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I

UNDER ONE ROOF

The Papal Monarchy as Viewed by Medieval Jews

Let me start by justifying my participation in this encounter of “Italia Judaica.” As it happens, I know very little about the Papal state in the sixteenth century, about the life of Jews within its borders, or about the establishment of the ghetto. If I dare, nevertheless, to take a precious thirty minutes of your time, it is because Italy was not the only region in Europe which had a Papal state. During most of the fourteenth century, when people referred to the “Roman Curia”, they did not have in mind the eternal city but rather a smaller one, Avignon, situated in the South of France, in the Rhone Valley. I have in mind, of course, the Comtat Venaissin, which was a Papal holding (Avignon would be purchased from the Queen of Naples in 1348). There, around the year 1321, when Pope John XXII occupied the Holy See, a partial expulsion of Jews took place. At exactly the same time the Jews of Rome were themselves facing the threat of expulsion. Examining the scanty information that we have about this strange event will permit me, I hope, to uncover elements concerning the manner in which medieval Jews regarded the Papacy and, most importantly, the political expectations they nurtured — rightly or wrongly — regarding the Apostolic See.

Hebrew terminology is of much significance in this respect. To designate the Pope, medieval Jews used to employ the Talmudic term *Apifior*, as we do nowadays. But they also used (and this is less frequent in our medieval

documents and utterly suppressed today) the term “king” (*Melech*) when referring to the Lieutenant of St. Peter. Thus in 1372, the Jewish community of Avignon had good news to share with the community of Perugia concerning privileges obtained from the Pope¹. Gregory XI is not mentioned by name, neither is he called *Apifior* but rather “King of the Gentile” (*Melech ha-Goyim*). When, some thirty or forty years earlier, the success of Gersonides at the court of Avignon is referred to by a fellow rabbi, the Pontiff is described as “The Great King” (*ha-Melech ha-Gadot*)². A vivid, yet quite imaginary picture of the Papacy in Rome is given by a thirteenth century Hebrew writer, Isaac ben Yedaiah:

There, in his palace, dwells the Pope, who rules and presides over all who follow the faith. And the cardinals, his advisors, surround him, wisely strengthening every breach in the religion day after day. Each year, many notables and summoned leaders come there faithfully to greet [the Pope]. Whatever he decrees to the gentile kings who are adherents of the faith, not one of them will disobey him, nor will they speak after he has spoken; whatever he seals with his bull can not be reversed, whether it apply to a nation or to an individual alike³.

Years afterwards, while the Jews were recovering from the traumatic events of the year 1348, an assembly of notables convened in Catalonia to look for ways to prevent riots from occurring again. Among the decisions they reached was one in which the monarch of Aragon would be approached and, in his turn would defend the case of the Jews before “The King of the Gentiles”, the Pope of Avignon⁴. A political plot involving the Pope is imagined already by Nachmanides in 1263: when the messiah will arrive he will come and command the Pope and all the kings... “Let my people go”⁵. A more detailed program, along the lines of that imagined by Nachmanides, is delineated by the aforementioned Isaac ben Yedaiah:

[The messianic king] will go to Rome, and request their supreme leader and his advisers to write to the kings under his hegemony, and seal it with

1 A. TOAFF, *Gli ebrei a Perugia*, Perugia, 1975, p. 228.

2 Cfr. my note in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel*, Vol. V, Haifa, 1980, p. 174.

3 M. SAPERSTEIN, *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth Century Commentary on the Aggadah*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p. 103. Even a hostile author, Todros ben Isaac of Gerona, in his litany against Pope John XXII, written in 1321 or 1322, labels him “King of the Gentiles”. Cfr. Eliezer Birnbaum, “Mahzor Roma — The Cluj Manuscript dated 5159 AD/1390 CE and the Public Fast in Rome in 1321 CCE” in *JQR* 76 (1985), pp. 59–95, in particular pp. 66–67.

4 F. BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1929–1933, vol. I, p. 348.

5 Cfr. H. MACCOBY, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages*, London and Toronto, 1982, pp. 122–123.

his bull, that they must restore to him the people [of Israel], according to the word of God... But [the Pope and his advisers] will not believe him until he performs powerful signs and unmistakable portents in the sight of all present. Then will the Pope know and recognize that he is an emissary of the true God, and he will send his legate to all the kings, near and far, [informing them] that the Jews are about to go forth from slavery to freedom, and that they must let every Jew go forth by himself, freely, demanding no money, for a redeemer has come to Zion⁶.

Little wonder then that a messianic visionary of the likes of Abraham Abulafia asked to meet the Pope in 1280⁷. He was evidently out of line in asking for an interview. He was, however, absolutely in line with contemporary Jewish thinking concerning the necessity of obtaining such an interview as a precondition to a political redemption. After looking at evidence of this kind I am even more convinced that “the King who excelled above all other” (*ha-Melech asher al kol ha-Melachim ’ala le-shevah u-li-Tehila*) mentioned by Jacob ben Eliahu of Venice, when speaking of the convert Nicholas Donin (initiator of the Paris disputation of 1240), was none other than the Pope⁸.

A most detailed Jewish expression of the monarchical superiority of the Pope is probably also the most ancient one. I am referring to “the relation of troubles encountered by the Jew of France in 1007”, a document that was amply explored by Professor Kenneth Stow in *The “1007 Anonymous” and Papal Sovereignty*⁹. According to this story, King Robert of France (the date coincides closely with his reign) gave the Jews of his kingdom a choice between conversion to Christianity and expulsion from his realm. A Jewish notable, Jacob ben Yekutiel of the city of Rouen, took up the royal challenge: “It is not up to you to convert [Jews] or to cause them any harm. This is the prerogative of the Pope of

6 M. SAPERSTEIN, *Decoding the Rabbis... cit.*, p. 104.

7 M. IDEL, “Abraham Abulafia on the Jewish Messiah and Jesus” in his *Studies in Ecstatic Kabbalah*, Albany, N.Y. 1988, pp. 45–61, in particular pp. 46–47.

8 Cfr. my article: “Did Nicholas Donin Promulgate the Blood Libel?” in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel*, Vol. IV, Haifa, 1978, pp. 175–182. (Hebrew). C.H. Merchavia, who challenged my suggestion in his “Did Nicholas Instigate the Blood Libel?” (*Tarbiz* 49, 1979, pp. 111–121 (Hebrew)), does not seem to have a problem with my suggestion to identify the “King” with the Pope.

9 Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, 1984. Professor Stow has also examined the issue of Papal sovereignty in a number of other articles, notably “Jewish Approaches to the Papacy and the Papal Doctrine of Jewish Protection, 1050–1150” (Hebrew), in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel*, V, pp. 75–90; and “Jews and the Catholic Church”, in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, New York, Vol. 7, pp. 75–79.

Rome”¹⁰. Although Jacob ben Yekutiel employs the term *Apifior* in this passage, in another place of the recitation, the Pontiff is labeled the “head of all gentiles”. The Jew did not limit his protest to verbal contention; he girded his loins, went to Rome accompanied by an impressive retinue, and obtained an interview with the successor of St. Peter. He addressed to the Pope, saying: “You are the head of all nations and their governor”. His mission was crowned with success — or so we are assured by the anonymous author. Now some scholars, notably K. Stow, raise doubts about the historical value of the document, and the debate must continue. Yet, as far as the political vision of the Jews is concerned, what we find here corresponds very well to what we have seen before.

A Hebrew document written in France around the year 1270 (and recently published by myself) also refers to this political vision nurtured by the Jews¹¹. It is a recitation of a public religious polemic that took place in the capital of France in which the Christian protagonist, called “Friar Paul” was none other than Paulus Christiani known from the Barcelona disputation of 1263. At the heart of the polemics was Paul’s abandonment of theology and adoption of politics. Given the enormous crime the Jews perpetrated by killing Christ, no Christian ruler should tolerate them. Paul is claimed to have used the term *lisbol* to designate “tolerate”, as we do today. But the Jewish protagonist, a certain Samuel ben Abraham of Rouen, shows much courage in addressing Paul:

Why are you condemning us in front of all this mob and leaving us at their mercy? We are not frightened of you and they will not listen to you. Because the King tolerates us, and much more so do all gentile scholars who follow reason and science, and the noblemen, and the Pope¹².

In their belief as to the political support they are entitled to as Jews, Jewish polemicists even go overboard in several cases, likening themselves to “the apple of the eye” of the ordered political body. Thus Salomon ibn Verga (in the sixteenth century) quotes the Pope, apparently John XXII of Avignon (1316–1334), as saying: “He who touches them is likened to one who touches the apple of his eye”¹³. Similarly, the Catalan Jewish notables mentioned above were eager for the Pope to urge the people to follow God’s command to

10 This Hebrew document, entitled *A Horrible Incident of the Year 4767 [= 1007]*, was published by A.M. HABERMANN in his *Sefer Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Tsarefat [= The Persecution in Germany and France]*, Jerusalem, 1945, pp. 19–21 (Hebrew). The question to be found on p. 20.

11 J. SHATZMILLER, *La deuxième controverse de Paris*, Paris – Louvain, 1994, p. 56.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

13 A. SHOHAT (ed.), *The Book Shevet Jehudah of Salomon ibn Verga*, Jerusalem, 1946–1947, (Hebrew), p. 60.

“Preserve us like the apple of their eye”¹⁴. Ephraim of Bonn — whom we shall introduce shortly — puts it in somewhat different language: “He who injures them is likened to one who injures Christ himself”¹⁵.

It is unlikely that Jews were ignorant of the *Sicut Judeis* issued by Gregory I at the end of the sixth century. Although I know of no Hebrew reference to it, Jews had ample occasion to come into contact with it, as it was included in almost every “constitution” issued by the Papacy in their favor during the High Middle Ages. But there is mention of the other pillar on which Jewish politics rested in the Christian world — the Augustinian theory of “slay them not”, which considered Jews as *testes fidei* witnesses of the true faith (Christianity). Augustine developed his theory through a commentary on Psalm 59, verse 12: “slay them not lest my people forget”. Jewish commentators from David Kimhi in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, to Abraham Sabag in Lisbon in the last quarter of the fifteenth, seem to have knowledge of it¹⁶. Although Augustine and his theory are not mentioned explicitly in the report by the Catalan Jewish assembly mentioned above, it is not impossible that they were referring to it in their statement: “their faith and their laws order them to keep us alive in this world. This has been part and parcel of their religion since its very foundation”¹⁷.

The most explicit reference to the Augustinian theory in a Hebrew document comes from the pen of the excellent chronographer Ephraim of Bonn, writing in the third quarter of the twelfth century. In praising the assistance Bernard of Clairvaux offered the Jews on the eve of the second crusade, Ephraim puts the following words into the mouth of this well-wishing abbot: “You [Christians] are doing the right thing in heading toward the Moslems. However, whoever touches a Jew, intending his killing, is in the likeness of one who touches Christ. For it is written in the Psalms about them ‘Slay them not lest my people forget’”¹⁸. Ephraim’s report is exact we possess the preaching of St. Bernard (in

14 Cfr. F. BAER, ... *op. cit.*, note 4 above.

15 Ephraim’s chronicle was published and annotated by A.M. Habermann as *The Book of Memoirs, Penitential Prayers and Lamentations of Ephraim bar Jacob of Boon*, Jerusalem, 1970 (in Hebrew). The statement quoted appears on p. 18. Previously, Habermann included the chronicle in *Sefer Gerserot Ashenaz ve-Tsarefat* (note 10 above), pp. 115–123. The statement quoted appears there on p. 116. A literal translation of the phrase would not have “injures them” but rather “touches them”. For a translation of Ephraim’s chronicle into the English see S. EIDELBERG’S, *The Jews and the Crusades: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977, pp. 117–133, in particular, p. 122.

16 Cfr. A. GROSS, *Rabbi Joseph ben Hayyun: Leader of the Lisbon Jewish Community and his Literary Work*, Jerusalem, 1993, p. 40; F.E. TALMAGE, *David Kimhi as a Polemicist in HUCA* (1967), pp. 213–235.

17 F. BAER, ... *op. cit.*, note 4 above.

18 *Ibidem*.

polemics with Peter of Cluny on this point) and in it appears patent reference to the Augustinian doctrine¹⁹.

A long parenthesis should be opened at this point to present instances in which a Pope did live up to the Augustinian expectation, and did offer support to Jews in distress. A few examples will suffice. The late Professor Salomon Grayzel in the concluding chapter of his fundamental book²⁰, follows the history of the *Constitutio pro judeis* of which Pope Calistus II (1119–1124) was the initiator. The *Constitutio* had been reissued by four Popes in the twelfth century and by five others in the ensuing fifty years. Popes reacted also to specific disasters that befell the Jews. Thus, the Hebrew chronicles kept alive the memory of massacres committed by crusaders in the regions of Anjou, Poitou, and Bretagne. More than three thousand Jews (twenty-five hundred, according to ecclesiastical sources), were slain or took their own lives²¹. Our anonymous Hebrew chronicler identified the year 1239 as the date of the massacres, while Latin sources make reference to the year 1236. Most notable are two letters issued by Pope Gregory IX, both dated September 5, 1236, one addressed to the King of France, the other to the prelates of the region in which the crime had been perpetrated. He urges these authorities to punish the crusaders and to restore stolen property to the victims. Gregory acted, he testified, after Jews turned to him for help²².

About ten years later, the Jews of the small city of Valréas, a Papal enclave north of the Comtat Venaissin, were accused of murdering a small girl for ritual purposes. Although the local detractors fabricated a long document in which the Jews admit to the crime, Pope Innocent IV did not accept this far-fetched evidence. In two Papal bulls issued at Lyons on May 28, 1247, he ordered the release of the Jews who were arrested (some in fact had been executed beforehand), and required that they be compensated and allowed to live peacefully in the territory²³. Here again, the Pope acted after a petition by the Jews of the Province of Vienne was addressed to the Holy See. As is well

19 A translation into the English of St. Bernard's Sermon is to be found in Robert Chazen's *Church, State and Jews in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1980, pp. 100–104.

20 S. GRAYZEL, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, (revised edition), New York, 1966, pp. 76–82.

21 Cfr. the annex to Salomon ibn Verga, *Sefer Shevet Yehudah* (note 13 above), p. 148. Papal documentation confirms in principle Ibn Verga's although it quotes a somewhat lower number of victims. Cfr. the following note.

22 Cfr. Sh. SIMONSOHN, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, Toronto, 1988–1993, Vol. I [= Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts, no. 94] seq. Henceforward: "Studies and Texts".

23 *Ibid.*, documents nos. 181–182, pp. 190–192.

known, Jews also received Papal support after such calamities as the Riots of the Shepherds in 1320 and the Black Death of 1348²⁴.

Individual Jews benefited from Papal support as well. Here I shall limit myself to one example only. When cities refused to allow Jewish doctors to practice in their confines, unless they produced a dispensation from the Pope, the Holy See did not refrain from producing such documents. Simonsohn's *Bullarium* has a handsome collection of these documents, and Ariel Toaff discovered several in the archives of Perugia²⁵. Thus, to refer to the first two documents (out of half a dozen), Magister Vitale of Perugia presented the priors of Assisi with the required bull issued by Pope Pius II, dated February 19, 1459²⁶. Fifteen years later, Master Helias Manuelis presented the priors of the same city with a similar letter, signed this time by Pope Sixtus IV²⁷.

But there has been as well a somber side to the relationship between the Popes and the Jews. Let us turn our regard to the city of Rome and the plight of the Roman Jews, about whom we know very little. Although we possess a respectable series of documents independent of each other, the difficulty is due to the fact that our major informant is Solomon ibn Verga. This sixteenth century chronographer — historian, actually — preserved in his *Shevet Yehuda* some precious information; yet he at times distorted his history by his wish to tell a meaningful story, or by his simple misunderstanding of the events²⁸. His "Roman" story has as the central figure a lady, the Pope's sister Sancia, who around 1321 persuades her brother to expel the Jews from his state. Roman Jews looked for help to King Robert of Anjou, who served as mediator. A handsome bribe of one hundred thousand florins was required to calm down Sancia who, as the soap opera ends, became a staunch defender of the Jews.

24 For the Riots of the Shepherds, cfr. Sh. SIMONSOHN, *Ibid.*, nos. 302, pp. 313–315, 304–306, pp. 316–319. As for the Papal reaction to the persecution of 1348, cfr. *Ibid.*, nos. 373–375, pp. 397–402.

25 A. TOAFF, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi (1305–1487)*, Florence, 1989, document no. 88, pp. 185–186, cfr. the following note.

26 Cfr. Sh. SIMONSOHN, *The Apostolic See... cit.*, Vol. 2 [= Studies and Texts No. 95] document no. 852, pp. 1044–1045. A similar dispensation was awarded two days before to Daniel Abrahe, a physician in Castro. Cfr. *Ibid.*, document no. 851, pp. 1043–1044.

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3 [= Studies and Texts No. 99], document no. 977, pp. 1220–1221, published also by A. TOAFF, in *The Jews of Medieval Assisi*, (cfr. note 25 above) document no. 92, pp. 189–193.

28 A. SHOHAT, *Sefer Shevet Yehudah*, (cfr. note 13 above), pp. 60–61. For Ibn Verga as a historian, see the two books by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehuda*, Cincinnati, 1976, pp. 17ff: *id.* *Zahor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, Seattle and London, 1982, in particular pp. 53–75. See also L. Kochan, *The Jew and His History*, London, 1977, pp. 37–39.

Now, for each of the elements of the story we are able to find evidence in the documents of the time. The trouble lies in the sequence of events Ibn Verga develops for us. The ingredients are good but their mixture is bad, hence, an inedible dish. For example, we are not aware of a sister of John XXII that carried the name “Sancia”²⁹. On the other hand, King Robert’s second wife was “Sancia”, daughter of the King of Majorca. In her lifetime the Jews of Majorca experienced a short expulsion and their synagogue was turned into a chapel³⁰. Sancia was very much interested in religion and even asked for a divorce in order to devote her life to the adoration of Christ³¹. If we are looking for a profile of “Sancia” with traits of religious fanaticism, this could be she.

Robert’s intervention in favor of the Jews is mentioned once, if not twice, by the poet Emmanuel of Rome, writing in the name of the Roman Community³². He mentions that Kalonymos I Kalonymos, translator of Arabic documents in the monarch’s court, obtained from Robert privileges (*Hotamot*) for the Jews of Rome (canto 23). It also may be Kalonymos who in canto 28 is described as the one who went to Provence to advocate the Jewish case to the “Aluf” of Rome, possibly the “Senator of Rome” none other than King Robert.

Acute trouble in the community of Rome is attested to by a special public fast (*ta’anit tsibur*) that took place there on Thursday, 21 Sivan of the year 1321. We have the “*Seder*” (= “*ordo*”) of this fast in several manuscripts (e.g. Oxford MS Opp. Add. fol. 11 on folios 320ro, 325ro) yet are unable to extract from it any information as to the nature of the trouble the community was suffering from or its causes³³. The only valid historical sentence is the heading of the document: “Here is the *Seder* of the public fast carried out in Rome on Thursday 21 Sivan 5081 when the messengers of the community traveled to the curia”. A contemporary writer, the talmudist Todros I Isaac of Gerona, wrote about the

29 There exists no modern biography of Pope John XXII. The best one can do is consult Noël Valois’ *Jacques Duèze, Pape sous le nom de Jean XXII in Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. 24 (Paris, 1915), pp. 391–630, and the earlier biography by Victor Verlaque, *Jean XXII — sa vie ses œuvres d’après des documents inédites*, Paris, 1883.

30 Cfr. J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Juan XXII y la synagoga de Palma de Mallorca* in “*Sefarad*” 22 (1962), pp. 103–106.

31 Cfr. G. MUSTO, *Queen Sancia of Naples (1286–1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans* in Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (eds.), *Women in the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 179–214, in particular pp. 185–187.

32 Cfr. D. JARDEN, *The Cantos of Immanuel of Rome*, 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1957, Vol. 2, pp. 425–429 (Canto no. 23); pp. 552–553, (Canto no. 28).

33 Cfr. Eliezer Birnbaum’s article (note 3 above). Another manuscript concerning the public fast in Rome in 1321 is preserved, as stated above, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See A. NEUBAUER, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford*, Oxford, 1896, Vol. I, col. 245 (no. 1057, xv).

event at the end of 5081 (1321) and the beginning of 1322. However, even from his relatively lengthy testimony it is difficult to obtain any hard facts as to what really happened³⁴.

Finally, there is the issue of the huge bribe Jews were obliged to deliver, one hundred thousand florins. Actually, we have information for the years 1321–1322 of an even greater sum, one hundred fifty thousand pounds, which the Jews had to pay to the King of France as a fine for their alleged conspiracy with the lepers. Professor Elizabeth Brown, the most recent student of this question, suggests that the fine was imposed by the parliament between June and the end of October 1321³⁵. She also has numbers for the communities of the south of France which engaged to pay forty-seven thousand pounds between the Jews of Carcassonne, Beaucaire, Toulouse, and Rouergue. The Parisian Jews' share was fifty-three hundred pounds. On this occasion, an accusation of poisoning is mentioned — poisoning, and not at all Lady Sancia's fanaticism. To summarize: Ibn Verga put together events that actually happened but which were unrelated to each other. As for the reason for the Pope's anger toward the Jews of Rome, the most I can do is to repeat the hypothesis of others, namely, that the Pope was angered by the welcome the Jews gave to Emperor Henry VII when he entered the city and the similar attitude they later showed toward Louis of Bavaria, both enemies of the Papacy³⁶.

We come at last to the expulsion of Jews from certain localities of the Papal state in France. Here we are in somewhat better shape due to the *bullarium* published recently by our friend Shlomo Simonsohn³⁷. Already Leon Bardinet knew about this partial expulsion and attributed it to a concentration of great numbers of Jews, expelled from France, in the Comtat³⁸. The Simonsohn documents permit us to have a closer look at these events.

Most documents were written ten years or more after the death of Pope John XXII in 1334, and they testify that Jews were expelled from the Comtat by him. The archives, which yield less than one dozen bulls to this effect, mention

34 Cited by Eliezer Birnbaum, *v. supra*.

35 Cfr. E.A.R. BROWN, *Philip V, Charles IV and the Jews of France: The Alleged Expulsion of 1322*, in "Speculum" 66 (1991), pp. 294–329, in particular pp. 314–320.

36 Cfr. H. VOGELSTEIN and P. RIEGER, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1895–1896, Vol. I, pp. 305–310; C. ROTH, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, Philadelphia, 1946, pp. 141–142; A. MILANO, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, Torino, 1963, pp. 146–150.

37 In this section of the article, I rely again on Simonsohn's monumental *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 8 vols., Toronto, 1988–1991. Reference will be given to the number of the document referred to and to the pages in which it is transcribed.

38 L. BARDINET, *Condition civile des Juifs du Comtat Venaissin pendant le séjour des papes à Avignon (1309–1376)* in « Revue Historique », 12 (1880), pp. 1–47, in particular pp. 17–18.

only three localities: Carpentras, Bédarrides, and Châteauneuf. No decree of expulsion has been discovered, and in order to determine the possible reason behind the Pontiff's fury, we must depart from the chronological order of Simonsohn's *Bullarium* and start with the small community of Châteauneuf. From a document issued on May 27, 1323, we gather that the synagogue there was razed, a chapel was erected in its stead, and the Jews of the locality were banished³⁹. Religion is given as the reason for the persecution: ignoring preaching that aimed to bring them under the wings of grace, the Jews stuck obstinately to their beliefs. Hence the expulsion. Eight years later, another Papal bull suggests that the Jews were still not back in Châteauneuf⁴⁰.

The nature of the preaching and the reason for its appearance at this very moment is unknown. However, we recall that Pope John XXII was very much concerned with the economic well-being of converts to Christianity⁴¹, and that he did combat the study of the Talmud, ordering the confiscation and burning of its copies, in which he saw the source of all Jewish error⁴². While it is not explicitly mentioned that the Jews of Bédarrides and especially Carpentras were expelled for the same reason, it is quite possible that this was the case. For Bédarrides we have the oldest document, issued on February 20, 1321⁴³. By then, the expulsion was a *fait accompli*, the synagogue razed and the Pope ensuring that a chapel would be erected in its place⁴⁴. There too, it is evident that by February 15, 1328, the Jews had not yet returned⁴⁵.

Carpentras, the capital of the Comtat, witnessed a temporary expulsion as early as 1269⁴⁶. Some forty years later another expulsion took place; it must have been part of John XXII's expulsion of the early 1320's. We cannot be absolutely sure about the date, but one of our latest documents, issued on December 7, 1345, refers to an expulsion from that city decreed by John⁴⁷. A bull issued eleven

39 Sh. SIMONSOHN, *The Apostolic See... cit.*, I Studies and Texts No. 95, document no. 321 (pp. 337–338).

40 *Ibid.*, no. 344, pp. 362–363.

41 *Ibid.*, no. 303, pp. 315–316, 307–308, pp. 320–321.

42 *Ibid.*, no. 309, pp. 321–323.

43 *Ibid.*, no. 312, pp. 326–327.

44 *Ibid.*, no. 313, pp. 327–328.

45 *Ibid.*, no. 337, p. 354.

46 For the expulsion of the Jews of Carpentras in 1269 and their re-establishment there a few years later, see I. LOEB, *Les Juifs de Carpentras sous le gouvernement pontifical* in « Revue des Études Juives », 12 (1886), pp. 34–64 and 161–235, in particular pp. 39–40. See also H. DUBLED, *Les Juifs de Carpentras à partir du XIII^e siècle* in « Provence historique » 19 (1969), pp. 214–235, in particular, p. 215; and W.C. JORDAN, *The French Monarchy and the Jews from Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 225.

47 Sh. SIMONSOHN, ... *cit.*, Vol. I, no. 367, p. 389.

days later makes clear that at that time, three years before the Black Death, Jews were allowed once more into the Comtat⁴⁸.

Disappointing as the Pope's behavior must have been to the Jews — supporters of his mastery over the Christian world — life had to continue. John himself is not known for any further persecution of the Jews. His successors showed themselves more benevolent, and two of them had as astrologer no other than Levi ben Gershom (1288–1342), the most distinguished Hebrew scholar of his time. In fact, the Comtat Venaissin continued to serve as haven to Jews for hundreds of years, well after it was sold (in 1792) to France. A society labeled “Jews of the Pope” was recently established in France; it includes some of the descendants of the medieval Jews of the region.

48 *Ibid.*, no. 368, pp. 389–390.

Terminologie politique en hébreu médiéval: Jalons pour un glossaire

Un Document de Pamiers

Le *vidimus* rendu par les consuls de la ville de Pamiers le 27 mars 1302, des chartes accordées aux juifs de cette ville par le Comte de Foix et l'évêque de la ville, a été publié, il y a cent ans déjà, par Gustave Saige dans son histoire des Juifs de Languedoc¹. Saige, qui avait publié ce texte d'après la copie de la collection Doat à la Bibliothèque Nationale, ne connaissait pas, de toute vraisemblance, l'original qui se trouve toujours aux Archives Départementales de l'Ariège (10^e liasse, n° 90). Ce *vidimus* nous intéresse d'abord parce qu'il permettrait d'ouvrir un dossier de documents sur l'histoire politique des juifs en France au Moyen Âge, documents encore bien rares. Ce texte mérite encore notre attention pour une brève inscription hébraïque, quelque trente mots en quatre lignes, portée au verso. De même que les prêteurs juifs, qui avaient l'habitude de noter en langue hébraïque au dos des chartes latines qu'ils avaient reçues de leurs débiteurs, l'essentiel de la transaction, les dirigeants de la communauté de Pamiers l'ont fait pour notre *vidimus*. Il y a sept ans M^{me} Annette Pales-Gobillard avait l'obligeance de me signaler l'existence du *vidimus* et de me permettre de prendre note de sa copie. Dernièrement notre ami Gilbert Dahan a offert aux lecteurs d'*Archives*

1 Gustave Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au xive siècle*. Paris, 1881, pp. 239–241.

*Juives*² un déchiffrement de ce texte. Ayant obtenu des directeurs des Archives Départementales de l'Ariège une photocopie du *vidimus*, je me propose aujourd'hui de présenter une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription hébraïque, lecture qui, à mon avis, surmonte presque toutes les difficultés de déchiffrement, à l'exception peut-être de deux dans la quatrième ligne.

1. וידימוש חתום בחותם שוטרי העיר מחותם
2. שעשה אדננו הפחה ירום הודו לקיים כל
3. מה שעשה אביו זכרונו לברכה וגם כן מודה
4. א[ם] הוא והכומרי[ת] חותם אדננו ההגמון כאשר ה

Voici notre tentative de traduction:

1. *Vidimus* scellé du sceau des consuls de la ville d'une charte
2. qu'a faite (lire: accordée) notre seigneur le Comte, que sa gloire augmente, pour confirmer tout (ce)
3. qu'a fait (accordé) son père de bonne mémoire, et aussi bien il reconnaît
4. la charte de notre seigneur l'évêque en conformité avec ce qu'il avait [scellé], lui et les prêtres (ou: et le couvent).

Courte, problématique vers la fin et très succincte, cette inscription est d'une grande importance pour notre compréhension de la terminologie politique de l'hébreu médiéval. Avec elle nous sommes en mesure de comparer un texte hébraïque à un texte latin — le *vidimus* même des consuls de Pamiers — afin d'obtenir de ce dernier explications et éclaircissements sur la signification des termes clefs comme *shoterim*, *peḥa*, *hegmon*, et *ḥotam*, dans l'hébreu « politique » du Moyen Âge. On note d'ailleurs que les juifs de Pamiers n'ont pu trouver dans leur vocabulaire hébreu un terme pour *vidimus* et qu'ils ont été forcés de transcrire simplement le mot latin en caractères hébraïques. Mais, comme nous en avertit Gilbert Dahan, ils ne furent pas les seuls à agir de la sorte. Leur compatriote Joseph Ibn Kaspi (ca. 1279–1340) suivit précisément la même procédure. Par contre, pour ce qui est de « consul », « comte », « évêque », « charte », et « sceau », leur vocabulaire hébraïque répondait à leurs exigences.

A. *Shoterim*

2 Gilbert Dahan, « Glane: Archives Juives en 1302 », *Archives Juives*, t. 16, 1980, pp. 74–75.

Gilbert Dahan a signalé très justement que le terme *Shoterim*, est ici l'équivalent de Consuls. En effet les consuls de Pamiers se présentent au commencement du texte latin du *vidimus* — *nos consules Appamiarum ... inspeximus et perlegi fecimus quamdam litteram patentem*³. Ils concluent leur intervention en écrivant: *Nos prelibati consules huic presenti pagine sigillum nostri consulatus Appamiarum fecimus appendi*⁴. Rappelons seulement que l'inscription hébraïque parle d'un *vidimus* scellé du sceau des *shoterim*, pour conclure que l'équivalence *shoterim* = consuls n'est pas douteuse. L'exercice de comparaison nous fournit non seulement un résultat d'une grande netteté, mais aussi un élément terminologique très précieux. On s'en servira dans l'avenir pour comprendre d'autres textes hébraïques de l'époque. Ainsi, à Marseille, en 1261 un Juif est-il cité, sous peine de 100 *marcae*, à comparaître devant le *shoter* de la ville. Shem Tob de Tortose, médecin et traducteur de l'arabe à l'hébreu d'un livre médical, le *Zahrawi*, qui rapporte l'affaire écrit:

ולעת ערב הכריז עליו השוטר בקנס מאה זקוקים לבא לפניו⁵

Cent ans plus tard, en 1362, à Tarascon, un autre médecin juif raconte comment il a traité la femme du *Shoter* de Tarascon qui ne pouvait avoir d'enfants. Le manuscrit hébraïque, conservé aujourd'hui à la bibliothèque du Jews' College à Londres⁶ décrit le médicament qu'il a préparé pour cette femme:

מה שנעשה באשת השוטר מטרשקו כי לא ילדה לעולם

S'agirait-il dans ces deux cas aussi — à Marseille en 1261 et à Tarascon en 1362 — des « consuls » de la ville comme cela était le cas à Pamiers en 1302 ? En d'autres termes: l'équivalence « consul » = *shoter* est-elle valable pour tout le Moyen Âge et sur tous les plans ? C'est une question de principe à laquelle nous ne pouvons répondre au vu des données actuellement à notre disposition. Il en va autrement quant aux autres termes politiques de notre *vidimus* de Pamiers.

B. *Peḥa*

3 Saige, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

5 Süßman Müntner (en hébreu), « R. Shem Tob fils d'Issac de Tortose », *Sefer ha-Yovel la-Yarhon Sinai*, Jérusalem, 1957, pp. 321–337, spécialement p. 328 ainsi que *Korot I*, 1956, pp. 293–298.

6 Ad. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews' College in London*, Oxford, 1886, p. 42, Ms. n° 140.

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