted with imprisonment, questioning, and sometimes death. The anti-Jewish aspect of the Lepers' Plot varies between France and Aragon, as James II of Aragon never ordered the arrest of the Aragonese Jews, only banning French Jews from crossing the border.

[§7] Sancho's letter is one of a quite considerable number of contemporaneous sources that relate the events of the Leper's Plot. Besides this letter between Sancho and James II, there are approximately twenty subsequent letters that were exchanged between James II and others dealing with the final phase of the Leper's Plot in Aragon. Municipal court records, kept by the individual municipalities, also exist, varying greatly in how many survive in each region. The records of Périgueux, in the Dordogne, are some of the most complete, containing records of arrests and other forms of violence against the lepers and Jews. There are also a number of royal ordinances that survive, proclaimed by Philip V of France (r. 1293–1322), which document the progression of the Lepers' Plot as it intensified in France, first calling for only the detaining of lepers, and progressing to harsher punishments and the inclusion of Jews. Unfortunately, very few court records exist which would really shed light on the treatment of the lepers and Jews once detained, perhaps preserving some of their speech. A small number of confessions exist in the records of the Inquisition, the most notable being that of Guillaume Agasse (fl. 1321), the head of the *leprosaria* in Lestang, Pamiers. His confessions, although presumably much edited and under duress, are preserved by the infamous inquisitor Jacques Fournier (d. 1342).⁵

[§8] The most complete narratives we know of the initial and middle phases of this series of events that occurred in France are taken from a number of chronicles, including the *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis*, the *Chronique Parisienne* and the *Chronique de Saint-Denis*. These chronicles probably relied on personal reports from nearby monasteries and travellers that passed through both the area of the plot and the monasteries where they were written. The

⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, pp. 31–32; *Chronique Parisienne*, ed. Helot, pp. 57–59.

⁵ *Le Registre d'inquisition*, pp. 135–147.

reports of these chronicles concur on the events of the Lepers' Plot. Although the latter is primarily depicted in Christian sources, it does appear in some contemporary Jewish works, including "The Touchstone" (*Even Bochan*) by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus of Provence (d. 1328) and "Bulb and Flower" (*Kaftor V'Pherach*) by Ishtori ha-Prachi, also of Provence (d. 1355).⁶ Sancho's letter to James II of Aragon fits in well with the rest of this surviving evidence about the Lepers' Plot, placing itself in very much the middle phase of the plot's events. This is reasonable to suggest because Sancho seems to be aware of the main details, i.e. the poisoning and the lepers. However, the letter also shows itself to be from a more developed stage of the plot through its inclusion of material on the Jews and somewhat prescient on the events in Aragon, where arrests would start one month later, i.e. in July 1321.

Contextualization, Analysis & Interpretation

[§9] The narratives surrounding the Leper's Plot used negative perceptions of lepers, Jews, and Muslims and turned these ideas into real violence, causing the imprisonment and death of probably several hundred Jews and lepers, as well as a small number of Muslims in Aragon.⁷ The Leper's Plot fits into a wider trend of particularly antisemitic tropes, where religious polemics and blood libels were used as an excuse for violence. These events did not necessarily need an impetus, however, underlying social pressures are often seen as the cause, with the minority in question acting as the "scapegoat" for the wider society. There were often those who benefitted from these events, usually financially, providing another explanation for why these events were so widespread. In order to explain the Leper's Plot's place in the wider epidemic of polemics and persecution of minorities in the medieval period, it is necessary to examine the perceptions of lepers, Jews, and Muslims that existed in majority Christian societies, the resulting violence of the Lepers' Plot, and who benefitted from this.

[§10] The Leper's Plot casts lepers as poisoners, a method of killing considered to be for the weak who did not have the strength to kill in other ways. This method of killing was viewed negatively as it was considered underhand as poisoning could often not be proven.⁸ Another "suspicious" feature of poisoning was that the poisoner needed certain knowledge of medicine or magic. The ingredients of the poison for the Lepers' Plot vary from source to source but ingredients include urine, snakes, blood, and a stolen consecrated host, causing disgust as well as being profane. Lepers were considered prone to poor moral comportment in Christian Europe, as well as weak due to their condition.⁹ This combination is due to the unique position leprosy held as a "religious" disease, that was thought to not only affect the body but also the soul.¹⁰ In fact, deficits in the soul were thought to cause leprosy. The original connection comes from the Hebrew Bible, where characters, such as Miriam and Gehazi, are afflicted by leprosy as a punishment from God. Not only this, but the laws from the book of Leviticus recommend that lepers be excluded from the camp suggesting that not only disease but sin, is contagious.¹¹ These religious ideas, combined with a fear of disease and nascent ideas of contagion, caused leprosy to cause great fear in medieval Christian societies. Lepers were usually confined to leper hospitals or *leprosaria*.¹² These institutions were generally run by religious institutions. The lepers lived as in a religious order, living in cells and praying throughout the day. Some scholars argue that there were benefits to this life: the lepers were being taken care of and their

⁶ Ha-Prachi, *Kaftor V'Pherach*, ed. Blumenfeld, pp. 355–35. Kalonymus, *Even Bochan*, ed. Rubin, pp. 101–103.

⁷ There is no agreement on how many people died as few figures are given officially. Judging from isolated events where numbers are provided, it was certainly hundreds of Jews and lepers.

⁸ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, p.16.

⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, pp. 31–34.

¹⁰ Brody, *Disease of the Soul*.

¹¹ Leviticus 13:47.

¹² Touati, *Lepers and Leprosy*, pp. 45–66. Richards, *Medieval Leper*, pp. 48–62.

suffering was sometimes considered positively in light of Jesus' own suffering. Yet the Leper's Plot certainly seeks to cast the lepers as immoral people who wish all Christians to become like them through ingesting this poison.¹³

[§11] These accusations against the lepers of France were to mark this event as unique. However, in the second wave of violence against the Jews, these accusations would become familiar as part of a long tradition of blood-libels. Even in the case of poisoning, the Lepers' Plot was not the first allegation. On a much smaller scale, another event in 1306 shows two Jews arrested over the body of a child in a well in Manosque, Provence.¹⁴ Within the former of these poisoning allegations, we can also see the more well-known version of the blood libel, the death of children and the use of their blood to make *matzo* or unleavened bread.¹⁵ Famous cases include William of Norwich (1144), Hugh of Lincoln (1255), and Simon of Trent (1475). These plots often centre around Easter Sunday, due to the Christian polemic that the Jews had killed Jesus and that the sin of this event had stayed with them, causing them to commit these ritual murders. During the Leper's Plot, we see recurrent references to Easter Sunday in some letters allegedly exchanged between Jews and Muslim rulers, assigning it as the day they would conduct the poisoning.¹⁶ As such, the Leper's Plot can be firmly placed in a Christian tradition of blood libel, featuring a number of the frequently used *topoi*, including the ideas of plotting, poisoning, the misuse of the host and Easter Sunday.

[§12] The letters allegedly exchanged between Jews and Muslim rulers constructed a narrative according to which not only the Jews but also Muslims were implicated in the Lepers' Plot. A first letter was supposedly written by a Jew named Bananias. He asked the Muslim "kings," who all carry Biblical names that certainly do not correspond to any contemporary rulers, to funnel more money through the King of Granada to help the plot.¹⁷ The testimony of the leper Guillaume Agasse, head of the *leproserie* at Lestang in Pamiers, given between 2 and 9 June 1321, mentions additional letters that reveal the King of Granada and the Sultan of Babylon as the plot's organisers.¹⁸ The central idea, common to Agasse's testimony and the versions reported in several chronicles of the time, is that the Muslim rulers paid the Jews and lepers to bring down the Christian kingdoms of Europe, in return for which the lepers would not be outcasts and the Jews would be allowed to return to the biblical land of Israel.¹⁹ The idea of minorities plotting to bring down Christendom is not unique to the Lepers' Plot and can be found, among other places, at the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694 and in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009.²⁰

[§13] These polemical ideas that surrounded the Lepers' Plot led to real-life violence for all those who were implicated: the lepers, Jews, and Muslims. This violence occurred in stages, first affecting only lepers, then Jews, and then Muslims, as it spread into Aragon. In the first stage, edicts by the King of France required lepers to be arrested.²¹ Moreover, it gave the permission to torture and, if they confessed, to kill them. Unfortunately, there are few written confessions left, the fullest being that of Guillaume of Agasse. Consequently, it is hard to know

¹³ Touati, *Lepers and Leprosy*, pp. 48–62.

¹⁴ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, p. 11.

¹⁵ Dundes, *Ritual Murder*, pp. 356–357.

¹⁶ Vidal, *Poursuite des lepreux*, pp. 459–61.

¹⁷ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, pp. 81–82.

¹⁸ *Le Registre d'inquisition*, ed. Duvernoy, vol. 3, pp. 135–147; Barber, *Lepers, Jews and Moslems*, pp. 6–9.

¹⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, pp. 33–34; *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, ed. Daunou et Naudet, pp. 703–705.

²⁰ König, 694: Accusation; Stolk and Jäckh, 1009: Adémar of Chabannes.

²¹ Barber, *Lepers, Jews and Moslems*, pp. 3–4.

just how many lepers were prosecuted to the full extent of the King's instructions. A chronicle from Uzerche notes that thirty lepers were killed in May, another sixteen in June, whereas fifteen pregnant leprous women and their children were branded and confined to a *leprosarium*.²² We find additional reports of looting and the burning of houses with their inhabitants still inside.²³ The largest reported number of deaths is that of 160 Jews who were thrown into a pit and burned in Chinon. The number is from the Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, but the event is also mentioned by Ishtori ha-Prachi (fl. ca.1280–1355), who notes that his teacher, Rabbi Eliezer ben Joseph (d. 1321) of Chinon, died in this event.²⁴ Another report mentions a mass suicide of Jews in Vitry in order to avoid forced conversion to Christianity. However, the historicity of this has been questioned by Barber and Barzilay.²⁵ Mass suicide was a common theme in antisemitic persecution accounts, drawing on events such as the suicide of Sicarii at Masada in 73 CE, as told by Josephus (d. ca. 100 CE), the suicides of Jews during the massacres of the First Crusade, and that of Jews at Clifford's Tower, York, in 1190.²⁶ However, it seems certain that many Jews and lepers were persecuted and murdered. Later embellishments relating these outbursts of violence to other events of great tragedy for the Jewish community only serve to cement the Lepers' Plot as one event of the same type.

[§14] Upon spreading to Aragon, the Lepers' Plot appears to have affected fewer people but a wider selection of types of people. In Aragon, we are confronted with accusations against lepers, paupers, Jews, Muslims, and foreigners. The category of "foreigner" also seems to have affected the way that lepers and Jews were treated, with foreign lepers being exiled and Aragonese lepers being confined. In the case of Jews, the border was likewise closed to foreign Jews. There is record of James II personally writing to the seneschal of Carcassonne asking for the release of an Aragonese Jew who had been imprisoned there during the French wave of the Lepers' Plot.²⁷ There are reports of deaths of lepers and Jews but in much smaller numbers and without the mass violence and looting that appears to have occurred in France. With regard to Muslims, there were some arrests and perhaps some deaths, although records are inconclusive. In one case, James II seems to have suggested that imprisoned Muslims could be tortured although he did not necessarily believe they had done anything. The Lepers' Plot in Aragon also seems to have affected some people from the Basque country, an area thought to have "leprous lineages," much like the Cagots in Southern France.²⁸ Finally, James II issued an edict ordering the arrest of all Genoese and the seizing of their property. Although this occurred during the same period, it remains unclear how the Genoese were involved. It seems much more likely that the Lepers Plot was taken as an opportunity to act on the rivalry between Barcelona and Genoa that had been exacerbated by the wider political situation in Italy. Few accounts remain of how this was carried out but the few that do suggest that the Crown of Aragon benefitted from large fines that were necessary for the prisoners' release.²⁹

[§15] From looking at the polemics that formed the narrative of the Lepers' Plot and the violence and judicial proceedings against a number of minorities that were their outcome, it seems impossible to pinpoint one cause. In all the narratives, we can observe an overarching

²² Manteyer, *La suite de la Chronique d'Uzerche*, pp. 412–413.

²³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, p. 35.

²⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, p. 35.

Ha-Prachi, *Kaftor V'Pherach*, ed. Blumenfeld, pp. 355–335.

²⁵ Barber, *Lepers, Jews and Moslems*, p. 5; Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, p. 79.

²⁶ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, pp. 78–80. Magness, *Masada*, pp. 187–200. Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*.

²⁷ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, n. 95, p. 67.

²⁸ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, p. 99.

²⁹ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, p. 100.

animosity towards the non-Christian and even those who were Christian but lay outside the mainstream, such as the lepers and paupers. The idea of a “persecuting society” put forward by Robert I. Moore names the very groups that suffered from the Lepers’ Plot.³⁰ An overarching theory depicting medieval Christian society as one that persecutes the “other” is convincing, especially considering that the Lepers Plot had been preceded by another anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim event, the so-called Shepherds’ Crusade of 1320. Notwithstanding this, violence did not pervade this society constantly and without cause. Barber suggests that the bad harvests leading to great famines in 1315 and 1317 might have been the cause.³¹ Nirenberg notes great dissatisfaction with the French monarch, Phillip IV, over perceived mishandling of finances and the Jews’ involvement with the finances of the realm.³² Some combination of these factors is very possible, too, as they relate to the poorest in society struggling and being dissatisfied with those higher up, who were meant to protect and help them. In their dissatisfaction, it seems that these ordinary people struck out at minorities in a general atmosphere that was violently intolerant to any kind of difference. Although these factors of poverty, financial issues, dissatisfaction with the monarch, and the overarching tendency to persecute give insight into some contemporary issues and provide a framework, it is also enlightening to consider who benefitted from outbreaks of violence like this.

[§16] Tzafrir Barzilay remarks that “attacks, even against minorities, could influence alliances in the community, create or negate monetary obligations, or be deemed a good deed or a sin.”³³ Indeed, there were rewards for participating in the violence accompanying the Lepers’ Plot, for the ordinary peasant right up to the King himself. The Jews that were killed left property, including destroyed houses, behind that could be looted by the crowds. Ordinary people may have also benefitted from being released from their debts if the local Jewish moneylender was dead or had fled. As for the municipality, the confusion of jurisdiction over the lepers and their property—who were sometimes seen as under the protection of the King, other times the religious order they were housed in and sometimes the wider municipality—allowed some municipalities to benefit from the lepers’ confiscated property.³⁴ However, it was the King of France who profited most from these events, taking a payment of 150,000 *livres* from the Jews—a huge amount, and even more than the 122,000 *livres* they had paid to return to France in 1315.³⁵ That this event would be financially profitable to the monarch is not new. A king’s inability to pay his debts and his need for money could often be a motivation to expel the Jews, as was the case with Philip IV (r. 1285–1314) in 1306, when the money he gained from the Jews paid his legal battle against the Templars.

[§18] The Lepers’ Plot, the result of complicated interreligious relations, was incited by the Christian majority society that it occurred in. The groundwork for it had already been laid by hundreds of years of Christian polemics against those outside Christianity, with those against Jews being the oldest and most pervasive. Despite Granada being the last Muslim outpost in what was mostly Christian Europe in the fourteenth century, the idea of the Muslims plotting to regain domination loomed large in the Lepers’ Plot. For James II, the recipient of this letter, these allegations gave him an opportunity to act on a real rivalry by punishing the Genoese in Aragon. The Lepers’ Plot would have long-term consequences for Jews, as accusations of well-poisoning continued and spread to Germany in the thirteenth century, causing more bloodshed. The outbreak of the Black Death would cause suffering for Jews and lepers, with massacres of

³⁰ Moore, *Persecuting Society*.

³¹ Barber, *Lepers, Jews and Moslems*, pp. 12, 17.

³² Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, pp. 60–65.

³³ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, p. 38.

³⁴ Barzilay, *Poisoned Wells*, pp. 40–41.

³⁵ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ed. Géraud, vol. 2, a. 1321, p. 35; Barber, *Lepers, Jews, and Moslems*, p. 5.

Jews occurring in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Aragon. Although there seem to have been expulsions planned in France and in the Comtat Venaissin for 1322, directly after the Lepers' Plot, they do not appear to have been carried out, to the effect that the waves of mass expulsion would not affect Jewish communities for more than a century. However, the movement of Jews eastwards would increase in this period, with the protective measures for the community made by King Casimir III of Poland (r. 1333–1370) being an incentive. As for the Jews of Mallorca, under the rulership of Sancho, they would continue to live reasonably peaceful lives until a massacre in 1391. Despite the Lepers' Plot spreading from France to Aragon and the Balearics, the effect for Jewish communities living there does not appear to have been very dire, especially if compared to the frequent expulsions from France,³⁶ to the anti-Jewish violence rampant in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Castile that eventually led to the forced conversion or expulsion of the entire Jewish population on the Iberian Peninsula in 1492.³⁷

Edition(s) & Translation(s)

Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur Deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327), vol. 3, ed. Heinrich Finke, Berlin: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1966, no. 178, pp. 390–391, URL: <https://archive.org/details/actaaragonensiaq03finkuoft/page/390/mode/2up>.

Nirenberg, David: *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Updated Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015, pp. 93–94 [English translation].

Cited Primary Sources

Chronique de Saint-Denis depuis 1285 jusqu'en 1328, ed. Pierre-Claude-François Daunou, Joseph Naudet (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France 20), Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1840, pp. 654–724, URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50138z/f729.item>.

Chronique Parisienne anonyme de 1316 à 1339, ed. A. Hellot (Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France 11), Paris: H. Champion, 1885, pp. 1–127, URL: <https://archive.org/details/mmoioressoci11sociuoft/page/n9/mode/2up?view=theater>.

Manteyer, Georges de: La suite de la chronique d'Uzerche (1320–1373), in: *Mélanges Paul Fabre: Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge*, Paris: Picard, 1902, pp. 403–415.

Duples-Agier, H.: Ordonnance de Philippe de Long contre les lépreux (21 Juin 1321), in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 18 (1857), pp. 265–272, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1857.445480>.

Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les Continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. H. Géraud, 2 vols, Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, 1843, URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6545870g> (vol. 1); <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6547752t> (vol. 2).

Ha-Prachi, Ishtori: *Kaftor V'Pherach*, ed. Yosef Blumenfeld, New York: Hadar, 1958.

Kalonymus ben Kalonymus: *Even Bochan*, ed. Salomon Rubin, Lemberg: J.M Stand, 1895.

³⁶ Barzen and Günzel, Vertreibungen.

³⁷ Kaplan, The Inception; Benito, Inquisition.

Langlois, Charles Victor: Registres perdus des archives de la Chambre des comptes de Paris, in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 40 (1916), pp. 33–399.

Le Registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier, 1318–25, ed. J. Duvernoy, vol. 3, Toulouse: É. Privat, 1965.

Cited & Additional Literature

Abulafia, David: *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Barber, Malcom: Lepers, Jews and Moslems: the Plot to Overthrow Christendom in 1321, in: *History* 66 (1981), pp. 1–17.

Barber, Malcolm: The Pastoureaux of 1320, in: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), pp. 143–166.

Barzen, Rainer Josef; Güntzel, Lennart: Die Vertreibungen der Juden aus Frankreich (1287–1306) und England (1290). Kulturbereiche zwischen Kontinuität und Umbrüchen, in: Michael Borgolte et al. (eds), *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008, pp. 228–251.

Barzilay, Tzafrir: *Poisoned Wells: Accusations, Persecution, and Minorities in Medieval Europe, 1321–1422*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022.

Benito, Ana: Inquisition and the Creation of the Other, in: Amy Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (eds), *Marginal Voices*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 43–68.

Brody, Saul N.: *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974.

Cohen, Jeremy: *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Dundes, Alan: The Ritual Murder or Blood Libel Legend. A Study of Anti-Semitic Victimization through Projective Inversion, in: *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, pp. 336–378.

Grayzel, Solomon: The Confession of a Medieval Jewish Convert, in: *Historia Judaica* 17 (1955), pp. 89–120.

Kaplan, Gregory B.: The Inception of Limpieza de Sangre (Purity of Blood) and its Impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain, in: Amy Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (eds), *Marginal Voices*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 19–42.

König, Daniel G.: 694: The Accusation of Jewish Collaboration in the Records of the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, in: *Transmediterranean History* 1.2 (2019), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18148/tmh/2019.1.2.17>.

Lavergne, G.: La Persecution et la spoliation des lépreux à Périgueux en 1321, in: *Recueil de Travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, vol. 2, Paris: Société de l'École des Chartes, 1955.

Nirenberg, David: *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Updated Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Nirenberg, David: *Violence and the Persecution of Minorities in the Crown of Aragon: Jews, Lepers and Muslims before the Black Death*, Princeton University: PhD Diss., 1992.

Magness, Jodi: *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Moore, Robert I.: *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250*, Malden: Blackwell, 2007.

Richards, Peter: *The Medieval Leper and His Northern Heirs*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977.

Simon-Muscheid, Katharina: Tod aus dem Brunnen? “Die Verschwörung der Aussätzigen” von 1321 in Aquitanien, in: Dorothee Rippmann, Wolfgang Schmid, Katharina Simon-Muscheid (eds), ... *zum allgemeinen statt nutzen. Brunnen in der europäischen Stadtgeschichte*, Trier: Kliomedia, 2008, pp. 147–162.

Stolk, Johannes Georg; Jäckh, Theresa: 1009: Adémar of Chabannes on the Destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in: *Transmediterranean History* 3.2 (2021), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18148/tmh/2021.3.2.39>.

Touati, François-Olivier: Lepers and Leprosy: Connections between East and West in the Middle Ages, in: Elma Brenner and François-Olivier Touati (eds.): *Leprosy and Identity in the Middle Ages: From England to the Mediterranean*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021, pp. 45–66, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526127426.00011>.

Vidal, Jean-Marie: La Poursuite des lepreux en 1321 d’après des documents nouveaux, in: *Annales de Sanit-Louis-des-Français: Publication trimestrielle des études et travaux des chapelains* 4 (1900), pp. 419–478.