

# Jews in Late Medieval Navarre\*

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## Introduction

Since the appearance of Robert Ian Moore's synthesis in 1987, the Anglo-Saxon medievalists have extensively analyzed the many active debates on persecutions of religious or social minority groups, such as heretics, Jews, lepers, homosexuals, and prostitutes, in medieval Europe<sup>1)</sup>. However, these studies have a general tendency to focus on examples from the northwestern countries (England, France, and Germany) and to apply them to other regions of Europe. For example, it has been traditionally pointed out that engagement in usury is espoused as one reason why Jews were persecuted. Yet, the popular attitude toward usury was different between the north and the south of Europe during the time of the persecution. In 1317, a case of Marseilles indicated that not all Jewish lenders were regarded as social outcasts by contemporaries<sup>2)</sup>.

To consider the daily "coexistence" of Jews and Christians outside northwestern Europe, this paper focuses on Jews in the medieval kingdom of Navarre, a former kingdom in the north of Spain in the Basque province.

In 1234, Sancho VII, the King of Navarre, died without a legitimate heir. His successor was his nephew, Count Thibaut IV of Champagne. Henceforth, until the 15th century, the kings of Navarre came from French dynasties: counts of Champagne, kings of France and counts of Evreux. However, it was not until the 14th and 15th centuries that the kings of Navarre actually resided in Pamplona, Tudela, Olite, and Estella. Before that period, they made only brief visits, if anything, to their remote kingdom, choosing instead to nominate a governor to administer it in their absence. From the 13th to the 15th century, the kingdom of Navarre was surrounded by the regions of Aquitaine, Béarn, Castile, and Aragon. Navarre held the Roncevaux pass, the Somport pass, and controlled a part of the Ebro river. Economically, this country had enough wheat, wine, olive oil and meat, but they had to buy fish and salt from the merchants of Bayonne. When the merchants and the armies from other countries wanted to travel from French to Spanish regions, they had to pass through Navarre. Because of its highly strategic position, an alliance with Navarre was in demand during the Hundred Years' War by both the English and the French. Among Navarrese rulers, Charles II, also known as "Charles the Bad," was notorious for his hostile activities toward the Valois kings and for his concern

to hold the political initiative in both the Iberian Peninsula and France.

When the kings of England, the dukes of Aquitaine and the kings of France expelled Jews in 1290, 1306, 1324, and 1394, the kings of Navarre welcomed them. Moreover, in contrast to the countries in northwestern Europe, the Jews of Navarre established *aljamas*, which were Jewish self-governing communities set apart from the rest of the general population. Each *aljama* had the right to organize its distribution of taxes. Within these communities, Jews enjoyed full citizenship and protection thanks to the *fuero* (the book of laws and customs). As people of the sovereign, however, they were subject to obligations and had to pay a special yearly contribution called *pecha* of the Jews, which was distinct from the tax obligations of the Navarrese commoners.

This paper examines the political and economic roles of the Navarrese Jews and their day-to-day contact with Christians during the late 14th century, especially during the reign of Charles II (1349–1387). It also attempts to clarify some concrete aspects of the conflict or coexistence in a society in which Christians were the majority and Jews the minority. This study owes much to the works of Béatrice Leroy, which are still fundamental to investigating the Jewish history in Navarre<sup>3)</sup>. In addition, the investigation is based on rich historical sources, such as the practice documents related to the Jews (fine records, tax records, contracts, etc.), as well as the recently published collection *Navarra Judaica*<sup>4)</sup>.

## **I. Jews as royal servants (1349–1387)**

During the reign of Charles II, Jews played prominent roles as diplomats and doctors. In addition, they became purveyors of the Court, provided loans to the throne, and were an integral part of the kingdom's fiscal administration as finance officials and tax farmers.

### **(1) Diplomats and secret agents**

Jews were often royal ambassadors or secret agents<sup>5)</sup>. During the civil war of 1366–1369 in Castile, Jews served as intermediaries between Charles II of Navarre, Pedro the Cruel and Henry of Trastámara. In 1369, the Treasury paid 20 florins to Judas Léon, the Jews from Alfaro (Castile), sent by Charles II for “secret negotiations<sup>6)</sup>.”

### **(2) Doctors**

Jewish doctors were famous during the Middle Ages. Since the 12th century in Navarre, there were numerous Jewish physicians and surgeons in every city. In 1355–1364, Juce Aliahen from Pamplona, said Bueno, was a doctor of Charles II's armies<sup>7)</sup>. Additionally, Gento Falaguera treated the same king during the 1370s<sup>8)</sup>. Juce Orabuena, the most famous Rabbi in Navarre, was one of Charles II's physicians and also served Charles III<sup>9)</sup>.

### (3) Purveyors of the Court

The Jews of Navarre created clothes, furs, and silverware and provided these items to the Court<sup>10)</sup>. In 1363, Nazan del Gabay from Tudela, provided the jeweler's work for the Court. From Dueña, the widow of Azac Encave from Pamplona, the Royal Treasury bought a gilded purse with buttons of little pearls and four gold rings in 1365<sup>11)</sup>. Moreover, in 1381, Salomón Nájera provided colored threads and worked at the atelier of tapestries in the Pamplona palace<sup>12)</sup>.

### (4) Tax farmers and finance officials

Cash flow was one reason for royal favor toward Jews. The Jews of Navarre were very useful to the government in addition to what they provided the Court. Generally, from the 1360s, Jews served in public offices by collecting taxes. From 1366, Charles II began demanding sums and the collaboration of Jewish notables, such as Ezmel de Ablitas the Younger. Some were collectors of *Pecha* of the Jews, and Judas Levi from Estella was charged with the general supervision of the great exceptional levy<sup>13)</sup>. Jews also took some farm patents at the local level. In Estella and, above all, in Tudela, Jews were very soon in the majority among *arrendadores* (tax farmers) in the city. In 1368, Gento Càmiz, a Jew from Tudela, took the farm for the *tafureria* (gambling house) in the city for four years for the sum of 21 livres per year<sup>14)</sup>.

## II. Day-to-day contact with Christians (1349-1387)

The Navarrese society somehow allowed both Jews and Christians to co-exist on a daily basis. This is most apparent in money and commodity lendings, conversion issues, gender relations, and the nature of skirmishes.

### (1) Money and commodity lending

In return for obligations and contributions, Jews were offered a free choice of occupations and were permitted to own land. A record shows us that a Muslim cultivated "the vineyard of don Bueno de Ablitas, a Jew from Tudela<sup>15)</sup>."

Although they participated in agriculture or trade, the main livelihood of Jews was money lending, of which their customers ranged from Christian craftsmen and farmers to abbots and archbishops. Sometimes, Jewish lenders lent only natural commodities, such as oil, wine, and wheat. In 1351, some habitants of Orrio borrowed a kafiz (the equivalent of 164 liters) of wheat from Gento Padre who was a Jew from Pamplona<sup>16)</sup>. However, most often, Jewish lenders lent money along with items. In 1352, Martín Garcés de Ezcaba and his wife Elvira, who lived in the village of Ezcaba, owed 63 solidos 9 deniers and 3 kafiz of wheat to Cazón Alborge, a Jew so-called "Eder<sup>17)</sup>." It was also common to lend money and natural commodities against pawn, such as real property. In 1352, Judas Chapi, a Jew from Cascante, lent some wheat to his Christian neighbor for the latter's vineyard<sup>18)</sup>. In spite of the risk of losing their land, deprived villagers frequently relied upon Jewish lenders, for the Jews of

Navarre welcomed poor clients and lent even moderate sums.

Christian monks and Muslims were also their clients. At first, in 1358, Juan de Calahorra, a cellarer of the monastery of Santa Maria de Fitero, owed 11 livres and 10 kafiz of wheat to Samuel who was a Jew from Tudela<sup>19)</sup>. Three years later, Gonzalo, the abbot of the same monastery, and his monks owed 150 kafiz of wheat to another Jew from Tudela named Ezmel de Ablitas<sup>20)</sup>. For examples of Muslims, in 1353, Zahet de Cunchillos and his wife Hude, Muslims from Cascante, borrowed some oil from Judas Chapi<sup>21)</sup>. Furthermore, in 1361, Alí Aludali, a Muslim crossbowman and a habitant of Tudela, along with other Muslims borrowed 120 solidos from Vitas Franco who was also a Jew<sup>22)</sup>.

## (2) Conversion issues

Even if Jews were free in their choice of religious life, Christians would often attempt to convert them. Jewish resistance against such forced attempts was recorded. In 1351, Salomón Embolat, a Jew from Los Arcos, removed his nephew from a Christian church at the moment of the latter's conversion to Christianity. Subsequently, Salomón was accused of interfering "by force" (*por fuerça*) in his nephew's conversion<sup>23)</sup>. It is possible that Salomón believed that his nephew was forced to be converted, and he tried to stop it. We could also suppose that this record was written in favor of the claim of Christians.

Concerning the attitude of the Jews toward a conversion, there were hesitations. In 1376, another record indicated that Samuel Ciriz, a Jew from Viana, displayed his intent to convert, but subsequently changed his mind. He was condemned to pay 200 florins because he "had made a mockery of our faith" [i.e., Christianity]<sup>24)</sup>.

The last example does not concern a forced conversion, but is nevertheless an interesting one because a Jew tried to disguise himself as a Christian for convenience's sake. In 1376, when the *Grande Company* (the most notorious mercenary) passed through the town of la Puente de la Reyna, Galamont, a Jew from the town took the cross on his clothes and behaved as if he were a Christian. Perhaps, he would have heard a rumor that the *Grande Company* had attacked Jews or simply feared they would attack him. Galamont was condemned to pay 50 florins because he acted "in guise of a Christian"<sup>25)</sup>.

## (3) Christian mistresses and adultery

In some instances, Jews were overlooked even when they made Christian women their mistresses by paying some fines. In 1373, Jacob Xaprun, a Jew from Tudela, was accused of having carnal knowledge of a Christian woman and had to pay 65 livres to the king<sup>26)</sup>. In 1375, Galaf Abenayón and his brother Abraham both Jews from Viana, were condemned because it was said that Galaf had spoken ill of the King, and that Abraham had carnally known a Christian woman named Johana del Remo<sup>27)</sup>.

Naturally, adultery fostered hostility from Christians. In 1376, Samuel Buenalabor, a Jew from Taffalla, was killed by Pedro Jiménez de Sansoain because the former had committed adultery with the latter's wife. Samuel's body was condemned to be burned unless Jacob Alani, a Jew from Taffalla,

and other relatives of Samuel paid 200 florins<sup>28)</sup>.

In 1373, a more tragic episode about a *conversa* (a woman converted to Catholicism) was recorded. According to a laconic description, although she had become Christian and had been baptized, she had a Jewish lover from Tudela with whom she had slept in a house near the Saragossa market. She was sentenced to be burned for adultery. Where the said *conversa* was burning, the Jewish lover was arrested and put into a prison in the presence of the public. Additionally, he was firmly accused and justice was done in the presence of the king in Estella. The sentence was a fine of 100 florins that was to be paid by all Navarre *aljamas*<sup>29)</sup>. This episode is curious, because we do not know the reason why she was condemned to death. We certainly find the expression of “for adultery” (*por adulterio*) in the text. However, the punishment of burning at stake is too severe for adultery during this period. It is possible that she was converted at the moment of the marriage with a Christian; therefore she was thought to commit a false conversion and judged a relapse to the Judaism, punishable by death. In any case, we have no other information about the circumstance of her conversion. The fact remains obscure.

However, these cases were rare. Usually, adultery with a Christian could be redeemed, and a deceived husband was not allowed to kill the adulterer. Good relations between Jews and Christians could be more common than manslaughter or burning at the stake.

#### (4) Conflicts concerning synagogues and other violence

Jews had a synagogue in every city of Navarre. In 1366 at Pamplona, the royal commissioner, Pedro de Olloqui, the archdeacon of the Cathedral and royal adviser, had the synagogue closed, because the *aljama* hesitated to pay 130 livres, which King Charles II had attempted to levy on Jews to fortify the city. The Jews appealed to the king, who ordered to reopen the synagogue<sup>30)</sup>.

In Tudela, there were three *juderías* (Jewish quarters) and three synagogues in the heart of the bourgeois quarters, located next to the collegiate church, near San Pedro and San Salvador<sup>31)</sup>. In 1358, on the night of the Passover, the feast of the Jews, Guillermo de Robray, and his brother Martin de Uria, a squire of *merino* from Tudela attacked a Jew in the grand synagogue. The two men were fined<sup>32)</sup>. The Jews of Tudela did not endure such violence tamely; they went to the castle, the office of the *merino*, with weapons and spoke many injurious words to Guillermo, Martin, and all the other people of the *merino*, mainly claiming that Guillermo and Martin were robbers and thieves as that they had stolen Jewish property. Afterwards, the Jews were condemned to pay 300 livres<sup>33)</sup>. This conflict would affect another conflict two years later. Furthermore, in 1360, the Jews of Tudela attacked the castle at night and the men of *merino* inside it, and they were condemned for the rebellion<sup>34)</sup>.

Other examples of bloodshed at an individual level between Jews and Christians exist in several documents. In 1371, Juce Alfaca and Gento Alcarzán, Jewish habitants of Pomplona, drew blood from Pedro, the son of Sancho de Errazu, a butcher and citizen of Pomplona<sup>35)</sup>. In 1376, Salomón Alborge “Monet,” a Jew from Pamplona, was fined 18 livres because he knifed Pedro de Aibar, a knight<sup>36)</sup>.

As a minority in a medieval Christian kingdom, the Jewish community could not stay protected

against external forces unless it lived with its own faith and solidarity. They observed the requirements of the law and revered the representatives of authority. However, they were not unilaterally persecuted, and sometimes they resisted with weapons. Although such hostility sometimes resulted in smaller skirmishes, no large-scale conflicts occurred in Navarre. In fact, this kingdom did not suffer the “pogroms” of 1348-1350, which raged throughout the Iberian Peninsula during the Black Death.

## Conclusion

From this short sketch, we can point out some of the natures of the relationship between Christians and Jews in the late 14th century in Navarre. It seems that despite the potential hostility within and outside the region, the Navarrese Jews remained skillfully integrated in the government and regularly engaged in social activities with Christians. Possibly, this relatively stable relationship was derived from the following two factors: 1) the existence of a symbiotic relationship between the two groups. While Jews were protected by sovereigns in return for paying taxes and fulfilling obligations, Christians from the king to villagers inevitably depended on Jews as state servants or money-lenders; and 2) for daily life in the kingdom, the lives of members of both religions were characterized by constant contact with people from other religions. This day-to-day contact could have moderated the extremely hostile feelings derived from the stereotype Jewish images often found in other regions.

From the end of 15th century to the beginning of the 16th century, the kingdom of Navarre was absorbed into neighboring great powers. The Inquisition against *conversos* and *moriscos* was founded in Castile (1481) and Aragon (1484). The Catholic royalty, Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon, suspected that *conversos* of their kingdoms were freely and frequently visiting the Jews of Navarre, and exerted pressure on the sovereigns of Navarre to begin the Inquisition. In 1498, threatened with invasion and excommunication by Castile and Aragon, Jean and Catherine of Navarre agreed to expel their Jews, with the proviso that the Jews could choose either conversion or exile. In 1512, Fernando of Aragon conquered most of the kingdom of Navarre, with only the lower Navarre remaining within the Albret family kingdom. The process of the collapse of the kingdom of Navarra is well known. Yet, how the relationship between Jews and Christians in Navarre changed (or remained unchanged) is to be examined. Moreover, based on the example of the kingdom of Navarre, it is possible to assume that there was a type of society different from the “persecuting society” of northwest Europe.

## Notes

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- 1) Moore, Robert Ian, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-*

1250, Oxford, 1987.

- 2) Shatzmiller, Joseph, *Shylock Reconsidered. Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society*, Berkeley, 1990.
- 3) Leroy, Béatrice, "Recherches sur les Juifs de Navarre à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Revue des études juives* 140 (1981), pp. 319-432; idem, *The Jews of Navarre in the Late Middle Ages*, Jerusalem, 1985; idem, *Los judíos de Navarra en la baja edad media*, Madrid, 1991; García-Arenal, Mercedes, et Béatrice Leroy, *Moros y judíos en Navarra en la baja Edad Media*, Madrid, 1984.
- 4) Carrasco Pérez, Juan, Fermín Miranda García, et Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, eds, *Los judíos del reino de Navarra. Documentos. 1134-1350, Navarra Judaica 2*, Pamplona, 1996; *Documentos. 1351-1370, Navarra Judaica 3-1*, 1996; *Documentos. 1371-1386, Navarra Judaica 3-2*, 1998; *Regestas documentales. 1351-1386, Navarra Judaica 3-3*, 1998; *Registro del sello. 1339-1387, Navarra Judaica 4*, 1995.
- 5) Leroy, B, "Entre deux mondes politiques: les juifs du royaume de Navarre à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Revue historique* 275 (1986), pp. 29-37.
- 6) "Item, a maestre Judas Leon, judio d'Alfaro, los quoaales el seynnor rey li manda dar por cietras expensas que auia fechas en proseguir algunos negocios secretos et prouechos del dicho seynnor rey, segunt pareçe por su letra data 20 dia de março anno 1368, 20 fl., cada por 13 s. 6 d., valen," (*Navarra Judaica 3-1*, n° 649-320, p. 838)
- 7) In 1357, "Don Bueno, el fisico." (*Navarra Judaica 3-1*, n° 399, p. 234)
- 8) In 1374, "a Sento Falaguera, judio fisico, al qual el seynnor rey mando dar esta vna por los buenos seru-  
içios, grant diligencia et Buena visitacion que eill ha fechos de su officio al dicho seynnor rey en su malan-  
dia, ..." (*Navarra Judaica 3-2*, n° 684-326, p. 134)
- 9) In 1385, "Karlos, ... A Juce Orabuena, fisigo judio, ..., por su salario, de kas medizinas..., 15 libras." (*Navarra Judaica 3-2*, n° 915, p. 617-618)
- 10) "... Como nos seamos tenidos dar et pagar a Naçan del Gabay, judio de Tudella, la suma de quoaranta li-  
bras carlines prietos, por perlas et otras joyas que tomado auermos d'eyll, ..." (*Navarra Judaica 3-1*, n° 453, p. 414)
- 11) "A Dueynna, judia, muger de Açach Encaua, qui fue, por vna bolsa dorada con botones de aliofra, tomada et retenida de sus bienes por el seynnor rey, vltra la finança fecha por eilla, segunt pareçe por letra del di-  
cho seynnor, data 21 dia de junio, anno 1365, 5 fl. cada uno, 13 s., Vallen, "A eilla, por 4 aniellos d'oro..." (*Na-  
varra Judaica 3-1*, n° 524-325\_326, p. 586)
- 12) "A Salamon Negera, por jornals et messiones por apreillar la tapiceria et otras cosas a la cambra del rey, contenidos ..." (*Navarra Judaica 3-2*, n° 781-319, p. 452)
- 13) "Karlos, etc. A Ezmel d'Ablitas, judio de Tudela, salut. ... mandado que l'aljama de los judios de Tudela et sus pertenencia nos presten, ... mil et seycientos florins, ... Et mandamos a nuestro thesorero et a Judas Leui que la dicta quantia de florins que prestado auran asignen sobre la dicta ayuda et pecha ad aqueillo a qui pertenezcra." (*Navarra Judaica 3-1*, n° 559, p. 613)
- 14) "... Ponz d'Eslava, recebidor de la Ribera e baylia de Tudela, do a tribute a vos Jento Gamiz, judio de Tudela, la tafureria de los moros e judios de la dicta villa de Tudela, ... e de jenero an adelant en quatro ayn-  
nos siguientes primero venidores, cad'Aynno por precio de vint huna libras priestas." (*Navarra Judaica 3-1*, n° 632, p. 775)
- 15) In 1350, "... en la vinna de don Bueno de Ablitas, judio de Tudela, por vn moro laurando, et conprado del dicto moro por Juçe Xoeper por meaylla, ..." (*Navarra Judaica 2*, n° 328-100, p. 503)
- 16) "Item, Miguel Martiniz de Elequi, filz de Miguel Periz qui fo, et Sancho Martiniz d'Orrio, filz del dit Mar-  
tin Periz de Wlequi qui fo, vezinos d'Orrio, a Jento Padre, jedeu de Pamplona, vn kafiz de forment, mesura de Pamplona, et 12 dineros karlines et tres conportes de vendema." (*Navarra Judaica 4*, n° 2-52, p. 27)



- 17) "Item, Martin Garcia d'Ezcaua et Eluira, sa muyller, estaient en Ezcaua, deuen a Saçon Alborge, dit Hederr, judeu, 63 sueldos et 9 dineros karlines et 3 kafices de forment." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 2-17, p. 19)
- 18) "Empeynna Maria Garcia de Cascant vna vinna en termino de Vinnas Neuas, a Jehuda Chapit, judio de Cascant, por 1 kafiz de trigo." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 3-62, p. 58)
- 19) "Deue don fray Iohan de Calahorra, çellerer del monasterio de Santa Maria de Fitero, a Simuel, fillo de Abraam, fillo de don Bueno, phisico, judio de Tudela, 11 libras carlines blancos, et 10 kafices de trigo, mesura de Tudela." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 7-59, p. 129-130)
- 20) "Deuen don fray Gonçaluo, abat del monasterio de Santa Maria de Fitero, fray Garcia de Çeruera, prior, fray Yenegro d'Aylo, sozprior, fray Garcia de Çeruera, cantor, fray Martin, monges, et todo el conuvento del dicto monasterio, a don Ezmel d'Ablitas, fillo don Juçe d'Ablitas, judio de Tudela, 150 kafices de trigo, mesura de Tudela." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 11-75, p. 218)
- 21) "Deue Cayt de Conchiellos et su muller Hude, moro de Cascant, a Jehuda Chapit, 1 kafiz, 2 rouos de or-dio." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 3-73, p. 60)
- 22) "Deuen Ali Alhudali, fillo de Hamet Alhudali, moro, ballestro, vesino de Tudela, et fiança con el Juçe el Beynnuel, fillo de Hamet Albeynon, moros, vezinos de Tudela, al dicto Vitas Françes, judio, 120 sueldos negros." (*Navarra Judaica* 4, n° 11-8, p. 205; n° 11-229, p. 247)
- 23) "De Salamon Embolat, judio de Los Arquos, el quoval fue acusado que eyll auia sacado por fuerça de la eglesia de Sancta Maria de Los Arquos a Açaquiel, su sobrino, el quoval se queira conuertir christiano, ..." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 370-427, pp. 64-65)
- 24) "De Samuel de Çiriz, judio de Viana, el quoval fue condepnado en 200 fl., porque eyll, en escarnio de nuestra fe, dizia que queria ser christiano et non lo quiso ser." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 695-287, p. 189)
- 25) "A Galamont, judio de la Puente de la Reyna, por composition fecha con eyll por que quando las compaynias tomaron el dicho lugar de la Puente, eill tomo la cruz en sus ropas et andaua con dichas compaynas en guise de christiano, ..." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 695-289, p. 189)
- 26) "Item, de Jacob Xaprun, judio de Tudela, el quoval fezo composition de dar al seynnor rey, porque fue acusado de auer conpayna carnal con vna Cristiana, 65 lib." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 675-281, p. 101)
- 27) "Item, por razon que fue denunciado al dicho procurador por algunos que Galaf Heuenayon et Abram, su hermano, judios de Viana, auian dicho et fecho algunas cosas no deuidas, es a saber, el dicho Galaf auer dicho mal del rey, et el dicho Abraham, su hermano, auer caualgado et conoscido carnalment a Johana del Remo, christiana." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 689-271, p. 160)
- 28) "De Jacob Alani, judio de Taffailla, et otros parientes de Samiel Bon Aloor, judio qui fue de Taffailla, el quoval fue muerto por Pero Xemeniz de Sansoayn, porque eyl lo auia faillado con su muger en adulterio, et por esta razon fue ordenado el dicho judio ser quemado depues su muert, et porque non fuesse quemado, fizieron composition los sobredichos Jacob et otros parientes del dicho Samuel por 200 fl., ..." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 695-285, p. 188-189)
- 29) "Item mas, por la ausaçio que fizo vna conuersa que fue quemada por adulterio que fiço con vn judio, et leuadola a quemar sin la confesar, et manifesto que vn judio anblador de Tudela, depues que fue fecha christiana et bateada, que yaçio con eilla en Çaragoça, en vna casa del Mercado. Et el dicho judio fallelo alli do se quemaua la dicha conuersa et prisello et [acay..] los en presençia de toda la gent que miraua. Et acusolo firmament et fiz fazer carta publica. Et fecha la justiçia, trailo preso et fiz luego relation a mi seynnor el rey, que era en Estella; mandame render el judio a Pero Jurdan, baile por tiempo, et fue leuado el dicho judio a Esteilla et fue fecha sentence en 100 flo. que pagaron todas la aljamas de Nauarra." (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 675-80, p. 88-89)
- 30) "Karlos, ... A nuestro bien amado et fiel consseillero don Per Oilloqui, arcediagno de la Tabla en la iglesia



de Santa Maria de Pomplona, ... Como nos ante de agora vos ouiessemos mandado que la Navarrerria de Pomplona con la juderia fiziessedes fortificar et reparar de las obras nescessarias, por les quoaes obras fazer los judios de la juderia de Pomplona, segund dizen zyan pagado por partidas cient et trenta libras de karlines o mas, ... non los constreyndades nin por esta razon lis cerredes les puertas de las sinagogas.” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 571, p. 632)

31) Alegría Suescun, David, *Agua y ciudad. Aprovechamientos hidráulicos urbanos en Navarra*, Gobierno de Navarra, 2005, p. 385.

32) “De Martin d’Uria, scudero del merino de Tudela, condepnado arbitrariament por el debat que auia con los judios del dicto lugar en la noche de Pascoa, festa de los judyos, ...” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 403-310, p. 281); “De Guillem de Robray, hermano del dicto merino, condepnado en 25 lib. karlines blancos, valen 45 lib. 16 s. 8 d. prietos, porque de la dicta noche ferio a vn judyo en la sinagoga mayor, ...” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 403-311, p. 281)

33) “De los judios de Tudela, condepnados en 300 lib. blancas, valen 550 lib. prietas, porque andiron en el dicto castieylo con armas en la dicta noche, diziendo muchas palauras injuriosas a los dictos Guillem et Martin, et a todas las otras gentes del dicto merino, mayorment que los robadores et ladrones que robauan los judios en la Bardena [adu] no eran muertos, et de sus bienes que [auian],...” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 403-312, p. 281)

34) “Item, de vna emienda et condedation en la qual fueron condenados los judios de Tudela por la rebelation et efforcamiento que fizieron en el castieylo de Tudela de noches et contra los hombres del merino, ...” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-1, n° 421-320, p. 334)

35) “Item, de la condepnation en que fueron condepnados Juçe Alfaça et Gento Alcarcan, judios morantes en Pomplona, por razon que firieron et sacaron sangre a Peruco, fijo de Sancho d’Erraçu, carnicro vezino de Pomplona.” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 662-278, p. 44)

36) “De Salamon Alborge, dicho Monet, judio de Pamplona, por composition fecha con eill porque auia ferido a Peruco d’Ayuar, escudero, et dado de su cuchieillo, que eill pago 9º dia de febrero, anno 1376º, 18 lib.” (*Navarra Judaica* 3-2, n° 695-288, p. 189)