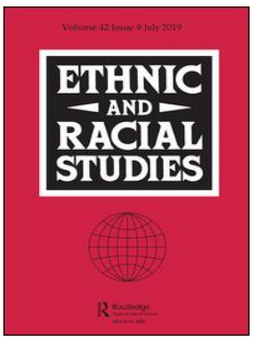

Ethnic and Racial Studies

ISSN: 0141-9870 (Print) 1466-4356 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rers20

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To cite this article: Yasuko Takezawa (2020) Racialization and discourses of "privileges" in the Middle Ages: Jews, "Gypsies", and *Kawaramono*, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 43:16, 193-210, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1745255

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1745255

Published online: 15 Apr 2020.

ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES
2020, VOL. 43, NO. 16, 193–210
https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1745255

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Racialization and discourses of "privileges" in the Middle Ages: Jews, "Gypsies", and *Kawaramono*

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ABSTRACT

The dominant contention in the sociology of racialization asserts race as a modern Western construction. However, we lack studies that juxtapose the experiences in the Trans-Atlantic with the Trans-Pacific.

This article, by examining the social conditions experienced by Jews in Spain, the "Gypsies" in Romania, and the *Kawaramono* in Japan in the Middle Ages, claims that the racialization had already begun before European colonization. It points out a variety of parallel patterns of marginalization and racialization, including but not limited to, "monopolization" of economic activities, an ambiguous relationship with the ruling class, and the discourses of "privileges."

My examination can contribute to understanding global trends of racism and the backlash against minoritized groups associated with the mythical discourses of "privileges" facing us all in the twenty-first century.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 6 December 2019; Accepted 12 March 2020

KEYWORDS Jews; "Gypsies"; *Kawaramono*; racialization; privilege; premodern

Introduction

This article aims to extend our understanding of race and racialization beyond the existing dominant theorization of race as a modern Western construction, by bringing three geographically distant groups from premodern times onto the same table: Jews in Spain, "Gypsies" in Romania (which the Roma peoples were referred to during this time period. Hereafter the scare quotes will be omitted), [1] and *Kawaramono*, who later came to be called *Burakumin,* in Japan. It argues that the racialization of these groups had already begun in each region before European encounters with Others in different continents, by pointing out a variety of parallel patterns observed among the three groups in dynamic societal, economic, political, and legal circumstances.

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This article was originally published with errors, which have now been corrected in the online version. Please see Correction (https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1760656)

This article presents another narrative of racialization that emerge within the same continent or the same region in which the phenotypical features show little to no difference to those of the majority members of their societies, unlike in the Trans-Atlantic case, because it involved no super-long distance migration. These three groups provide exemplars of similar marginalized groups who came to live alongside the mainstream population within the same region, were indispensable in their roles serving the rulers, and yet were racialized through that very process regarded to possess certain "privileges" granted by the rulers.

Although some scholars have pointed out certain similarities between the marginalization of groups in different regions,[2] this study represents a first serious attempt to identify parallel patterns in the social conditions by juxtaposing the experiences of minoritized groups in Europe and East Asia in premodern times. Geraldine Heng's recently published book *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (2018) supports my argument that race began well before the modern period and also uses Jews and Gypsies as case-studies though in relation to their encounters with Europe rather than by looking at parallel patterns as this article does (with the additional case-study of *Kawaramono*). Each of the three groups generally categorized as "Jew," "Gypsy," and "*Kawaramono*" are, of course, internally diverse.[3] However, these group categories retain a certain utility when it comes to the question of oppression and racialization at the hands of the majority members.

I have discussed elsewhere the characteristics underpinning the idea of race (Takezawa 2006, 2011). To summarize: first, bodily and mental characteristics, both visible and invisible, such as perceived physical features, temperaments, and abilities are believed to be genealogically determined—"transmitted" from generation to generation mediated by bodies— thus they "cannot be (easily) changed."[4] Second, a strong tendency of exclusion and aversion is associated with the systems of classification, and a clear hierarchical order is assumed between groups, especially between those defined as "races" in the nineteenth century dominant understanding of race. Third, since exclusion and hierarchy manifest themselves in collusion with political, economic, as well as social institutions and resources, race cannot be simply reduced to prejudice and ethnocentrism. Rather race results from an organized and institutionalized process of social differentiation and boundary-making, often linked with conflicts of interest.

This article offers a way to approach contemporary racist discourses surrounding "privileges" for various migrant and/or minoritized groups around the world. I suggest that when an initial exclusion and racialization of "strangers" from dominant socio-economic domains is entangled with certain other conditions, it can potentially lead to further racialization and exclusion with the mythical discourses of "privileges" attached to the minoritized groups in question.

Defining the objects of study

This article focuses primarily on the period of the Middle Ages, marked by the development of the division of labour, and in doing so examines the cases of the three groups mentioned above. I will follow the existing literature in using "Romania" as a collective term for the regions of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania for the period in question.

I include Spain because it had the largest population of Jews in medieval Europe; and provides the elements necessary for the close scrutiny of the relationship between the Jews on the one hand, and the court and the Christian community on the other. I include Romania because it possesses at present the largest population of Roma people in the world. Unlike Central and Western Europe, which already had developed guilds in society, leaving little or no room for Gypsies to enter collectively, Romania offered them the space to play a role with their craft skills, albeit at the bottom of the social ladder. Though there is essentially limitless diversity within these regions, I have established them as a pragmatic framework for analysis based on the available materials.[5] Finally, for *Kawaramono*, I focus mainly on western Japan, in particular, the *Kinai*, or medieval capital region (including Kyoto and Nara) and its surrounding areas because of the relatively high concentration of a *Kawaramono* population and the presence of the emperor and the nobility.

Social, economic, political, and legal conditions

I identify several common features to the social and economic conditions of these three groups. (1) Discourses surrounding their "different" origins; (2) the perception of them as stigmatized, polluted or contemptible, and the prohibition of intermarriage; (3) their histories as non-settlers/travellers or latecomers in predominantly agrarian society; (4) their marginalized and "monopolized" economic activities; (5) Discourses of "privileges" in economic, political, and legal domains in their relationship with the rulers.

Discourses surrounding their origins

Strong discourses have persisted for many centuries surrounding the origins of all three groups as "different" from those of the majority in society. The Jews original migration to Spain dates to Biblical times. By the time of the Roman Empire, some parts of the Jewish diaspora had fled to and settled in Spain (Gerber 1992, 2–4). Large numbers of Jews arrived from Northern Africa between the 11th and 13th centuries of the Reconquista, finding a relatively tolerant and pluralistic Spain where Muslims, Catholics, and Jews lived side by side.

The origin of the Gypsies (the etymology of the name derives from the word "Egyptian") is usually thought to lie in north-eastern India, but it is

difficult to trace the history of a people who have moved so often. The Gypsies are believed to have arrived in Wallachia c.12th century, and in Moldavia thereafter (Gheorghe 1983). There is general agreement among scholars that they arrived before the establishment of the Wallachian and Moldavian states and were treated as slaves from an early stage.

Academics have discredited the "theory of a different racial/ethnic origin," which asserts that the *Kawaramono* (often called by the derogatory term "*eta*") are the descendants of people who came from the Korean Peninsula or China, but have agreed with the appearances of such discourses in historical documents in the Middle Ages. For example, *Jōgan seiyō kyakushikimoku* (c.1408) contains the explanation that Crown Prince Dan [Jp. *Tan*] of Yan [Jp. *En*] emigrated to Japan during China's Warring States period, where he came to be known as *Entan*, which was eventually shortened to "*eta*." Ogyū Sorai writes in *Seidan* (c. 1726): "Because they [courtesans and *Kawaramono*] are of different species/racial [*shu*] origin, they are considered lowly and are placed under Danzaemon (the head of *Kawaramono* in the Edo [contemporary Tokyo] area)" (Uesugi 2000, 22, 36).

This patently mistaken "different origin theory" persists to some degree, and led to this unambiguous declaration in the 1965 report of the Integration Measures Commission of the Japanese government: "The residents of the [Buraku] areas to be integrated are neither of a different race (*jinshu*) nor a different ethnicity (*minzoku*). They are without a doubt of the Japanese people, and are Japanese citizens."[6]

Perception as polluted or contemptible, and the prohibition of intermarriage

The image associated with Jews as "Jesus's killers" demonstrates the particularly strong religious character of the stigma attached to the Jews. This perception was strengthened when some of them were forced to live in unsanitary urban ghettos. The discourse of pollution reached its apex in 14th-century Europe, during the period when the Pestilence killed between one- and two-thirds of the population, leading to the slaughter of many Jews. Prior to this time, Jews were perceived as polluted for religious reasons or because of some of the urban conditions in which they lived, but they were then blamed for being the source of impurity themselves (Nirenberg 1996, 239–245). Maurice Kriegel argues that throughout Spain, and in particular from the 11th to 13th centuries, Spanish society treated the Jews as "untouchable." In the 13th and 14th centuries in particular, popular decrees prohibiting Jews from touching foodstuffs in the marketplace existed in a broad area reaching from Spain across southern France (Kriegel 1976, 2006).

As in other places in Europe, there was a strong tendency to view the Gypsies as backwards and wicked. Though most were physically indistinguishable save for their clothing and the darker skin of some Gypsies was deemed proof of inferiority and evil (Hancock and Karanth 2010, 218). As we can see from the false rumours of Christian babies stolen and eaten by the Gypsies, the perception of them as heathens—sometimes even after they became Christians— and polluted or contemptible persisted for many centuries.

The early-medieval emergence of documentary references to "*eta*" and *kawarabito*, limited to western Japan, posit the fact that the emperor and court nobility were concentrated in the ancient capitals of Kyoto and Nara, unlike the warrior-dominated eastern Japan, where horses were of great importance, there was a lack of cattle which have, in comparison to horses, strong, high-quality hide, and therefore concomitantly few leather workers (Arimoto 2009).

Temporal distinctions are also relevant. Scholars have argued that disdain for butchery and leatherworking was not in evidence prior to or during the Nara period (710-794) but intensified only after the beginning of the Heian period (794-1185/1192), when Buddhism had a more profound influence in Japanese society. The notion of pollution spread alongside the avoidance of eating meat. At the other end, the Shintoism-based professional with the magically-endowed function of purifying (*kiyome*) the impure (*kegare*) emerged as a product of the *mibun* (status) system of the medieval period, but by the early modern period that duality had disappeared, leaving behind only the discourse of impurity and the discrimination that accompanied it (Kuroda 1998, 23; Fujisawa 2001, 102; Takayanagi 1981, 14–15).

However, in spite of the persistent social taboo during the Heian period, the professional slaughter of animals and marketplaces for the sale of meat had already developed. Indeed, meat-eating was so widely established among the general populace that it had to be forbidden through the enforced liberation of animals and prohibitions against taking life (Yamauchi 1994, 258).

Although the circumstances of the formation and propagation of the discourses of pollution vis-à-vis the Jews and *Kawaramono* differed, the development of the power and social influence of Buddhist and Catholic institutions in communities was a greater contributing factor than religious doctrine per se. Both groups were avoided because their pollution was seen as something which could be transmitted to others.

The perception of all three groups as polluted or untouchable was also linked to a taboo against intermarriage. The marriage taboo with *Kawaramono* was often written in the covenants of many agricultural communities such as the following document dated in 1395:

> Through the many generations since our ancestors founded this village, we have refrained from marriage with those of base name [the eta etc.], and have

> maintained the good pedigree of our households … . Their veins, once sullied, can never again run pure; the descendants of eta will always be eta. (quoted in Uesugi 2010, 22).

Marriage to Gypsies was seen as blasphemy against Christian doctrine (Hancock 1987, chap. 3; Hancock and Karanth 2010, 219).

Histories as non-sedentary or latecomers in predominantly agrarian society

All three groups share long histories as non-sedentary peoples or of being latecomers in predominantly agrarian society. Because of this, up to a certain point, many members of these groups did not own land. Consequently, despite living in predominantly agrarian societies, many of them engaged in marginalized economic practices. It was common in the early medieval period for Jews to both purchase and hold land. For example, many Jews in medieval Spain specialized in cultivating fruits and vegetables, particularly grapes and olives, and sold them daily in the city (Roth 2003).[7]

In 14th–15th century Wallachia, freemen farmers who held land inherited from their ancestors formed the centre of a pyramidal agrarian social structure, but artisans were virtually non-existent. While Romanian society needed their skills and products, this enabled the Gypsies to find an economic niche using their specialized skills as blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, and dancers, albeit as slaves at the bottom of the pyramid as demand for agriculture increased, many Gypsies also became serfs (Mizutani 2018, 58–60).

The etymology of "*Kawaramono*" (*kawara* meaning riverbank; *mono* meaning people) comes originally from those engaged in animal slaughtering and leather production who made their homes on the banks of rivers and used the water for their activities. As the *Kawaramono* in various regions gradually accumulated wealth from the beginning of the early modern period, they acquired land and rice paddies and began to pay the annual land tax.[8] Kiyoshi Yokoi suggested that the contempt against production industries other than agriculture may have served the major fundamental cause of the general perception of Kawaramono as polluted or contemptible (Yokoi 1975, 245).

It is not so much their migrancy itself that is pertinent here, but rather that most of the members of these three groups engaged in marginalized economic activities in societies centred around farming.

Marginalized and "monopolized" economic activities

Many Jews in Spain are known to have been traders, farmers, religious leaders, interpreters, tax collectors, or bureaucrats (Botticini and Eckstein 2012). While in northern European countries, money lending activities of Jews declined

with the expulsion from many of these countries, Jewish moneylenders in Spain, had by the 14th century come to contribute greatly to the economic development of the state.[9] With their deep engagement in finance, particularly moneylending, long-smouldering resentment flared up in the 14th century.

There was estrangement within the Jewish community too. The intellectual class, who for many generations had possessed great scholarly learning and linguistic abilities, continually boasted a close relationship with royalty, as did the wealthy Jewish elite. They often held important positions as advisors or financial managers for the various monarchs. As time went on, the financial, political, cultural, and psychological gap between these so-called "Court Jews" and the general Jewish population widened.

Before the arrival of the Gypsies, foreign artisans had departed Romania along with the decline in east–west trade. This heavily agrarian society therefore greatly valued the Gypsies for their advanced artisanal skills. The Gypsies divided themselves into highly specialized groups with distinctive names, and monopolized many occupations such as blacksmithing, which was further divided into specialties like cutler, axe-maker, and locksmith. Similarly, some among the court slaves flourished specifically as cooks or musicians.[10]

In central and western Europe, however, closed guilds practiced such crafts. According to Achim (2004, 68–69), the Gypsies who arrived in those regions were outsiders to these guilds, so turned to activities like fortune-telling, counterfeiting, and theft as a means of making a living. This discrepancy in social conditions gave rise to important differences. Unlike in central and western Europe, Romania's societal structure made it possible for them to monopolize certain work, and they provided a steady workforce.

Some early medieval documents have references to the *Kawaramono* (*Kawarabito)* who possessed of the special skills necessary for dealing with dead cattle and horses. *Sakeiki* (1016–1036), the diary of Minamoto no Tsuneyori, the earliest document of its kind, records the existence of a man of "*Kawarabito*" (later to be called "*Kawaramono*") in Kyoto, who flay the corpses of cattle and extract gallstone, thought to be a valuable medicine. *Chiribukuro* (c.1280), on the other hand, features the first appearance of the word "*eta*". The "*eta*," who attended to the slaughter and butchering of animals, are described as "*akunin* [wicked people]," demonstrating that at the time there was already a negative view of those who worked at butchery and leatherworking.[11] The flipside of this contempt for and social marginalization of the *kawaramono* was that it gave them a monopoly on economic activities like the slaughter of animals and the production of leather (Harada 2013, 92).

The following anecdote, recorded in the entry for the 13th day of the 4th month of Entoku 2 (1490) in the *Daily House Records of the Kitano Shrine Volume 2*, provides a window onto the nature of that monopoly. At some

point there was a fire at the Kitano Shrine in Kyoto, and the Hōjōin (part of the larger shrine) employed different *Kawaramono* than usual to dispose of the resulting ash and corpses. At this, "Senbon no Aka," the head of the local *Kawaramono*, went to the shrine's office of works and labour and sternly told them, "Hiring others despite the fact that we have been in service to this shrine for many generations is unheard of, and if they do not readily recognize our claim, then you must drive out these other *Kawaramono* and hire us." Ultimately the Hōjōin acceded to their demands (Yokoi 1975, 356–357; Takeuchi 1972 [1490], 77–80).

Discourses of "privileges" in economic, political, and legal domains in their relationship with the rulers

Various documents and historical studies about the three groups make references or discussions of "privilege" granted to them by the rulers whether the term "privilege" was used at that time about each of these groups or was used by later historians to characterize the nature.

In medieval Spain, as in many other parts of Europe, the Jews were seen as the private property of the Christian rulers, who commonly entrusted them with management of the royal family's assets and the financial affairs of the state, or even with personally attending the monarch (Nirenberg [1994] 2013, 191).[12] The rulers afforded the wealthy Jews preferential treatment and various privileges. When James I of Aragon invaded Mallorca in 1247, he "granted many privileges specifically to Jews and offered financial inducements for them to settle there," partly due to the potential economic benefit, as "an estimated thirty-five to sixty per cent of the income in every one of the Iberian kingdoms was provided by Jews" (Gerber 1992, 95). There was ample reason for the rulers to give special treatment to the Jews. When a sudden jump in the price of commodities in 14th-century Spain brought economic hardship, it was the Jews who were given the task of collecting the newly imposed taxes (Ouchi, Soneda, and Tateishi 1994). The general populace saw them as outside of the law, reflecting their intimate connection to the royal family and its attendant privileges. The rulers, on the other hand, faced a dilemma, as their patronage of the Jews brought about increasing discontent and estrangement from the church and the general populace.

Léon Poliakov shows that, beginning with the *cortes* (legislature) of the ancient city of Toro in the northwest, attacks against the Jews broke out across Spain in 1391 and discontent expressed by the various *cortes* regarding the close relations between Jews and the royal family:

> Because of the great liberty and power accorded to the enemies of the faith, especially the Jews, … and because of the high offices and the great honours which they enjoy, all Christians are forced to obey them and fear them and

> bow deeply to them … . the Jews … cause numerous evils and sow corruption with impunity, so that the greater part of our kingdom is tyrannized and ruined by the Jews, in contempt of the Christians and our Catholic faith … (Poliakov 2003b, 183).

It was only the wealthy "high class" Jews who enjoyed close ties to the ruling class, and who received special privileges in return for their economic support of the royalty. Many Jews were living in impoverished and unsanitary ghettos.

The discontent and resentment of the Christian population began to erupt increasingly violently, particularly at times when the ruler was absent, or their authority weakened. Jewish communities were frequently burned, and the people slaughtered. As persecution of the Jews continued, events like the 1391 massacre in Seville and the 1449 anti-convert uprising in Toledo served as opportunities to dismiss Jews under the protection of the rulers from their public posts. In 1492, when Spain succeeded in restoring the entire territory of Spain to Christian rule with its victory over Muslim forces in Granada, Jews who had managed to escape slaughter and persecution were forced to convert to Christianity or were expelled from Spain (Roth [1995] 2002, chap. 8).

However, these *conversos* were seen as a dangerous element, no longer visually identifiable after assimilation. The public began to demand proof of "pure bloodedness" of the Jews. Here I concur with the works such as those of George Fredrickson and of David Nirenberg, who argue that this discrimination against the *conversos* was very much a forerunner of modern racism (Fredrickson 2002; Nirenberg 2014).

In Transylvania, where many Gypsies were serfs of the royalty, the discourses prevailed surrounding various rights given to only Gypsies. These included the protection of the royal family, exemption from military service, freedom of movement between regions, and the right to settle in any domain so long as they had the permission of the monarch. The Gypsies also had a virtual monopoly on panning for gold in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, and the gold dust and taxes they tendered constituted an important source of wealth for the state. Such preferential treatment related to panning for gold was institutionalized with the advent of the early modern period. Achim explains that in order to protect the Gypsies, who represented a strong source of revenue, the State "protected them and instituted a privileged regime for them, under which they were exempted from any public tasks and sometimes from certain obligations that they were otherwise obliged to provide to the owner of the estate on which they dwelt" (Achim 2004, 50–51).

While violinists / musicians (*lăutari*) and chefs who served the court and nobility were not afforded freedom of movement, they nonetheless continued to maintain relatively high social and economic station up to the

modern era, enjoying close relations with the elite, handsome pay, and various forms of preferential treatment (Beissinger 2001; Reed 1999).

Some of these Gypsies began to settle on the outskirts of noble's estates, while others resided in villages and towns. Achim makes the interesting observation that "in both cases, the respective Gypsies lost their privileges, if not at once, then after a relatively short period of time" (Achim 2004, 45). Paradoxically, this supports the discussion above as we can infer that Gypsies had these special measures viewed as privileges through their economic activities and connections to the monarch. However, those who settled and engaged in economic activities integrated in the dominant society lost their privileges.

In the Sengoku (Warring States)-period (from the late 15th to the late 16th century) in Japan, as demand for arms and horse fittings dramatically increased, a great change occurred in the relationship between the *Kawaramono* and the ruling class. Because the *daimyo* (regional military leaders) required a massive and steady supply of leather for continuing wars, they came to protect the *Kawaramono* leather workers, while at the same time binding them to reside within their domain (Miura 1990, 104).

Zeami, one of the top landscape gardeners of the time, contributed to the production of the garden of *Ginkakuji* (Temple of the Silver Pavilion) in 15th century Kyoto, under the protection of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the eighth shogunate during the Muromachi Period. Their monopolization of the landscape, a marginalized job which requires hard labour and high skills in handling large rocks, trees, and the river water, was a result of exclusion from dominant economic activities (Uesugi 2004, 91–92). In another prominent example, Oda Nobunaga, who later became one of the three unifiers of the warring state, vowed to protect *Kawaramono* in the Amabe District of Kyoto. Specifically, he promised to arrest and punish perpetrators in the event of arson, violence, or being deprived of property by majority enemy forces. In return, the *Kawaramono* in Amabe, known to have accumulated enough wealth by then, gave significant monetary contributions to Nobunaga (Tsuji 2014).

The *Kawaramono* most notably possessed the exclusive right to skin and butcher the carcasses of larger animals such as cattle and horses. The *Kawaramono*, not the owners of the animals in question, were afforded the right to deal with the carcasses, and they received rights to all parts of the animal. They used the bones for fertilizer or as ornaments, the internal organs for fertilizer or as feed, and the hair for writing brushes, all of which they could sell for cash (Teraki 2014; Fujisawa 2001, 71–74). The right to claim dead horses and cattle free of charge was seen as a "privilege," but the disposal of corpses was also imposed on them as forced labour (Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo 1987, 84). In other words, the so-called "privilege" of the *Kawaramono* derived from the fact that the disposal of animal corpses was both necessary to society yet shunned by it.

How about the question of exemptions from tax and services? Under the *shōen* estate system, taxes were levied based on rice paddies, but because the *Kawaramono* were non-sedentary people or settled in riverbanks, they were exempt from barrier tolls and the annual land tax. Yoshihiko Amino has stated that this is how it aroused the jealousy of the agrarian populace (Harada, Amino, and Takatori 1983). This system of taxation originated in the *handen shūju* laws of the latter half of the 7th century, and from the start the emperor and the underclass were exempt (Buraku Liberation Research Institute 1993, 19–20). A statement by a scholar of Chinese studies as early as 914 records that when he replied to the question raised by Emperor Godai, severely criticizing those who tried to escape from tax or other duties by disguising themselves as Buddhist monks as they were exempt from tax and other duties, and, he continues, that their soul carried the cruelty of slaughtering animals (Uesugi 2012, 74–75). We cannot trace a direct line from the underclass of the 7th century to the medieval *Kawaramono*. What is important is the close connection between land ownership and fixed residence on the one hand, and the taxation system on the other, which is an ancient convention.

But these rights and exemptions were accompanied by other types of compulsory labour, as well as restrictions on social mobility imposed by the lords of the domain, and were in essence a measure to keep them from bearing a double burden (Buraku Liberation Research Institute 1993, 47–48; Fujisawa 2001, 87–88).[13]

Another terrain of discourses of "privileges" observed across the three groups concerns the "privileges" to be passed on judicially by their own lords or political leaders. David MacRitchie, in his compellingly-titled article, "The Privileges of Gypsies," writes that in Transylvania, Hungary, and throughout eastern Europe in the 16th century, Gypsies who were victims of robbery or violence at the hands of other Gypsies had the right to bring the perpetrators "to trial, and, if deemed right, to execute" them (MacRitchie 1907, 301; see also Weyrauch 2001). Jews in parts of Europe such as Barcelona also had considerable legal protection as well as internal jurisdiction autonomy rights often afforded to them by royalty, beginning with Peter's issuing in 1280 of a general privilege to communities in Catalonia which continued through the reign of King Alfonso (Klein 2006, 150).

During the Edo period, in the case of crimes perpetrated within the *Kawaramono* community, it was not the shogunate or local lord but Danzaemon himself who had the right to pass judgement and even order executions within the territory he controlled (Takayanagi 1981, 179–181).

Conclusions

This article has examined three groups from the Middle Ages: Jews in Spain, Gypsies in Romania, and *Kawaramono* in western Japan, as examples of my

claim that racialization practices were not simply the invention of modern Europe or North America. The three groups have gone through migration or reorganization of their communities, and have survived prejudice, discrimination, and sometimes deadly violence. In addition to the five social and economic conditions I have discussed above, we can establish the following points of further overlap that pertain to these groups during the designated period: (6) The concentration of the ruling class in the regions in question; (7) Space within society for them to take on a specialized social role, and the abundance of resources necessary to that role in the area; (8) Religion as a factor in their exclusion, or its use as an excuse for such.

What relationship do these eight points have with "racialization," and in what ways do they relate to one another? The discourses of a different origin holds some truth regarding the Jews and Gypsies, both originally being migrant peoples. For the *Kawaramono*, however, it is pure fantasy. Despite this, the discourses of their different racial or ethnic origin persists to some degree even today. Differences in "culture" and lifestyle are strongly felt by the populace, and together with these discourses surrounding their origins, such feelings strengthen the idea that "there are natural inborn differences between them and us."

The perception of a group as polluted or contemptible constitutes another feature of the concept of race, inherent in which are notions of exclusivity and hierarchy. Intertwined with religion, such perceptions emerged and were fostered. Their histories as non-sedentary or latecomers in predominantly agrarian society and their marginalized economic activities; constituted integral factors in the expulsion and racialization of these groups. While all three groups share a history as migrants or non-sedentary, it is the resulting relationships with surrounding communities which were structured around Catholic churches (or, in the case of Japan, Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples). Membership in religious organizations within the community, rather than religious doctrine itself, served an important role in integrating into the community and obtaining the trust necessary to commit to permanent residence (Herzog 2011).

Aside from the Jews who were farmers at the beginning of the medieval period in Spain, the bases and resources for the economic activities of the majority or many of the members of these groups came not from land, but from personal or movable property and skills such as money, linguistic ability, and knowledge; the tools, materials, and ability needed for blacksmithing, performance, or cooking; and the skills necessary to skin and butcher deceased horses and cattle. In other words, from things indispensable to the ruling class for expanding and maintaining their military power, sovereignty, wealth, and displays of status. Because of this, members of these groups were valued by the rulers, even though their social station remained low, which put their lives in danger from a jealous populace. Consequently,

in order to ensure the uninterrupted provision of capital, resources, knowledge, and skills, the rulers had, of necessity, to protect and patronize these groups. This protection – along with exemptions from both taxes and/or exemption for military service and labour – enjoyed by these three groups under the specific conditions which we have observed, gave birth to the discourses of their "privileges" or special treatment, which in turn contributed to mounting jealous and dissatisfaction among the general populace.

As I have shown, the truth of these so-called "privileges" is anything but the product of the warped structure of discrimination, the relationship between those in power and those who are the targets of that discrimination. Nevertheless, there is the popular underlying assumption that society always discriminates against the members of these three groups everywhere, and only grants them rights inferior to those of the rest of the populace. When cases then surface, however minor, which go against that absolute assumption, or when other interests give rise to demagoguery, that is when discourses of "privileges" rears its ugly head.

A similar pattern of racialization may be found other than these three groups, in particular, among groups that have long advocated the elimination of "discrimination based on occupation and descent" which the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) supports, although as this article demonstrated, the picture seems to be far larger than discrimination solely based on occupation and descent. Cases in question include groups such as the Dalits in South Asia, various "Caste" groups in West Africa as well as Buraku people in Japan.

Discourses of "privileges" are not limited to these three groups. Nor is this a story that ended in the distant past. Harassment, hate speech, and hate crimes against immigrants, Muslims, people of colour, and other social minorities are occurring across the globe, from Europe, to the United States, to Asia, and beyond.[14] This is not always connected to discourses of privileges, of course, but the view among some right-wings that affirmative action and social welfare, all some portion of redistribution of resources from the central government, constitute "privileges" for minoritized groups has certainly played a role in the rise of a new form of populism critical of existing politics.

It is my hope that an examination of processes beyond those primarily associated with modern Western racism, arising from trans-Atlantic colonization and exploitation, that take account of medieval racialization across several societies including ones in Asia, can provide insights into the far greater purview of such processes, in the past, and in the present.

Notes

1. Following Fraser and Achim, I will use the term "Gypsy" in my discussion of Romanian society up to the middle of the 19th century. I will use "Roma"

when speaking about the present (Achim 2004, 1 [footnote]; Fraser 1995, 297).

2. The examples of previous studies include, the emergence of pariah groups such as the *Burakumin* in Japan and the Scheduled Caste in India after emancipation in the late 19th century and in the mid-20th century respectively (Schermerhorn 1970); commercial and entrepreneurial functions of "pariah" groups such as Jews in eastern Europe and overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia (Rothschild 1981); and the economic benefits, most favoured lord status, and isolation from the majority population in their relation to (non-) assimilation (Laitin 1995).
3. I recognize the internal diversity of each group, with regard to region, occupation, and nomenclature; their composition from a number of disparate low-status groups; subsequent diachronic change; as well as the various sociohistorical gender roles during the Middle Ages including Jewish genders constructed from rabbinic teachings (Baskin 2013).
4. Blood and lineage were the primary definitions in the old usage of the English term "race," and some research has presented racial definitions by lineage and genetic differences, not by visible physical differences (e.g. Banton 1977; Rex 1986; Miles 1989; Fredrickson 2002). Nonetheless, these theories are mostly constructed in terms of relationships between white and black based on the "one drop rule" or between whites and Jews in Europe.
5. There is a particular paucity of documents relating to Gypsies in premodern Romania..
6. The "Integration Measures Commission Report" delivered the Commission's findings to the prime minister regarding "basic policy measures for solving the various social and economic problems of the Integration Areas." 8/11/1965. http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/jinken/sankosiryo/1322788.htm.
7. M. Botticini and Z. Eckstein argue against the accepted theory that Jews throughout Europe were prohibited from owning land. Thus, rather than seeing the dispossession of the Jews as a direct result of their immigrant status, we can perhaps see it more properly as a phenomenon born of specific historical developments in Spain and its surrounding communities.
8. See, for instance, Amino 1991; Wakita 2002, 159; Teraki 2014.
9. In both Christian and Jewish doctrine, financial activities like usury, tax collection, and in particular the charging of interest, were seen as sinful (Neuman 1942, 194–195; Roth 2003). From the following Rabbi's memorandum, however, we can infer that the Jews did not engage in moneylending by preference: "at the present time, when a Jew may possess neither fields nor vines permitting him to live, the lending of money at interest to non-Jews is necessary and consequently authorized" (Poliakov 2003a (vol.1): 104).
10. According to Ian Hancock, enslaved Gypsies were divided generally into "Household slaves (*ţigani de casaţi*)" and "field slaves (*ţigani de ogor*)." The former was further sub-categorized as slaves of nobles, of the court, or of householders. See also Achim 2004, 45–47; Beck 1989, 57–58.
11. See, for example, Amino 1991, 104; Fujisawa 2013, 76; Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo 1987, 19–20; Hirota 2008, 102–103.
12. David Nirenberg asserts European sovereigns increasingly insisted that the Jews *belonged* to them in a *peculiar* way, different from that of their other subjects (Nirenberg [1994] 2013, 191). The laws of various 12th-century European kingdoms made explicit that the Jews were the "*servi*"

(Latin "slave" or "servant") of the rulers. On the Jews as the "private property" of the monarchs, see also Baer [1961] 1992, 85. Many documents point to disparities within the Jewish community. Poliakov writes that the Jews were legally classified into three tiers: "High class," "Middle class," and "Low class" (Poliakov 2003b).

13. Kōfukuji Temple in Nara, for example, administered the entirety of Yamato province during the latter half of the medieval period, and had the right to assemble all the *Kawaramono* from the land under its authority.
14. See Hohle's (2017) *Racism in the Neoliberal Era* to understand the processes by which contemporary racialized groups are made scapegoats by the dominant (white) society.

Acknowledgements

Earlier versions of this article were presented at academic meetings or seminars hosted by: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales; the University of California, Santa Barbara; the University of Toronto; the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the Japanese Association of Cultural Anthropology; the Roma Studies Seminar (of Osaka); the Buraku Liberation and Human Rights Research Institute; and the Kyoto Human Rights Research Institute. I extend my appreciation for comments I received from numerous colleagues in multiple disciplines, all of whose names cannot be listed here. Special thanks go to David Nirenberg, Andreas Wimmer, Stephen Small, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, Maurice Kriegel, Satoshi Uesugi, Takeshi Mizutani, Nobuo Teraki, Etsuko Kuroda, Howard Winant, Angéla Kóczé, and Lyle De Souza for their helpful comments.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (S) KAKENHI grant [16H06320] "Integrated Research into the Processes and Mechanisms of Racialization," 2016-2020.

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