*Martyrs and **Moneylenders***

Retrieving the Memory of Jewish Women in Medieval Northern France

by
Rosa Alvarez Perez

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in French in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The City University of New York, 2005

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ABSTRACT

Martyrs and ***Moneylenders***
Retrieving the Memory of Jewish Women in Medieval Northern France

by
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Although the term “invisibility” is perhaps an overused cliché in relation to women, it remains relevant in Jewish Studies where the representation of women of the past continues to be trapped in a “fictional role” in spite of the amount of work done by scholars of Judaism.

The Northern French Jewish communities were renowned, from the late tenth to the early fourteenth century, for their spiritual leaders in the fields of Talmudic studies and biblical exegesis. In a fervent religious environment the social and cultural aspects of communal life were not considered worthy of being recorded; therefore, the social impact of women's activities was historically overlooked.

The historical construction of these women navigates between two historical practices—a Christian and a Jewish one—that have commented on her since the Middle Ages, and, albeit stemming from different sources and perspectives, ended up expressing a single prevalent discourse. These practices amounted to minimizing the presence of women on a quantitative level, and on a qualitative one, to stereotyping them.

Medieval Jewish women occupied a highly ambiguous and dangerous position as vectors and brokers of exchange and conflict with the surrounding and dominant

Christian communities. On the one hand, they were either idealized by Christians as tractable, convertible, and as points of entry into the larger community, making them vulnerable in the eyes of their own community, or they were brutally massacred along with men in numerous anti-Jewish riots and outbursts. On the other hand, they were seen as weak elements in need of protective seclusion, and as a category susceptible to community betrayal.

Even though scholars have assumed their lives to be conventional, there is a need for a different articulation of their portrait, one that would explore the multiple aspects of an identity simplified and formatted to comply with ideological and religious imperatives that leave other pertinent traits illegible. Women were only absent from the communal realm of Jewish life with respect to official religion. In other areas, it is possible to raise a new and challenging set of problems to be investigated

Preface

In spite of its tentative conclusion, this dissertation is still a work in progress. Additional research remains to be done on specific sources (A.N. Series JJ 118-146). Future examination of these microfilms will significantly expand chapter six, the focus of usurers and moneylenders.

Acknowledgments

For waiting so patiently for its delivery, I am grateful...

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más tendrá que ser…

On a tant de fois conté mon histoire.
Quelle est ton histoire?
La nôtre dans la mesure où elle est absente
Edmond Jabès, *Le livre des questions*

one

Identity Conflicts

…le signe réactivé de traces, de frayages, l'inscription d'une histoire ancienne, disséminée en fragments, une mémoire à l'état virtuel.
Edmond Amram El Maleh, *Parcours immobile*

Introduction

Although it can still rely on a variety of modes of unification, the grand historical narrative has lost its credibility.[1] Its crisis has been exposed in the erosion of Western cultural domination and the emergence of studies of Others as subjects. Deconstruction, an active component of postmodernism, has proved to be a tool widely exploited in many academic disciplines, bringing about fertile and innovative counter-narratives. Yet, within traditional Jewish studies, conservatism has prevailed and only a small albeit growing number of scholars propose original approaches to the interpretation of Jewish culture.[2] Such readings that engage in self-critical inquiry have taken the field in a new direction, and the instability created by these provocative articulations and formulations responds to postmodern sensibilities.

Despite the presence of this growing minority of new "interpreters," Jewish scholarship has remained predominantly a strongly traditional field, maintaining its distance from the current trends and theories that flourish in the university. Jewish culture, perpetuating its own values and practices, has steadfastly promoted a collective and monolithic portrait of the Jewish woman that extols the virtues of chastity, decency

and modesty for the purpose, avowed or unrecognized, of legitimizing the status quo and the control of women. This portrait, an ideal embodiment of the religious and social practices of Jewish life, has, for historical and cultural reasons, not as yet met challenges sufficient to undermine its artificial dynamics. Cultural anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin, in his explorations of Jewish memory, reminds us that Jews have always used narratives to recreate their shared identities across time, producing self-created mythifying forms.[3] Thus, the portrait of the Jewish woman, a constructed narrative acknowledging a new coherence and projecting a distorted reality, arose and was incorporated into collective expressions and beliefs. This rigid representation with its inherent flaws was rapidly integrated into and passed on by medieval Christian mainstream society, conferring ultimate legitimacy on an invention, the stereotypical Jewish woman, exotic and enticing, who would become in the nineteenth century the bearer of so-called "Oriental" submissive traits. A series of discursive strategies, enacted in particular by nineteenth-century historians, further contributed to the displacement of the Jewish woman's identity and reality.

In the early 1980s, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, in his highly acclaimed book on Jewish memory, reacted to his predecessors' view of history by asserting that:

> We should at least want to know what kind of history the Jews have valued, what out of their past, they chose to remember and how they preserved, transmitted and revitalized that which was recalled.[4]

Critics agree that he initiated a new era of Jewish introspection into history,[5] but in spite of the renewal of the discipline, the study of Jewish women has remained a sub-field attracting much less attention, and memory has continued its selective process. The historical construction of the medieval Jewish woman thus navigates between two historical practices—a Christian and a Jewish one—that have commented on her since

the Middle Ages, and, albeit stemming from different sources and different perspectives, ended up expressing a single prevalent discourse. Layers of further writings on the subject only added more of the same commentary. These practices amounted to minimizing the presence of women on a quantitative level, and on a qualitative one, to stereotyping them.

In the past 25 years the Academy has at last engaged in an animated debate to re-contextualize the position of Jewish women. But, with only few and fragmented historical records available to significantly alter the perdurability of this representation, Jewish scholarship had to progress with caution. Although the term "invisibility," is perhaps an overused cliché in relation to women, it remains relevant in Jewish Studies where the representation of women of the past continues to be trapped in a "fictional role" in spite of the amount of work done by scholars of Judaism.

The gender script that medieval Jewish women were encouraged to conform to only exposed them, especially ordinary women, to further isolation in a male-dominated society where they appeared mostly as incidental references in communal records. In complying with the concept of *zahkor* (remembrance), a major tenet in traditional Jewish practices and teachings,[6] the recorders of Jewish events, in their own peculiar way, obliterated women and dissolved their past within the frame of the general historical discourse. The memory of things past was recombined to mirror the community's aspirations and struggles, to recount mostly the dramatic moments lived by the scattered Jews. Rabbinic writings were preserved and cultivated, and through a selective process, were transmitted, producing a type of communal hegemony, and ultimately creating the fiction of an "authoritative Judaism."[7]

In the relations of power and knowledge determined by *Halakha* (religious law), women were instructed to comply with biblical matriarchal models, those of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah. The margin of maneuver they enjoyed lay between the cracks of social and religious obligations. Made into an historical fiction, stereotyped in the collective experience, Jewish women were lost in the "total history" where their memory, displaced and hidden, is only conveyed to us in fragments. This memory transits at the periphery of their communities, at the frontier between two exclusionary worlds. Borrowing Sander Gilman's terms, these women are the "symbolic margin" expressing the tensions inherent in their position within the religious communities.[8] Yet, this position enabled them to "operate a new translation of the center."[9]

It is a delicate matter to question the validity of the portrayal of Jewish women during the Middle Ages, a legacy of the polarization of gender traceable to the post-biblical period. My own attempt to reconsider normative representation will not seek to deny these women's qualities of virtue and submission, or their potential ability for martyrdom, as these qualities have been well commented on within rabbinic culture. Yet, there is a need for a different articulation of their portrait, one that would explore the multiple aspects of an identity simplified and formatted to comply with ideological and religious imperatives that leave other pertinent traits illegible. If we want to render medieval Jewish women visible in spite of the difficulties inherent in dealing with reassembled fragments of lives by emphasizing for instance the local versus the general, we should stress specific instances of their social interactions within and out of their communities.

Further, by refusing the inadequate dichotomy of good/evil, virtuous/corrupted,

we may be able to formulate a different portrayal -- that of medieval Jewish women who could be virtuous but also unruly, submissive but also adulterous, claiming martyrdom but also willing to convert or mix with non-Jews. This proposition strikes at the very heart of the protected interests of a community in which the idealization of the past is source and part of the construction of its unity; a common parameter to fragile and unstable outgroups such as the medieval Jewish communities of Europe. Jewish historians, in their efforts to be scrupulous, have always been confronted with that dilemma in their attempts to incorporate the "Jewish episode" into the grand narrative of history without seeming overly protective. The history of the community was anchored in the strong moments of brutal outbursts by its Christian neighbors. Jewish chroniclers from the twelfth century and later Jewish historians chose to bring out those specific moments to highlight the courage and bravery performed by women choosing martyrdom to sanctify the name of God (*al Kiddush ha-Shem*). The sacrifices were dramatically rendered in elegies and, according to Ivan G. Marcus, the role women played was prominent, equaling that of men in their willingness to abide by strict religious commandments.[10]

Past and present resistance by certain historians of Judaism to envisioning women differently has encouraged glances only at that part of Jewish history, avoided until recently, which confirms that women were a subject of only secondary interest.[11] With the advent of feminist criticism, that position became highly contested, but the question is far from resolved. Many Jewish feminists have been rightfully asserting that the impact of feminist historical scholarship has in fact been very limited in this particular field.[12]

Following in the footsteps of "the new interpreters of Jewish culture," and

including the methodologies afforded by cultural studies within a critical postmodern perspective, I would like to bring to the forefront the "dissonant and dissident histories and voices" neglected and subdued by medieval and religious Jewish discourses.[13] I understand that postmodernism sometimes acquiesces in the erasure of the social subject by mixing all voices and denying any centrality to marginalized groups. In spite of the paradox, I am interested in locating and dis/locating these tensions by offering alternative readings of the surviving source materials – literature proper as well as tax rolls, inquiry records, and judicial records. I would like to offer new explanations from evidence often disregarded by scholars, attempting to apply a concept developed by Michel Foucault:

> …ce n'est pas le désir de savoir, mais une nouvelle façon de nouer les choses à la fois au regard et au discours, une nouvelle manière de faire l'histoire.[14]

In order to make sense of a multitude of reassembled strands, I am working with the hypothesis of a bifurcation in the roles of medieval Jewish women. In my research, I have indeed been struck by the fact that the very few women who remain in the compilations of strictly Jewish memory were generally regrouped and inscribed historically in two categories. On the one hand, we have the highly favored martyr-type, named or unnamed, mostly found in literary works and in liturgical poems. On the other hand there is the moneylender, a low profile figure, hardly remembered in communal history but better documented in official French archives. She found little or no place in the annals of her community because she was not trained to participate in public life. The secular occupation of this woman serving her community was not worthy of recording, therefore her memory was forgotten. She constitutes the residual repository of her gender. These two categories of women represent opposite poles, but they both strike us by their pugnacity and audacity. Between self-sacrifice and money matters, these paradigmatic

Jewish women take the front stage, casting a shadow over the other women. Indeed, living in communities known for their spirituality and paradoxically deriving their income almost exclusively from usury and moneylending, these two types of women gained, in the process, some visibility among men.

Feminist social history has stressed the importance of alternative epistemologies that explore the everyday lives of ordinary individuals in combination with gender as a major interpretive category.[15] Because little remains of the acts constituting the strands of Jewish everyday life in the Middle Ages, acts have to be reconstructed, recomposed from a meager collection of sources. For medieval Jewish women such a reconstruction will remain nevertheless a tentative and partial re-presentation of a displaced "actual" history. Nevertheless it is possible to bring to light how gender scripts informed social roles. The 'insignificance' of women's activities, the daily events of their ordinary and less ordinary lives can be the support, the frame, for a broader view of their role. Women were only absent from the communal realm of Jewish life with respect to official religion. In other areas, it is possible to raise a new and challenging set of problems to be investigated.

Embodiment

I have mentioned previously that the term invisibility may have been overused; however, it remains inescapable when speaking of medieval Jewish women, because its opposite, visibility, has to be somehow inscribed either in textuality or in a form of embodiment. And with respect to both these fields of inscription, Jewish women were carefully pushed aside.

From the late tenth to the early fourteenth century, the northern French Jewish communities were indeed renowned for their spiritual leaders in the fields of Talmudic studies, biblical exegesis, and mystical speculations.[16] In a fervent religious environment, social and cultural aspects of communal life, its everyday reality, were not considered worthy of being recorded; therefore, the social impact of women's activities was historically overlooked. Women certainly had more freedom of action in social contexts than their legal and religious statuses might suggest. They were more inclined to be involved in social life than pious men, and more than in their own barely existing spiritual life. Even though scholars have assumed their lives to be conventional, traces of women's private and public acts in the few records that have survived prove that their existence was not fixed and absolute. Their involvement in economic transactions is confirmed in remaining evidence in the French legal records. These entrepreneurial Jewish women who supported their families economically while their husbands were away or devoted themselves to study may have been seen by Christians as an indication of a subversion of gender distinctions, both as "masculinization" of properly "feminine" behavior and as "feminized" arrogation of male authority by women.[17] The disruption created by women performing non-normative roles in seemingly structured societies accentuated the precarious nature of masculinity and its construction not only in Jewish communities but in Christian society as well. Interrogating the role of these women is certainly a challenge to male-centered historiography since even though Jewish women are specifically mentioned in moneylending charters and notarial contracts, the importance of their role has been diminished or erased to minimize their involvement.

Traditionally, Jewish scholarship has remained predominantly the study of male

Jews, considered the default-value of their culture. Within such a perspective, the central figure of the Jew could only be “the body with the circumcised penis --an image crucial to the very understanding of the Western image of the Jew at least since the advent of Christianity."[18] Circumcision, a promise of fertility, served as an important site in the construction of gender difference in Jewish society. And “the blood of circumcision functioned as an iconic marker in opposition to the blood of menstruation,”[19] but in the Christian discourse the value of the ritual was inverted and circumcision was perceived as an evident lack of "virility" conflated with a deep threat to Christian "masculinity."[20] The apparent male abdication, combined with the practice of passive resistance to Christian domination, shaped important distinctions in the construction of gender in Jewish communities. The cultural performance of the Jewish man, read as non-male within the dominant culture, was nevertheless highly praised within his religious community. The containment of Jews’ sexual threat via the feminization of the Jewish male was in fact a useful construct in Christian theology.[21] The deficient masculinity attributed to Jewish men is part of a series of intricate and complex strata of beliefs. And one of these persistent beliefs ascribes to men menstruation at specific moments of the year and more particularly at Passover.[22] Trapped in the feminine domain, men debilitated by the bodily flux were forced to remain indoors.[23] The calendar date coinciding with the bleeding has its importance, and Willis Johnson in his thorough study of “the myth of Jewish male menses,” reiterates the Christian conviction that Jews were thought to suffer a disabling bloody flux from their anuses in annual commemoration of the killing of Christ.[24] The flow of blood that circumcised men shared with women further destabilized an already shattered Jewish male identity. This image of an unmasculine Jew so well ingrained in

the popular Christian mind by the nineteenth century was, according to many, a creation of the Christian Middle Ages.[25]

Practices and beliefs merged to coalesce into a common substratum identifying the Jewish man as an effeminate species. This will be later illustrated in Italy and although the following example falls out of the period and the geographical area of study that interests us, it deserves to be mentioned. In 1484 in the city of Florence, two Jews convicted of sodomy received an unusually harsh punishment in a city well known for its high number of sodomites. First, their ignominy was paraded in the city during the Shabbat in a ritual of public humiliation, as they were forced to ride an ass while being whipped at regular intervals. The real sentence was only applied later: both men had their noses cut off and in addition the active partner had his ears cut off.[26] The facial mutilation, a permanent public shame usually reserved for adulterous women, constitutes for the two men a displaced and visible emasculation. The defaced culprit mirrors the culpable relationship and imprints visually a popular and learned perception of Jewish men as effeminate. The analogy made between the adulterous woman and the sodomite allows the authorities to fuse the prevalent Christian ideology "to write over and erase differences."[27]

But as queer theorists have claimed,[28] Jewish men now have come to internalize and reappropriate the effeminized perception of themselves that at first was but a metaphorical position vis-a-vis God, associated with religious practice. The position of the male in prayer is ambiguously articulated since he must be feminized in the very construction that attempts to exclude women from the intimate and exclusive relationship between God and men.[29] The religious domain is exclusively male: students and male

worshippers assume, during study and ritual prayers, feminine traits and behavior, similar to the male characters in the principal books of the Torah who are set forth through a process of metaphorical feminization (Song of Songs Rabbah).[30] From the spiritual boundaries this perception has spread to other areas of Jewish life, the communal life that Alexandre Weill, in the late nineteenth century, illustrates in a poem: "C'est pourquoi ce grand peuple est presque un peuple-femme."[31] If Jewish manliness is questioned in mainstream society, within the community, men are allowed to navigate between these dual positions, permitting them to occupy both; female masculinity, on the other hand, constitutes a threat that is therefore canalized as religious zeal. But how is one to interpret it when acts of martyrdom are not possible?

Jews, considered "the People of the Word," nevertheless forbade its use to women. No women are recorded as consequential authorities in the canonical writings. On the contrary, the classical texts of Rabbinic Judaism constitute women as objects of male agency.[32] And as tradition informs us, the teaching of the Torah was transmitted from Moses through an uninterrupted line of men. Study has been metaphorically conceptualized as the male form of cultural reproduction during which process the male mouth becomes the organ of the Torah's dissemination. Women were displaced since, according to a rabbinic affirmation, a woman's voice was considered to be disruptive to Torah learning because of its "nakedness" (the Babylonian Talmud, Berachot 24A), lacking control and purity, two essential attributes for Torah study.[33] In addition, the representation of the Torah teacher as a nurturing mother holding a child on his bosom[34] (boys started their religious education at the age of five or six after a ritualized abduction from the feminine space of the home to the masculine space of the school), appears to be

an appropriation and diversion of the maternal role and its language applied to the religious realm. The nurturing power of the Torah presents Moses and his successors, rabbis, and teachers as nursing mothers who feed their students with Torah.[35] Ivan Marcus retraces this tradition of maternal representation to the biblical passage in which Moses – although bitterly complaining about the burden God has placed upon his shoulders – is envisioned carrying the people of Israel as “a nurse carries an infant” (Numbers 11:12).

Despite gender ambiguities, the narrative of the Torah nonetheless makes it clear that men are the central actors in every sphere of life: sexual, social, economic, and political.[36] Embodiment was a crucial structure of gender in medieval culture for Jews and Christian alike, but the unity of gender and sex was even more essential for Jewish communities. It was the effect of a regulatory practice that sought to render gender identity uniform not only through compulsory heterosexuality, but through a strict gender differentiation in religious matters and the daily duties of religion, maintained in dress code and in sexual roles as well. Even though not all male Jews studied Torah, the pursuit of study was what defined the ideal male status in Jewish society.[37] R. Moses of Coucy, a thirteenth-century rabbinic scholar, identified the markers of medieval Jewish identity as overwhelmingly male: Shabat observance, circumcision and *tefillin* (phylacteries).[38] The Jewish emphasis on spirituality cannot be separated from a high concern for the body and its state of purity. But this constant attention to the body was continuously defied by Christian derision which attacked and targeted specific bodily features considered as excess, as ‘unnatural’ embodiments: the long nose, the demonic feet, the circumcised sex. These body parts, highly charged fragments, were commented on in a wide variety of

written texts, and even more widely denigrated in visual representations accessible to everyone. The signs in visual culture, transmitting constructed fantasies, allowed the wide dissemination of what was first called anti-Judaism and later became "anti-Semitism" in the nineteenth century. The insistence on differences, real or fantasized, the "overabundance of embodiment," as Howard Eilberg-Schwartz phrases it,[39] represents a deliberate effort to apprehend the Jewish body as vile and claim that it is inhuman.

Whether this is a "correct" interpretation of the Talmud or not, as Daniel Boyarin says, it is nonetheless certain that in historical Judaism, women have been made to experience themselves as impure, dangerous, and devaluated through exclusions.[40] There were but few examples of women studying Torah, suggesting that normatively they were not encouraged but rather prevented from studying and thus they were confined to more worldly activities. Nevertheless, even the scant evidences of the power and creativity of women found in the Talmud have to be used to "deconstruct" the monolithic image of women as powerless.[41] Judith Baskin reminds us that since most ordinary Jewish women were cut off from the knowledge of Hebrew that would enable them to read the traditional liturgy, during the late Middle Ages a separate woman's vernacular literature of prayer was written for them.[42] Prior to that, it was customary to recite in French, during services, the Torah portion of the week and the *Haftarah* (a section of the Prophets read as a supplement to the weekly Torah portion). This practice allowed women and small children, the two groups who did not understand Hebrew, to follow the ritual.[43] Many rabbis expressed disapproval of such practices, suspicious that women could be a factor in assimilation. This is sensed in the tractate *Soferim*: "...Jewish girls easily formed the habit of saying their prayers in the language of the country."[44] This practical solution

denotes a step toward assimilation or acculturation as rabbis feared, but also a genuine stratagem that permitted girls to partake in the ritual since most of them lacked a thorough religious training.

The education of Jewish young women consisted of informal instruction that focused exclusively on the proper observance of commandments pertaining to the Jewish home and family. It was limited to three specific commandments: *niddah*, *hallah***,** *hadlakhah***,** all three related to the domestic sphere.

These limitations could justify Ephraïm Kanarfogel's brief statement on women's education in his study of modes of Jewish education during the Middle Ages. What could have been the topic of at most a section is dismissed in just a few words: "the education of women will not be discussed."[45] If the proper study of the Torah was a male prerogative that only a minority of women, exceptions to the norm, could have access to, the author's brief declaration is an evident sign that there was no need to elaborate on it.

Jewish Studies have indeed taken a sharp turn in the past decades with new research paths springing up, refreshing new perspectives that have greatly affected the outlook of this field of study which was for so long a marginalized one. In this introductory chapter, I have sought to document the prevalence of conflicts that have affected Jewish identity in general, but more particularly women's identity hard to extricate from the accessible 'official and perennial portrait.'

Chapter two discusses how Jewish communities maintained their cohesion not only through religious practices, but also by keeping the memory of past events alive and present. Even though Jews are only a liminal presence in Christian history books, Jewish chroniclers and historians maintained their own records and presented their communities

in a very different perspective. In these accounts, women often appear as vital actors in maintaining of the cohesion of the group by dying for the faith.

In chapter three the community as a whole is examined in its interactions and clashes with the Christian majority, but most importantly this chapter stresses how the fragile position of Jewish communities was questioned again and again in all aspects of daily life. Although they strove to maneuver to avoid traps, Jews succeeded in being active in different economic sectors, but disruptions and subversion further complicate attempts to retrace the past and the roots of a historically de/centered group.

Chapter four brings the focus back on the Jewish woman, retracing the various paths and areas of female presence and activities in which she was involved.

Chapter five is a close reading of several records of martyrdom, demonstrating that although women apparently behaved in accordance with religious commandments, their acts are marked by a profound gender instability that was continuously labeled "religious fervor."

Chapter six examines women's money lending and usury practices in Northern France, reevaluating and interrogating well-known sources and documents to bring out evidence previously neglected or ignored.

In a tentative conclusion, literary representations are examined to illustrate how stereotypes were conveyed in literature and persisted long after the expulsion and disappearance of Jewish communities from France for several centuries.

Historiography

Searching for the Traces of Medieval Jewish Women

Jews, like other groups made into minorities, inhabit a peculiar memory-space in history. Marginal, their rich past has been truncated but paradoxically also "exposed." This is particularly true for medieval Jewish communities that mainstream historians, until recently, have so often subjected to a reductive position in historical interpretations. Yet, a survey conducted by Anna Sapir Abulafia of works published in the past decades on medieval Jews and their interactions with Christians shows a clear reversal of the trend. In fact since the 1980s a renewed interest in the story of the Jew, that "other" no longer considered as an abstract figure, has become a pertinent subject of study among non-Jewish historians.[46] As a result, the representation and inclusion of Jews in the history of the Western world is now more nuanced and more in tune with history. But lest one become overtly optimistic, this reversal of the tendency or, more accurately, this reappraisal of a role considered for so long minimal in the historical process is only in its early stage.

If, after the reign of Agobard and until the end of the tenth century, sources and information about Jews in France are almost nonexistent in official records,[47] subsequent centuries left more substantial traces of their presence. The Chronicle of St. Denis, known as *The Great Chronicle*[48] remains a goldmine of information on the subject. Even though its composition took place over a long period of time, Church policies dictated the position of *The Great Chronicle* toward the Jews.[49] Thus they only appear in the

chronicles in relation to rules and regulations enacted by the kings of France. Jewish communities encountered opposition and antagonism not only from ecclesiastical authorities but from economic circles as well. But it was well into the thirteenth century before a considerable amount of anti-Jewish ecclesiastical and secular legislation began to be generated.[50]

The process of archiving past events interprets as well as classifies. Records accumulated in archives, as we know, are already organized and assigned a grid of interpretation by the guardians of the collective memory. In this respect, the interpretation of events concerning the Jews in national histories greatly differs from the analysis presented by Jewish chroniclers. Although the former certainly reveal that French medieval historians, uninterested in the internal history of the Jewish communities, denied a thriving culture developing in their midst and, rather, presented common expressions of anti-Jewish feelings, rabbis in Northern Jewish communities during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries selected and emphasized representative occurrences to be recorded not only in chronicles but also in liturgical poems. These selected memories represented an important tool for maintaining the cohesion of the community and its reaffirmation of the communities' beliefs in compliance with religious discourse. Individual acts became, under such discourse, a medium to carry not the historians' personal convictions but the conscience of a marginalized minority always in fear of disaster.

The recorders of the tragedies that befell the Jewish communities were in the twelfth century either first-hand witnesses themselves and/or collectors of testimonies from different and mixed sources. Rabbi Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn (*Sefer Zekhirah*,

Book of Remembrance) remains one of the few and most important representatives of these compilators. He recorded the persecutions of Franco-German Ashkenazi communities during the first half of the twelfth century.[51] For the period that interests us, these narrators or chroniclers, a term more exact than "historians," viewed the events as repetitions of past Jewish history, filtering them through rabbinic interpretations of biblical episodes.[52] Their chronicles followed the pattern of biblical narratives that had been elected by their early predecessors.[53] It is striking to note that between Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, written at the end of the first century C.E., and for example Solomon Ibn Verga writing in the sixteenth century, there is an enormous gap where reflections on historical events hardly exist. Elisheva Carlebach suggests that medieval Jews, and more specifically German Jews, developed a distinctive way of transmitting their cultural icons and archetypes as well as their posture toward the world, which would have displaced the need for historical narrative. One of the most important ways of transmitting a legacy, she notes, was to pass down within the family circle anthologies of texts that preserved either some Jewish historical memories or local traditions.[54]

Persecutions were memorialized in elegies, more akin to liturgical works than to historical records, but also in works called *Memorbücher*. These were written with the specific aim to bear witness and transmit to future generations the tragic events experienced by Jewish communities. As compilations of the many persecutions recording the names of the victims when possible, and the place and time where horror struck, they constitute an important element of remembrance. This practice, according to Robert Chazan, embedded Jewish martyrs, including luminaries of their time, in the fabric of the

Jewish experience as part and parcel of a chain of historic figures.[55] The chroniclers' emphasis on Jewish suffering and martyrdom was in its way a variation of the biblical conception of Jewish history as oscillating between the poles of destruction and redemption.[56] But more recently, Susan L. Einbinder has argued that this genre evolved rather as a tool of cultural resistance to counteract the growing pressure to convert. In this groundbreaking work, she draws on a sample of over seventy poems from northern France, England and Germany for the period covering the eleventh to the thirteenth century.[57] This poetry, as she argues, offered a polemical response to historical conditions and at the same time served penitential and commemorative ends.

Myriam Yardeni remarked that if French authors published during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries numerous books dealing with the "Histoire de France," all using *The Great Chronicle* as the major source of information, only 32 deal with Jews in France, while 14 works entirely omit any reference to Jewish presence in the history of France.[58] A curious erasure! Unlike their Christian counterparts, Jews had not really produced theoretical treatises about history by the time Judaism was eradicated in most parts of the kingdom of France, forcing its communities to seek refuge in the neighboring countries.[59] Only small numbers of Jews joined the communities in the southern provinces, which were more and more subjected to isolationist measures. The Jewish 'historians' from the Mediterranean borders continued the medieval tradition, producing narratives of history as a series of *exempla* presenting models of piety to help reinforce loyalty to Judaism. Historians like Abraham Zakkout (*Sefer Yuhasin*, The Book of Genealogies), Solomon Ibn Verga (*Shevet Yehuda*, The Staff of Judah), Samuel Usque (*Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel)*, Joseph Ha-Kohen (*Emek ha-Bakha,* Vale of

Tears), and Joseph of Avignon commented, sometimes in great detail, on the history of the suffering of the Jews.[60] According to Lucy Dawidowicz only Azariah dei Rossi (*Meor Enayim*) in Italy questioned the historical accuracy of some rabbinic writings, but his critical evaluation stopped there.[61]

These chronicles were followed by a void of several hundred years of quasi-silence. But with the beginning of institutionalized history in the nineteenth century, in which the analysis of events and culture was related to power as Foucault has argued, Jews once again prioritized the writing of history. During the early decades of that century, Jewish historians in France revived their interest in the Jewish past. In the numerous volumes that were published, and more specifically, in those dealing with the history of France, writers present the Jews not as an isolated and subdued group, but rather as a political entity called the Jewish nation. They were influenced and encouraged by the impact of the struggle for political emancipation and its social acceptance in Western and Central Europe. In the German states, a strong Jewish ideological response to German opposition to emancipation crystallized in the school called "Wissenschaft des Judentums" (Science of Judaism),[62] a movement considered to be the starting point of modern Jewish historical science.[63] The best example illustrating that period is the now canonical work of Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891). Like his contemporary, Israel Abrahams (1858-1924), and other classical historians faced with competing perspectives between Western society and Jewish society, Graetz purposely presented a protective version of the communities' past in his writings. In these interpretations of history, referred to by Jewish historiographers as the "lachrymose" view of history,[64] women, otherwise ignored, were praised as victims or martyrs. In that category, Jewish women like the

exemplary Polcinelle of Blois (1171) became the anchors of the community, reenacting biblical roles in grave moments of crisis in their communities. As martyrs, women sometimes demonstrated the key role they could play in their communities as mediators. The role they were able to assume in such dire circumstances nonetheless never seemed to surprise their brethren.

Simon Dubnow (1860-1944) was first strongly influenced by his eminent predecessor Heinrich Graetz, but he was more interested in presenting a more "sociological interpretation" of history – not to be confused with a sociological method.[65] He complained that Heinrich Graetz had unduly limited the subject matter of his history of the Diaspora to the intellectual and the martyrological dimensions,[66] but he also succumbed to a similar strategy, forgetting the impact of everyday life. He stressed collective unity by concentrating almost exclusively on the attitudes and actions of the dominant elite.[67] Whereas in Germany the utopia of universal fraternity was yet to come, it had already begun to take shape in France, where the work of Jewish historians was influenced by political emancipation and the universalist discourse. For French Jewish historians, from Léon Halévy (*Résumé de l'histoire des Juifs modernes*) onward, the relation between the ideals of the French Revolution and those of "civilization" remained true.[68]

Jewish scholars of the nineteenth century actively sought to retrieve, edit and publish documents pertaining to the Jewish past scattered and buried in the masses of documents in archives of national history. It is in the spirit of renewal of interest in "Jewish antiquities" in France that the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, the French counterpart of the journal of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, was founded by eminent Jewish scholars such

as James Darmesteter, Isidore Loeb, Israël Lévi and Zadoc Kahn among others. The journal published not only articles on biblical exegesis and on Talmudic literature, but its editors particularly favored research on the history of French Judaism and specifically on the medieval period.[69] Since its inception in 1880, the scholarly journal has offered a vast reservoir of sources for Jewish and non-Jewish scholars in all domains of Jewish culture. It has offered a platform for discussion and exchange on a vast array of subjects from the general to the particular, down to its most punctilious details.

In contrast, it is rare to find any evidence and traces of Jewish presence in the numerous bulletins, memoirs and journals of the *Sociétés savantes* that flourished in France during that same period. These local societies were founded for a single purpose: to uncover all written sources and to document all monuments that are places of local interest of the French past and reintegrate them in the general historical narrative. In the late 1890s, the canon Théophile Cochard, although a very conservative mind, nevertheless complained that local historians and erudites never had much to say about the history of their local Jewish communities, asserting that publications on Jewish matters were merely recompilations of what had been written over and over.[70] Henri Stein, a contributor to such bulletins, went even further, and one can only agree when he declared that the vast majority of local journals are mute on the subject.[71] It is true that even though many of these towns and villages attest to Jewish presence in more general and centralized archival collections, traces of Jewish communities seem to have vanished from the local archives or perhaps they were simply left shelved away in the dust.

Auguste Janvier, an erudite of the 1850s specializing in the Picardy region of Northern France, gives us a very personal interpretation of this puzzling matter.

Answering a colleague's query, he asserts with a strong conviction that Jews never resided in Amiens (Somme), a city well known for the religious fervor of its citizens, thus ruling out any possible Jewish establishment. His argument was not new, and he pursued it by claiming that he was unable to find any traces of anti-Jewish policies, the typical "mesures vexatoires et injurieuses," that historians are accustomed to find in the surviving official archived documents.[72] Indeed the paucity of medieval documents has often allowed scholars to propose this sort of hypothesis. He drew a conclusion that fitted an existing ideology eager to wipe out Jewish memory in the region's past. In this case, however, the constitutive power of such negative discourse can easily be refuted since this region of France has a well documented presence of small, scattered, rural and urban Jewish communities, recording, for example, Jews in the tax list of Amiens for the period 1296-1300.[73] The *enquêtes* of Louis IX do not include the *baillage* of Amiens since it was not yet incorporated into the crown of France,[74] but Gérard Nahon, in his map of Jewish settlements during that period, shows the presence of Jews in Amiens, although as converted.[75]

Medieval Northern France, with its active economy, offers an ideal ground for study. Jews, under the king's tight control, found themselves living under strict regulations, although they were able to preserve their own distinctive institutions and cultural practices. They were empowered to maintain discipline in their own communal borders, but mostly as a moral weapon.[76] Its Jewish communities, socially, linguistically, and culturally independent from those of the south, are considered Ashkenazi since they shared similar traditions with German Jews,[77] and unlike their brethren in the south, these communities have not been as abundantly studied and documented.[78] Leaders of the

southern communities, in direct and constant contact with the Spanish Jews, were more interested in philosophical speculations and considered the Northern communities more conservative, naive and credulous with regard to their belief in the supernatural.[79] However, certain Tosafists and German Pietists viewed superstitions more as an offshoot of Jewish mysticism than as a transformation of folk customs.[80] Traces of tensions between North and South appear clearly in a letter from Narbonne during the Maimonidean conflict of the 1230s.[81]

The role played by communal institutions is a key component of the survival of Jewish communities living under harsh conditions within the dominant medieval culture until their expulsion in 1394. If the paucity of records concerning those small and scattered communities is of great concern, the available sources still reveal that women's participation in communal activities was not uncommon.

Historical records are indispensable tools when one is trying to comprehend the cultural location of a significant part of a community, a large portion of whose members left no written traces and were therefore lost to history. Proof attesting to their active participation within their social group and within society at large is mostly found in official documents such as charters, notarial contracts, and tax rolls. As Dominick LaCapra argues, historical "documents" are themselves texts that "process" or rework "reality."[82] We are forced then to work backwards, de/constructing the past we inherit in order to bring out the contradictions underlying the intentions revealed by cultural products in archived documents. In spite of their apparently rigid historical terms, documents translate internal tensions and betray instabilities that the historian may have sought to erase. The historical discourse, with its narrative structure, is bound by the

passage of time to superimpose layer upon layer of interpretations on the existing documents and on all remaining traces of the past. Language, according to Michel Foucault, is the vehicle of the representation of past events,[83] and in that manner it implicates the historian in the object of her/his research more than s/he is willing to admit. The interpretation of the evidence proposed by the historian is already tainted by her/his impulse to apply "objectivist criteria." In this regard the archive acts as a memory repository, or as Jacques Derrida remarks:

> …ne se livre donc jamais au cours d'un acte d'anamnèse intuitive qui ressusciterait, vivante, innocente ou neutre, l'originalité d'un évènement.[84]

The relevant archival material is thus always in a state of flux, as documents are always being accumulated in an apparent continuity. Records of the past, subjected to all kinds of treatments and manipulations, are always in a precarious state whether through destruction, oblivion, and/or by resurfacing in an intermittent manner, resisting decipherment, eluding meaning, remaining silent. And if documents are witnesses to a certain past, then, as Pierre Toubert emphasizes, the teaching they bring has to be analyzed first by de/mythifying their apparent meaning.[85] The speculative nature of the classification applied to documents, factual or referential, compels interpretations to be articulated along the lines of methodologies too often complicit with ideologies and politics. Yet, the main objective of writing history is to establish some sort of order, denouncing or exposing some silenced ill.

In most historical studies, Jewish women are accounted for in analytical generalizations, at best isolated as illustrations. Too often records about them are brief mentions in which court officials used generic terms such as "Jewess," recording them as culturally invisible. These dry lists of deeds and events recorded by the judicial

authorities in France make it difficult to identify and apprehend women, but as Michel de Certeau affirms:

> It is a matter of restoring historicity to the movement which leads analytical procedures back to their frontiers, to the point where they are changed, indeed disturbed.[86]

The subjects in these documents rarely make their voices heard, and as Gayatri Spivak asserts with respect to the subaltern, they are never given the possibility to speak for themselves.[87] History only recorded a silenced presence since women themselves were never personally the ones to record events. If their social interactions conferred on them some recognition, it was only a matter of recording a specific deed; if their community deemed it worthwhile to remember them, it was mostly under the category of women good and valorous. Jewish authorities rearranged the past to conflate the biblical and the rabbinical female ideal, as an exemplum for future generations. Bad women were already plentiful in society, so that adding the Jewish ones would only attract the unwelcome scrutiny of a hostile, suspicious Christian gaze, dangerous for the well-being of the community. Yet, the 'rebellious woman,' the one that did not comply with her conjugal obligations but also the one who contested the authority and decisions of her husband and the communal authority, constitutes an important part of the rabbis' rulings in the *Responsa*.

The various stereotypes of women were all aspects of a tradition that idealized women and mythologized them in order to maintain their inferiority.[88] Jewish history has a strong investment in this ideal portrait, one that remains sexually normative and respectful of social traditions governing gender: women were constructed as chaste, serious and loyal. Israël Abrahams, at the end of the nineteenth century, adamantly reinscribed this vision by affirming that prostitution was an unknown feature in Jewish

life in the Middle Ages and even in later centuries.[89] Yet, Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, a thirteenth-century Jewish authority, drew a more ambiguous portrait of contemporary women in his *responsa*: taken individually women are not as submissive as they tend to be presented to the outside world. As it appears in several of his answers to queries, women's strong opposition to religious decisions could not easily be suppressed. He acknowledges that: "Nowadays, the Talmudic law regarding a rebellious wife no longer applies."[90] The past, idealized, always lingers.

Another consideration affects the study of Jewish women in medieval France; they occupied a highly ambiguous and dangerous position as vectors and brokers of exchange and conflict with the surrounding and dominant Christian communities. On the one hand, they were either idealized by Christians as tractable, convertible, and as points of entry into the larger community, making them vulnerable in the eyes of their own community, or they were brutally massacred along with men in numerous anti-Jewish riots and outbursts. On the other hand, they were seen as weak elements in need of protective seclusion, and as a category susceptible to community betrayal.

More traditional European historians regarded gender relations as too stable and universal to require historical analysis.[91] Within that masculinist perspective, women's history only came to us in fragments and no actual historical lineage could be retraced. In view of this, one might ask as Christiane Klapisch-Zuber does:

> how to define the historical specificity of women in the way in which corpuses of material are constituted, the typology adopted, the references chosen, depended on masculine molds which remain undiscussed?[92]

We should also be aware of the importance of locality combining intrinsic historical changes and how it affects and reflects histories and geographies as feminist scholars stress.[93] Defining the time/place parameters in a specific culture and society

allows for a better articulation of the diversity of women's realities, representations and memories. This micro-history, according to Bronislaw Geremek, activates archival areas, hardly used before and primarily the archives of the courts of law.[94]

Since the 1970s, the field of history has indeed incurred strong critical attacks questioning the veracity of a canonical male-centered normative history, yet Jewish feminism only emerged as a new current in Jewish thought during the 1990s with Susannah Heschel, historian Paula Hyman, Judith Baskin, Bernadette Brooten, Aviva Cantor, Judith Hauptman and Rachel Biale (the last two being highly recognized Talmudic specialists), to name a few.[95] The task is then to recreate the various aspects of women's multiple experiences, economic and social, within and outside the family boundaries, and with new methodologies that are not constrained by conservative historiography.

Between 1968 and 1975, the French ethnologist Yvonne Verdier conducted a study of the three traditional female functions in Minot, a small town in rural France.[96] Her work represents an original approach that tries to restore the important role women played in the village economy by dutifully examining their daily activities, and searching for the hidden meanings of objects and behaviors we tend to take for granted. She restored the feminine sphere of influence in the village culture by combining different perspectives that, brought together, painted a detailed tableau of the three important categories of women in the village (the helping-hand, the seamstress and the cook). It is a complex study combining local historical sources, field observations, and conversations with women, all contextualized by previous folklorist documentation of customs and beliefs, paintings by Chardin and Courbet, and novels of the nineteenth century. Yvonne

Verdier and her team not only used living witnesses but also the process of memory itself, reminiscences that culture still harbors strongly. This detailed examination is striking in the unconventional look it offers at a seemingly fixed and patriarchal society. With the study of these three categories of women, three vital positions in the economy of the community, Verdier demonstrates the crucial intervention and mediation in everyone's life that the three types of women symbolized, even though the importance of the work they do goes unnoticed in history. Despite the time gap, there is a certain similarity of situation between these communities and Jewish communities, both governed by complex codes of gender division and attributions. I would like to incorporate some aspects of Verdier's approach into the study of Jewish women. In the medieval Jewish communities of Northern France, the woman moneylender and the martyr also occupied symbolic positions. Local historical studies have uncovered traces of circumscribed actions in places and time that were not incorporated into larger narratives. If women's activities affected specifically local governance and left traces, even if minimal, local archives could document in part the way in which female culture fits into the collective existence of the "local economic life."[97]

The revolutionary approach of the field of historical phenomenology in general, and of the historical document in particular, historical perspectives proposed by historians affiliated with the *Annales* School, have transformed the discipline, as Adi Ophir has argued.[98] They have indeed induced an interest in studying neglected groups, groups that were successfully retrieved from oblivion. The idea of a total history shifted in the direction of a more problematic general history has been radically contested in the name of a "splintered or decentered history."[99] Women, children, and also sexual and other

marginal groups waiting in the sidelines of history and relentlessly ignored became actors with central roles in many studies. In an innovative approach to the daily life of common people, New Historicism has succeeded in unraveling the lives of ordinary Christian medieval women; they have been and are studied extensively in all aspects of their existence. Their Jewish counterparts, on the other hand, remain blurry and mostly untouched in the "historical memory." The vision of New Historicism, more interested in "mining for surprising absences in the monumental structures that dominated a more traditional historicism,"[100] constitutes a pertinent approach for a new and more accurate perspective of Jewish history and more significantly the history of Jewish women.

Needless to say, Jewish women still reflect a cultural absence, a lack other groups benefited from. The stereotyped image of the Jewish woman should become a symbol of past ignorance and, in Michel de Certeau's words, we should reactivate *the memory of everyday life* to reconstitute the narrative of daily practices and anonymous itineraries hidden in the thick folds of the social fabric.[101]

three

Urban Expansion and Economic Perspectives

What does it mean to reflect upon a position,
a relation, a place related to other places
but with no place of its own: the position of the in-between?
Elizabeth Grosz. *Architecture from the Outside*

Community Status

As the previous chapter demonstrated, Jewish historiography marshaled all its forces to construct an image of the community in the past that opposed a firm, normative, unbending image to centuries of onslaught and attacks. Although this thesis will contest the veracity of the traditional portrayal of women, there is no doubt that the daily conditions of Jewish communities in medieval Northern France were exceedingly precarious.

Fragility is the term that best summarizes the contradictions in those conditions and in that status; however, despite being subjected to a formidable pressure and to an array of religious and secular interdictions that made social conditions fragile, Jewish communities nonetheless experienced moments of respite between the enactments of laws and the slow and irregular implementation of these multiple prohibitions. These temporal zones of indistinct jurisdiction and delayed imposition of restricting measures permitted Jews to maneuver and somehow prosper.[102]

The assertion of the French *tosaphist*[103] R. Jacob Tam (d. 1171) that "less than ten years ago there were no *mezuzot* to be found in our kingdom,"[104] is puzzling. Does this

statement emphasize the rapid expansion of Jewish communities, or was the famous rabbi strictly concerned with laxity in the application of this specific religious commandment, as some scholars have suggested? In any case, during that period of transition (tenth to twelfth centuries), in the kingdom of France there was not only a rapid growth of the general population, but also the constitution of multiple Jewish communities.[105] Urbanization in Northern France was achieved more suddenly than in the South, and as a result, there were rapid adjustments that incorporated new social and economic realities.[106] In the burgeoning towns, the multiplication of power (ecclesiastical, local, and royal) complicated matters of jurisdiction and contributed to undermine the feudal system whose institutions were undergoing a profound transformation. The demographic explosion of the Jewish communities is to be viewed in parallel with the growth of the rest of the population. In a relatively short period of time, the economic progress of the Jewish communities promoted a rapid advance in its intellectual endeavors, and by the second half of the twelfth century, there were at least fifteen important rabbinical schools in France.[107] Indeed, with the decline of the Babylonian and the Palestinian schools at the end of the tenth century (end of the Gaonic period), religious leadership was transferred to Spain and Ashkenaz (northern France and Germany). Yet, despite their growing renown as religious centers that exercised authority in matters of civil and ceremonial law, the communities of Northern France remained small entities independent of each other that managed to compensate for their isolation with an important network of exchanges and an active correspondence.

The substantial influx of Jews into Northern France was probably the result of the confluence of a migratory movement and the pursuit of an active proselytism. Indeed the

conversion of slaves, farm workers, and domestic servants[108] is not a negligible factor in the numerical expansion of the Jewish communities during the early period of the Middle Ages. This proselytism could have been fostered, as Israël Lévi claimed, by the underlying assumption of the haggadic commentary in which Sarah nurtures children into the Jewish faith.[109] This assertion interestingly suggests that conversion symbolically displaces the biological filial ties and places converts in direct relation to Sarah for women and to Abraham for men.[110] But by the twelfth century, the Church, with a missionary zeal, forbade and sanctioned conversions to Judaism. The control of the process of evangelization and conversion was to remain a Christian prerogative.

The feudal system, a rigidly top-down structure that established its frames between 950 and 1150,[111] resulted in the fragmentation of political authority.[112] This uncertain situation gave Jews the opportunity, with their instituted practices and procedures for the administration of a community, to establish autonomous communal entities. Talmudic law provided leaders with the means of exercising social control with direct leadership and with punitive measures for the suppression of crime,[113] but Jewish communal authorities only applied minor sentences like the "bastonnade" and turned to the secular authorities for the application of major punishments.[114] In these centuries preceding the centralization and strengthening of royal power, as Irving Agus asserts, Jews were in a stronger position to negotiate with the ruling power the terms and conditions of their settlement.[115] The influence Jewish leaders could exert is illustrated by the informative case of Lyons, a city that, during the Carolingian period, was an important commercial center at the crossroads of Italy, Spain and Germany. Its weekly market, held on Saturdays, had barred Jews from participating in commercial

transactions. This disadvantageous condition was overturned by the power of a royal decree of King Louis the Debonair.

Yet, the notion of fragility remains central to understanding the position of the communities within mainstream society. Around the year 1150, a group of rabbis gathered during the fairs in the city of Troyes, which attracted merchants not only from France but also from Germany, Flanders, England and Italy. It was not unusual for rabbis to combine religious leadership with trade and/or moneylending activities. Under the leadership of R. Jacob Tam and with the consent of numerous rabbis from Northern France and possibly from Germany, it was decreed under penalty of excommunication that:

> … no man or woman, related or unrelated, may bring a fellow Jew before Gentile courts or exert compulsion on him through Gentiles, be they princes or common man, superior or lower official, except by mutual agreement made in the presence of proper witnesses.[116]

This *takkanah* (decree) was instrumental in cementing community unity and reducing interference from secular powers. Nevertheless, this tool of social control for Jewish internal government could not prevent disputes between co-religionists from escalating and landing in Christian courts for arbitration. Indeed, in one of these instances, in 1365, as registered in the acts of the Parliament, the king overturned an interdiction (*herem*)[117] the Jewish community of Paris had pronounced against Jacob de Sainte-Maxence, the tax collector, on behalf of the Vivant brothers and a certain Menessier. Ostracized by the drastic measure, the victim's only recourse against banishment was to appeal to the Parliament.[118] In this extreme case, the king personally intervened not only to lift the excommunication, but also, ironically, to permit Jacob de Saint-Maxence's newborn son to be circumcised. Beyond the anecdotal aspect, this incident shows how tensions and

frictions jeopardized communal unity. Christian secular authorities seized this opportunity to interfere and promulgate a verdict that was applied to all the communities in France: Jewish leaders could no longer impose a *nydui* or *herem* (minor or major excommunication) on any of their members and thus they lost a fundamental instrument of authority and control.

In contrast with the previous example that reveals conflict despite the presence of a legal apparatus, there was a curious informal practice based solely on custom that communities of Northern France and Germany generally adopted. In this limited geographical area, Jews held the custom of interrupting daily prayer services to present a query to the members of the community. This direct method of address, endorsed by the presence of witnesses, guaranteed the petitioners that their plea would be heard but most importantly, it would hasten the rabbis' ruling. It is precisely to this practice that a woman turned, desperate to accelerate a divorce procedure that had been going on for sixteen years without any tangible results. Unable to divorce her impotent husband, she decided to make her plea public. She locked the doors of the synagogue, not letting anyone leave until she had presented her case to the community.[119] These interruptions, entrenched in daily practice, had become so distracting by the time of Rabbi Gershom (mid tenth century) that he had to pronounce a decree in order to regulate and limit interventions during prayer.[120]

While earlier Jews had been not only urban dwellers, but landowners and wine producers as well, the situation started to change by the tenth century. In a movement of general defection, Jews progressively migrated to the growing towns, abandoning rural settlements. R. Joseph Bonfils, a well known French scholar of the eleventh century,

called it a justified change in a *responsum* addressed to the Jews of Troyes. He further explained that the possession of fields was for Jews less profitable than money invested in commerce that brought great profits and could easily be withdrawn in times of crisis.[121] The sale contracts, in which Jews had previously appeared as buyers of land, showed them thereafter mostly as sellers, a change that accelerated between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.[122] The movement toward the cities and towns clearly appears in the examination of the topography of the cities of Paris, Sens, Troyes, Rouen, Senlis, Soissons, Auxerre, Chartres, Provins, Orléans and Etampes, indicating that by the eleventh century a majority of the Jews lived near the royal or noble palaces.[123] But if the move was often motivated by economic reasons, ironically the city became later on for Jews a mandatory place of residence, sanctioned by the royal ordinance of April 1289. In an ironic twist, this additional regulation forbade Jews hereafter to settle in small towns and rural areas.[124] The regrouping of Jews in administrative centers was certainly mandated by the desire to exercise a tighter control on these mobile groups.

The majority of Jews became town dwellers until their final expulsion, but frequently the only physical trace of Jewish presence left in any given town is a street harboring the name "rue aux juifs." The term *Vicus Judaeorum* that Romans used to designate the Jewish quarter was reduced in medieval times to *vicus* and the expression "settlement of the Jews" gradually came to be translated into "rue aux juifs," or simply "la Juiverie."[125] Every expulsion was accompanied by confiscation and resale of Jewish property, and with every departure, another layer of Jewish presence was scrapped, even erased. New occupants were installed, new activities followed, displacing Jewish memory. Thus, when Philip Augustus expelled the Jews in 1182, in Paris alone, the

synagogue and a total of forty-two houses, twenty-four in rue de la Pelleterie and eighteen in rue de la Vieille Draperie,[126] were confiscated by the royal officers and sold to merchants or donated as gifts by the king to the Church or to loyal royal officers.[127]

Gilbert Dahan contends that there was no typical French Jewish quarter in medieval France and furthermore that there is no common history left for these quarters.[128] Indeed, Jewish settlements and other models of development were intricately related to place, time and rulers. Permanence, a necessary factor to retrace culture, was for the Northern communities limited to surface installations, easily uprooted by expulsions that brought in their wake an identitarian consensus among Christians. Nevertheless Jews, operating outside the social order, tended to congregate for religious purposes within a short distance of a synagogue and a *mikveh* (ritual bathhouse). They followed the pattern of medieval urban occupation of space where streets typically regrouped the members of the same corporation or individuals sharing similar interests. The tax roll for the city of Paris for the year 1292 is a good index of this phenomenon.[129] The Jewish taxpayers, listed in a separate section at the end of the roll, all lived within the confines of a few streets of the city. Nicolas Delamare, in his description of Paris, information he gathered from *The Great Chronicle*, notes that Jews were housed in very limited quarters, in hastily built houses of poor quality and in narrow and dark streets closed at night.[130] The reduced space available had in fact forced Jews to adopt a vertical distribution of dwellings. In Northern France, Germany, and England, most Jewish communities were very slight in number and represented at most one or two per cent of a city's population.[131] Even though the percentage seems small, the number of individuals and families authorized to reside in a town was limited and strictly regulated.[132] Each

community was empowered to enforce these regulations, granting or denying permission to newcomers to settle. Delamare's description of a medieval Jewish quarter does not differ much from descriptions of other populated quarters in any given town or city. Indeed, between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries, though townspeople represented only about ten percent of the overall population of Europe, cities like Paris and London were already very crowded (three to five hundred people per hectare).[133] Therefore, living in cramped quarters and dark narrow streets was commonplace, and the deplorable sanitary conditions of the cities were notorious. Philip Augustus was offended by the loathsome smell of the streets of Paris, which required every year a levy of a hundred thousand francs to remove the mud. They were: "… noires, puantes d'une odeur insupportable aux étrangers, qui pique et ça fait sentir à 3 ou 4 lieues à la ronde." The King ordered a certain number of streets to be paved to reduce the pestilence.[134]

In a changed political and urban scene,[135] Jews were readmitted in Paris in 1198, but they were not allowed to reoccupy their ancient quarter in the heart of the city. This time, they were relegated to the fortifications, even outside the walls, the new limits of the city, in a quarter named Les Champeaux. The decision of Philip Augustus to extend the fortifications was a key factor in the development of the city.[136] This second wall, enclosing large portions of the 'faubourgs,' dramatically increased the area of Paris, which in spite of its rising importance maintained, like many medieval towns, a rural character within its walls. Entire sections of the town still maintained cultivated gardens and orchards. The decentralization of the Jewish habitat was in part compensated for by the fact that the expansion of the capital had prompted the development of new axes of trade. Re-established in Paris, Jews organized themselves in two separate communities:

one more populated[137] and well oriented toward business on the right bank of the Seine; the other, on the left bank that was the domain of intellectuals, where members of the school of Saint-Victor ventured to seek the *Hebraica veritas* from Jewish masters.[138] In this more dispersed habitat, Jews had two synagogues, a mill and two cemeteries.[139] This was a privileged situation that soon would have to be forfeited.

The permission to live in the cities and towns nevertheless excluded Jews from many trades and occupations. They had therefore to rely on Christian artisans and workers for goods and services in which they held no mastery, such as masonry for the construction of houses and their upkeep.[140] Against the generally accepted assertion that Jews were not artisans, names of that period are often proof that they were borrowed from the profession these men were practicing, like Corrigarius (courroier), Vaginarius (gainier),[141] or Lotin (mercier).[142] But, with no access to the crafts that provided for a wider market protected by the powerful guilds,[143] Jewish craftsmen tended to supply for the internal needs of their community in trades more related to religious regulations, like butchers, bakers, winemakers, barbers, soapmakers, embroiderers, *tallit* and *tzizit* weavers, scribes, and bookbinders.[144] The omnipresent and haunting figure of the moneylender and usurer appearing in Christian *exempla*[145] did indeed supplant many other possible trades and occupations forbidden to Jews.

Social separation between the two communities was promoted and encouraged by the Church, but mandatory residence only became customary by the end of the thirteenth century. Wealthy Jewish families could still circumvent the interdiction and live among Christians, providing they paid an additional tax. All aspects of Jewish life were increasingly subjected to restrictions and severe regulations. Jewish individuals were

exposed to a close scrutiny, and their acts could be censored not only by Christians, but even more by their fellow Jews. Segregation differed in time and places, but Jewish quarters were not exclusively populated by Jews; Christians lived in the same buildings, or on the same streets. An examination of the registers of the Châtelet for the period between 1389 and 1392 clearly attests to Jewish-Christian urban coexistence. In several instances, Christian individuals arrested for petty criminal offenses are described as living in or at the periphery of the Jewish quarter, as in the following:

> En Quareisme dernièrement passé volerent dans un hostel une paire de draps de lit… les vendirent à Lorence la Picarde, demourant au bout de la rue aus Juifs.[146]

In this apparently strictly informative narrative, the scribe juxtaposes the illicit activities of Lorence, a Christian woman, and the vicinity of the Jewish quarter. Intentional or not, the mention nevertheless suggestively induces a link between the shady transactions and their place of occurrence. No accusation is made but the suspicion is aroused, and if Jewish individuals were indeed occasionally implicated in trafficking in stolen property,[147] it was generally understood by Christians that this practice was common among Jews.

The school, the *mikveh* and the synagogue were focal points of Jewish life, but the latter was the object of especially strict regulations. The limits that were imposed on repairs, construction or consecration of an edifice as a house of prayer are revealing. The synagogue had to be an unobtrusive edifice and could not exceed the height of a church,[148] a restriction that forced Jews to modify the Talmudic injunction, requiring the synagogue to be the highest building within the Jewish community. As a result of these repressive measures, synagogues were very often buildings of humble or rundown appearance. In 1270, Philip the Bold forbade Jews, regardless of the size of their

community, to have more than one synagogue and one cemetery per town.[149] And in addition to the long list of prohibitions, Jews were specifically forbidden to pray or sing in a loud manner during services. This particular ordinance was enforced in the year 1288 in Paris, where the Jewish community was condemned to pay a fine of three hundred *parisi* pounds for breaking the regulation.[150]

In small communities lacking the necessary funds for the construction of a *mikveh*, Jewish women had to resort to rivers for their monthly cleansing ritual to fulfill the religious commandment (*nidah*). What can be perceived at first as an unusual public activity for Jewish women was certainly not an uncommon practice, although it was forbidden to Jews. Indeed they contravened the Christian interdiction of bathing in running waters. Fear of Jewish pollution was a dominant concern for Christians, and it drove the authorities, secular and religious, to strictly control the rules of separation, and to punish transgressors. Some Parliament records reveal that the population was eager to ensure that those infractions were not violated, and for that matter individuals did not hesitate to take justice into their own hands and administer a prompt punishment by beating Jewish women bathing in rivers.[151]

The fourteenth century saw many forced departures and brief returns, but the reign of Charles V (1364-1380) was a time of relative respite for Jewish communities. For a brief period, the Jews of Paris living in the Saint-Antoine neighborhood experienced tolerance and benevolence. The king's initiative to bring Jews back into France was the last one before the final expulsion of 1394. Important privileges and favorable ordinances were issued to insure the economic security of the arriving Jewish families. For taxation purposes, Jews were this time divided in three different categories,

each one paying a different tax.[152] In spite of the encouraging measures, the return or arrival of newcomers brought about the exhumation of past discriminatory rules and prohibitions against Jews.

The Church, as the force behind the regulation of social homogenization, assumed an ambiguous and contradictory position regarding Jewish communities. Although in its official discourse the Church promoted tolerance toward a minority that was part of the 'symbolic order' promoted by the Fathers of the Church,[153] in reality, there never was a definite sense of acceptance, and Jewish inclusion into society was limited in all possible ways. The ideological views of the Church, sustained by a series of decrees, were embraced by lay society. Secular authorities enacted or reinstated numerous rules and regulations in addition to the existing religious ones, imposing harsh living conditions on Jewish communities. Thus, society's perception of Jews was predominantly articulated along the lines of a hate discourse that promoted violence. The recurrent hostility against Jews did not entirely exclude them from society but social pressure was such that they were maintained in a state of subordination and dependence, marked by an identity framed by prescriptive social and legal measures.

Real and Virtual Borders

The "scaffolding," or series of invisible screens that Jewish communities had patiently erected for protection over centuries, was subjected to constant strains, and the fissures inflicted by repeated expulsions and setbacks since 1180 further exposed its vulnerability. With the final blow of 1394, the entire structure collapsed and the

remaining Northern French Jews were sent once more into exile, scattered east, north, and south.

In the structure of medieval society, Jewish communities, shaped by social isolation, had come to inhabit an in-between space, a space that Elizabeth Grosz defines as a position of possible movement and development, but interestingly enough also as a space for contestation.[154] In the absence of legitimacy, Jewish appropriation of space was a way of reclaiming it, both spatially and symbolically. But even this liminal presence was in itself a form of excess in the eye of Christian society, and significantly, the disruptive function of this excess rendered these communities inassimilable. Yet, in spite of the apparently subversive aspect of their condition, Jews invested the edges of society, adding diversity to urban life. The outsider status of such a minority encouraged Christian society to emphasize its absence rather than its presence, defeating any attempt at full incorporation into the social structure. The difficulties of coexistence in the urban environment, combining excess and alienation, did not deter Jews from "rooting" in the kingdom of France. Since their fragile status did not permit them to establish deep roots, Jewish communities, as an alternative to durable implantations, adopted more flexible and provisional installations. They adopted survival tactics that might be compared to the rhizome system: implantations consisting of ramified surface extensions that establish connections in all directions in order to insure adaptability to variations. And as Deleuze and Guatarri argued, a rhizome "may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines,"[155] so did these communities in order to maintain their presence in France.

Desire for recognition placed Jews in a conflicting position between their aspiration to be part of society and prove their loyalty, and their obligation to preserve their own religious and cultural values. The balance between these dual allegiances was tenuous, and the accusations of dissimulation only complicated matters.

Tolerated or not, Jews as a distinct group occupied a place in French society until the end of the fourteenth century. During the ritualized ceremonies when royalty and other important personages were welcomed in a city, Jews also paid homage to the king or to other dignitaries. In the elaborate spectacles of reception, the composition of the procession reproduced the social spectrum of the city. Each group – nobility, clergy, urban officials, merchant corporations, and Jews – occupied a specific position in its processional ranks. The ceremony was a collective gesture, but was also an opportunity for every group, easily identifiable, to address the dignitary. While in 1328 the entrance of the king into one of his cities was still a symbolic but simple ritual, by 1515 the ceremony of royal entry had become a picturesque and solemn spectacle.[156]

The visit of Innocent II to Saint-Denis, on Easter of 1131, was the occasion of an imposing welcoming ceremony. But this joyous event was marked by an incident that accentuated the inherited divisions between the two faiths and signaled the beginning of a slow but gradual exclusion of Jews from official ceremonies. A Torah scroll, a central religious symbol cloaked in an adorned cloth, presented by the Jewish community to the Pope,[157] was the object that provoked the papal consternation and cry of dismay: "Que Dieu Tout-Puissant ôte le voile de vos coeurs!"[158] The pope's anger, a controlled performance with a defined place in political scripts,[159] only added weight to his authority. The papal invocation of the Pauline commentary on the stubbornness of the

Jews was a reminder of their refusal to acknowledge the new covenant: the universalization of Abraham's blessing that constituted a continuation, but mostly a rupture from Judaism.[160] While in a strict and practical sense, the cover protected the sacred roll from defilement, the Pope interpreted it as a refusal to lift the veil of ignorance and acknowledge the truth of Christianity. The reaction it triggered was disproportionate and translated into a cultural ignorance of how the Jewish faith had been efficiently supplanted and dispossessed of its core values. This authoritative reaction constituted the inspiration for the ensuing ceremonies, which tended to be the occasion to debase and publicly degrade the "false religion." As a result, the defaming added to the determination to exclude Jewish presence from public ceremonies or events, and the position of the Jewish representatives in the processions started to recede until it became in later years a silenced presence only acknowledged at the closing of the ceremony.

Fear of pollution entrenched both communities in extreme positions, and this fear drove Christians to insulate themselves as much as possible from Jews during the solemn feast of Easter. As a prelude to the celebration, centuries-long popular and less popular practices and customs ridiculed and denigrated Jews. Those days constituted a highly noticeable moment of additional tensions and frictions between the two communities. The atmosphere, saturated with the blood of Christ, was accompanied by complex rituals and accusations that linked the present with the charged past of the Crucifixion. Religious authorities like Peter the Venerable also participated in the propagation of accusations against the Jews. Right after Easter, on the eve of the Second Crusade (1146), he complained about their malevolent practices in a letter to the king of France, Louis VII. The calumnies he reiterates are the conventional accusations of ritual desecration and

child murder perpetrated by Jews on the prelude of Easter. He presents these accusations as actual evidence:

> …Dans ces vases sacrés qui ne ressentent rien en eux-mêmes, c'est le Christ lui-même qui pâtit encore les outrages des juifs, en effet comme je l'ai souvent entendu dire par des personnes véridiques, pour notre deshonneur et celui du Christ, ces mauvais emploient ces vases célestes pour des usages auxquels il est horrible de penser et qu'il serait détestable de répéter.[161]

The invocation of witnesses translates the fear of pollution that Jews are believed to carry and confirms rumors about the use of stolen cult objects sold to Jews.[162]

In this context of suspicion, the presence of Jews on the streets could be viewed as a provocation and a threatening source of pollution, adding more grievances to the existing hostile feelings, already bound with the initial accusation. Popular expressions of social humiliation were practiced and more particularly in the south of France where Jews were incorporated in the celebration of the ritual of Easter as scapegoats. In Toulouse, on Easter day, a representative of the Jews had to present himself at the door of the cathedral so that the bishop could slap him in the face.[163] In Béziers, the population was authorized during holy week to stone the houses of Jews, causing significant damage, but Jews in this case had the right of reprisal, and they could defend themselves.[164] The interdiction to appear in public not only in Paris but in the entire kingdom during those days goes back to a decree issued by King Childebert.[165]

The theological controversy over whether Jews could be tolerated among the Christian population and practice their faith was still a passionate debate in the thirteenth century. The Franciscan friar Alexander de Hales, professor at the University of Paris, was also engaged in this century-long debate. In his *Summa Theologica*, he maintains that the presence of Jews in public spaces, especially during the holy day of Easter, would be a desecration. He agrees that they should remain indoors, and as a rather drastic measure,

he proposes to eliminate any possible danger of contamination by forcing Jews to keep their windows and doors shut.[166] This additional barrier protecting Christians from the polluting presence of Jews informs us about prevailing contemporary perceptions and attitudes.

The repugnance that Jews stirred in the population of Dijon (Burgundy) left traces in the municipal ordinance of July 1383 prohibiting Jews from buying meat without the supervision of an official representative; in the event any meat they had touched was not purchased, it had to be sold outside the town's limits.[167] In southern France, the rules were even stricter and extended to all products sold in the market stalls. Jews were prohibited from touching food in the marketplace, associated in this interdiction with other outcasts, such as prostitutes and lepers.[168] The market, a public place of intersection, was also in this case a place of identity conformity. The proximity factor, and the inherent danger of contamination implied by cohabitation, prompted the religious authorities to forbid Christian women to work for Jews as domestic servants[169] or wet-nurses, but this decree, for very practical reasons, was never effectively enforced. Servants and other domestic aids working for Jews commonly endured insults from their fellow Christians.[170] Although Jewish dietary laws originated in biblical commandments (Leviticus XI), Jews' refusal to partake of food and wine with Christians raised suspicion even in a learned mind such as that of the Augustinian friar Honoré Bonnet. While in practice members of the clergy were responsible for the propagation of the seeds of anti-Judaism in their sermons and in their writings, Bonnet, an advocate of moderation, preached tolerance, following the example of Innocent IV. Yet, in his treatise on war policy dedicated to King Charles VI, he strongly advocated the notion that Jewish

separateness was suspicious and proof of their antagonism, constituting a valid reason to declare war against them:

> …je prouve prestement que oui les Juis vous moustrent tout manifestement que généralement ils sont tous nos ennemis expres, car ils ne mangent point de nostre viande ne boivent point de nostre vin et pour ce je dy que c'est signe de grant malveillance.[171]

He thus suspected that fundamental to the dietary laws was the refusal to socialize with Christians. Differences, real or imagined, were perceived as potential danger. If differences were not always noticeable, yet, it was assumed that they were inscribed in the bodies of Jews, as a series of signs that pointed to the essence of their difference and, even worse, their refusal to change.

The Codification of Exclusion

All public spaces were transparent, made readable by the visible markers and the exclusions placed on the bodies that inhabited them and circulated within them, and in that context, the Jewish body was meant to be read. Constructed through exclusionary measures, a "body that matters,"[172] it was paradoxically exposed and excluded all at once. The methodical aim of policies of humiliation and degradation was to reduce the body's materiality to a set of signifiers.[173] It was the focal point of the social encodings of a complex system of oppression, and every crisis was played on it by the imposition of marks and other signs of abjection. But this was simply not enough; ultimately the external signs, reflecting centuries of ideological indoctrination, would feed the Christian unconscious long after streets and alleys were emptied of Jewish presence.

Mainstream society had circumscribed the integration of Jews to liminal spaces, to better insure their control. This held true even in the experience of daily life, in the mere act of living and moving across a city. As Michael Camille astutely remarked, the

medieval town's signs were not only cut in stone but also marked on bodies moving through space like the Jewish body with its yellow or red felt fabric,[174] the only piece of bright color it was allowed to wear. Jews were not the only individuals to harbor a sign of humiliation; prostitutes and lepers were as well. Other groups wore temporary marks of affiliation, such as beggars permitted to sojourn in the city for a certain time, and indeed there were more positive signs, those the pilgrims proudly displayed. But if, for other groups, the sign was the manifestation of an individual physical degradation or on the contrary a sign of distinctiveness, the Jewish label was the outward mark of a rejected group.

Visibility and invisibility in late medieval towns were related to signs,[175] and Jews paid large indemnities to avoid wearing the sign that attracted attention and countless humiliations. In a detailed record in the archives of Montargis (1388), the Jew Ben Amy was ordered by the Provost under penalty of ten parisi pounds (an exorbitant fine) to exhibit his Jewish identity, "porter enseigne au lieu apparent," and to cut his long hair within a week.[176] This record, a vivid testimony of Christian policy, attests to the public performance of a religious identity that is outcast and requires a prescribed conformity.[177] If the Jewish badge dates back to the ordinance of 1215, the mention of the long hair is an odd detail worth considering. This outward sign appears in the official injunction as offensive, improper. Its length, combined with the usual Jewish bearded face,[178] are signs of an abundance of hair and induces connotations of the wild man. However if Ben Amy were a young man, with no traces of facial hair, then the long hair might imply a certain effeminacy. He was also transgressing a rabbinical decree regulating physical appearance: "… a Jew must not let his hair grow unduly long."[179] This example

illustrates that the only permissible visible differences were the ones imposed by Christians in order to clearly demarcate Jews from the rest of the population and most importantly to deter contacts between members of both communities. In consequence, in 1269, Alphonse of Poitiers warned Jews not to appear in public garbed in the same manner as Christians—although what this means remains unclear – and to wear a badge,[180] an ordinance never well respected or applied. But to what extent did reality and the standard method for depicting Jews in visual culture correspond? In most cases, only visual depictions of Jewish men show them as different, bearded and wearing conical or pointed hats, an element of dress that dates back to the eleventh century, and which by the thirteenth century was widespread and conventional in visual representations. In reality by the thirteenth century Jewish men in Christian Southern Europe were clean-shaven and, in the North, if they tended more to comply with the biblical injunction, very often they trimmed their beards with scissors to make them less visible.[181] Jewish women are only non-descriptive presences; Jewishness is solely embodied in male figures. Typology in art played an important role in the development of medieval anti-Jewish propaganda and served it well. The massive pictorial campaign against heretics and Jews[182] reveals some of the unarticulated but influential factors underlying French Jewish policy.[183]

The political landscape of medieval France was far from homogeneous and its fragmentation caused Jews to live under different rules and regulations according to the authority in place. While the important economic phenomenon of emancipation of serfs on a large scale took place during the thirteenth century in the region of Paris,[184] the legal status of the Jews had become, by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one of servitude to

the crown. They became the king's serfs, *servi camere, Judei nostri*, a special status, a social category in itself, since they never were part of the *glebe*. But these different appellations convey the same meaning: in a position of subjected-objects, Jews were politically and economically exploited. Owned in their bodies, they had become the property either of the king or of a feudal lord. One of the first mentions of a transaction in which a Jew was traded as an object occurred in 1196; a Jewish family was given as a donation[185] to a certain Vigier, but more often Jews were the objects of profitable acts of sale:

> Vente par Charles, comte de Valois au roi son frère de tous les Juifs vivant sur les domains dudit comte moyennant la somme de 20 000 livres tournois petits (Mardi 2 juin 1299 Bois de Vincennes). [186]

Thus, Jews, despised for their 'false beliefs,' were at the same time coveted as potential income. In 1223 Louis VIII collected the oaths of eleven dukes and counts and thirteen other lords to insure a tighter control over the Jewish communities and reduce the number of defectors lured by the less taxing policies of a neighboring lord**.** They all agreed to the following by signing the ordinance: "None of us shall receive nor hold the Jews of another."[187] This was purely a contract of mutual protection and supervision of a mobile property. After this declaration, all the Jews on the road were subjected to strict surveillance since each lost body meant a loss of revenue. The following record in the acts of the Parliament (1301) corroborates the collaboration that existed between lords: "Arret entre le sire de Montmorency et le bailli de Gisors, au sujet de la capture de deux juives."[188] The term used clearly indicates that the condition of these Jews was akin to slavery.

Louis the Pious, who reserved the hearing of cases involving Jews to himself through an official called *magister judaeorum*,[189] continued the practice of extorting

money from Jews by arresting them periodically and holding them prisoners until a ransom was paid. The implementation of this policy was facilitated by the fact that solidarity compelled Jewish communities to collect funds for real or fictitious ransoms. In 1246, in a letter to the seneschal of Carcassone, Louis advises him: “Prenez le plus que vous pourrez à ceux de nos Juifs qui sont en prison.”[190] This practice is demonstrated convincingly by similar measures that another lord took in order to fill his coffers: “Un seigneur de Durtal fit jeter en prison vers 1147 les juifs de cette ville pour les contraindre a lui payer une forte rançon.”[191]

In an economy of signs, all forms of taxation were a lucrative method to impose an additional marking for extortion on Jewish bodies. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, travel and trade had become excessively dependent on an impressive number of tolls spanning the entire territory of France, tolls that had reached the number of 5,688. The battle for their abolition lasted four centuries and it was only in 1729 that 3,634 of them were eliminated, including several injurious tolls like the one taxing humans carrying merchandise on their backs, and the corporal tolls levied on Jews, a tax levied in particular in the Lyonnais, Languedoc, and Dauphiné. Some cities forbade residence to Jews altogether and imposed on them a toll for every passage through their territory.

In the classification of tolls, Jews, as taxable beings, were listed in the same category as animals. In the *tonlieu* of 1237, they appear on the list right after products and animals, donkeys, oxen, pigs, cattle, intended to be sold at the city’s market.[192] In a nineteenth-century reading of the document, the historian Louis-François Daire acknowledges the inhuman treatment of Jews in this system of taxation:

> au village de Longueau, près d'Amiens, les juifs qui y passaient, étaient comme les animaux, soumis à un droit de travers fixé, pour un homme, à 4 deniers, pour une femme à deux seulement, mais, si la juive était enceinte, elle devait alors payer six deniers.[193]

Communities come into existence and expression, as Elizabeth Grosz argues, not only through the recognition and establishment of common interests, values and needs but through the remainders they cast out, the figures they reject, the terms they consider inassimilable.[194] The signs defining the 'other' strengthen the stability of the center. The individuals left at the margins concretize and guarantee by their position the governing of society. The Christian preponderant and central position in medieval society was certainly due to refusing and marginalizing Jewish presence. Officially tolerated as witness of the faith, the disruptive and culturally marked category became the catalyst for Christian cultural fears and anxieties.

Living in communities where religious accomplishments and study were the marks by which individuals were recognized, Ashkenazi women were essentially praised in instances where their bravery and courage insured a benefit for their community. Very often they were acclaimed solely as representatives of the category of women, or mothers. They were remembered simply by a first name already charged with a history, constituting therefore in itself a signifier for members of the community. In records such as tax rolls, Jewish women are very often recorded only as "fame." This is the case of the Paris tax roll of 1292 where more than one third of the women recorded bear no name, just their social status as "spouse of."[195]

Differences often increased anxiety and added more pressure to a climate of mutual mistrust in a Christian proselytizing world, and very few Christians openly provided aid and protection to Jews. Nonetheless the plight of Jews was not always met with indifference and without some sort of sympathizing. This was an overwhelming concern of Philip the Fair fearing that Jews going underground received aid from

Christians after the edict of expulsion of 1306.[196]

The provost of the city of Paris (1367-1381), Hugues Aubriot, was one of the rare officials to protect Jews. He also became an increasingly unpopular figure among Christians for his efforts to circumvent corruption and vice in the streets of the city. He promulgated numerous ordinances against carrying illegal weapons, gambling, and the proliferation of prostitutes and cabarets that further increased antagonism toward him. Paradoxically, in the pamphlets of that period, he was presented as a man who led a life of vice and corruption, and in an anonymous chronicle of the reign of Charles VI, the chronicler, a monk from Saint Denis, emphasizes the provost's relationships with Jewish women and his heresy:

> Il aimait si passionnement les Juives, que lui qui gouvernoit presque toute la Cour, se laissoit gouverner par ces impudiques et elles eurent tant de pouvoir sur son esprit, qu'elles le firent renoncer à la Loi, et à embrasser celle des Juifs, afin que sous sa protection et par son crédit leurs affaires fussent plus en sûreté.[197]

The intentions are transparent: gossip and slander pervade this anonymous narrative, questioning and therefore discrediting the reputation and authority of the provost. The author's accusations, albeit vague, foreground culpable relationships between the provost and Jewish women. But the distortion of real events, a pervasive discursive strategy, concealed under the words "sous sa protection et par son credit" refers to a remarkable case of reversal of fate, a singular episode in which the provost played a capital role that revealed an unusual aspect of his personality. The social instability created by the revolt of the Maillotins,[198] or the banishment decree pronounced against the Jews in 1380--sources are contradictory on the subject-- encouraged Christians to take numerous Jewish children away from their families and bring them to the Church for baptism**.**[199] If adults might have the choice of conversion, orphans and

'abandoned' Jewish children were systematically baptized and brought to the episcopal cities where they were raised, with royal finances, under the supervision of the Cordeliers and Jacobins. These baptized children, once married and with children of their own, continued to be stigmatized as "baptized." In tax rolls, they were not identified individually but regrouped in clusters of ten, twenty, and thirty.[200] The provost's decision to return the baptized children to their families[201] and allow them to revert to the Jewish faith was a remarkable case of integrity that certainly damaged his credentials in the eye of the Church authorities. The motivating force that drove him to intervene was not only to secure the protection of the Jewish community, as he had done in the past, but also to assert his authority in the wake of civil unrest.

Unlike the provost who took some interest in the misery of the Jews, the poet Eustache Deschamps, an eyewitness to the revolt, succeeds in conveying the intensity of the violence of the riot and the rapidity of its spread, but avoids any mention of the attacks against Jews as the revolt rapidly spread through the city:

> L'an mil CCC ung avec quatre vins
> Le premier jour du doubteux mois de mars,
> Leva grand vent de pillars et coquins
> Qui à Paris couru de toutes pars.
> … Fuiez! Fuiez! Pour les maillés de plonc! [202]

The rioters quickly turned their anger and resentment against Jews, causing mayhem in the Jewish quarter: assault, theft, destruction of property, and murder. That aspect of the insurrection is ignored, absent in the poem.

The powerful university forced the bishop of Paris in 1381 to put Hugues Aubriot on trial on account of his allegedly licentious life. His position, and the high protections

he had enjoyed, could not prevent his condemnation for his defense of Jews, heresy and an array of sexual deviances:

> En cel an [1381], fut Hugues Aubriost, prevost du roy à Paris, par l'Université preprins de heresie, de bougrerie, d'estre sodomite et faulx crestien. Et fut faicte par le pourchas de l'Université vraye informacion contre le dit prevost. Par laquelle il fut trouvé que le dit prevost avoit fait plusieurs horribles et abhominables fais, comme de habiter aux femmes bestialment contre nature, d'avoir en compaingnie aux Juifves charnelment, comme d'enfans de Juifz qui avoient esté crestiennés de les rendre aux Juifz, comme d'avoir corrompiez femmes, puis avoir fait pendre les maris, pour estre sodomite et non tenant la loy crestienne.[203]

At the death of Charles V, Hugues Aubriot, his chief agent in the centralization process, lost an important protector. In the insecure political climate brought about by the coronation of Charles VI that activated the conflict between the University and the royal power, his discredit was embodied in the eyes of the representatives of the Church as that of a major religious offender. Under a common denominator, his accusers amalgamated intimate relationships with Jews, sexual deviance and heresy.

The preferential status of the Jews, as it was perceived, accentuated the existing general resentment. The protection that Jewish communities sought and paid for was always open to challenge. Money was indeed the deciding factor, the visible thread that held the 'privileged relationship' together. Used as a medium to insure survival and a certain legitimacy, it only offered Jewish communities unstable and fluctuating living conditions. Their status, due to the arbitrariness of those in power, was bound with indeterminacy and ultimately with danger. If money was initially a winning card, very often this resource became first the means of extortion, then oppression and finally expulsion.

Despite intense political strife, Aubriot's interventions in favor of the Jewish community were interpreted by religious authorities as the sign of a man who had been

subjugated and had succumbed to the powerful attraction of Jewish women. Those women in turn are represented as highly manipulative, exchanging favors to insure the security and welfare of their families and securing benefits for their community. The construction of these women, without attempting to prove the veracity of these accusations, reveals an aspect indirectly related to the accusations. These women were active in the community at large and entertained relationships with high ranking officials like Aubriot.

In the context of marriage, the findings of Danièle Iancu in a study on Jewish marriage contracts in Southern France have similar patters to marriage practices in the North. While Jewish groups were in constant fluctuation and mobility, exogamy was a common and general practice among these communities. In a society stratified along class lines, marriages were contracted within the same social categories, and as a particularity of the South, medical dynasties were perpetuated in this way.[204] In the North where religious fervor and spirituality prevailed, marriages were arranged in order to preserve and maintain the new and prominent rabbinical dynasties.

The importance of current marriage practices and customs where women were essentially regarded as an exchange value, prompted the Jewish leader, R. Gershom (Germany 960-1028), conscious of the necessity to adapt certain aspects of Jewish laws to the laws of the land, to proclaim at a synod at Worms the banning of polygamy in the West. He stipulated in another decree that divorce without the woman's consent would be considered invalid,[205] although the husband remained the one granting the *get* (the divorce writ). These two important decisions brought legal and cultural changes that were motivated by a desire to accommodate conflicting social conditions, but that could also

be viewed as an impetus to emulate the ways of the host land and therefore as an effort to reduce differences between the two communities. If the monogamous clause somehow affected the status of Jewish women, it was more the result of rapidly improving economic conditions of Jewish communities that triggered the change. Families were able to increase the amount of the bride's dowry and thus exercise pressure to avoid arbitrary divorces that put in danger the recovery of the value of the *ketubah*.[206]

The development of an urban economy allowed for an increased participation of Jewish women in the economic sector. This significant change could well explain the high rate of divorces among Jewish communities as noted by several scholars. Indeed women becoming more independent financially became more and more demanding in the marriage partnership.[207] Their active involvement in the economy translated in the personal life; this category of economically well-to-do women were apt to "rebel" and voice discontent.

four

Women: Defined Status, Ambiguous Place

> … Et chez ce peuple aussi, si fort par la parole,
> La femme, de tout temps, a joué le grand rôle.
> Alexandre Weill, *Les grandes juives*

Tradition and Agency

In 1883, in an enthusiastic and lyrical preface to his book, Alexandre Weill paid homage to the Jewish woman, granting her a sizable place in Jewish history.[208] A series of poems in praise of past and contemporary *grandes juives*, the book was dedicated to the baroness James de Rothschild, an influential nineteenth-century philanthropist. Intended for the instruction of young Jewish women, the compilation retraced the genealogy of valorous women, attempting to bridge and harmonize the conventional representation of the Jewish heroine with a modernized embodiment that, according to Weill, the baroness epitomized. This rising category of wealthy and privileged Jewish women, highly visible in the social arena, played a pivotal role from the mid-nineteenth century on. Their passionate activism, political and social, revitalized Jewish communities at a time of heightened social awareness and tensions. And the cultural force these women came to represent forged new links with the past, reclaiming for Jewish women not only a tradition of direct involvement, but of discreet leadership as well.

With a current of assimilation reshaping European Jewish communities at the close of the nineteenth century, the edifying portrayal of biblical heroines and medieval martyrs of the faith, albeit potent cultural symbols and indeed well represented in his book, were nonetheless according to Weill insufficient to stimulate contemporary young Jewish women and drive them to action. In an effort to change a mode of thought that had slipped into Jewish culture, infecting its communities with a prevailing conservative view of women's place and role in society, an external borrowing that did not quite reflect Jewish practices, he added to the models traditionally presented to young girls a few more contemporaneous and audacious women. He hoped that these new figures would bring change in the education of Jewish girls and reinvigorate the traditional religious instruction with a much-needed secular preparation that would effectively train women to assume a more significant role in society.

The poems, naïve in their expression, exalt the daring and positive qualities all these women held in common, but they fall short since they compliment, above all, women's capacity for devotion and self-effacement, two qualities that have been continuously included in narratives of Jewish women in chronicles since the twelfth century. In its own way, the gallery of portraits that Weill proposes to young women echoes the biblical poem *Eshet Chayil* (A Woman of Valor) that concludes the book of Proverbs. It is an elaborate construction that sets the canonical qualities of the ideal Jewish woman who realizes her potential in every sphere, but the long list of this woman's achievements starts with an interrogative inflection. The timeless figure of the ideal Jewish woman thus lingers in the collective imagination as a question:

> A woman of valor who can find?
> For her price is far above rubies.

> The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her,
> And he hath no lack of gain. (Proverbs 31:10-31)

The multiple uses of this poem help us ascertain how fundamental the role of women was thought to be; the most familiar among them is the custom of singing it at the beginning of the Shabbat, a custom later introduced into the prayer book in the sixteenth century.[209] The honor that is bestowed on women on this occasion is directly related to the tremendous burden they are willing to carry in order to fulfill their obligations. While the dominant religious discourse succeeded in barring women from active participation in the rituals of the synagogue and in Torah study, this poem, with a characteristic intent, ensures that the accessory role women fulfill is dignified and valorized as an integral part of the religious commandments. Drawing on literary imagination, the poem conjures the image of a strong and determined spouse and mother as the most desirable condition for a woman. She is described at length as a woman who actively seeks to fulfill all the needs of her family, but her physical appearance is purposely ignored since: "Grace is deceptive, beauty is illusory."[210] Female sexuality, a significant component in Jewish society, is evacuated in the poem. As in Christian society, this aspect of women was feared by men as too disturbing, dangerous and ultimately contaminating. Indeed, numerous treatises during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance attributed to women uncontrollable sexual appetites.[211] Jewish women, categorized by rabbis as difficult to control, are the subject of five tractates in the *Mishnah*.[212]

In a society that highly valued spirituality and stressed male preeminence, women were considered improper vessels for study and received only minimal religious instruction. In *Sefer Hassidim*, a thirteenth-century ethical guide, but also a compendium

of Jewish lore, practices and customs in Ashkenazi Germany, Jehudah ben Shmuel the Hasid advocates:

> vous les enseignerez à vos fils," et non "à vos filles." (Deut. 11,19) Enseigner la Torah aux femmes revient à leur enseigner la licence. Mais c'est une oeuvre pie que de leur enseigner les préceptes ainsi que les choses promises et interdites mais pas la raison des préceptes.[213]

He reiterates yet again the inherent danger of exposing women to learning, and proposes instead a more cautious and limited access to religious texts. This restrictive instruction transmits only customs and traditions and the teaching of commandments pertinent to their sex and to their gender roles.

Deprived of that aspect of life, Jewish women reinvested their potential in endeavors of a more economic nature, relieving men of worldly matters and responsibilities. Therefore, as the poem "Woman of Valor" implies, men can devote themselves to the study of sacred texts in the company of other males. In a prescribed role, woman's activities in the poem extend from the confines of the home, with its conventional spinning and weaving, to the outside world, with arduous farming work and local and long distance trade transactions, blanketing all possible areas of the economic spectrum. Once again, gender attributions, outside of the religious realm, do not seem to interfere with an active woman's life if, as in this poem, she possesses the qualities necessary to carry on diverse tasks.

> She sets her mind on an estate and acquires it;
> She plants a vineyard by her own labors.
> She girds herself with strength,
> And performs her tasks with vigor. (Proverbs 31: 10-31)

Jewish society seems to acknowledge and admire in women the strength and "manly" qualities to succeed in a vast array of activities, but certain binarisms that structure

meaning in culture, for instance masculine/feminine may be "ineffaceably marked" as Eve Sedgwick argues in her project of hypothesizing the homo/heterosexual definition.[214] And undeniably in medieval Jewish communities, within the structures of power in place, women, despite their recognized entrepreneurial and organizational capacities, remained in a subservient position, a role they accepted, conformed to and strove to excel in.

Yet, this apparently obedient woman was not the passive recipient she appeared to be. In divorce procedures Jewish women fought to defend the few rights they had to protect their interests. In many instances they resisted, refusing to be made poor by their husbands who controlled the household wealth. Such a determination is decried and criticized in the correspondence carried on by two brothers, R. Isaac ben R. Abraham of Dampiere and R. Samson de Sens, in the twelfth century. The brash behavior that certain women displayed in refusing to conform to the prescribed rules of divorce alarmed the two tosaphists. R. Isaac affirmed that rich women, who already exert control over their husbands' property, do not claim their *ketubah* but instead will take their husbands' possessions for their alimony, and if the household is not rich, women will simply carry away all transportable goods, money and gold objects.[215] Women's conduct was most certainly related, as mentioned in the previous chapter, to the improvement of the economic status of Jewish women in France and Germany beginning with the eleventh century.[216]

Gender, in its many configurations, resists inscription and the controlling policies established by society to maintain it within assigned limits, a containment which may remain elusive. Jewish medieval society, with its particular cultural patterns, permitted competing forms of gender expressions to spring up alongside the prescribed ones. Each

community, independent from the others and confronted with extreme living conditions that could modify social structures, was forced to accept alternative forms of gender behavior to insure survival. This flexibility made possible the difficult negotiation between the demarcated economic organization and gender attributions in Jewish communities. The ambiguity that resulted reshaped male and female modes of expression outside of the religious realm, blurring gender contours. These cultural practices were well integrated in Jewish communities and thus question the notion of a "natural" division of roles and of clear-cut gender attributions, refuting rigid normative configurations. At the same time, the performance of re-appropriation by Jewish women did not make them free subjects, whether in thought or action, since they always remained under the control of an indirect authority. Yet, though power was not easily deferred, and despite limitations, women enjoyed some degree of agency which gave them the opportunity to become visible and act independently.

Nevertheless, the same question keeps surfacing: to what extent were Jewish women conditioned to accept, identify, and internalize the high demands placed on their shoulders? The prayer of a pious father, inscribed on the birth of a baby girl in an old Hebrew book used as a family register, offers a partial answer to the question. Encapsulated in a couple of lines, this short prayer, like a blueprint for a way of life, charts the path to follow: "May she sew, spin, weave, and be brought up to a life of good deeds."[217]

In sharp contrast with the intimate ceremony performed for girls, the birth of a boy is marked by a communal celebration. On the eighth day, symbolizing that the child is fit and ready for the service of God, circumcision is performed. This sign of

distinctiveness will culminate thirteen years later with his admission into the *minyan* (quorum of ten adult male needed for prayer in the synagogue). The naming prayer pronounced by the *mohel* during the circumcision ritual stresses the major steps of a life led within the confines of religion: "May this little child (so and so), grow up. Just as he has entered the covenant, so may he enter Torah, marriage and good deeds."[218]

The two birth ceremonies are marked by a sharp distinction, setting separate areas of action. Right from birth, gender is delineated, rights and duties attributed. Women were first and foremost coaxed into active participation in the affairs of the home, stressing tasks such as spinning and weaving, important in the domestic economy, but at the same time they were to accept a passive role in the spiritual realm. While their incursion into the public sphere was perceived by Christian society as somehow destabilizing gender, Jewish communities, more concerned with the survival of their members, did not hesitate to adopt changes and modify laws when necessity arose. This attitude reflects the potential of Jewish communities to adapt quickly to social and political shifts. Laws are not immutable and, as R. Tam had declared, in certain circumstances they had to be replaced by others.[219] Jewish law allowed space for adaptation to new cultural patterns, a sign of vitality and strength in scattered communities, and, in certain defining moments, this flexibility had a measurable impact on Jewish women's lives.

This was the case in sixteenth-century Italy, a case that well illustrates the adaptability of Jewish law. In a rather exceptional context, the shortage of *shohets* (ritual slaughterers) prompted Italian Jewish rabbis formally to allow several women to perform this important communal function,[220] hardly a feminine occupation, as Cecil Roth

comments, but one for which, he added, “some women had so far mastered the codes.”[221] The community, confronted with an alarming situation, did not hesitate, albeit temporarily (and this would always be the key word that let women step in), to allow several women to perform a task that required not only the study of specific laws but also training in animal slaughtering according to Jewish law. This new active role put these women in a position that commanded authority and respect, stretching the limits of gender attributions.

Working Woman

Beyond the symbolic centrality that Jewish society conferred on women, what place did they indeed occupy and what real role did they play in everyday life? Past reductive analyses and representations produced the portrait of a one-dimensional domestic woman modeled upon, inspired by and guided by biblical foremothers, capable, however, in time of crisis of transforming herself into a highly spirited heroine and martyr. This paradigmatic collective portrait left most other women’s lives subordinated to more ordinary concerns as scattered fragments that have remained as undisturbed documents. Thrust into public space, women’s actions offer us a complex reality, the rich texture of lives that are often distorted since in most cases they have come to light because they were exposed to violence. In this chapter and the following ones, by magnifying the details in ordinary and less ordinary struggles, I will highlight women’s enterprises and the attempts to maintain a balance between religious mandates and life necessities. We might underscore that it is only within these framed moments of violence that the lives of active women have come to us as they were pieced together by both

Jewish and Christian commentators. Past and contemporary observers have discarded, voluntarily or not, exchanges that balanced and nurtured more positive interrelations, glimpses of the past that might displace the usual emphasis of this turbulent period prior to the final expulsion.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period considered one of freedom of trade, many fairs and markets were either created or experienced a rebirth. Cities and towns offered special privileges and protection to attract merchants and money changers not only from other parts of France, but also from beyond its borders.[222] By that time, trade corporations had become highly regulated guilds, but women never played a significant role in them. In some notable exceptions, they were able to create a few guilds – particularly the few female-dominated guilds found in Rouen and Paris – but always under men's supervision. In fact, most skilled "women's work" never came under guild structure since it was work done at home.[223] During the Middle Ages, women's work within particular social groups was an integral part of urban and rural life, as tax rolls and other documents well attest. Christian women worked in larger numbers in areas typical of women's labor throughout Western Europe: the food trades, textiles, and precious metals.[224] Out of the 321 professions listed in *Le Livre des Métiers* by Etienne Boileau (late thirteenth century), women were accounted for in 108 trades,[225] thus represented in a good third of professional occupations.

Jewish communities, banned from participating in structures like the guilds, were however able to circumvent obstacles and managed to have an impact in city affairs. This visible and documented aspect of Jewish participation in the economic sector concealed the role that Jewish women played. The tax roll of the city of Paris for the year 1292 lists

a total of 125 Jewish taxpayers, one of the largest communities in the kingdom of France. Fifty-five are women, representing forty-four percent of the Jewish taxpayers. While a close look at these numbers reveals that sixteen percent of them were recorded in conjunction with their husbands and thus without any mention of their own names, twenty-five women are recorded alone. And, in a rare addition, two women are mentioned with a trade occupation, and a vital one indeed, Joie la farinière and Sarre la mirgesse.[226] In his research on medieval Jewish names, Simon Seror points out that although the trade surname given to women might be theirs, it is most likely an indication of their husband's trade occupation. He flatly suggests that women in Jewish communities most probably did not work. According to him, Joie la farinière was the spouse or the widow of a miller (Jews had their own mill in Paris during that period), and the same explanation could be given for Sarre Botoniere, the wife of a button merchant in Aix-en-Provence (1341).[227] The tax rolls, along with a series of other documents important for Jewish onomastics, contradict his comments. Indubitably, the "common sense" he applies to his deductions is based on deep-rooted reading practices. His endorsement reflects a position that perpetuates a resistant practice, an unspoken assumption too common among scholars of past generations, the tendency within patriarchal structures to disdain the social and economic impact of women that arose from activities and transactions within the microenvironment of urban and rural spaces.

The activity of Jewish women in moneylending and usury still remains insufficiently explored, even though Gérard Nahon, in the early 1970s, stressed the importance of the phenomenon in the local economy in Northern France.[228] He was followed a few years later by William Chester Jordan, who examined the transactions of

Jewish moneylenders in a series of critical articles and in his acclaimed book *Women and Credit*.[229] He showed that the practice of usury and moneylending was an integral part of the everyday economy in Northern France, giving Jewish women access to public spaces and granting them a measure of social leverage, no matter how small. This brings into question the general assumption that women, and Jewish women in particular, belonged exclusively to the private sphere. *The Querimoniae* of Louis IX attest to and provide ample evidence of the volume of transactions these "everyday women" negotiated not only in northern towns but also in other regions in France. This issue is addressed in a more detailed manner in chapter six, which focuses on moneylending.

Jewish physicians occupied a non-negligible place in the medieval urban landscape where practicing medicine as a Jew was not devoid of danger. Intimacy with Christians during examination and the administration of potions always risked accusations of demonic practices. In Paris, the Faculty of Medicine exercised a monopoly on medicine and restricted its practice to a limited number of Jewish practitioners.[230] Joseph Shatzmiller asserts that it is almost certain that up to 1348 none of the Jewish physicians in France attended the university.[231] Although the medical field was not exclusively male, women doctors in the Middle Ages were few in number and were not represented at all levels of medicine.[232] In his detailed book about Jewish physicians, published in 1844, Eliacin Carmoly mentions "Sarre avec Copin et Mosse"[233] as the only woman practicing medicine, leaving all the other women practitioners in silence. The tax roll of 1292, the source of his information, shows, for the city of Paris, a total of nine women practicing medicine – Jewish and Christian (two midwives, two women barbers and five *miresses*, doctors or surgeons).[234] For the Jewish community alone, we have

indeed only one woman doctor, the above mentioned Sarah la *mirgesse* (physician), the wife of Vivant de Miaux, but an important detail has to be stressed: the document only records three Jewish male doctors. Nor was she an isolated case; indeed in 1322, in the Charters of the University of Paris, a record briefly mentions Belota, a Jewish woman, brought to trial under the accusation of illegal practice of medicine.[235] At about the same period, Jeanne Conversa "De Salinis" (the name might indicate a religious conversion but not exclusively), wife of Jean Leblois, a tailor, was convicted with her husband of illegal practice of medicine in Paris around the years 1322-24.[236] Harry Friedenwald argues that these women,[237] contrarily to the 'ladies of Salerno,' did not leave any writings and what little we know about them is through their popularity or through the indictments brought against them;[238] otherwise they remained in anonymity. Joseph Shatzmiller states that certainly none of these women physicians ever attended university and none of them bore the official university title *magistra* in medicine. Their education and training were acquired privately and then they presented themselves for examination. Only the renowned school of Salerno, which flourished between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, permitted women to study medicine,[239] but the license women were awarded included a paragraph justifying their access to the medical profession on the grounds that they would only deal with the ailments of women.[240] As a general rule it was assumed in medical treatises that the forms of treatment that required the examination of the opening of the uterus were addressed to and were to be performed by women.[241] But what was the status of these women? Were they solely assisting midwives or were they accomplished physicians?

While in the North the medical profession attracted less Jews and these were succinctly mentioned in tax rolls, the South with many more Jewish physicians offers a richer documentation, and more particularly for women in this field. Records show that women's vocation and the possibility of exercising this profession were generally fostered by an environment in which medicine was practiced by one or several members of the family. This was certainly the case of Fava, the only known Jewish woman surgeon in the Middle Ages, although there is only one entry left about her in official documents. She was the wife of a famous surgeon in a family of surgeons: father, son and grandsons. She treated men and women equally but her son, Bonafos, stepped in for the physical examination of male patients.[242]

Women physicians, like their male colleagues, served as mentors to young students in need of training and practice. The apprenticeship contract signed in 1326 between Sarah of Saint-Gilles (Montpellier) the widow of Abraham, and Salvet de Bourgneuf, the son of Davin, is a well-known example of such a practice. The contract states that Sara agreed to teach Salvet the "*artem medicine and phisice*" for a period of seven months and that she further agreed to board, lodge and clothe Salvet for the said period. In return, her pupil was to relinquish all fees he might receive during his apprenticeship, and turn them over to his instructress.[243] The widow, an independent and authoritative figure, agreed to live under the same roof with the young man during an extended period of time. The professional stipulations fail to specify how this agreement that included intimate living arrangements between two unrelated persons of opposite sex was possible and compatible with Halakhah.

It is interesting to add that Jewish physicians routinely practiced moneylending as a complement to their income. And very often it is under this heading that many appear in records. Mayronna, the Jewess, one of the three women practitioners in Manosque in the late thirteenth-fourteenth century, is very often mentioned in official registers, but as a moneylender.[244] This less known aspect of the profession indicates the physicians' versatility, combining two disparate sources of income, greatly facilitated by repeated and multiple contacts with the population.

Violence: Outside and Inside

Living among Christians exposed Jews to frequent acts of brutality, but reported cases of violence exerted against women in court registers are numerically smaller than cases of violence against men. For reasons that are unclear, the few entries that deal with them are always succinct, barely identifying the woman on a religious basis (a Jewess), giving the place of occurrence, but often omitting the cause of the beating.[245] Yet, having examined the short entries in the acts of the Parliament of Paris (1254-1328) edited by Edgard Boutaric in the second half of the nineteenth century, one is left with the desire to flesh out the impersonal traces of these women.

In order to counter possible dangerous encounters with Christians, Rabbi Jehudah the Hasid (Regensburg, thirteenth century) used the exemplum as a vehicle for his teachings, as did his contemporary, Caesarius of Heisterbach. Although adherence to strict rules and commandments is essential to pious communities, he nevertheless proposes alternative solutions to counter violence during anti-Jewish outbursts and long-distance travel exposing Jews to assaults. These extraordinary circumstances call for out-

of-the- ordinary solutions, and for that matter prohibitions can be transgressed when lives are at stake, life being more important than adherence to Halakhah. The biblical interdiction against wearing clothing of the opposite sex (Deut. 22:5) is in this instance not observed in order to insure women's protection:

> …si les persécuteurs assaillent la ville, les femmes pourront s'habiller en hommes, pour échapper aux derniers outrages. De même, si elles partent en voyage. Dans ce cas-là, elles pourront même porter l'épée, pour que le déguisement soit complet. Si un convoi de 40 femmes ne contient que 10 hommes et que les assaillants soient au moins une vingtaine, que les femmes s'arment. On les prendra pour des hommes et on ne leur fera rien.[246]

Cross-dressing is envisaged by R. Yehudah as a strategy of survival in the unsettling confusion characteristic of moments of crisis or in inhospitable territories, situations that threaten Jewish women more particularly. The permission given to women to assume, temporarily, the garments of men stems from the need to minimize danger or to respond to it. If a change of clothing alters the perception of the body, it constitutes also a transgression of one of the tenets of basic gender separation. Crossing over displaces gender boundaries set up by vestimentary codes. The performance we have here insists on visible and legible distinctions and indeed plays on deception, but it nevertheless stresses the power that lies in clothing, the power to reconstruct gender, albeit temporarily.

The disruption that takes place occurs outside of the regulated space, making possible the suspension of rules and interdictions and opening a space of possibilities that R. Yehudah is certainly aware of. The masculine embodiment of Jewish women is directly related to the conventional binary identification and represents the normative expressions of masculinity in Christian society. "Passing" as men not only entails the wearing of male attire, but also the bearing and use of arms, an additional but highly

charged detail. This clearly points out that gender is a performance, but a performance that allows for substitution of power for women. The rabbi uses the term “disguise” to underline and minimize the possible effect of the performance, and insists that it is authorized and remains under control, presupposing the return of women to their proper place at the return of normalcy. The deviation is justified and is only tolerated within the prescribed moments. In another passage, a woman is described as she transforms herself by making a beard with her own hair. Once again Jews use Christian codes of masculine appearance, since the beard is the Jewish male attribute par excellence for Christians.

> Il arriva qu’une jolie femme voyageait en compagnie de son époux. Elle échappa au danger en se confectionnant une barbe postiche, avec des cheveux. Les jeunes gens qui n’ont pas encore de barbe s’habilleront en femme ou avec des vêtements de paiens, pour tromper les persécuteurs.[247]

The advice given to young men operates very differently. Still young and without facial hair, their androgynous appearance facilitates female embodiment, but they also have the possibility of embodying a pagan identity. In any case which one is less offensive for a Jewish male? What strikes in this passage is that the female impersonation is permissible until males reach a mature age. Dressed as women, they should attract Christian attention, but in this case no danger is mentioned. Is it implied that a male putting on women’s clothing does not experience any “transformation”? The “mechanisms of substitution” discussed by Marjorie Garber[248] do not seem to interfere with or alter the nature of young men, while women in the previous passage need men’s clothing in order to appropriate strength and valiance, attributes of the privileged gender.

These examples taken from the *Sefer Hasidim* (Book of the Pious) are, according to Ivan Marcus, to be considered with caution when searching for the social history of

medieval German Jews. Since *Sefer Hasidim* essentially presents the customs, beliefs and commandments of an extremely religious group, Marcus argues that from a particular point of view the book discusses principles and offers guidance to a radical group; therefore it cannot document the everyday life of all the German communities.[249] Nevertheless this guide had an enormous impact on Jewish communities in Northern Europe.

Violence was not exclusively inflicted by the Other outside of the community. Women, both Jewish and Christian, were exposed to their husbands' violent behavior, as domestic violence plagued medieval society. Common practice legitimated men's control over women by permitting husbands to correct and beat their wives in a "reasonable" manner.[250] Violence inscribed in the everyday was nevertheless a source of condemnation in literary works. In *La Cité des Dames*, the allegorical figure of Rectitude, speaking to the author-character, comments on the miserable condition of many married women:

> Je suis persuadée que si l'on voulait bien s'informer sur les désordres domestiques… Comme elles se font rouer de coups, sans cesse et sans raison! Oh! Les indignités, les infamies, les injures, offenses et outrages qu'endurent tant de bonnes et valeureuses femmes.[251]

This banalized violence is argumented in such a manner that it seems to be drawn from a personal experience: "Dis-moi si je mens, et si tel n'est pas le lot de plusieurs de tes voisines?"[252]

Jewish women in their own communities were not sheltered from a violence that seemed endemic in society at large. However, numerous Jewish scholars, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, affirmed that: "it is not the way of the Jews to beat their wives, it is a gentile deed."[253] This recurrent and common protective idealization of Jewish behavior is also perpetuated by Joseph Kimchi in his *Sepher ha-Berith* (c. 1170).

He insists on the merits of Jewish women by contrasting their modesty with the conduct and improper behavior of Christian women who he asserts, “go out to the corners” in public.[254] This protective attitude is echoed by Moses Gaster, who concedes that in Jewish folklore there are but few stories of women who display cunning and deception, or passion and lust. According to him, most of the tales have to do with their virtue and wisdom.[255]

The blunt denial of domestic violence, a problem of significant proportions, by Jewish commentators, seems astounding. However, it becomes less so when it is connected to that artificial construct, the ideal representation that Jewish communities projected and wanted to convey as true. What transpires from the accumulation of cases of domestic violence in the *responsa* literature is that rabbis tried to canalize the excessive behavior of husbands by persuading the recidivists to comply with biblical and rabbinical commandments. But in many responses, the stubbornness of husbands is latent. In one of them, a husband, despite the admonitions, does not attempt to appease his wife. He seems to be unaffected by her pleadings and by the injunction of the rabbi to control his conduct:

A often beats his wife. She begged him to promise not to beat her any more, but he refused to make any such promise. A stubbornly refused to promise that in the future he would refrain from beating her.[256]

The problem of domestic violence was regarded more seriously in Germany and R. Gershom in particular strongly condemned it. But this issue, recurrent in the writings of the rabbis, was not handled in a consistent manner; therefore R. Peretz Ben Elyahu of

Corbeil (late thirteenth century) moved by the alarming cries of these women, protested to fight against the silence:

> We have heard that there are Jewish women who cry out because of this and do not receive any response from the communities.[257]

To combat the phenomenon, he proposed a *takkanah* that provided in the first section that any man might be compelled to undertake a *herem* based on the complaint either of the wife herself or of one of her near relatives. The second provided that if the husband refused to undertake such a *herem*, the court should assign alimony to the wife as if the husband were away. According to Finkelstein, it is not known whether other rabbis approved his decree.[258]

More tenacious women, like Estelle from Senlis, reversed the situation. In a colorful case of nonnormative behavior, Estelle brought public attention to her household in late fourteenth century since she was the one using violence against her husband. She put an end to the incessant domestic quarrels by profusely beating her spouse:

> Que comme yceulx conjoints eussent eu naguères débat et riote l'un à l'autre et tant eussent procédé en paroles qui la dicte femme fery, bati et villena son dit mary…[259]

The case is a remarkable document. In an effective reversal of the roles, the woman, the usual victim, becomes the aggressor. The record describes in a few words the spiral of female violence, overpowering and uncontrollable, and accompanied by injurious language.

This incident apparently could not be kept within the confines of the Jewish community since it was recorded by the Christian secular authorities on 9 January 1376 in the acts of the Parliament. The inversion of authority within marriage was condemned by society and in cases of public notoriety it was sanctioned with a folk practice called the *assouade*.[260] The shameful parade ridiculed husbands unable to impose authority on

their wives, and in this instance it was corroborated by local laws.[261] The battered husband, Mousse Venant, was exempted from the public punishment of riding a donkey facing the tail of the animal. He was fortunate enough to be spared the public humiliation and this he owed to an acknowledgment in the letter of pardon of his good standing as taxpayer.

Violence was a common aspect of urban life at all levels of society, and within that frame, violence between Jews and Christians was not only triggered by religious resentments, but also through daily contacts between individuals of the two communities. Proximity and differences sharpened grievances and resulted in frequent squabbles, as French records attest. Accounts of these altercations, found in a wide array of sources, only convey to us interactions between the two communities that resulted in violence. Needless to say, documents record public disturbances and outbreaks of violence, inducing us to forget the moments in which urban sociability did exist. Violence remains almost exclusively the true and sole parameter by which memory is written down. For a period with such meager records, this systematically reduces the scope of memory and promotes collective amnesia.

Studies of medieval women's criminal behavior give but a partial picture of urban reality. Whether out of indifference or not, many crimes were left unreported and this accentuates the opacity of the subject matter. Although most studies cover later periods that are much better documented, they still indicate that in homicide cases in France and in England women constituted a much smaller segment of the total records of violent crimes than men did.[262] In the majority of cases Christian women were arrested for theft and infanticide. They represent only four per cent of the letters of pardon issued during

the reign of Charles VI, and in the Chatelet register (at the end of the fifteenth century) they represent fifteen per cent of the arrests.[263]

Although most Jewish claims and reports are related to Christian physical aggression, the majority of Christian charges against Jews are of an economic nature.[264] Violence between Christian and Jewish women during the long medieval period might trigger at first the trope of the querulous and foul-mouthed woman encountered in proverbs and in fabliaux, but how close to reality was this type of woman? Quarrelsome women squabbling with neighbors and susceptible to “chaude colle” were an urban reality. In one of the rare cases of recorded female violence, which took place in Dijon in August 1388, Pérenote, wife of Jacquot (ou Perinot) le Pitoul, inflicted serious injury on a Jewish woman whose identity is reduced to the mention of her marital status. The violent gesture is vividly described, but the cause of the attack is left out:

> …qu’elle injurieusement gita plein une ponoicle de chaux touz chaux sur le visaige de la femme Saulemin le Juif dont ay eu et ay des empôles au visaige.[265]

Pérenote was arrested and jailed. She was condemned to pay a fine of one franc, a sentence disproportionately low for such an injury. The fine is modest indeed, but the sentence had acknowledged that the woman was poor and that she had already spent three days in jail. As a common practice, violence between individuals that did not end in death was sanctioned by compensation or the payment of a fine. Medieval law applied harsher penalties only when private property was violated.

One of the rare recorded cases of a Jewish homicide took place in Montargis (Orléanais, late fourteenth century). It started as an unequal fight between two Jewish women (mentioned as the wives of Eliot Salman and Moreau du Bourc) and Valenète, a Christian woman. When Moreau joined the fight, the disproportion between the two sides

caused the death of Valenète. Homicide with a collective character was frequent in medieval society, where the bonds of mutual dependence among family members and kin were strong. The three Jews were imprisoned and their belongings (as 'Jews of the king') immediately confiscated by royal officials.[266] The cause of the quarrel remains unknown, although the mention of "spouses of moneylenders" in the statement might be an indication that money was the trigger. Arguments over high interest on moneylending were a contributing factor to urban violence and intensified conflicts between the two communities.

However, contrary to common belief, interactions were not always filled with violent acts. Women from both communities also shared a certain complicity in everyday life, often turning to each other for the help, assistance and exchange of services that Judith Bennett labeled "female sociability."[267] For instance on a regular basis female neighbors or domestic servants helped Jewish families to keep Shabbat observance. French rabbis, more lenient according to certain sources, permitted the warming of the house by non-Jews during Shabbat during winter, which was a violation.[268]

A tale contained in a letter of pardon (April 1375) illustrates the well-anchored popular belief that Jews, men and women, with their knowledge of Hebrew, could cast magic spells and make amulets.[269] A Christian woman abandoned by her husband, Adam Bigon d'Auxerre, turned to a Jewish woman for help, hoping to bring back her husband with "poudres et charmes," but the scheme was uncovered and the two women were arrested and imprisoned. The bailiff of Sens, declaring that the spells were inoffensive and not "chose dont mors se peut ensuivre,"[270] dismissed the case and the two women were promptly released.

The employment of Christian servants and wet-nurses by Jewish families, a common practice despite the Church's interdiction was an important area of interaction between women of the two communities. It opened, as Elisheva Baumgarten affirms, "a complex world of interactions," a subject she extensively develops in her study of Jewish family life in Northern Europe.[271]

Cohabitation with Christians not only was a source of friction, tensions, and violence, but also presented a possibility of more intimate contacts between Jews and Christians. However, if interrelations were inevitable, sexual interrelations, the transgression par excellence, represented a social disruption that both communities condemned and tried to prevent with a series of punitive measures. In a social context where the Jewish body was marked and forbidden, the visible sign of social division, at the same time the temptation of otherness exerted an attraction for Christians and created a nexus of conflicting desires that limits and prohibitions, often zones of fluid boundaries, could not contain.

The judiciary practices varied according to place, the nature of the transgression and the social status of the perpetrator. Sexual relations between Jews and Christians were often punished by death in the region of Angers (thirteenth century). Christian men accused of sexual relationships with Jewish women were burned at the stake if they were convicted.[272] But on many occasions, the sanction was replaced by a fine. The Synod of Vienne (1267) applied a lighter punishment for sexual intercourse between Jews and Christians, declaring that the Jew who had fornicated with a Christian woman would be sentenced to pay a fine of 10 silver marks,[273] but the Christian woman was banished from the city after being flogged.[274] The sentence applied to the woman, banishment, was

much more severe since it severed her ties with her family and kin, abolishing her status in society, whereas the man was freed upon payment of a fine. It remains true that, in the examination of cases of forbidden sexual crimes, criminal sentences often reveal unequal treatment of men and women.[275] As Kathryn Gravdal affirms, the discourse on women and sexual violence has long been "roped off,"[276] and in cases of punishment for sexual interrelations between Christian men and Jewish women, the type of punishment handed down to Jewish women is rarely mentioned.[277]

In 1397, a few years after the dismantling of the Jewish communities and their expulsion from the kingdom of France, the remaining Jews in the territory were either imprisoned or were itinerant merchants. In that year, Petrus, alias Jean Hardy, was condemned by the Bailiff of Paris to be burned at the stake. The story is remarkable by all accounts: he was guilty, according to Sauval, for allowing the children he had with a Jewish woman to practice the religion of their mother.[278] Johannes Gallus, in his judicial chronicle, insists on the sexual aspect of the relation between the Christian man and the Jewish woman, presenting her as a polluting agent. Gallus takes the Church prohibition a step further and presents the guilty relationship as a sexual deviance "contre nature," a bestial act punishable by burning at the stake:

> … habere rem cum Judea, pro Christiano, est rem habere cum cane, juris interpretatione; sic comburi debet.[279]

Equating Jews with animals was but one among many derogatory practices, but in this precise case the popular condemnation is transposed into the judicial field. The dehumanization of Jews is incorporated into the legal rethoric.[280] This case indirectly informs us about the presence of crypto Jews in the city after their expulsion. In spite of the danger, this Jewish woman was most certainly still living in Paris and raising her

children according to Jewish precepts. Had the father secretly converted to Judaism? The question remains unanswered and whether Jean Hardy was accused of apostasy remains unsaid. He nevertheless met his death at the stake like a heretic. Once again we are left conjecturing about the fate of the Jewish woman.

Crossings

Willingly or not, numerous Jews succumbed to assimilation and conversion, but as scholars have affirmed, their numbers remain difficult to ascertain as reports on conversions from Christian and Jewish sources functioned in the same way but to different ends. In effect, many Jews resisted conversion and struggled to preserve, at a high cost, their religious and cultural identity in a society that condemned difference.

As a minority group, Jews were always prone to be absorbed through assimilation. The pressure to identify with the surrounding society was tremendous, and Jewish leaders, well aware of the attraction felt by their members, exercised a severe control to prevent possible deviations and acculturation, fighting to limit assimilation.

The Christian model indeed exerted a powerful attraction and was in various degrees copied, simulated. Monasticism was a tempting ideal for a specific group of Jewish men, the *Perushim* (separate ones). Living in an environment in which the asceticism of secluded orders had come to play a preponderant religious role, the *Perushim* adopted the model of seclusion, isolating themselves from family and society. These religious scholars and students, fully absorbed in study, dedicated themselves to an ascetic life precluding marriage, a primordial precept for males in the Jewish faith.

According to Norman Golb, this phenomenon, attested in various western Hebrew sources, only existed in the Jewish communities of Northern France.[281]

The period between the ninth and the eleventh centuries constitutes a comparatively lenient time in which the rules of segregation were not systematically enforced, and with only sporadic spurs to violence.[282] It was the fear of Judaizing, as Kenneth Stowe asserts, and not Augustinian toleration, that was the central theme of ecclesiastical legislation.[283] Yet Jews, a foreign element within a Christian majority, were nevertheless perceived as the ferment of a disturbing influence on religion and national unity.[284] The sermons of Fulbert of Chartres (eleventh century) translate the prevailing anxiety that there was a sizeable judaizing movement in France within the clerical community and that it had crept into higher social ranks[285]:

> Raynaud, duc de Sens, seigneur qui se distingua également par sa cruauté et sa violence, afficha sa faveur pour "les coutumes perverses des Juifs au point qu'il s'appela leur Roi."[286]

Bernhard Blumenkranz proposes an interpretation that seems more plausible, considering the political instability in that region of France. He believes that the behavior of the duke of Sens was more related to insanity and a struggle for power than a desire to convert to the Jewish faith. When Robert the Pious besieged the city of Sens, Fulbert personally intervened in the conflict, asking the counts Galéran and Gautier to assist the king in the struggle against the count Raynaud who was suspected of Jewish leanings and heresy.[287] The count was driven from Sens in April 1015 by a royal army.[288] The accusation of *judaizare* was is this case more of a political strategy for dealing with an opponent. Almost three centuries later, still fearing the damaging influence of the Jews, on June 6, 1299, Philip the Fair ordered royal officers to punish any Jew attempting to draw Christians to Judaism by offering presents, and by performing circumcisions.[289]

The proselytizing efforts and the conversion tactics of the Christians included the obligation for Jews to listen to sermons delivered by priests in their synagogues, sermons condemning their religion and admonishing them to convert. It was under the reign of Louis IX that this practice, instituted earlier, was enforced. Later in the thirteenth century, Jews were also forced to engage in religious disputations with Christians. In an anonymous Hebrew manuscript narrating the second controversy that took place in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century, the chronicler mentions that a thousand Jews from Paris and its surroundings were forced to be present during the debates.[290] It demonstrates that Christians backed by royal policies were eager to convert Jews. These polemics constitute a large portion of medieval Jewish literature in Hebrew. Hanne Trautner-Kroman hypothesizes that in order to counteract Christian's proselytizing efforts, an abundance of polemic texts was circulating in Jewish communities to provide Jews with counterarguments against Christians' theological claims and to strengthen them in maintaining their religion despite mounting Christian pressure.[291]

By force or by their own will Jews did convert to Christianity throughout the Middle Ages, and conversion was the source of a crisis for many of them. On the one hand, they found themselves in an ambiguous social situation that was difficult to negotiate, since conversion did not fully remove them from Jewish circles, as many business transactions confirm, and because Jewish communal authorities did not always sever the ties, hoping for a possible return of the apostates. But on the other hand, they were not integrated into Christian society in a satisfactory way, since a new label, "converted one" clung to their new Christian identity, or more appropriately, was superimposed on the old one. Converts were caught in a transitional and liminal space,

carrying an additional "enseigne." They experienced both sides of the religious divide and in certain instances combined aspects of the two traditions in bizarre ways.[292] This undesired double identity caused mistrust on both sides and placed converts in a very ambiguous position. Financially, conversion stripped Jews of all their belongings. The confiscation was justified by a paradoxical twist of medieval law since their status was that of rebel. Once they were destitute, the king of France, during the thirteenth century, had to supply the converted Jews with 4 deniers a day.[293]

France's North and South were very often split in the discussion of the choice between acceptance of conversion or death. It is true that Ashkenaz (Northern French and German Jewish communities) reported a greater number of victims, but simultaneously numerous Jews also converted, a fact that is never stressed, since the exaltation of the martyrs better served the community. In a much later period, in a poem by Pinto Delgado, a converso of Rouen (seventeenth century) who had reverted to the Jewish faith, there is clear contempt expressed towards the converts who chose to remain Christian, rejecting the possibility of returning to the faith of their ancestors in spite of a more favorable environment.[294]

Elisheva Carlebach notes that the most frequent pattern, found in both Jewish and Christian literary sources, is that the husband initiated conversion while the wife tended to resist.[295] The position of Christians toward Jewish women was more ambivalent. If they followed the postulate that by nature women are a commodity subject to transfer, then they could assume that Jewish women would be more receptive than men to Christian teachings and therefore accept conversion. But reality was other, and this gendered assumption was challenged on many occasions by the fierce determination

Jewish women opposed to conversion, giving up their lives if necessary to remain faithful to their beliefs.

In a well publicized case, a Jewish woman, Lyonne of Crémy, refused to convert and fought to gain custody of her four children who had been given to her ex-husband the convert Denis Machaut, who disappeared after converting. The seven Jews who had tried to bring the convert back to Judaism were fined ten thousand *parisi* pounds and were sentenced to be publicly whipped on three consecutive Saturdays and then expelled from the kingdom.[296] Among the many reconstructions of the Petit-Pont in Paris, the one completed in 1394 was made possible through the fines that followed this condemnation.[297] Maître Guillaume Porel, the king's advisor, decided to designate the guardianship of the children to the converted father to raise the children within the Christian faith.[298]

The *Responsa* literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries remains cautious and reticent on the subject and rarely mentions women's conversion to Christianity by their own consent. Usually, the discussion arises when there are cases of abduction by Christians and/or imprisonment of Jews against their will and concerns the consequences and measures that are to be taken when these forcible converts return to their communities.[299] In legal writings but also in elegies rabbis suppressed any evidence that the option to conversion was freely exercised.[300] Conversion also represented a danger for the communities. This was the case of Catherine, whose conversion brought the entire Jewish community of Brabant to its extinction. She had maintained ties with her brethren but her loyalty to her new faith was even stronger; thus on April 12, 1370, she disclosed

during confession that she was in possession of hosts stolen and desecrated by Jews. As a consequence all the Jews of Brabant perished at the stake.[301]

Cases of Christians converting to Judaism are few.[302] If they were caught, they were put to death as heretics. In the Genizah documents, there is the case of a converted Christian woman, a rare find. A letter of recommendation of the end of the eleventh century informs us about this Christian woman who converted to Judaism. Widowed with a baby and no money, the woman had left France to go to Egypt with a letter appealing for help in raising the ransom money for her other captured children.[303] There are but few details about her flight from home and the ensuing conversion, that part of the woman's life remaining very vague in the documents. It is only mentioned that she, presumably from a wealthy and prominent Christian family of Northern France, forsook her home and her faith and arrived in Narbonne, where she converted. Subsequently, she married R. David of Narbonne, from a well-known family in the city. We do not know how many years they lived there but, when the community was attacked, R. David was killed, and their two older children were taken captive.

The phenomenon of conversion was more marked in the northern and western regions of the kingdom. Was the religious erosion stronger in the north than in the south?[304] Or was it on the contrary that the pressure exerted on Jews was much more intense in the northern regions of France? As the result of the First Crusade, there were massive numbers of forced converts (*anusim*). Thus Jewish communities faced a new and difficult situation, how to deal with these groups. R. Gershom addressed the issue in a *takkanah*:

> ne garde point en ta mémoire et ne fais point honte de sa faute au *hozer b'tshuyah* (repentant), sous peine d'excommunication ou de bannissement[305]

This decision was most certainly taken in an effort not to discourage the return of a great number of Jews to Judaism, but also to prevent criticism among the hardliners of the communities. The twelfth century, however, marked a turning point in this tolerant approach: Jewish communities concentrated their efforts inwards, increasing severity against converts in an effort to protect the other members of the community from outside influence.[306] This reinforcement or hardening of internal regulations is illustrated by the stupefaction of R. Yitzak ben Mordechai on seeing that R. Jacob Tam had authorized a renegade (*shmad*) to come back to her previous faith and pursue her life with her gentile husband after the celebration of conversion.[307] In practice, the two approaches coexisted on how to deal with this high number of conversions, forced or not, but in effect apostates from Judaism remained a significant bone of contention in medieval Ashkenazi communal life.[308]

Conversion was a motivation factor that triggered different reactions and consequences for these women, their families and communities. But whatever choice they made, women defended the benefits that they could derive from it. The cases I have examined here do not show women subjected by force, but willful women actively pursuing a change in their life. By 1261, Louis IX was providing for twenty-four converted Jews. The religious zeal of the king resulted in a complete imbalance between the amount of money spent during his reign to convert Jews to Christianity and the taxes Jews paid to the Treasury.[309] By the end of his reign, the tax rolls do not mention any Jewish taxation.[310] Pensions for conversion were inherited by the spouses after the death of their husbands and were transmitted to the children as inheritances. In the following case in which a Jewish woman from a wealthy family converted with her children and

other members of the family, there is no mention of her husband. She took the name of Blanche, "par les exhortations de la reine Blanche," after conversion. Pope Innocent IV requested that Odon, the archbishop of Rouen, pay a pension to this new Christian family, but the financial benefit did not materialize. Thus Blanche, an energetic woman, requested an audience with the pope at Lyon. Following the meeting, the diocese of Beauvais was instructed to provide the family with sixty pounds per year, and the decision was ratified in an act of December 1250.[311]

After 1306, traces of converted Jews trying to return to Judaism, are found in Southern France, a region that became one of the refuges for Jews expelled from France,[312] but also for Jews who had been forced to convert and who little by little tried to come back to their faith. The examination of documents shows Jews carrying the surname of a northern city or even called "French." This is the case for a couple, Abraham and Rosa de Grassa, mentioned for the first time in November 1283 in a notarial register of the city of Manosque in Southern France. Originally from Francigenae, and most probably a convert to Catholicism, Rosa de Grassa, an entrepreneurial businesswoman became, after the death of her husband Abraham, the head of the family and prospered in business according to the numerous business contracts she left. Her case is complicated by the fact that her baptized daughter, after having spent five years in a beguinage in Lausanne, was then married to a Jew named Amideus. The Inquisitional court prosecuted them and condemned them as heretics in November of 1284. But the sentence was changed to payment of a substantial amount of money, and a letter of pardon granted them the right to live as Jews.

The fragmentary nature of records, like tiny pieces of a mosaic, allows us but a tentative view into intimate lives, gazing into a community where women competing on the same grounds as men displayed tenacity and temerity on the one hand to protect their interests, and on the other went to extremes if need be to defend their beliefs. Their willingness to give up their lives struck their brethren who glorified these heroines in poems and elegies. These testimonies reveal women of valor subverting rules and conventions, guided by a fervor that commentators understood as religious and therefore presented them as keepers of the faith.

Female Martyrs: Subversive Role-Models

"Faulse juisve, qui forgas les clos dont Dieu fut clouez,
si tu ne te fais crestienne, nous te mettrons a mort."[313]

Anonymous Acts

On March 1381, Philippot du Val, candle worker, witnessed a brief but violent scene: the corralling and murder of a Jewish woman by an angry mob near the Temple square in Paris. The anonymous woman, recognized as Jewish,[314] was in a matter of seconds trapped in the spiraling force of injurious speech that threatens further violence, and its justification. The timeless accusation: "… qui forgas les clos dont Dieu fut clouez…" reiterates yet again the conventional ascription to Jews of responsibility for the death of Christ. In this stereotypical activation of crowd hostility, the victim is a substitute: she is not chosen because of her imputed crime, real or symbolic, but because she inhabits the signs marking her as a victim[315] and as a criminal. However questionable the accusation might be, it reveals how cultural markers effectively inscribed on social bodies as tangible signs of opprobrium require little manipulation to galvanize crowds into action. These signs, feeding on ongoing practices, unlatch mechanisms of violence further amplified by religious hate speech that translates into political hate speech and vice versa.

This performative utterance brings about with a disconcerting ease the explosion of a collective expression of physical violence. The public condemnation, encapsulated in

the words "…nous te mettrons a mort," denotes the urge of the impatient crowd to re-enact the killing ritual. In spite of her apparent insignificance, the woman, identified as the "other" on a street of Paris, becomes during the upheaval the nexus of an arbitrary assault. The exposure makes her one of the random victims of violence, but also turns her into a scapegoat.

In this performance of hate speech, the Althusserian "interpellation," discussed by Judith Butler in *Excitable Speech*, has the immediate effect of propelling and fixing this individual, through injurious language, into a transitional social existence. In other words, the reality of her own existence is displaced by the one injected with the offensive words. Naming the woman "faulse juive,"[316] her sole and conventional identity, is formative precisely because, according to Butler, the conferred term initiates the individual into a subjected status.[317] This appears as an irreversible situation, and yet Butler adds that the "interpellation" "also opens the possibility of an unsuspected and enabling response."[318] Although she is in a perilous and subordinate position, the woman disrupts her assailants' dominant position by refusing to relinquish her 'difference.' Strangely enough, the interpellation empowers her to counter-appropriate the speech determined to subjugate and silence her. She turns the impending death sentence into a deliberate personal choice with her reply: "qu'elle aimoit mieulx à mourir."[319] These few words confirm that death becomes her decision and the affirmation of her will to remain a Jew.

In his examination of performative utterances, J.L. Austin proposes that the subject is not affected by the "interpellation" s/he is subjected to but rather by the performance of the speech.[320] In this specific utterance, the isolated Jewish woman,

repository of the mob's anger, is subjected to an illocutionary speech act that constitutes her and condemns her at the same time. The force registered in language not only presages but also inaugurates a subsequent force, a force that goes beyond language, between and among bodies.[321]

The scene described here is one of the many that took place in Paris during the riots of 1380-1382.[322] These popular revolts, prompted by new indirect tax impositions, spurred fierce attacks from workers and artisans, riots in which members of the nobility, squires, and bourgeois participated. The riots, initially directed against the crown's official representatives, were swiftly diverted toward the Jewish population and their property, regardless of the announcement made by the authorities revoking the edict in order to restore order and peace to the cities. The shout "aux juifs"[323] feverishly rallied rioters to converge on the Jewish quarter in Paris and in other cities in northern France. In Paris alone, about forty houses were ransacked, houses that were full of precious furniture and an abundance of merchandise consistent with the popular imagination about Jews.[324] Popular unrest, fueled and empowered by a tacit general consent, translated into pillage, destruction, and death. Jewish victims were accounted for in vague terms at the time of the attacks, and remained so for centuries, merely referred to as "several Jews" in the writings of the eighteenth-century historian Michel Félibien. The disruption of social order quickly spilled over to the religious sphere and discontent veered into zealous religious fervor directed against the Jewish population. The mob hunted down an already harassed group and forced those unable to find refuge in the prison of the Châtelet to submit to baptism. Those who refused to embrace Christianity were immediately put to death without any sort of trial. If adults faced an impossible choice, children,[325] the most

coveted prey of proselytism, were snatched from their parents and marched down to the church for immersion into Christian society. In either case the performance of forced conversions was carried out against Church law. Although forced baptism could be a valid claim for annulment and a chance for Jews to revert to their faith once social unrest had settled, this redress in fact rarely occurred. The reality at work was other, and Church officials, once baptism was performed, were more than reluctant to allow new Christians to revert and commit what they considered to be an act of apostasy[326] with the serious implications of heresy it carried, although almost every pope after Calixtus II (1119-1124) reiterated his bull that protected Jews.[327]

The anonymous victim of 1381, as a point of departure, raises questions about Ashkenazi women's role in these particular circumstances. If in such a role women are often presented as keepers of the faith, important enough to justify the sacrifice of their lives, the disruptive aspect of their behavior has never been examined. Under the cover of religious fervor gender subversion does not seem to arouse any serious reflection.

Between the expulsion of 1306 promulgated by Philip the Fair and the final expulsion of 1394 ratified by Charles VII, the Jewish community of Paris was unable to firmly establish its presence in the city as it had in the past. The majority had settled in the Marais section of Paris where living conditions, marred by episodic aggressions, hasty departures and timid returns, were nevertheless soothed by better terms and protection insured by the royal ordinances of the 1360s.[328] The stay of Jews as "people whose residence was always one of permission or privilege," was always determined, individually or collectively, by payment of monies that could represent rather large sums with the annual assessment for continued residence.[329] Immigration during those years

was slow and hesitant; it only regained pace and increased around 1375 but slowed down again during the riots. The registers of the toll at Pont-d'Ain (Ain) attest that more Jews passed there during the 1380s, fleeing to find shelter, than later at the time of the final expulsion ten years later.[330] Jews represented during that period more or less one percent of the total population of Paris, and that number dwindled until the final blow of 1394.[331]

In spite of frequent persecutions, discriminations, and radical insecurity, Jews remained an enterprising group in a fluctuating political and social environment in France. Nonetheless, the network of interrelations and exchanges with Christians had to be periodically restored. At the same time, the permeable cultural boundaries were affected by well anchored anti-Jewish stereotypes and prejudices that percolated in the population and caused incessant tensions. The violence Jews incurred was very often directly related to the degree of intimacy and distance with which the exchanges between the two communities took place. It was not simply the violence perpetrated against a decried minority, but more, as David Nirenberg rightly stresses, an intimate violence that originated in the common interests that temporarily united communities, where the "attackers and victim alike were tightly bound in a wide variety of relations that enmeshed moments of violence and gave them meaning."[332]

In the royal letter dated October 1384 and recorded in the Parliament's acts, Philippot du Val, residing at the time of the riots in the rue du Temple, was granted pardon for his participation in the uprisings. The letter of pardon admitted his presence during the upheaval only to present him in the narrative construction as an incidental observer caught up in the midst of the tumult and compelled, under the circumstances, to follow the crowd and be accomplice to their looting and killings. The account portrays

him as a modest worker surrounded by the raging violence of the *maillotins* (the rioters were armed with the leaden mallets that gave its name to the uprising), rallying forces as they made their way through the city, threatening if necessary the undecided spectators. The letter effectively diverts attention from the destruction Philippot du Val witnessed by placing the emphasis on the passive role he played during the events. Following that tactic, the petitioner is able to claim the candle worker's innocence and clear him of any responsibility in the heinous acts committed during the civil strife.

The assailants offered Philippot du Val the woman's *pelicon*[333] (fur-lined coat) which he claimed was quickly passed into other hands.[334] Items of clothing, new or old, had a marketable value, and despoiling victims of attacks was a common practice[335] that explains the disrobing of the Jewish woman, but more importantly this additional violence stripped her of an identity she had claimed was important enough to die for. Like other Jewish victims, the woman succumbed to Christian desire for dominion that converged in her case with gender violence. The defiance in her words triggered a reaction that not only sought to silence her, but also inflicted a final humiliation on her lifeless body. Nonetheless, once the clothing was disposed of, the *rouelle*[336] disappeared, and with it, all possible signs of difference. In a rapid transition, the unmarking or rather the erasure completed a double dis-identification. The public display of her 'nakedness' disclosed as much as it hid the anger and anxiety that grew out of intolerance in medieval Christian society. The anti-Jewish sentiments that were stirred up since the First Crusade denote how medieval sensibility channeled by Church influence and pressure strongly reacted to and opposed diversity in all its manifestations. Coexistence with a cultural other constituted a challenge and a menace that compelled Christians to resort to violence

as a radical way of negotiating difference. Consequently, Jews like other marginal groups, were harnessed in an increasingly tighter control that weighed them down, a crushing pressure associated with sporadic spurts of violence. These resulted in permanent emotional instability and insecurity.

A Jewish woman, alone and easily identifiable[337] on the streets, could be courageous enough to stand fast and strong in the face of a mob, even when it appears that there were no other members of the community to be the audience of a performance of religious piety and normativity. The traditional accusation of murdering Christ has always been applied to all Jews in times of turmoil and without any distinction or gender. Again, the accusation reveals how gender transgression insists on the immutable aspect of the evocative image in the original accusation that remains in Christian minds. The collective guilt, implied in the word Jew – although generally understood as male – could in fact be attributed to any individual of the community without any gender specification. Within such a predisposed framework, the slippage allows the subject to be "fabricated,"[338] to fit, to respond and be accountable for the causal origin, the crime of deicide.

The first legal prescription imposing on Jews the wearing of a mark of recognition goes back to the Fourth Lateran decree of 1215.[339] In the following years and decades, additional provincial synods, royal decrees, and town ordinances enforced this decree in a variety of modulations until their expulsion from the kingdom of France. However, it remains unclear in what precise periods and to what extent in what cities and towns this law was effectively imposed on the Jewish population. Quite a few cases in French official records attest to and document the violence Jews invited when they transgressed

this regulation, and according to these records, men rather than women were generally the ones subjected, to various degrees, to insult, assault, and theft by individuals if they were recognized as Jews[340] in the town's streets while they were not wearing the prescribed badge.[341] It is also true that in most cases a bearded appearance targeted men to be subjected to an inquisitive gaze, to be singled out, and exposed to abuse and violence.

Parallel to the intensification of Church control, an intense and popular anti-Judaism emerged more specifically in northern Europe.[342] The Church's political maneuvers, along with a strong revival of early religious textual authorities by both Jews and Christians, were instrumental in the increased mutual distrust and hostility between the two groups.[343] In times of upheaval, dying in anonymity and acts of suicide were not uncommon in the Jewish communities of Northern France and in the Rhineland.

In a description of one of the first instances of pre-crusade outbursts of violence at the beginning of the eleventh century in France,[344] an anonymous narrative in Hebrew presents the Jewish reactions to the attacks and singles out the women of the community as particularly impressive. Amidst the terror and confusion, women's willingness to embrace martyrdom strikes the reader by its determination:

> At that time precious women came together, clasping one another's hands, saying: 'Let us go to the river and there drown ourselves, so that the Heavenly Name not be desecrated on our account. For the sacred has been trampled in the streets, and our dear ones have been devoured by the sword. Better death than life.' [345]

This passage conveys with subtle words how in time of despair a strong sense of solidarity prevailed among the women of the community. These women refused to passively await their fate, and empowered themselves into action. As a group, they responded to the chaos surrounding them by finding comfort in physical and spiritual

closeness, drawing strength and dignity from a strong religious sense of duty. In fear of imminent defilement, these women sought purification through drowning. Significantly, either their constancy to Judaism is at the root of their courage, or more precisely it stems from the role the community ascribes to their gender. In the name of religion, a driving force that cements the group, the women are able to perform a collective sacrifice in sanctification of God's name. In sharp contrast with the atrocities committed by the assailants, the claim made by these women that they are meeting death on their own terms conveys beauty and serenity.

In this relation of a catastrophe befalling a community, the narrator/spectator exalts martyrdom, and he achieves it by offering a gender representation worthy of careful scrutiny. Women are brought forward, 'staged', and given a voice, all at once in a few lines, raising questions about women's agency within a traditional religious community. While men's "devoured" bodies, depleted of authority, are left on the streets with "trampled" sacred texts, the signs of a shattered community, women appear resolute and determined, without abdicating, to thwart further terror. But why do they choose death by drowning? Are they tricking their assailants by simulating acceptance of baptism in the river waters and then committing suicide, parodying the "evil waters" of baptism?[346] The association of women with this form of suicide can be also related to a Talmudic legend, the story of girls seeking martyrdom by drowning.[347] The epithet 'precious'[348] epitomizes the strong religious values these women seem to embody, values they refuse to rescind, values they prize and want to preserve by committing suicide. Is it, as Elisheva Carlebach suggests, that martyrdom was perhaps another form of resistance when active forms of resistance had failed?[349] Or did the poet, with a masculinist perspective pervading the

cultural ideology, elaborate a text that would convey to the reader/audience how women, an unsuspected group in the community, displayed strength in an ultimate act of courage, presenting the community's peculiar way of resisting oblivion through assimilation? In stark contrast with the violence and bloodshed that surrounded them, these women chose to die performing a ritual, seeking the protection of the purifying waters to shield them from posthumous degradation. They reinvested the cleansing ritual with a new meaning and in a way they used it as a distinctively female expression of resistance.

What is striking in the aforementioned example is the presence of extremely courageous but nevertheless unnamed women martyrs. In a culture where naming functions as a vehicle of memory transmission, recognition of acts that strengthen the cohesion of an endangered community was part of the rabbis' teachings. The weight of such historical material served as reinforcement, as exemplum, and as a model of piety for the members of the community to emulate. The accounts of martyrs were incorporated into the liturgy, and during the ritual performances in the synagogue, utterance of the names of those who died sanctifying God's name was of utmost importance. But in what sense did the example of non-named women fulfill that role and at the same time preserve the individuality of their act? These women were recuperated, appropriated by the community as symbols, guardians of purity and sanctity, but only through anonymous praise. The power of language and discourse in the construction of Jewish culture was able to restrain any excesses so that Jewish life could be shaped and molded into a pattern scholars of that period believed to be the Talmudic ideal. But if such texts act as sites of memory, inscribing these women into a particular role, although devoid of identity, their acts remain nevertheless non-normative and disturbing excesses.

Interestingly enough, the representation and gender construction of Jewish women in these 'historical texts' succeeded in combining tradition and struggle for survival, but failed to present the complex reality**.**

The question elicited by naming or not naming is recurrent through the medieval period not only in reading Jewish material but also in French official documents where the designation "Jew," a religious but also more of a racial or ethnic labeling, was sufficient identification. Although patronymic names for Jews were not set until the early years of the nineteenth century,[350] the vagueness of the official records does not constitute total silence, and names do appear in certain instances. Naming is an essential component of Jewish identity and biblical names carried a historical and symbolic value recognized by all. Jews took pride in tracing their genealogies back thousands of years in time following the biblical tradition. The uninterrupted link, always on the patriarchal side, extended from biblical figures to prophets and finally to the long list of famous rabbis. Names were primarily a connection given to the teacher-disciple and father-son relationship.[351]

Violence against Jewish communities on the eve of the Second Crusade (1146-49) was prevented by the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux.[352] His skills as moderator in an environment advocating immediate reprisal against non-Christians were even acknowledged and praised by Rabbi Ephraim Ben Jacob of Bonn, a twelfth-century Hebrew commentator on the crusades and other fateful episodes. However, the political intervention of this eminent Christian religious leader remains paradoxical in view of the fact that he infused in his discourse with a pervading hatred of Jews. The condemnation of violence against Jews, one of the initial intentions of his preaching, was effective, but

on the other hand his words, stamped with the official endorsement of the Church, caused harm in a different manner. Indeed, if he was seen as a strong opponent of their annihilation, he was an equally strong spokesman of anti-Jewish stereotypes and prejudices that were disseminated in his sermons and correspondence.[353] In spite of his invectives, Bernard of Clairvaux effectively wanted Jewish presence to be accepted among Christians under the status of tolerated "witnesses" in accordance with the legacy of biblical[354] and patristic literature.[355] But in an increasingly violent environment, he was only able to temporarily thwart new massacres of Jews. Although his portrayal of Jews was inflamed with hostility, the depiction seems more grounded in theological argumentation taken from actual Jews. The repetition of negative traits that he disseminated through his writings contributed on a parallel level to reinforcing the practice of a culture of injurious treatment, verbal or physical, legitimized in the minds of the Christian population by official discourses.

Unlike Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable was less equivocal. During the preparations for the Second Crusade, the concerns he expressed in his letter to Louis VII are clear:[356]

> les juifs, non pas loin de nous, mais au milieu de nous, qui blasphèment, méprisent et déshonorent le Christ et tous les mystères de la fois chrétienne[357]

Jewish communities lived in a semi-secluded and marginalized environment that somehow sheltered them from too much outside influence, but in spite of their resistance, Jews could not prevent a certain degree of acculturation. Scholars such as Ivan Marcus and Shmuel Sherkau suggest that another dimension of inter-cultural influence should not be disregarded. Indeed, particularly during the political mayhem at the end of the eleventh century Christian martyrology experienced a new impetus with the advent of the

First Crusade, finding its source of inspiration in the early accounts of Christian passion literature. And indirectly or not according to Marcus and Sherkan, Jews were influenced by these new images of salvation that converged into their own narratives along with the tradition of dying *al Kiddush Ha-Shem*.[358]

Ashkenazi communities in Northern France were not particularly famous for the literary endeavors of their rabbis, who were mostly known for their Talmudic exegesis. Only events related to the survival of their communities prompted them to write chronicles and elegies, but they tended to rely largely on poetry for the memorialization process. These accounts, more intimate and poignant narrations, fitted naturally in the service of the synagogue. The preservation of Jewish memory took different forms, as Yoseph Yerushalmi conveys to us, but the most important one was the composition of *Selihot,* penitential prayers that were inserted in the liturgy of the synagogue. Each of these poems, written to attest to and bear witness to attacks on the community, constituted a potent link not only between martyrs and survivors, but also with the subsequent generations. The incorporation of *Selihot* into the ritual and liturgical channels of transmission[359] of the community had a more direct impact than historical accounts. These texts insured the continuation of a passive resistance and at the same time the survival and the unity of the community. Although a certain number of them mention actual names and give accurate descriptions of incidents, most do not, and as a result the specificity of their historical content has been lost. As Yerushalmi stresses, scholars' attempts to date *shelihot* in an accurate manner have proven to be a difficult task. These commemorative poems have fostered remembrance by continuous and

regular recitation and, while with the passing of time, the immediacy of the shock and the grief have lost their intensity, martyrs continued to be honored.

Three particular episodes, the crusades massacres, the Blois blood libel and the Auto-da-Fé of Troyes, generated numerous elegies and poems that in some cases were also written in vernacular with Hebrew characters. In this literature of remembrance, an expression intimately connected to martyrdom, women are frequently represented. For the period between 1096 and 1350, names of victims of the crusades were scrupulously recorded: the number of female victims is almost equal to male ones,[360] but children often remain unidentified in terms of gender.[361]

Modulating Resistance

Through martyrdom, women, who usually were confined to the "bodily sphere," invaded the spiritual space exclusively devoted to men, and strongly reacted to Christian exactions. Although the circumstances called for out-of-the-ordinary behavior, the boldness they were capable of, bringing down all the barriers regulating conduct, seemed to strike the chroniclers of their time as astonishing and heroic. Martyrdom was in its excess a zone of possibility, a moment in time when religious demands, blurring sex roles and attributions, overrode all regulations and control. It momentarily abolished women's infringement of religious and socio-cultural limitations. The courage they exhibited in these extreme circumstances was, as it has often been suggested, recognized as an act of appropriation of a virile quality. In a manner that could be quite disturbing to the norm, women committing such acts came to occupy a position that transgressed gender roles, although to this day the only general understanding of this performance has been "an

intense religious fervor." No further commentary has been proposed as of yet to explain their behavior.

The Hebrew chronicles of the twelfth century, edited by Abraham Haberman (*Sefer Gezerot*, The Book of Persecutions), mostly record events that took place in the Rhineland; French communities constitute but a small portion of these accounts. The accounts reveal a set of unusual religious requirements and more particularly the demand for martyrdom, a sacrifice that women were exceptionally eager to accept.[362] Although, it is important to note that even though German events are more numerous and are described more in detail, Franco-German communities shared religious and cultural ties and in that sense, the chronicles constitute an important testimony documenting Ashkenazi women's act of resistance. In these accounts women, often married with children and either mentioned by their name or left in anonymity, are typified in such a manner that their act of sacrifice exemplifies courage and reflects the spirit of resisting communities. In the *Mainz Anonymous*, the first Jew in the city of Worms[363] to sanctify God's name was a woman named Minna. Although she was a prominent member of her community and was respected and well considered by the town burghers who wanted to hide her from the fury of the crusaders, she refused to save herself since her own safety was subordinated to her commitment to her kin, her community. Her acceptance of death was in accordance with her sense of herself as a Jew.

Chroniclers described in graphic details and in parallel how crusaders and locals slaughtered Jews, and how Jews took their own lives in dramatic acts of mass suicide*, al Kiddush ha-Shem*.[364] These acts were not merely a defense mechanism or the desperate reaction of isolated individuals, but in many cases, the determined response of entire

communities bound by religious fervor that located power in killing each other according to the prescribed rules of sacrifice rather that being defiled by the crusaders' swords. Adversity yielded group solidarity and the courage to accept death as the ultimate alternative to fight conversion and annihilation. Men, women and children would gather in a protected place and would perform the collective suicide as a religious ceremony.[365] These ritual performances, hastily but nevertheless meticulously prepared and carried out, were later depicted by chroniclers as normative ceremonies that unified communities, safeguarding their religious identity.

Ashkenazi Jews, and more particularly German Jews, killing themselves or accepting death in order to preserve their Jewishness has often been linked, by scholars, to the Pietist movement, *Hasidu Ashkenaz*.[366] Under the influence of this movement that had spread in German towns in the eleven and twelfth centuries, Jews, in an environment of considerable constriction, carried on, with the sacrifice of their life and the lives of their children, the sense of being perpetually tried and tested by God since Abraham. The attacks of the crusaders stimulated these fervent communities to recreate the ceremonial of the Temple, renewing Abraham's *Akedah* which they brought to a complete fulfillment.

It is in this manner that the story of Rachel "the righteous" of Mainz, wife of Judah, is constructed in the Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson. As a revival of the sacrifice in which the principal theme is the description of the offering of sacrifices in the Temple, her act is seen as the reenactment of the ceremonial performance of the burnt offering or the daily evening sacrifice.[367] Indeed starting with the inspection of the knife, then the spilling of the blood, and finally the arrangement of the children's lifeless

bodies, all steps conform to the Temple's sacrificial ritual. In the imminence of forced baptism that awaits her four children, Rachel prefers to slay them rather than lose them to Christendom. In order to convey the magnitude of the contemporaneous event equaling in importance the brave resistance offered by the Jewish people against the Seleucid rulers who tried to impose Greek culture and systems of thought on the Jews, an episode still very present in Jewish memory, the chronicler draws a parallel between Rachel's story and the martyrdom of Hannah and her seven sons at the time of Antiochus Epiphanus IV.[368]

Spiritual life in the Christian sense was inconceivable for Jewish women, who lacked independent and institutionalized spaces for female religious expression. Martyrdom constituted therefore a space in which women were on equal grounds with men in the service of God. The choice of Christian women to devote themselves to religion was incompatible with maternal responsibilities; therefore women aspiring to sainthood endangered the welfare of their children. As they constituted an obstacle to their mothers' religious yearning, young Christian children were commonly abandoned, a motive often found in hagiographic tales. On the contrary, children represented for Jewish women the only and most important vehicle of religious transmission. Thus mothers like Rachel would rather sacrifice their progeny as an ultimate act of faith. Their religious zeal can be understood as an act of purification binding mothers and children more closely to God. Horrific spectacles were not unfamiliar to Christians; nonetheless the performance of Jewish men and women slaughtering their offspring only triggered additional distrust and further contributed to the deterioration of the image of the

Ashkenazi Jewry.[369] These extremes acts confirmed the general perception of Jews as killers of children, with a propensity to sacrifice young victims for their blood.

Accusations of ritual murder of Christian children had taken place earlier in England, and the body of a child was indeed found, first in Norwich and then in Gloucester. In Blois, where intense political rivalries combined with folk beliefs about the Jews[370] found a catalyst when the rumor spread that a child's dead body had been thrown into the river, the evidence was never uncovered. Yet, on May 26, 1171, for the first time in France, thirty-three out of forty persons of the community were accused of the murder and were sentenced to die at the stake. Louis VII (1137-80) only later declared that the Jews of Blois and Pontoise[371] were innocent of the murders. Immediately after the arrest and imprisonment, information was sent to other communities of Northern France, England and Germany. This episode, as stressed by Chazan, denotes a growing sense of the interconnectedness of the disparate Northern Jewish communities during the second half of the twelfth century.[372] The martyrdom made such an enormous impression on contemporaries that upon hearing the news R. Jacob Tam declared the day of the burning a perpetual fast day.[373]

This blow brought the community to an end, but as Bernhard Blumenkranz affirmed, this event remains one of the most documented in medieval Jewish history.[374] In addition to the letters exchanged with other communities, two prose accounts and a number of *selihot* were composed to commemorate the event. These writings were greatly influenced by the painful examples of Jewish reactions in German cities during the crusades, responses that exerted a great impression on other communities.[375] Yet Blois

did not stir much interest among contemporaneous Christian historians; only Robert du Mont-Saint-Michel briefly mentioned it in his continuation of Sigebert's Chronicle.[376]

The story of Pulcelina[377] of Blois represents one of the rare instances in Northern France in which a woman clearly stands out among the leaders of the community and her name becomes the one that is remembered in Jewish history. She is a good example underpinning the strong link between self and community, demonstrating the fusion that occurred between "types and individuals"[378] in order to serve the communal ideals. She died as a martyr, but even though she is presented as a model heroine, comparable to biblical ones, very little is known about her life other than that she was in regular contact with the count prior to the accusation of murder and that she was married and died at the stake with her two daughters.

Ephraim ben Jacob, in his account of the event, alludes to a possible relationship between Pulcelina and Count Theobald V (1152-1201), a major political figure of his time; such a relationship might have enabled a closeness that could explain her confidence and, as with Esther, it might have provided an influence she could use to plead with the count in order to save her community from an impending death:

> Dame Pulcelina encouraged them all, for she trusted in the affection of the ruler who up to now had been very attached to her.[379]

Centuries later, still conjecturing about the intriguing relationship, Heinrich Graetz simply presented it in his *History of the Jews*[380] as an amorous relationship, an interpretation justified by Pulcelina's access to the count's court. Other scholars after him followed on that path:

> The political antipathy had been occasioned by the high-handed behavior of the Jewess Polcelina. Beloved by Theobald of Blois for a period of time, she had aroused the ire of many of the nobles of Blois, including the master of the witness to the supposed crime and also Alice wife of Theobald.[381]

If, according to Chazan, Pulcelina appears to be a crucial figure in the letters circulating within the neighboring communities at the time of the arrests, they contain nothing that would corroborate the accusations concerning her relationship with the count. Susan Einbinder has demonstrated what I strongly suspected since encountering Pulcelina's story, that such a supposition was highly dubious considering the marginal situation of Jews and the moral expectations for a Jewish married woman. To my knowledge, she is the first to suggest that Pulcelina was most probably a moneylender. That position could more easily explain her prerogatives and her access to the Count Theobald, as well as the ruler's lack of interest in the community's plight. The count started negotiations for a monetary settlement, a very lucrative prospect and an alternative way for the accused to expiate the assumed crime. But he was very quickly convinced by his entourage to halt the negotiations and burn the Jews at the stake.

R. Hillel of Bonn, in a poem honoring the martyrs, men and women, does not single out Pulcelina or any other woman in his portrayal of their bravery. Fascinated by the bond among women, the poet insists on their high number among the victims, which in the list in the martyrology of Nuremberg amounts to seventeen out of thirty-three (this number varies according to the sources). In his depiction, he brings forth the collective aspect of these women's response, showing how resolute and enthusiastic they are as they draw near the place of sacrifice to die for God:

> As the women are led to the stake
> They urge one another to make haste
> Seventeen in their count by the staff
> With gladness and rejoicing they enter in the king's place.[382]

The solidarity, the strong bond that unites women of different ages rushing to their death, undeniably conveys the unfolding of a ritual performance. In a triumphant Christian

atmosphere, the poet succeeds in presenting these women as the willing subjects of a burnt offering and not as the condemned victims of Christian hatred. The inversion of the roles that occurs, the empowerment that takes place, is important to promote resistance in all forms in the transmission of the experience for the collective memory.

Walter Benjamin's statement that danger affects both the contents of the tradition and its receivers[383] illustrates well the impact that the crusades and more particularly the series of mass suicides left on the collective memory. Having survived all manner of disaster, a perennial condition for Jewish communities that certainly affected a fate envisioned in accordance with the "ideology of affliction," Ashkenazi Jews were not deterred by that condition and actively resisted the brutal Christian assaults though they were outnumbered. But passive resistance, collective suicide, constituted a more powerful weapon, an efficient way to protect their heritage. If to articulate the past historically means as Benjamin affirmed, "to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at the moment of danger,"[384] mass suicide, an "image singled out by history at the moment of peril," appeared to the Hebrew chroniclers as the apex of the crusades.

If, according to tradition, the author of the *Mainz Anonymous* used biblically grounded Hebrew to compose the narrative linking the contemporaneous sufferings to past ones, Chazan has proposed that the writer nevertheless sensed that on this occasion something was new, different from past tragic events.[385] Although the magnitude of the hastily organized but nevertheless overwhelming popular call of the First Crusade, spreading through Christendom, first alarmed Jewish communities, they were overpowered by the violent hordes of Crusaders very quickly.

History seems to have favored the suffering of German Ashkenaz during the crusades, but according to Norman Golb the mutually corroborative statements in the Latin and Hebrew Chronicles attest convincingly to the fact that, contrary to a widely held position, Jewish suffering was widespread in France and especially at the hands of Frenchmen during the First Crusade.[386] French victims have been underestimated and neglected because the Hebrew chroniclers dealt essentially with the crusaders' acts committed in German towns.

Among the few French texts that remain, the most notorious one is the *Autodafe* of Troyes of 1288[387] where nine men, two women and their two sons died at the stake. The poet emphasizes the attitude of the women about to die, eulogized as particularly brave, refusing until the end to convert. Shlomo Noble remarked that the traditional reserve observed toward women in Northern France was abandoned when poets celebrated their valor as martyrs. They did not hesitate to insist on details of their physical beauty,[388] more characteristic of Provençal and Spanish Jewish poetry. The massacre of Chinon, where 160 victims were burned alive, was for some reason recorded only in Christian chronicles according to David Kaufman, and no traces of the disappearance of the community were left in Jewish texts.[389]

The spectacle of slaughtered bodies and the relations that kept them in memory had a major impact on the collective imagination, causing Jews to cling even more strongly to their ways, giving them the will to resist aggressive conversion tactics. The repression mechanism triggered a fierce determination among Jews, men and women. Suicide became a subversive mode of resistance, leading Jews to acts of ritualized collective death. It also increased their defiance towards the pull of the secular world.

Yet Jewish women were not only capable of great courage and initiative in times of hardship, they were also, during calmer periods, active participants in communal life. They were able partners in the economic sector, and more particularly in lending money.

Dangerous Exchanges: Gender and Money Lending

> *…a subject constituted across a multiplicity of differences*
> Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*

Commoditization

Between the fifth and the eleventh centuries there were practically no established financial mechanisms in Europe and, according to specialists in the field, a minimal monetary economy only generalized during the twelfth century, a change facilitated by the role Jews played as moneylenders. Scott Macdonald and Albert Gastmann have suggested that Jewish merchants functioned as a bridge between the credit system of the ancient world and the development of a modern credit system in the West. It is certain that on a larger scale Jews working in the Islamic world knew the importance of credit and its utility in long-distance trade as well as the innovative use of letters of credit,[390] but with the decline of their trade operations in Europe, they reinvested their surplus of capital in the local money trade.

The increase in monetary demand from the twelfth century on was certainly one of the factors contributing to the appearance in Northern France of numerous Jewish women in the economic sphere. Moneylending and usury provided them with the opportunity to expand their limited gender attributions and gain control of their social and legal status. Though power was not easily deferred to them, the particularity of the social and historical context permitted these women to play a part in the microeconomy of medieval towns. Franco-Ashkenazi communities, acknowledging the importance of these

entrepreneurial women, accorded to businesswomen the capacity to contract on their own behalf and to appear in court with or without representation;[391] this was a privileged status since their gender still disqualified them from acting as witnesses in the courts of law.

Against this backdrop, it is important to note that with few exceptions, Jewish women moneylenders did not seem to have had contemporary Christian counterparts,[392] but one must nevertheless be cautious when considering Jewish women more emancipated. In spite of their significant involvement in business, Jewish women left fewer contracts than men.[393] In contrast with the South, where notarial practices were a more widespread custom in business exchanges,[394] women in the North, though also dealing in small loans, probably preferred pledges to contractual loans that necessitated notary fees.

The propensity of French archival documents to generally inscribe Jewish women as the typical and anonymous “Jewess,” a representation that ambiguously suggests an absent reality, is counterbalanced by records of a more ‘economic nature,’ documents in which they are more likely to be the identified party in a transaction. The examination of the rolls reveals that the dynamics usually at play are reversed and the reality that is represented, though in negative terms, nevertheless evokes a real presence. A closer analysis yields interesting results that stress women’s control and authority. For instance there are occurrences in which men carry their mother’s name as their patronymic. In the rolls of the *baillage* of Vitry around 1300, we find for example the Jew Fils Belle Juive,[395] and in records of the city of Troyes, Helietus, filius Douceron la juyve.[396] This practice, according to Michael Adler, was more common in England, where

businesswomen seemed to be more numerous, and he comments that sons might have used the matrilineal filiation for a very practical reason: it attested to the mothers' leading reputation in business. But Adler proposes a more convincing explanation for this unusual cultural practice: sons refused to carry their fathers' name if the latter had converted.[397] Although conversion was accompanied by a change of name that separated converts from their former faith and community, the desire to severe all ties with apostates drove Jewish families to alter children's filiation; therefore the change brought about by the modified genealogical line encouraged the erasure and disappearance of disavowed names from collective memory.

In a money-sparse economy, the service Jewish that moneylenders provided to all groups in society was a valuable commodity; however, their position at "the complex intersection of temporal, cultural and social factors"[398] exposed them and all the members of the community to manipulation and exploitation. In other words, Jews, owned in their bodies and marked for recognition, were commodified by the political and social structures in place. In this context, Jews, an already sure and profitable source of income through taxation, had become by the twelfth century, the property of the king and/or of a feudal lord, corroborating Appadurai's definition of commodities as "things with a particular type of social potential."[399]

Indubitably, with many restrictions placed on them, there were very few outlets left in order to make a living, thus many Jews, like Pulcelina, turned to moneylending. One can only infer as proposed in chapter five that her influential position in Blois was most likely the result of her moneylendending activities and more precisely the personal business relationship she had with Count Thibault V. Yet this dimension of her life will

remain a conjecture since her martyrdom was the act by which she was thrust into history. Indeed the key role she played at the time of the arrest and imprisonment of most of the members of the Jewish community of Blois following the blood libel accusation, her efforts to dissuade the count to burn them at the stake, and finally the courage she showed as she marched to her death, those moments that shaped her community's fate were the ones that were committed to history in the correspondence between neighboring communities and in chronicles.[400]

In addition to the rabbinical injunction to conform to the biblical commandments regarding moneylending:

> Tu ne prêteras pas à intérêt à ton frère: ni intérêt d'argent, ni intérêt de nourriture, ni intérêt de quoi que ce soit qui rapporte de l'intérêt. A l'étranger, tu prêteras à intérêt, mais à ton frère tu ne prêteras pas à intérêt…(Deut. XXIII, 20)

the famous *tosafist* Rabbi Jacob Tam, a moneylender himself, offers a rational explanation for a practice that had generalized among Jews:

> …we may surely permit this practice of lending to gentiles. First of all, the tax burden of the king and the nobles is laid heavily upon us. Moreover, since we are dispersed among the nations, we have no other means of making a livelihood unless we lend them money on interest.[401]

And he further commented, to justify his occupation, that lending was a source of profit and was not time consuming.[402] The latter was an important aspect of the trade that attracted individuals bound with many religious restrictions. This matter was also the object of commentaries by one of his contemporaries, Rabbi Isaac of Dampierre. He stated in a similar fashion that lending money was done "from fear of going hungry not by right;" another way to reaffirm the legitimacy of trading with Gentiles.[403] And in fact, a great number of the *Responsa*, the Jewish legal literature of the period, deal with men and women engaged in business disputes and litigations.[404]

Although rabbis argued for the defense of moneylending, the following exemplum still presents this activity as “ce qui était detestable.” The woman does not hesitate to interrupt her prayers to help her customers, alert to their needs. Rabbi Yehudah the Hasid uses this exemplum to demonstrate the inability of women to separate material and spiritual matters:

> Une femme sortit de la synagogue avant que la communauté n’eut fini de prier. Elle envoya sa servante à son mari pour lui demander la clé. Lorsqu’il sortit à son tour de la synagogue, il demanda à son épouse pourquoi elle avait eu besoin des clés. Elle répondit que des chrétiennes étaient venues chercher leurs objets engagés parce qu’elles devaient aller à l’église. Le mari lui dit qu’elle avait eu tort de sortir de la synagogue et d’envoyer chercher les clés afin de leur remettre les objets engagés, avec lesquels elles iraient à l’église. Elle avait fait passer ce qui était détestable avant ce qui était sacré.[405]

Yet, this passage reveals a very interesting perspective beneath its avowed purpose of showing bad timing for business and carelessness on the part of the Jewish woman. Since women are not time-bound for prayer and their participation in the liturgical ritual of the synagogue is limited to a presence praying in silence, this woman is thus more accessible to the Christian women. This is also a good example of good cooperation between women of the two communities. The woman’s willingness to return home and retrieve the objects reveals that a certain complicity and understanding have existed between women of different faiths working together on a daily basis, thus becoming privileged business partners for each other. Trust also plays an important part since the pledges are lent to the borrowers for a short period of time with the expectation that they will be returned. The husband awaits the end of the religious service to scold his wife, showing total indifference to Christian women. Trans-confessional communication only seems possible between women.

Since long-distance trade had become increasingly difficult for Jews, moneylending allowed lenders, women and men, wether affluent or with limited

resources, to join forces and form multiple credit associations that expanded the circulation and the availability of currency; at the same time these partnerships reduced investment risks. Gérard Nahon asserts that as the practice of moneylending developed into the most visible aspect of Jewish economic endeavors, the term *judaizare,* a word used in the early Middle Ages to denote heresy within the Church, was later applied to the realm of economic life and became the equivalent of the term *usurare*.[406] Such a slippage combined two disparate religious transgressions into a single word, expanding its already charged semantic field.[407]

While Jews were capable of understanding the changing realities of political power in the medieval world and of perceiving acutely shifting economic patterns,[408] as Robert Chazan has noted, they also became increasingly dependent upon the protection of those in political authority, the king or his official representatives, a reliance that created suspicion in the general population, and further contributed to their marginalization. Although the service they provided to Christians transcended cultural boundaries, the exchanges did not break barriers since Jews and Christians shared only a minimal understanding about each other, agreeing only about the terms of the transactions.[409] Moreover moneylending transactions created temporary bonds between the parties involved, creating a potentially dangerous reliance that authorities tried to curtail by resorting to theft, confiscation of Jewish property, or simply by denying or annulling contractual agreements when the dependency became too onerous and burdening. The decision of Louis VII to arbitrarily cancel Jewish loans during the Second Crusade reflects the delicate balance; it is one of the many instances in which Jewish moneylenders suffered important economic losses.

Jews in Northern France were indeed specialized in commerce and credit by the mid-twelfth century like their English counterparts. But a sharp turn took place during the thirteenth century with the rise of sovereign power that coincided with legislation concerning the Jews of the kingdom.[410] If throughout the Middle Ages moneylending, based on speculation, was of doubtful legality and vehemently condemned by Church representatives,[411] the measures that had been set in motion to prevent moneylending and usury were often short-lived or were easily circumvented since these ethical principles did not correspond to the socio-economic reality of the time. The biblical roots of the medieval doctrine of usury regarded any interest as a mortal sin; as a result one of the decrees of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 warned usurers that they would be denied a Christian burial if they persisted in that occupation.[412]

Interest was without a doubt a non-negligible source of profit for Jews and non-Jews; consequently moneylending was either practiced openly by marginalized groups of society, or the profits that non-Jewish lenders derived from these operations were disguised either as gifts, or as risk indemnities to divert the attention of the religious authorities.[413] Interest rates had been legalized by a royal ordinance of 1218 at a prohibitive rate of 43%.[414] This high rate was not only proportionate to the risk inherent to the business operation, but reflected also the lack of other credit alternatives. If small borrowers found themselves easily trapped in the credit spiral and were very often unable to repay the initial loan by the due date,[415] the abolition of credit demanded by the Church would only have worsened the already difficult life conditions for the population. The access to cash, even at a high cost, remained a social necessity. In the recurrent pattern that emerged, this dependence induced Christians to reject and eliminate Jews on

many occasions, but censure and denigration were matched by Jews accusing Christians or even the king of similar or worse usurious practices.[416]

Although Robert II, duke of Burgundy, adhered to the ordinances of Saint Louis concerning usury, he nevertheless expressed benevolence for his Jews as stated in his testament of 1302.[417] A few years later, the decision of King Philip V to expel the Jews in 1306 was not met with a generally favorable reaction by the population. There was a certain degree of disapproval, both of the king's decision and his economic policies.[418] Geoffroi of Paris, in a chronicle relating the events of 1306, recognizes the positive aspect of the Jews as lenders, using an adjective hardly ever found in previous descriptions of Jews:

> Car Juifs furent deboneres
> Trop plus, en fesant telz afferes,
> Pleige demandent et lien
> Gages demandent, et tant estorchent…[419]

Curiously, compared to Christians who had been increasingly practicing moneylending, Jews thus appear as less greedy in their practices. And when it was decided definitely to get rid of the Jews in 1394, it was partly because Christians no longer feared punishment by the Church. It is clear that the intrusion of Christians in the money market shows how their values and convictions were modified by the framework of exchange and as anthropologist Kopyotoff has stressed: "What is significant about the adoption of alien ideas is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use."[420] And since Jews were no longer essential, their potential value as commodities lost its relevance. But contrary to the king's expectations, Lucien Lazard contends that the expulsion did not, as expected, fill the treasury coffers, and was in fact "une mauvaise affaire."[421] Scholars have differed on the reasons for and the impact of

1394, but Norman Golb draws a connection between the monetary deterioration of the French economy since 1295 and the final expulsion of Jews from the kingdom.[422]

Picardy Records

Starting in February 1247, Louis IX sent his newly appointed *enquêteurs* to the provinces to investigate corruption in the kingdom. The commissions staffed mostly by Franciscan and Dominican friars were sent in Normandy, Vermandois, Artois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Languedoc, Mâconnais and sections of Ile-de-France[423] to collect complaints from individuals about abuses of all sorts and also to determine the level of usury extracted by Jews who had continued to lend money at interest in spite of the reinstatement of anti-usury measures and the new Ordinance of 1235 of the Queen Regent of France, Blanche of Castile. All these measures had remained in fact very ineffective.[424]

The surviving records of the *enquêtes* of 1247-48 were published by Léopold Delisle in 1904[425] and were supplemented by fifty more records that William Chester Jordan uncovered seventy years later; records that he published in his study of Picard records (*Queremoniae contra judaeos*).[426] It is thus only in the mid 1970s that Gérard Nahon,[427] followed a few years later by Jordan, examined these documents for the purpose of economic history,[428] and to my knowledge, only Nahon, Jordan, and to some extent Langlois, called attention to the role of Jewish women in lending transactions, affirming that one third of the lending business in Northern France was in their hands.[429] While the role of these women was touched upon by these scholars, it remains yet to be examined in a more extensive way.

The administrative juridictions for which the *enquêtes* provide information specifically on Jews are by decreasing importance, the *baillage* of Tours, of Vermandois, and the *senéchaussée* of Poitou-Limousin.[430] The reports of usurious payments made to Jewish moneylenders were recorded in a separate section, and for the vast majority, these re-transcriptions from original petitions deal with very humble "faits divers." These lists indicate that the credit customers were in general from rural areas with a high proportion of artisans. Jews convicted of usury were forced to make restitution since its practice was prohibited.

From the dryness of the records, we gather few albeit informative details about women moneylenders. For the listed transactions, we have a first name, and sometimes but not always the family affiliation (sister, spouse, daughter). These women dealt with small loans, typically ranging from two *sols parisis* to thirty *livres*.[431] Lending on pledge was a fairly common practice among women. That can explain that almost seventy-five percent of the complaints concern loans made against pledges. The pledge, a concrete and movable guarantee linked to the payment of interest, was preferable to a contractual loan that might be at any moment arbitrarily and summarily canceled.[432] For very practical reasons, pledges were more valued by lenders since their face value exceeded the amount of the loan, thus reducing the risk of loss, but pledges could also be a source of trouble if it was proven that they had been stolen. They were hard to identify and even harder to indemnify, and ritual objects were not protected from the hazards of commoditization as pledges.[433] These objects represented a serious and dangerous problem; however this type of situation suggests that priests used these objects as commodities of exchange. Towards the end of the twelfth century rabbinic councils in Northern France forbade Jews to

accept church vessels as pledges for loans.[434] The poor made a great use of this oppressive system of lending. They were often in need of small short-term funds, mostly consumption loans and the only possessions they could deposit as security were their cooking vessels, bedding and clothing items.

These women creditors sometimes acted alone, but most worked in association with other women or men in or out of the family. These short-lived partnerships had a variety of permutations that changed according to need. For larger loans women usually joined with male creditors in business associations established to gather larger sums of money. Several women's names appear in numerous complaints, and while it is difficult to ascertain whether it is the same person, it remains very likely that most represented women were involved in multiple transactions. For instance, a certain Agnes is recorded in fourteen transactions, a few on her own, others in conjunction with her husband Daniel, some with her sister, others in conjunction with several women, and some with several male and female partners. Another woman named Meliota is recorded in eight different transactions.

These documents thus show women either in active partnership with their husbands, or as sisters in familial associations with brothers or even as daughters associated with their fathers. We can then dismiss the allegation that only the occasional opportunity of widowhood permitted Jewish women to enter the economic market. The repetition and the regularity of the loans demonstrate a true business occupation.

While accounts are succinct, the repetitive mention "extorserunt" in entries gives us a sense of the precarious and difficult environment in which the moneylenders operated, conveying a feeling of hostile surroundings. In some instances, it appears,

according to the reports that friars had to insure the security of Jewish women assaulted by violent debtors and this was not only due to the nature of their activities, but also the clandestine aspect of the trade since the accession of Saint Louis to the throne. Thus the associations Jewish moneylenders formed might also have served as a security shield.[435]

The Last Moneylenders

The routine and ordinary operations of these mid-twelfth century Jewish women dealing in small amounts did not generate much attention in history. Generally, Jewish men were the providers of larger loans. For example during the fairs of Champagne in 1221, Jean le Juif lent 3000 Lb. at the rate of 16.6% percent to Jeanne the countess of Flanders.[436] But this was not always the case, and Précieuse, the Parisian moneylender of the late fourteenth century, had a reputation that extended far beyond the boundaries of her small Jewish quarter. Her case represents a rare example of a large amount of money lent by a Jewish woman. Although, historically, this lending transaction passed unnoticed, it illustrates women's prominent position in the money market. On March 8, 1377 in Paris, the duke of Berry, always in need of money, this time for the marriage of his daughter, first borrowed money from Lombard bankers and other moneylenders in the city, but as he still needed funds he turned to the Jews of Paris. He sent three of his officers to the Jewish quarter to negotiate a loan with Précieuse the Jewess. We know very little about this woman; she was only mentioned as the widow of Abraham de Pont-à-Mousson. We can only ascertain that she was a shrewd negotiator since she demanded an astonishing interest rate of 78 %. The loan was guaranteed by the deposit of jewels and silverware, and when it became evident that the duke could not reimburse at the due

date, a Lombard was asked to renegotiate the interest amount rounded up to six hundred francs.

In his publications of excerpts of the *Journaux du Trésor* (1345-1419), Moranvillé calls attention to a particular passage in the entry concerning Précieuse in which the use of plural pronouns referring to the moneylender indicate, according to him, that she was not acting alone, but was the representative of a group of moneylenders. As is specified in the entries recorded by Barthélémi de Noces, an officer of the house of the duke, only Précieuse is mentioned in the transaction. Indeed, she might have solicited help from other moneylenders in order to collect this rather large sum of money in a very short period of time, but it does not diminish the importance of her role. If she had associates, these remained silent partners and she seems to be the sole negotiator. Her name is the only one that appears in the two official sources. She was able to create a space in which she could act independently.[437] We can certainly affirm that usury and moneylending granted her a measure of social leverage and mobility.

A few years later many Jews and moneylenders in particular met with disaster during the riots of 1380. In a climate of violence Jews fled their houses, seeking temporary refuge in the Châtelet. The upheaval gave small borrowers the opportunity to liquidate their loans. They raided the abandoned houses, recuperating their pledges, tearing to pieces the letters of credit to destroy all evidence of loans, and in the process emptying the rooms of their contents.[438] In this manner Colin Adam described the house of an absent moneylender; a house littered with letters of credit that had been torn to pieces. He fumbled around, looking for his pledges for a value of twenty francs and in the general mood of plunder, he took additional objects that he sold later.[439]

These narrations give the impression that moneylenders were extremely active and their houses filled with merchandise they had pawned. But most importantly the descriptions we have are only the borrowers'. Women moneylenders like Chère of Chaalons are but a ghostly presence in their ransacked houses. Her house is described in one of the letters of pardon granted by the King Charles VI to Jean le Conte, vinegar seller. Following the example of other burghers in the city, Jean le Conte recovered from the house personal belongings he had left as pledge for a sum of three francs.[440]

Chère was one of the last moneylenders practicing in France before the expulsion. We have no information on her, but the desolate aspect of her house gives us the impression that she took great risks for the small amounts she lent. Silence remains at the core of these business women's lives.

A Tentative Conclusion

The study of medieval Jewish women in Northern France has proven, in many ways, to be an arduous and evasive project. With only the possibility of catching glances along the seams of their lives, Jewish women, 'phantoms' of a reality defined both in contrast and in relation to a male-centered society, have emerged in most cases as silent figures. The dearth of documentation, compounded by the difficult task of dissociating women's experiences from the collective identity, has yielded meager but nevertheless stimulating results. Although the cultural discourse of their community and society's at large have concurred to cultivate persisting stereotypes, results refute the mechanisms of oblivion in spite of the resisting forces of gender entrapment and gender roles.

While Jewish men more often than women were the target of negative stereotyping found in written and visual representations, more positive portraits of women appeared in fantasized portraits of religious educational texts. Indeed, according to gender role expectation, it was assumed that they would oppose less resistance to conversion. In *The Dialogue on Miracles*, a series of exempla destined for the instruction of novices, Caesarius of Heisterbach manipulates Jewish women's visibility in narratives of attraction and conversion to Christianity. The clerical discourse on the attraction exerted by the Christian faith on Jewish women is rather evocative, depicting young Jewish girls more than anxious to convert.[441] But in reality men tended to convert while

many women refused to yield.[442] Heisterbach offers us several portraits in which Jews are constructed through the repetitive use of archetypal references only to serve the ideological interests of the Church. Very young women are easily seduced and convinced to convert, and in contrast Jewish males are objects of mistrust and derision; they are presented as harmless, and since their masculinity is questioned, examples of seduced Christian women are nonexistent.[443]

In one of his exempla, a curious story laden with elements of popular culture, the latrine becomes the focal element of a scatological ceremony of purification performed by a Jewish mother. By submitting her daughter to a parody of Christian ritual, she attempts to annul her daughter's conversion by reversing the ritual of baptism:

> I would draw you three times through the opening of a latrine and thus the virtue of your baptism would be left behind.[444]

Men are not present in this tale where the connection between women and magic is particularly significant. According to Carmen Caballero-Navas, the ritual invocation must be made through maternal filiation, defying deeply-rooted-patriarchal principles.[445] The mother is presented as the desecrator of the sacrament of baptism which she perceives as a polluting element that has to be physically ejected from the body. And according to a widespread folkloric belief, the defilement has to be expelled through the anus.[446] This exemplum emphasizes the power of Christianity against practices that are more associated with witchcraft; the mother-daughter confrontation will provide the opportunity to show the triumph of Christianity against such practices. The reference to profanation in the latrines by the Jews is also used in a letter of Innocent III of 1205 affirming that:

> On the day of the Lord's Resurrection the Christian women who are nurses for the children of Jews, take in the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The Jews make these women pour their milk into the latrine for three days before they again give suck to the children.[447]

As we have seen in the preceding chapters cohabitation made Jews part of society albeit a fragile one, and their incorporation and representation in the literary production was more the result of distortion, resentment, and fantasies.[448] If we look in literature for glimpses of Jewish-Christian relations, we encounter merely negative representations, reflections that carry all the prejudices and misconceptions about the decried group. Jews, close neighbors in life, become in fiction stereotypes of a second- hand imagination, shadowy presences distilling hate, responsible for the devious behavior of a character. In fact, the Jew who appeared upon the stage, in tales, chronicles, and in the moralized anecdotes or exempla of the preachers was not an individual but a type, the pattern after which the entire community was modeled. In these productions, the Jew often lacked a name, and rarely did he own personal characteristics.[449] In a more general sense, Jews were the stock liminal characters embodying evil and treason. The accusation of witchcraft practices in real life translated into the literary texts and vice versa. The romance-epic, *Li Roumans de Berte aus Grans pies* (late thirteenth century), is a good example of that conventional practice. There are no Jewish characters in the narration, but their hated practices become apparent in the discourse of two of the female characters. Adenet le Roi combines in his contemporaneous rendering of the story of Berthe, the future wife of Pepin the Brief, the historical and the folkloric elements that surrounded the obscure origins of this woman. Although the story originated in the eighth century, his "roumans" evolves in the midst of Louis IX and Philip le Hardi's court. In the plot that focuses almost exclusively on women, two of them, mother and daughter of

serf origin, bring about an immediate change in their social status by substituting the bride during the nuptial night (a folk-type motif). When the subterfuge is about to be uncovered, Margiste, the mother presented as a typological sorceress, a stock device in medieval literature, reveals to her daughter that her knowledge of poisons was transmitted to her by a Jewish woman, another recurrent trope in French literature:

> A enherber m'aprist jadis une juise
> Mieus le sai ne set femme qui dusquer en Frise
> Blancheflour fraÿrai en poire ou en cerise
> Dou venin serai tost pourveüse et pourquise[450]

Adenet le Roi portrays these two women of lower social status in very negative terms. Though Christian, they exhibit all the ill sides of the decried group. Thus Jewish negative influence permeated the social fabric through women. While the mother indirectly stands as the stereotypical Jewess who is a brewer of poisons, Aliste, the daughter, represents the stereotypical other aspect, usury and moneylending. This ambitious but more pragmatic character proposes an alternate lifestyle to her mother, denoting a Jewish influence: "De prester à usure très bien nous garirons."[451]

History informs us that Christians, like other dominant groups succeeded in denigrating Jews to the point of reducing them to *caricatures*. In order to neutralize Jewish males, they discredited them by effeminizing aspects of their customs that stood contrary to the practices of the majority. Jewish women, on the contrary, were criticized for displaying an "excess of manliness." Such performances, strong self-defense reactions to Christian aggressions to protect themselves but also their community, were rooted in biblical models of whom Judith, sword in hand to liberate her people, was the most notorious.

Jews were no longer physically present in the kingdom of France by the time Jean Molinet wrote *Le mystere de Judith et Holofernes* (fifteenth century), a rendition of the biblical episode. It is nevertheless more a series of typological readings of Jewish seduction and deceit crystallized in the dark portrait of the Jewish heroine. Although criticism and harsh words are conveyed by the high priest lamenting the murder of Holofernes, the terms used to describe Judith are more akin to demonology. Her courage is suspicious and her bold action is denigrated.

> O faulx, cavilleux esperit,
> …Dyablesse pleine de diffame,
> Escorpion, oeil basilique,
> Du corps as-tu séparé l'âme,
> Chef cornu, gueulle draconique[452]

The accumulation of attributes pertaining to the same semantic field starts with the common accusation: the "faulx, cavilleux esperit." The reference to the scorpion, a widespread symbolic representation of Jews in Christian art, characterizes the falseness of the Jews striking like the animal from the back.[453] It evolves then to a darker realm of accusations, the woman becomes a sorceress: "oeil basilique," her gaze kills,[454] "chef cornu, gueulle draconique." The author's choice of words gives us insight into the working of the ideology well in place by stressing the man's vulnerability at the hands of a Jewish woman.

Nineteenth-century Europe was marked by an intense search for roots that translated into a plethora of historical publications specialized in small regions and localities. In France in particular, historians or erudites feverishly examined local archives to document all events and places related to their town or county's past. It is in this manner that Frédéric Piel, according to his own claim, exhumed an anonymous tale

from the fourteenth century. Interestingly enough, he omitted to provide the precise source of this medieval chronicle, only giving the name of the city, Malestable (former Bonnétable), ruled by the Count of Harcourt.[455] Despite the historical markers that anchor the narrative, this tale is transparent: the history of a Jewish community is obliterated, and the remaining representatives are a spectral Jew and his young daughter. The Jewish community is but an invisible one; only two of its members are represented, two isolated and fragile individuals relegated to a shadowy life in a blind alley. Their names, Abraham and Sarah, are symbolically charged and represent in essence the Jewish people. The man is described as an old man with a long white beard,[456] always dressed in yellow. He lives in seclusion, not venturing outside the house after a serious beating. He embodies all the tropes of the Jewish man lacking courage. But the pale figure is also a woodworking artisan, a rare example of a Jewish artist. Following the advice of his daughter, a slender and veiled figure who is the mediator between the two cultures, his sole contact with the outside world, he offered one of his sculpted pieces to the countess. In exchange, he was released from all taxes, and the wearing of the yellow badge. To reinforce the power of acculturation, Piel tell us that the old artist later chiseled a life-size Christ on the cross that he offered to his benefactor. To give the tale a touch of authenticity the chronicler informs us that the statue is still today in the church of Saint-Sulpice. At the death of the artist, his daughter, devoid of other Jewish ties, was rapidly integrated into Christian society. The narrator quickly erases differences, incorporating the girl seamlessly into the new religion and culture: the young girl converted in the chapel of Notre-Dame de Torcé,[457] took the name of Marie, and entered a convent in Normandy. The tale of Abraham the Jew and his daughter, serves as a model history to reinforce the fiction of

attraction that Christianity exerts on Jewish women and the role these women play as active agents of acculturation.

With the expulsion of 1394, the exodus of French Jewish communities to other countries remains a great loss not only in terms of culture and population, closing a long chapter of cohabitation, but also in onomastics because the typical names in use among these communities were for the most part lost.[458] The Dauphiné, the region of Savoie and Northern Italy were the last regrouping centers of French Jews, descendants of the expelled Jews and little by little these would succumb to Ashkenaz and Judeo-Italian dominance. And by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Provence and Dombes, the last provinces to finally expel their own Jews, ratified the final ordinance of expulsion of 1395.[459] French Jewish culture vanished completely for several centuries.[460] For the following centuries, this group that had been socially peripheral proved to be "symbolically central." Indeed, the vanished Jews left persistent traces, definite imprints on the cultural landscape. Yet, what emerged from the medieval visual culture were the stereotyped figures in illustrated manuscripts, the distorted images carved in stone, support of fantastic tales. The visual impressions had an important impact on medieval minds and, as Norman Bryson has aptly put it:

> the image is less important *in praesentia* that it is as anticipated memory: the moment of its impact may be intense, but only so that the visual impression can go on resonating within the mind after it has ceased to contemplate the actual image.[461]

In the collective mind Jewish women, like the young Sarah in the chronicle described by Piel, have remained mostly identified as non-threatening, as the possible bridges toward assimilation to Christian society.

Although the complex relations Jews and Christians developed between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries reveal the imposition of distinct boundaries

mapping and demarcating the possible contours of exchanges, the permissible zones of contact and interaction, these restrictions could not prevent individuals from the two divergent communities from crossing the real and virtual borders of social separation and creating time and again temporal 'pockets' of viable relationships. But in the most extreme fashion the cemetery constituted the place of absolute social division.

Up to now, in Northern France and Germany, no tombstones have been found that antedate the tenth century.[462] There are practically no medieval Jewish cemeteries left in France,[463] since with every expulsion the grounds were repossessed, sold and put to other uses. Tombstones once removed were reused as material for other purposes. Some stones dating from the second half of the thirteenth century have been found in odd places: for instance, a large stone was found in the hotel Fécamp (Paris), two others were fixed in a wall in the courtyard of the house named des Trois-Boites across the rue du Foin, and another one was used in a sewer.[464] In Alsace, the situation was even more drastic since Jews were forbidden to erect tombstones from 1349 to the middle of the eighteenth century. Jewish communities had to use wooden planks as funerary steles, material that offered little resistance to the erosion of time, thus accelerating oblivion. Communities were not allowed to erect any walls around the cemetery as Jewish religious laws require it. The only form of enclosure that was tolerated was the placement of stones to define boundaries.[465]

The life struggles of Jewish women, mostly found in chronicles, in *Memorbücher* (martyrs' lists), and in French official records where they are most of the time merely recorded as "Jewess," could be summed up in a few lines. Although the written word is rare and has its weight, the source of information contained in epitaphs has been mostly

overlooked. Even though they provide limited information, these inscriptions nonetheless reflect communal cultural practices. The French epitaphs that have been discovered have not been systematically catalogued like the Spanish ones, which, according to Gérard Nahon, are much more numerous and contain more information about the deceased.[466] These shorts texts, in addition to the stock of standard expressions of praise suitable for women, including the words chastity, decency and modesty,[467] sometimes offer us a lasting reminder of their social status, even including details that bring out the special place and role these women held in their families and in the community. This was certainly the case of Sarah, the daughter of Jacob B. Salomon Sarfati of Avignon, who died at the age of twenty of the black plague that ravaged the city in 1382. The epitaph mentions that she had received a good education, meaning she had studied the laws. This uncommon fact was important enough to be inscribed: hence future generations could witness it. Although steles found in the North are very conventional and give only the standard information, this epitaph from the South attests to the rarity of the situation for Jewish women. This mention was also found in the father's personal papers, in a more intimate manner as a short narrative praising this special daughter.[468]

While, during life, provisions and concessions made cohabitation possible between Jews and Christians, death remained the ultimate visible barrier that was never crossed. As a sacred ground, the habitat of the dead with its hierarchies and exclusions heightened the structures of the living, keeping communities separate and estranged from each other. The cemetery represented the tangible place, the clear demarcation that existed between faiths.

Jewish cemeteries (*Beit Olam*) or more appropriately, what little remains are left, constitute a fascinating subject worthy of study. Unfortunately, research until now has mainly focused on locating, documenting and archiving the scattered stones and copies of funerary inscriptions now held in several museums. It would be interesting to address the process of memorialization, to examine how communities honored their deceased and more particularly how the valor of women was recognized and inscribed.

NOTES

Chapter 1 - Identity Conflicts

[1] Jean-François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979) 63.

[2] See David and Jonathan Boyarin, David Biale, David Halperin.

[3] Jonathan Boyarin, *Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) XVII.

[4] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*: *Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982).

[5] David Myers and David B. Rudermann, eds. *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (New Haven: Yale UP,1998) 3.

[6] Sarah Silberstein Swartz and Margie Wolfe eds., *From Memory to Transformation: Jewish Women's Voices* (Toronto: Second Story Press, 1998) 9.

[7] David Biale, "Confessions of an Historian of Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 1 (1994-95): 40-51. 42.

[8] Sander L. Gilman, "Introduction: the Frontier as a Model for Jewish History," *Jewries at the Frontier. Accommodation, Identity, Conflict*, eds. Sander L. Gilman and Milton Sharin (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999) 1-25.

[9] Francesca Canadé Sautman's expression.

[10] Ivan G. Marcus, "From Politics to Martyrdom: Shifting Paradigms in the Hebrew Narratives of the 1096 Crusade Riots," *Prooftexts* 2 (1981): 40-52. 45.

[11] Jacob Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism: Masculine and Feminine in the Torah* (Macon: Mercer UP, 1993).

[12] Paula E. Hyman, "Feminist Studies and Modern Jewish History," *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies*, eds. Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1994): 120-139.

[13] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 4-5.

[14] Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966)143.

[15] Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum, "Introduction," *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies*, eds. Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum (Yale UP, 1994): 1-15. 8.

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[16] Robert Chazan, "Ephraim Ben Jacob's Compilation of Twelfth-Century Persecutions," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84 (1993-94): 397-416. 397.

[17] Steven F. Kruger, "Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?" *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey J. Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 2000): 21-41. 24-25.

[18] Sander Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York; London, Routledge, 1991) 4-5.

[19] Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996) 190.

[20] Steven F. Kruger, "Becoming Christian, Becoming Male?" 22.

[21] Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews* (New York: SUNY Press, 1997) 186.

[22] Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1983).

[23] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on* Miracles, trans. H. Von E. Scott (London: Routledge, 1929) 102-104.

[24] Willis Johnson, "The Myth of Jewish Male Menses," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 273-295. 275.

[25] John M. Hoberman, "Otto Weininger and the Critique of Jewish Masculinity," *Jews and Gender: Responses to Otto Weininger*, eds. Nancy A. Harrowitz and Barbara Hyams (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1995):141-153. 146.

[26] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996) 77-78.

[27] Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz and Ann Pellegrini, "Strange Bedfellows: An Introduction," *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question*, eds. Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz and Ann Pellegrini (New York: Columbia UP, 2003): 1-18. 8.

[28] Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz and Ann Pellegrini, Ibid.

[29] Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*, ed. Howard Eilberg-Schwarz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992)181.

[30] Jacob Neusner, *Androgynous Judaism*, 143.

[31] Alexandre Weill, *Les grandes juives* (Paris: Dentu, 1882).

[32] Judith Baskin, "Rabbinic Judaism and the Creation of Women," *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies*, eds. Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994): 125-130. 126.

[33] Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, "The Nakedness of a Woman's Voice, the Pleasure in a Man's Mouth," *Of with her Head,* eds. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 165-184. 172, 181.

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[34] Ivan G. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984) 88.

[35] Ivan G. Marcus, Ibid.

[36] Jonathan Magonet, *Jewish Exploration of Sexuality* (Providence: Berghan Books, 1995) 99.

[37] Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish man* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1997) 152.

[38] Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2002) 170.

[39] Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, "Introduction: People of the Body," *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*, ed. Howard Eilberg-Schwarz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992): 1-16. 5.

[40] Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 153.

[41] Daniel Boyarin, Ibid

[42] Judith Baskin, 107.

[43] M. Bannit, "Les Poterims," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 124-125 (1965-66): 21-33. 25.

[44] Arthur Posner, "Literature for Jewish Women in Medieval and Latin Times," *The Jewish Library. Third Series*, ed. Rabbi Leo Jung (New York: The Jewish Library Publishing Co, 1934): 213-243. 224-225.

[45] Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1992).

Chapter 2 - Historiography

[46] Anna Sapir Abulafia, "From Northern Europe to Southern Europe and from the General to the Particular. Recent Research on Jewish-Christian Coexistence in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 179-190. 179-180.

[47] Israël Lévi, "Les Juifs de France du milieu du IX siècle aux croisades," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 52-53 (1906-7): 161-168. 161.

[48] Jules Viard ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France,* 8 vols. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920).

[49] Myriam Yardeni, *Anti-Jewish Mentalities in Early Modern Europe* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990) 55, 61.

[50] Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1995) 13.

[51] Gilbert Dahan, "Bernard de Clairvaux et les Juifs," *Archives Juives* 20-24 (1984-1988): 59-64. 59

[52] Todd M. Endelman ed., *Comparing Jewish Societies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997) 4-5.

[53] Robert Chazan, "Representation of Events in the Middle Ages," *Essays in Jewish Historiography* ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert (Atlanta: U. of South Florida Scholars Press, 1991): 40-55. 45.

[54] Elisheva Carlebach, "Between History and Myth: The Regensburg Expulsion in Josel of Rosheim *Sefer ha-Miknah,*" *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach (Hanover and London: Brandeis UP, 1998): 40-53. 48.

[55] Robert Chazan, "Representation of Events in the Middle Ages," *History and Theory* 27 (1988): 40-55. 46.

[56] Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *What is the use of Jewish History*? (New York: Schocken Books, 1992) 11.

[57] Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2002) 18-22.

[58] Yardeni, n2 40.

[59] Robert Bonfil, "Jewish Attitudes toward History and Historical Writing in Pre-modern Times," *Jewish History* 10-11 (Spring 1997): 7-40. 16.

[60] Ad. Neubauer, "Memorbuch de Mayence," *Revue des Etudes Juives*. 3-4 (1881-1882): 1-30. 2.

[61] Dawidowicz, 11-12.

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[62] Amos Funkenstein, *Perception of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 5.

[63] Guido Kisch, "Research in Medieval Legal History of the Jews," *American Academy for Jewish Research* 1-4 (1928-33): 229-276. 231.

[64] Salo W. Baron, "Graetz and Ranke: A Methodological Study," *History and Jewish Hsitorians: Essays and Addresses* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1964) 271-272. (Term he coined).

[65] Pinson Koppel S. ed., *Simon Dubnow Nationalism and History: Essays on Old and New Judaism*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1958) 68. Alexandre Scheiber, "Le folklore juif dans la Revue des Etudes Juives, *Revue des Etudes Juives* 139-140 (1980-81): 19-37. 19. In 1896 Max Grunwald, a young rabbi in Hamburg, distributed a series of questionnaires inaugurating the collection of Jewish ethnographic materials.

[66] Lionel Kochan, *The Jew and his History* (London: Macmillan, 1977) 92.

[67] Raphael Mahler, "Shitat Dubnow u-mif alo be-historiographiah ha-yehudit," (Dubnow's Theoretical Approach and Work in Jewish Historiography) *Simon Dubnow, The Man and His Work*, ed. Aaron Steinberg (Paris: World Jewish Congress, 1963), 68.

[68] Aron Rodrigue, "Léon Halévy and Modern French Jewish Historiography," *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach (Hanover and London: Brandeis UP, 1998): 413-427. 424

[69] *Revue des Etudes Juives* 1 (1880) V.

[70] Théophile Cochard, *La Juiverie d'Orléans du VIe au XVe siècle, son histoire et son organisation* (Marseille: Laffitte Reprints, [1895] 1976) V.

[71] Henri Stein, "Les Juifs de Montereau au Moyen Age," *Annales de la Société Historique du Gâtinais* 17 (1899):54-61. 54; see also Théophile Cochard.

[72] Auguste Janvier, "Note sur les Juifs adressée à M. Cahen," *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie* 4 (1850-52): 287-291.

[73] Henri Gross, *Gallia Judaica : dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques* (Amsterdam : Philo Press, 1969) 62.

[74] Gérard Nahon, "Pour une géographie administrative des juifs dans la France de Saint-Louis (1226-1270)," *Revue Historique* 253-254 (1975): 305-344. 308.

[75] Nahon, ibid.

[76] Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society [1896]1993) 52.

[77] David Shohet, *The Jewish Court in the Middle Ages: Studies in Jewish Jurisprudence according to the Talmud, Geonic and Medieval German Responsa* (New York: Columbia UP, 1931).

[78] Eliakim Carmoly, *Bibliographie des Israélites de France* (Francfort-sur-le-Mein: G. Hess, 1968), 7.

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[79] Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 2002) 161.There is evidence of interest among the rabbis of Northern France, England and Germany in "theurgic prayer" in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[80] Ephraim Kanarfogel, *"Peering through the Lattices": Mystical, Magical, and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosasfist Period* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2000) 201.

[81] Marc Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980) 186.

[82] Dominick LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985) 17.

[83] Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).

[84] Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'Archive* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1995) 2.

[85] Pierre Toubert, "Tout est document," *L'Ogre historien: autour de Jacques Le Goff*, eds. Jacques Revel and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris: Gallimard, 1998): 85-105. 89.

[86] Michel de Certeau, trans. Steven Rendall, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1984) 5.

[87] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. C. Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana ande Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988):

[88] Tova Rosen, "On Tongues Being Bound and Let Loose: Women in Medieval Hebrew Literature," *Prooftexts* 8 (1988): 67-88. 83.

[89] Abrahams, 93.

[90] Irving A. Agus, *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg (1215-1292): His Life and his Works as Sources for the Religious, Legal, and Social History of the Jews of Germany in the Thirteenth Century* 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1947) 340 (Berlin ed. 2851 n 337-9).

[91] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) 59.

[92] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Medievalist Women and the Serial Approach," trans. Felicia Pheasant *Writing Women's History*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Oxford, U.K; Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1984): 25-33. 30.

[93] Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity & Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) 97.

[94] Bronislaw Geremek, "History and Memory," *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (1996): 41-53. 49.

[95] Susannah Heschel ed., *On Being a Jewish Feminist* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995); Paula Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Role and Representation of Women*

(Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Judith Basin ed. *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991); Bernadette Brooten, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Aviva Cantor, *The Jewish Woman, 1900-1985: A Bibliography* (New York: Biblio Press, 1987); Judith Hauptman, *Rereading the Rabbis: A Woman's Voice* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); Rachel Biale, *Women and Jewish Law* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

[96] Yvonne Verdier, *Façons de dire, façons de faire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979).

[97] William Chester Jordan, "An Aspect of Credit in Picardy in the 1240s: The Deterioration of Jewish-Christian Financial Relations," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 142 (1983): 141-152. 141.

[98] Adi Ophir, "Des ordres dans l'archive," *Annales ESC* 3 (1990): 735-754. 743.

[99] Dominick LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca; London: Cornell UP, 1985) 118.

[100] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, 17.

[101] Michel de Certeau, *The Capture of Speech & Other Political Writings* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 131.

Chapter 3 - Urban Expansion and Economic Perspectives

[102] See Siméon Luce, “Catalogue de documents du Trésor des Chartes,” *Revue de Etudes Juives* 1-2 (1880-81): 15-72. 16. As an example showing how ordinances and laws lack continuum: Louis IX forbade the Talmud in 1244 and also prohibited Jews to own real estate property in 1257. These laws did not prevent Jews from owning books, study the Talmud, and own property.

[103] Tosaphists added comments to the work of Rashi on the Talmud.

[104] Elliot Horowitz, “The Way We Were: Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,” *Jewish History* 1-3 (1986-88): 75-90. 77 (R. Meir of Rothenburg in his Responsa Cremona 1558 no 108).

[105] Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental (430-1096)* (Paris : Mouton & Co, 1960.

[106] R. I Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe (950-1250)* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) 60.

[107] Norman Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy: A Social and Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 174.

[108] Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental* XIV ; Shlomo Eidelberg, ed. and trans. *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Hoboken NJ: KTAV Publishing Inc, 1977) n 19 168 Talmudic law encourages Jewish master to manumit their slaves and with the slaves’ consent, convert them to Judaism.

[109] Israël Lévi, “Le lait de la mère” et le prosélytisme,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 87 (1929): 94-95. “and she said: who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck? For I have borne him a son in his old age. (Genesis 21:7) n3. Commentary by Bereshit Rabba (LIII). He was one of the first investigators of Jewish folklore

[110] see Ad. Neubauer, « Le Memorbuch de Mayence : Essai sur la littérature des complaintes, » *Revue des Etudes Juives* 3-4 (1881-1882) : 1-30. 13 (name of a proselyte Abraham ben Abraham).

[111] Robert Fossier, “Remarques sur l’étude des commotions sociales aux XIe et XIIe siècles,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 16-1 (1973): 45-50. 45.

[112] Olivier Martin, *Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922) vol. 1 42.

[113] Irving A. Agus, ed., *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg: His Life and His Works as Sources for the Religious, Legal and Social History of Germany in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1947) 55n (Responsum of R. Joseph Bonfils, L423).

[114] Simon Schwartzfuchs, *Kahal: La communauté juive de l’Europe médiévale* (Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986) 105-106.

[115] Irving A. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe: A Study of Organized Town-Life in Northwestern Europe during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries based on the Responsa Literature* (New York: Yeshiva UP, 1965) 17.

[116] Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: P. Deldheim, 1964)155.

[117] Jehudah ben Chemuel le Hassid. *Sefer Hasidim* (Le guide des Hassidim), trans. Edouard Gourévitch (Paris: Editons le Cerf, 1988) 430 « le herem était généralement prononcé à la synagogue en présence d'au moins dix hommes ; c'était une cérémonie étrange et terrifiante, le hazan prononçait la formule d'excommunication et les maledictions sans qu'il y fût inséré le nom de Dieu. On éteignait les chandelles dans la synagogue et on sonnait le shofar. »

[118] Robert Anchel, "Deux documents inédits sur les Juifs de Paris au XIVe siècle," *Revue Juive de Genève* IV (1935-36) : 63-66.

[119] Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* trans. Jonathan Chipman, (Walham: Brandeis UP, 2004)

[120] Finkelstein, "Takkanot R. Gershom " The right to interrupt the prayer service because a defendant refuses to come to Court or because the Court refuses to summon a defendant is guaranteed, but it is limited in the following manner. The plaintiff must three times make complaint in public at the end of the service. If he finds no response from the community, he may prevent them from holding public worship until his wrongs are righted. (section 14 of the Takkanot Shum).

[121] Jacob Mann, *The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a source of Jewish History* (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1918) 319.

[122] Siméon Luce, 62. After the expulsion of 1306, in 1309 Jews were still owning agricultural land in Champagne: "…heritages des Juifs d'Andelot sis à Andelot et au finage de cette ville, consistant en champs cultivés, prairies et vignobles, …" 1309, 29 novembre, Paris (JJ 41, folio 91,92 n0 156).

[123] Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "The Confrontation of Orality and Textuality" Jewish and Christian Literacy in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Northern France," *Rashi 1040-1090. Hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbac,* ed. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1993): 541-588. 551.

[124] Gustave Saige, *Les juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au XIVe siècle* (Paris: A. Picard, 1881) 212,223. Among other interdictions, Philip the Bold forbade Jews to live in small towns (Fonds Doat, tome XXXVII, folio 197), this decree was reiterated by Philip the Fair in April 1291 (Fonds Doat, tome XXXVII, folio 211).

[125] Golb, 75.

[126] Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs en France, écrits dispersés* (Paris : Diffusion Belles Lettres, 1989) 104.

[127] Henri Gross, transl. Moïse Bloch, *Gallia Judaica. Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques* (Paris: Librairie Cerf, 1897) 501, Philip Augustus gave to his cup-bearer, Rainald, the halle au ble of the Jewish quarter ; See also Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*. (Paris: Auguste Dued? Librairie, 1856). Later in 1311, Philip the Fair gave to his coachman the schools rue de la Tacherie. Henri Sauval, vol.1, 21.

[128] Gilbert Dahan, "Quartier juif et rue des Juifs," *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale*, ed. Bernhard Blumenkranz (Toulouse: Privat, 1980):15-32. 21-28.

[129] See Hercule Géraud, Karl Michaelsson.

[130] Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de Police,* 4 vols., (Paris: Michel Brunet, 1722) vol.1 301.

[131] Salo W. Baron, "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization," *Facets of Medieval Judaism*, ed. Seymour Sieggel (New York: Arno Press, 1973) 6 1-48.

[132] Edgard Boutaric ed., *Actes du Parlement de Paris* 2 vols. (Paris : Plon, 1863-67) no1948 (« Arrêt rendu à la demande des habitants de Chauni, déclarent que conformément à l'ordonnance du roi Saint Louis, il ne doit y avoir à Chauni plus de 4 familles juives. On chassera les juifs qui excèdent le nombre voulu. ») (*Olim* I fol. 198 ro).

[133] Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present.* 2 vols. (New York: Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 354.

[134] Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches. Les antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 2 vols., (Paris: C. Moette, 1724) vol.1 187.

[135] See John W. Baldwin, "La décennie décisive: les années 1190-1203 dans le règne de Philippe Auguste," *Revue Historique* 266 (1981): 311-337.

[136] Adrien Friedman, *Paris: ses rues, ses paroisses, du Moyen Age à la Révolution* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959) XXVII.

[137] Robert Anchel, *Les Juifs de France* (Paris: J.-B. Janin, 1946) 65-66 ; A survey of the tax roll of 1292 clearly shows that the vast majority of the population in Paris lived on the right bank of the city.

[138] Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 1-2 (1880-81): 247-261. 249. « Rabbi Yehiel de Paris constate que beaucoup de clercs avaient appris l'hébreu chez les Juifs. » Theologians' interest was as textual critics.

[139] Arieh Graboïs, "Un centre intellectuel juif à Paris sur la rive gauche aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles?" *Revue des Etudes Juives* 131 (1972) :223-224.

[140] Arieh Graboïs, "La société urbaine chrétienne dans la France septentrionale du XIe siècle, vue à travers les Responsa de Rashi," *Revue historique* 296 (1996): 241-252. 250 (*Responsa Rashi*, n0 107 and 155).

[141] Michel Roblin, "Les cimetières juifs de Paris au moyen âge," *Paris et Ile-de-France (Mémoires)* 4 (1952): 7-20. 14-15.

[142] P. Piétresson de Saint-Aubin, « Document inédit relatif aux juifs de Troyes, » *Le Moyen Age* 31 (1920-21): 84-86. 85. (Arch. de l'Aube 7H.136 fo131, Helieus, filius Douceron la juyve).

[143] Etienne Boileau, *Le livre des métiers.* Protection against Jewish interference : "Il est ordené que nule mestresse ne ouvrière du mestier ne peuvent acheter soie de juys, de fileresses, ne de nul autre,fors de marcheanz tant seulement… »100 ; "Nos juyf de la vile de Paris ne peut ne ne doit acheter saie escrue ne

tainte, qu'ele que ele soit, se ce n'est de marcheant convegnable et souffisant, ne que nui ne nule ne puisse acheter ne vendre bourree de soie, se ele n'est boulie." 378.

[144] Mark Wischnitzer, *A History of Jewish Crafts and Guilds* (New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1965) XX-XXI.

[145] Jacques Le Goff, *La bourse et la vie: économie et religion au moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1986)

[146] Ch. Lahure, ed., *Registre Criminel du Châtelet de Paris* (du 6 septembre 1389 au 18 mai 1392), 2 vols., (Paris: 1861) vol.1 377 (August15 1390).

[147] E. Boutaric, ibid, 2283 « Ordonnance defendant aux chrétiens et aux chrétiennes de demeurer dans les maisons des juifs pour les servir et aux juifs de les y garder » (*Olim* II fol. 50 ro).

[148] In this instance for example "Dans une lettre du pape Innocent III au roi Philippe Auguste, on fait un crime aux Juifs de Sens d'avoir construit, à côté d'une antique église, une synagogue bien plus haute que cette église." T. Cochard, n 116.

[149] Michel Roblin, "Les cimetières juifs de Paris au Moyen Age," *Paris et Ile-de-France Memoires* 4 (1952) :7-20.

[150] Théophile Cochard, *La Juiverie d'Orléans* (Marseille: Laffitte Reprints [1895], 1976) 115 note. (Baillie de Paris 1288: "De emendâ Judaeorum pro eo quod nimis alte cantaverunt, IIIe lib. Parisis"); apparently it was not an isolated complaint: the Precheurs Mineurs from Troyes complained to Philip the Long that Jews prayed in a loud voice in their synagogue and that they disturbed them. F. G. Hüttenmeister, "Synagogues et cimetières en Champagne médiévale," *Rashi 1040-1990. Hommage à Ephraïm Urbach,* ed., Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, (Paris: Les editions du Cerf, 1993): 579-585. 583.

[151] See Léon Brunchwicg, « Les juifs d'Angers et du pays angevin, » *Revue des Etudes Juives* 28-29 (1894) : 229-244. 239. Jews were forbidden to bathe in the river Maine ; Georges, Pon, *Recueil des documents de l'Abbaye de Fontaine-le-Comte: XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Poitiers: Société des archives historiques du Poitou, 1982) T.25. « she was bathing in the river Clain at Poitiers. »

[152] Siméon Luce, "Les juifs sous Charles V Le Sage," *Revue Historique* 7 (1878) :362-370. 362-65. Those who come in for business entrance of 4 florins or by person.. Ordinance of 1361, the count of Etampes became the sole judge and guardian of the privileges of the Jews. When the king Jean returned from captivity, money was needed to free him thus Jews had to pay a higher tax: 14 florins per couple, 1 per child, 7 florins as annual tax. And they had to wear a sign ; L. Lazard, "Les Revenus tirés des Juifs de France dans le domaine royal," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 15-16 (1887-88):235-261. 218. For the payment and collection of taxes, Jews were not considered as individuals but as a group, each of them responsible for the acts of the other members of the group, payment of taxes, and also as warrantors for others residence (two Jewish notables designating two men responsible for a third party).

[153] Jews were tolerated as witness of the faith, and had to remain dispersed , in permanent humiliation until the Apocalypse where the remnants of Israel will accept the rejected Christian faith, according to the eschatological perspective.

[154] Elizabeth Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (Cambridge: MIT, 2001) 92-93.

[155] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Brian Massumi trans. *A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) 5-9..

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[156] Bernard Guenée, Françoise Lehoux, Les *Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1968) 9.

[157] The Torah scroll can only be uncovered during the prayer service, at other times it remains covered to avoid defilement.

[158] N. Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion: la place des Juifs dans les cérémonies d'entrées solennelle au moyen âge," *Annales* 34-4 (1979): 672-683. (Saint-Paul, Epître aux Corinthiens II 3 : 15-16) 677-679 ; see also Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, trans. Henri Waquet, (Paris: Champion, 1929) 265.

[159] Steven D. White, "The Politics of Anger," *Angers' Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1998): 127-152. 142.

[160] Jean-François Lyotard, "On a Hyphen" *The Hyphen Between Judaism and Christianity*, Jean-François Lyotard and Eberhard Gruber (New York: Humanity Books, 1999): 12-27.

[161] Gilles Constable ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967) vol. 1 letter 130 327-330.

[162] Jean-Pierre Torrell, "Les juifs dans l'oeuvre de Pierre le Vénérable," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 30 (1987): 331-346. 340.

[163] Israël Lévi, "Les Juifs de France du milieu du IXe siècle aux croisades," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 52-53 (1906-7): 161-168. 162.

[164] Gustave Saige, *Les juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au XIVe siècle* (Paris : Alphonse Picard Ed., 1881).

[165] Sauval, vol.2, 509 ; *Gallia Judaica* « the third Council at Orléans (538) prohibited Jews to appear in public during four days after Holy Thursday (Concil. Aure., III. Can. 30).

[166] J. Guttmann, "Alexandre de Hales et le Judaïsme," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 19-20 (1889-90): 224-234. 228 (Lib II quaestio 180).

[167] J. Simonnet, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire des institutions et de la vie privée en Bourgogne (XIV-XVe siècles)* (Dijon: Rabutot, 1867) 436.

[168] Jean Blanchard, « Notes sur la communauté juive de Salon-de-Provence, » *Archives Juives* 6-3 (1969-70) : 33-35. 34 ; see also William Chester Jordan.

[169] Maryanne Kowaleski, « Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe : The Demographic Perspective, *Singlewomen in the European Past 1250-1800* eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton UP, 1999): 38-81. 47. the proportion of households containing servants were generally high in late medieval England and in northwestern European towns.

[170] See Roger Kohn, 178 "la chambrière de Salomon de Balmes est appelée p…. juive"

[171] Honoré Bonet, *L"Arbre des batailles*, ed. Ernest Nys, (Bruxelles and Leipzig: Librairie Europénne Muquardt, 1883) 164-165. "Se l'Eglise peut ordonner bataille contre les Juifs"

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[172] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter : On the Discursive Limits of « Sex »* (London: Routledge, 1993) 16.

[173] Judith Butler, Ibid, 30.

[174] Michael Camille, "Signs of the City, Place, Power and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris," *Medieval Practices of Space,* eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 1-36. 28.

[175] Valentin Groebner, trans. Pamela Selwyn. *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Zone Books, 2004) 53-55.

[176] Théophile Cochard, ibid, 150, a fine that will be reduced to 20 sous parisi under Charles V and that Charles VI brought back to 10 pounds, 163; Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle* Ages (New York: Feldheim Inc., 1964) 233 there is an interesting takkanot from the thirteenth century in which R. Meir b. Baruch says: "No one shall have long hair after the fashion of non-Jews."

[177] For a detailed list of decrees to enforce the Jewish badge or other marks of distinction see Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York: Hermon Press: 1966) n112-127, 65-70.

[178] Beard and side curls (Lev. 19, 27).

[179] Finkelstein, 59.

[180] Ulysse Robert, "Catalogue d'actes relatifs aux Juifs pendant le Moyen Age," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 3-4 (1881-82): 211-224. 216.

[181] Elliott Horowitz, "Visages du judaïsme : de la barbe en monde juif et de l'élaboration de ses significations, » *Annales HSS* 5 (1994) : 1065-1090. 1073-1079.

[182] Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996) 82.

[183] Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 16, 3.

[184] Olivier Martin, *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922) vol. 1, 21.

[185] J. Simonnet, ed., *L'Histoire des Institutions et de la vie privée en Bourgogne* (Dijon: Imprimerie Rabutot, 1867) 399-400 (f. 338). As an example among many others, the duke of Burgundy gave the Jew Hélie and his family to Vigier as he would have offered him an ox.

[186] Siméon Luce, "Catalogue des Documents du Trésor des Chartes," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 1-2 (1880-1881) : 15-72. 26-27 (J427 n015). His catalogue clearly brings out that Jews belonged to the king or other princes and that numerous women were moneylenders.

[187] Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century* (London: Kegan, Trevich, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1936) 307.

[188] E. Boutaric, no 3119. (Olim IV, fol. 49 r°).

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[189] R. I. Moore, 39-40.

[190] Gérard Nahon, "Les Ordonnances de Saint-Louis sur les juifs," *Nouveaux Cahiers* 23 (1970) :18-35. 19.

[191] Henri Gross, Trans. Moîse Bloch. *Gallia Judaica. Dictionnaire géographique de la France d'après les sources rabbiniques.* 150 (Réponses des Rabbins ed. Vienne no62).

[192] Gilbert Cahen, "les Juifs dans la région lorraine des origines à nos jours" *Le Pays Lorrain* 53-54 (1972-73): 55-83. 58.

[193] Louis-François Daire, « Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Corbie et du doyenné de Fouilloy*, » Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* 4 (1850-52): 291.

[194] Grosz, 152.

[195] Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscrit contenant le rôle de la taille imposée aux habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris: Crapelet, 1837).

[196] En 1307 Philippe le Bel ordered maître Jean de Crépy, royal officer to track down the Jews hiding in the sénéchaussée of Toulouse et in Rouergue despite the general expulsion and to take the necessary measures against those who assist them or traffick with their goods. (Reg. JJ40, folio 48, 49 n0 99).

[197] Sauval, vol.2, 519.

[198] Le Roux de Lincy, "Hugues Aubriot prévot de Paris sous Charles V," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 23 (1862) :173-213. Ironically, in 1369 Hugues Aubriot had stocked a large quantity of iron mallets in order to arm the workers of Paris in the eventuality of the siege of the city. 184.

[199] Le Roux de Lincy, 188.

[200] Alexandre Bruel, "Note de Vyon d'Héroual sur les baptisés et les convers et sur les enquêteurs royaux au temps de Saint Louis et de ses successeurs (1234-1334)," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 28 (1867) : 609-621. 612-615.

[201] Le Roux de Lincy ; Michel Félibien, « On leur enleva un grand nombre de leurs enfants, que l'on porta à l'église pour les faire baptiser » vol. 2, 688.

[202] Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes* ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Librairie Firmin Didot et Cie, 1882) vol.3, 139-140.

[203] M. Siméon Luce ed., *Chroniques des quatre premiers Valois 1327-1393* (Paris: Renouard, 1861) 294-295.

[204] Danièle Iancu, "Femmes juives en Provence médievale. Dots et pratiques matrimoniales à la fin du XVe siècle," *Histoire et Société. Mélanges Offerts à Georges Duby*, 2 vols., (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1992): 69-78. 70.

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[205] Gilbert Cahen, "Les Juifs dans la région lorraine des origines à nos jours," *Le Pays Lorrain* 53-54 (1972-73): 55-83; Mutual agreement severely limited the possibility of any divorce at all Shlomo Riskin, *Women and Jewish Divorce: The Rebellious wife, the Agunah and the Right of Women to Initiate Divorce in Jewish Law, a Halakhic Solution* (Hoboken: Ktav Publishing House Inc, 1989) 92.

[206] The ketubah is a marriage contract in which it is stipulated the portion that the husband settles on his wife in case of his death or in case of divorce.

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[207] Avraham Grossman, 247.

Chapter four - Women: Defined Status, Ambiguous Place

[208] Alexandre Weill, *Les grandes juives* (Paris: E. Dentu 1883).

[209] Adin Steinsaltz and Itzhak Tordjman, *The Woman of Valor (Eshet Hayil*, trans. Michael Swirsky (Jerusalem: Hamakor Press, 1993) n8 8 introduced by Rabbi Yizhak Luria (The Holy Ari).

[210] Proverbs 31:10-31

[211] See Danielle Jacquart and Thomasset Claude, *Sexualité et savoir médical au Moyen* Age (Paris: PUF, 1985) chapter 3.

[212] Jacob Neusner, *Rabbinic Political Theory: Religion and Politics in the Mishnah* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) 216; see also Judith Romney Wegner, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford UP, 1988) 148. (Mishnah: an everyday and political structure in civil law and government)

[213] Jehudah ben Chemuel le Hassid, *Sefer Hassidim*, trans. Edouard Gourévitch (Paris: Editions le Cerf, 1988) 289.

[214] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990) 11.

[215] Ephraïm Urbach, *Collected Writings in Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999) 201. [R' Acher, *Pesaquim*, Ketubboth, Ch. 11,3.]

[216] Avraham Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe*, trans. Jonathan Chipman (Waltham, Mass: Brandeis UP, 2004) 246.

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[217] I. Epstein, "The Jewish Woman in the Responsa," *The Jewish Library Third Series,* Leo Jung ed., (New York: The Jewish Library Publishing Co, 1934) 123-154. 123 (reference form Berliner A. Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter, 7.

[218] Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism.* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 100.

[219] Urbach, 1953. 198.

[220] C. Duschinsky, "May a Woman Act as Shoheteth?" *Occident and Orient: Being Studies in Semitic Philology and Literature, Jewish History and Philosophy and Folklore in the Widest Sense,* eds. Bruno Schindler and A. Marmorstein (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1936): 96-106. 102-103.

[221] Cecil Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959) 49.

[222] Imbart de la Tour, "La liberté commerciale en France au XII-XIIIe siècles," *La Réforme Sociale* XXIX (1895) 50.

[223] Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith M. Bennett. "Crafts, Gilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty years after Marian K. Dale," *Signs* 14-2 (1989): 474-501. 475.

[224] Katryn L. Reyerson, "Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier," *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, Barbara Hanawalt, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1986): 117-144. 136.

[225] Erika Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women*. Trans. Sheila Marnie (Mount Kisco, NY: Moyer Bell Limited, 1988) 10.

[226] Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel d'après un manuscrit contenant « Le rôle de la taille » imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris : Crapelet, 1837) 178.

[227] Simon Seror, "Contributions à l'onomastique des Juifs de France aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, " *Revue des Etudes Juives* 140 (1981): 139-192. 151.

[228] Gérard Nahon, "Le crédit et les Juifs dans la France du XIIIe siècle," *Annales* 24 (1969): 1121-1148.

[229] See William Chester Jordan.

[230] Danielle Jacquart, *Le milieu médical en France du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Genève: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1981).

[231] Joseph Shatzmiller, "On Becoming a Jewish Doctor in the High Middle Ages," *Sefarad* 2 (1983): 239-250. 244.

[232] Monica Green, "Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe," *Signs* (Winter 1989): 434-473. 439.

[233] Eliacin Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins juifs anciens et modernes* (Bruxelles: Société encyclographique des Sciences médicales, 1844) 91.

[234] Hercule Géraud, 1-180.

[235] H. Denifle, E. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Pariensis (1200-1452)* (Paris: Delalain, 1891) vol. II, 267.

[236] H. Denifle, E. Chatelain, vol. II, 256.

[237] Jean Rychner ed., *Les Lais de Marie de France,* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1983) 96. In the lai "Deus Amanz" there is a reference to a woman physician:

> En Salerne ai une parente,
> Riche femme, mut ad grant rente.
> Plus de trente anz I ad esté;
> L'art de phisike ad tast usé
> Que mut est saive de mescines.

Tant conuist herbes et racines (103-108)

See also A. Asher ed., *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of* Tudela (London; Berlin: Ashe & Co, 1840) 43 Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in his travels mentions that there were 600 Jews in Salerno.

[238] Harry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1944) 217-220.

[239] Mélanie Lipinska, *Histoire des Femmes médecins depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie G. Jacques & Cie, 1900) 85.

[240] Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 109-110.

[241] Ron Barkai, *A History of Jewish Gynecological Texts in the Middle Ages*.(Leiden: Brill, 1998) 87.

[242] Joseph Shatzmiller, *Medecine et justice en Provence médievale* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1989) 22-25 (Manosque: document Number 47).

[243] Harry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicin*e, 217.

[244] Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society.*

[245] E. Boutaric, 53 individuals accused of beating a Jewish woman: in Lerné, in Jazeneuil (Vienne).

[246] Jehudah ben Chmuel le Hassid, 57 (Pa. 206: Bol. 200).

[247] Ibid, 57-58 (Pa. 207; Bol. 201).

[248] Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 29.

[249] Ivan Marcus, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 61.

[250] See Bernard Chevalier, ed., *Les Pays de la Loire moyenne dans le Trésor des Chartes: Berry, Blésois, Chartrain, Orléanais, Touraine 1350-1502.* Paris: CTHS, 1993. There are numerous cases of violence against women.

[251] Christine de Pisan, *La Cité des Dames* (Paris : Stock, 1986) 146.

[252] Christine de Pisan, 146.

[253] (see e.g. R. Abraham ben David [Ravad] 1969. Laws of Marital Status 10:21; R. Meir of Rotenberg, 1960, Vol. 4 responsa #91, Karo, *Shulhan Aruhk*

[254] Louis I. Newman, "Intermarriage Between Jews and Christians during the Middle Ages," *Jewish Institute Quarterly* 2-1 (1926): 2-8. 2.

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[255] Moses Gaster, "Some Stories about Jewish Women," *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971): 29-64. 56.

[256] *Responsa, R. Meir of Rothenburg* (1215?-1293). He sent responses to the communities of Germany, Austria and even France 326-327 (Cr. 291; B. 319 no. 780; *Mordecai Hagadol, p.182a)* this is one of the many.

[257] Louis Finkelstein, 216 n. 23.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Roger Kohn, 63-64.

[260] Claude Gaignebet and J. Dominique Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au moyen âge* (Paris: PUF, 1985) 220.

[261] Roger Kohn, "Les Juifs de France à travers les archives du Parlement de Paris (1359?-1394)," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 141 (1982): 5-138. 85 (AN. Trésor des Chartes JJ 108 37 no 59).

[262] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: SUP, 1987) 84-85.

[263] Claude Gauvard, "De grace especial » Crime, état et société en France à la fin du Moyen Age. 2 vols. (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1991) 271-316.

[264] Joseph Shatzmiller, *Recherches sur la communauté juive de Manosque 1241-1329* (Paris : Mouton & Co., 1973) 103.

[265] Roger Kohn, *Les Juifs de la France du nord dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle* (Louvain; Paris: E. Peeters, 1988) 178.

[266] Théophile Cochard, *La Juiverie d'Orléans,* In his introduction he expresses an interest in writing the history of the Jews of Orléans, neglected by local historians. Although he seems to express sympathy with the Jewish plight, he nevertheless declares that the martyrological aspect of this group was somehow exaggerated, raising doubts, "…ne furent-ils jamais coupables? (VII, VI-IX); 149-50.

[267] Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, "A Singular Past," *Singlewomen in the European Past 1250-1800* ,eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999): 1-37. 25.

[268] Jacob Katz, *The "Shabbes Goy": A Study in Halakhic Flexibility*, trans. Yoel Lerner (Philadelphia and New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989) 57-66.

[269] Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton UP, 2002) *The Shimmush Tehillim* a popular book in the thirteenth century contains a variety of formulas, instructions for the use of amulets, psalm recitations, and magical often homeopathic rituals. 160.

[270] Roger Kohn, "Les Juifs de la France du Nord à travers les archives du Parlement de Paris (1359?-1394)," 84 (April 1375, Paris).

[271] Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mother and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004).

[272] Léon Brunschvicg, "Les Juifs d'Anger et du pays angevin," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 29-30 (1894-95) :229-244. 239.

[273] See Gérard Nahon, This amount was equivalent, by the end of the thirteenth century, to two pounds, 480 deniers. The daily living cost of a family of several children was 12 to 16 deniers.
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[274] Arthur Beugnot, *Les Juifs d'Occident* (Paris: Imprimerie de Lachevardière Fils, 1824) 24.

[275] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1991) 130.

[276] Kathryn Gravdal, 20.

[277] E. Boutaric, Arret comfirmant (7026) « Fait pendre un juif nomme "Mine" lequel avait ete surpris en adultère avec une chrétienne»(p 491).

[278] Henri Sauval, vol.2, 510.

[279] Marguerite Boulet ed., *Questiones Johannis Galli* (Paris: Boccard ed., 1944) 481-482 q. 403. (folio 187).

[280] Esther Cohen, "Symbols of Culpability and the Universal Language of Justice: The Ritual of Public Executions in Late Medieval Europe," *History of European Ideas* 11 (1989): 407-416. 411; see also Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *La b*ête singulière: les juifs, les chrétiens et le cochon (Paris: Gallimard, 1994). In Burgundy according to the law if a horse or bull was responsible for an homicide, the animal was not killed but was confiscated by the authorities, but if the animals belonged to a Jew then it had to be hanged upside-down. Charles Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit français au Moyen Age.* 2 vols. (Paris: Videcoq Père et Fils Eds., 1846) vol. 2, n0 197 p. 302. In the cases of Jews hanged upside-down it is not only an inversion, an additional humiliation and certainly a prolonged death, the occasion to inflict suffering but also a parallel with homicidal animals, and especially pigs.

[281] Golb, 186-7.

[282] Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1961) 9.

[283] Kenneth Stove, "Linder, The Jews in Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 89 (1999): 460-465. 464.

[284] Hanne Trautner-Kromann, *Shield and Sword: Jewish Polemics against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain from 1100-1500* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1993) 1.

[285] During that period a number of priests and clerics converted to Judaism. For example Jean d'Oppido, a Normand priest converted to Judaism in 1102, *Bulletin de la Societe des antiquaries de Normandie*. 53.

[286] Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental* (Paris: Mouton et Co., 1960) 63.

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[287] Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 8 (1952): 51-54. 54.

[288] Frederick Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) (letter 27) 50.

[289] Ulysse Robert, 223 no91(Doat, 37, fol. 246)

[290] Hanne Trautner-Kroman, *Shield and Sword,* 13-14

[291] Ibid.

[292] Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson eds., "Introduction" *Hebrew Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 9.

[293] Lucien Lazard, "Juifs de Touraine" *Revue des Etudes Juives* 17-18 (1888-90): 21-222. 215.

[294] I.S. Revah, "Autobiographie d'un marrane. Edition partielle d'un manuscrit de João (Moseh) Pinto Delgado," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 119 (1961): 41-130.

[295] Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500-1750* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2001) 31.

[296] Le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand, eds. *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1867) 160, n3.

[297] Michel Félibien, vol. 2, 714-715.

[298] Roger Kohn, "Les Juifs de France à travers les Archives du Parlement de Paris (1359? – 1394),". 128-129.

[299] Simha Goldin, "Juifs et Juifs convertis au Moyen âge: "Es-tu encore mon frère" ?" *Annales* (1999): 851-874. 870-871.

[300] Susan Einbinder, *Beautiful Death,* 18.

[301] Pl. J. Lefèvre, "Le theme du mytère des hosties poignardées par les Juifs à Bruxelles en 1370," *Le Moyen Age* 58-59 (1952-53): 373-398.

[302] Christian conversion in most cases, interestingly enough but easily comprehensible, are found in the clerical world.

[303] Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1972) vol.1 30; The author read the name of the city as Anjou, according to Norman Golb, it was Monieux, in "Notes on the Conversion of European Christian to Judaism in Eleventh Century," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 16 (1965): 69-74. 70.

[304] G. Nahon, "Pour une géographie administrative des Juifs dans la France de Saint-Louis," *Revue Historique* 253-54 (1975): 305-344. 330.

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[305] Emile-Auguste Bégin, *Biographie de la Moselle*, 4 vols., (Metz: Verronnais, 1829-32) vol. 2, Gerson 227-28. Ironically, his son would later convert.

[306] Simha Goldin, 874

[307] Simha Goldin, 868-869.

[308] Carlebach, 139.

[309] Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis* 6 vols. Ed, J. De Gaulle (Paris: Renouard, 1849) vol. 5, 296.

[310] L. Lazard. "Les revenus tirés des Juifs de France dans le domaine royal" in *Revue des Etudes Juives* 15-16 (1887-88) : 233-261. 235-236.

[311] Le Nain de Tillemont, vol. 5, 297.

[312] A. Neubauer, "Documents inédits," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 5-6 (1882-83): 41-56. 41.

Chapter 5 - Female Martyrs: Subversive Role-Models

[313] Arch. Nat. JJ. 135, no 226, fol.123. (Paris, October 1384).

[314] Eusèbe de Laurière, ed. *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race recueillies par ordre chronologique* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale. 1723-1849) vol III*,* 641. The Ordinance of 1363 enforced the wearing of a badge by Jews to make them easily recognizable; the Ordinance of April 3, 1365 forbade Christian women to enter Jewish quarters without being accompanied.

[315] René Girard, *Le bouc émissaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1982) 36.

[316] 'Falseness' is one of the notorious character traits imputed to Jews in the *chansons de geste*, see Gerald Herman, "A Note on Medieval Anti-Judaism, as Reflected in the *Chanson de Geste*" in *Annale Medievale* XIV (1973): 63-76. 66; for a thorough study of the *Chansons De Geste* see Francesca Canadé Sautman "L'Epopée taisible": Structures sociales de l'imaginaire épique (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1978).
It is also found in the popular sequence of Easter in *Victimae paschali*, religious play from the eleventh century, see Gilbert Dahan. "Les Juifs dans le théâtre religieux en France du XII au XIVe siècles." *Archives Juives* 13-1 (1977): 1-10. 2.

[317] Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997)**.**

[318] Butler, Ibid, 2.

[319] Arch. Nat. Actes du Parlement de Paris. JJ.

[320] J.L. Austin, *How to Say Things with Words,* eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà, Second ed. [1962], 2000.

[321] Butler, 9-10.

[322] See Léon Mirot, *Les insurrections urbaines au début du règne de Charles VI (1380-1382)* (Paris: A. Fontemoing Ed., 1905).

[323] See Francesca Canadé Sautman. "Etre forain au Moyen Age: Espace de dedans et de dehors," 4. presented at Langres, France, in May 2001. This cry for help had an electrifying effect on neighbors and other passersby. The reaction against an outsider's threat immediately rallied the group in an act of solidarity against foreigners.

[324] Michel Félibien ed., *Histoire de la ville de Paris* (Paris: G. Desprez et J. Desessartz, 1725) 688-689.

[325] Gilbert Dahan, *Les Intellectuels chrétiens et Juifs au moyen* âge (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990) (St. Thomas "Utrum parvuli Iudeorum sint baptizandi invitis parentibus." 150-151).

[326] According to the Church ritual, conversion was performed only at two important liturgical moments of the year: Easter and Pentecost and conversion could only be performed by a priest. Gratian.

Decretum De cons. D. 4cc. 15 ed 93; Gilbert Dahan. *Les Intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge*. 143-152.

[327] Solomon Grayzel, "The Papal Bull *Sicut Judeis*," *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, eds. Meir Ben-Horin, Bernard D. Weinryb and Solomon Zeitlin (Leiden: Brill, 1962): 243-280.

[328] Roger Kohn, "Les Juifs de la France du Nord à travers les Archives du Parlement de Paris (1359?-1394)," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 141 (1982): 5-138. 62.

[329] Paul E. Grosser and Edwin G. Halperin, *The Causes and Effects of Anti-Semitism: The Dimensions of a Prejudice* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1978) 33-34.

[330] Roger S. Kohn, "L'Expulsion des Juifs de France en 1394: les chemins de l'exil et les refuges," *Archives Juives* 28-1 (1995): 76-84. 77.

[331] Michel Roblin, *Les juifs de Paris, démographie, économie, culture* (Paris: J. Picard & Cie, 1952) 20.

[332] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996) 40.

[333] Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (Paris [1883]: Kraus reprint, 1961)*;* Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français* (Paris: Morel & Cie, 1873) vol.4, 175. peliçon: vêtement fort usité du XIIè siècle jusqu'au XV. Il consiste en une robe de dessus.. Au commencement du XIVe les pelices de femmes ne paraissent pas avoir possédé de manches. Vêtement plutot de dessous que de dessus; Julien Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877) le pelisson ne fus plus mis en évidence comme il l'avait été souvent dans le costume du douzième siècle. Son rôle intime est indiqué par un adage qui resta longtemps vulgaire "On vet ainsi sa chemise qu'on ne fait pelison" 182.

[334] Arch. Nat. JJ. 135, no 226, fol.123. (Paris, October 1384). 117-118. "et du pillage fu gecté audit Philippot le pelicon qui estoit de petite valeur, et il prinst et il regecta incontinent à un autre de la compaignie."

[335] See Shmuel Sherkau, "Death Twice Over: Dualism of Metaphor and Realia in 12th-Century Hebrew Crusading Accounts," *Jewish Quarterly Reciew* XCIII 1-2 (2002): 217-256. In the Hebrew narratives of the first Crusade, stripping the bodies of the victims was a common practice. 221-224.

[336] Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches. Les antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris: C. Moette, 1724) 522. The badge had to be worn in front and in the back, and was a palm in diameter; see also Ulysse Robert, *Les signes d'infamie au moyen âge: Juifs, Sarrasins, hérétiques, lépreux, cagots et filles publiques* (Paris, 1891) 6-56; Gilbert Dahan, ibid 159-176.

[337] See Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française* (Paris: Picard ed., 1916) vol. III Le Costume. The only detail that the author gives about Jewish women apparel in this extensive work is a veil called *orale* like the *amict* worn by priests, but he does not specify in what period, in which geographical areas and how widespread was the use of this veil. ibid 436-438; Alfred Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967) 118; in the Papal bull of 1257 requiring women to wear a veil with two blue stripes, *oralia*, or *orales* that remained in forced at Avignon until the fifteenth century. It had by 1326 become a pointed veil *cornalia* or cornu, typical dress for German Jewish women until the seventeenth century or perhaps later; Raphael Strauss, "The "Jewish Hat" As an Aspect of social History" *Jewish Social Studies* 4 (1942): 59-72. 65. In 1221, in a letter to the archbishop of Bordeaux, the Pope Honorius III said that he did not insist upon forcing a special garb on Jews for they could be distinguished

without resorting to such means; Philippe Mezières, a contemporary of Charles VI on the contrary affirms that " …alant parmy les rues de Paris, on ne pourrait cognoistre qui est Juif ou Crestien" *Le songe du vieil pélerin* , ed. G. W. Coopland 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969) vol.2, 285.

[338] Judith Butler, 45.

[339] Charles Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'aprés les documents originaux* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1913) vol. 5 Can. 68, 386; it is only from the council of Narbonne in 1227 that the *rouelle* became canonically a characteristic Jewish sign.

[340] Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). As she points out the use of the pointed hat and beards as attributes in medieval art dates back to the eleventh century and by the thirteenth was widespread and conventional 16,19; see also Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1966); a rare instance of a mention "un habit juif" stolen by Vivant de Montréal in a letter of pardon after the revolt in Paris in 1380. Roger Kohn, *Les juifs de la France du Nord* 94.

[341] Jules Viard ed., *Les Journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV Le Bel* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1940) XVI. Jews were the property of the king. Saint Louis' Ordinance of 18 June 1269 prescribed Jews to wear a badge made of scarlet fabric or felt. If they were accused by a passerby, they could be fined up to 10 pounds and their (specified with a masculine pronoun) outer garment was confiscated and given to the denouncer.

[342] Gavin Langmuir, "Anti-Judaism as the Necessary Preparation for Anti-Semitism," *Viator* 2 (1971): 383-389. 385.

[343] Ivan G. Marcus, "The Dynamics of Jewish Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth-Century Europe," *Jews and Christian in Twelfth-Century Europe,* eds. Michael A. Signer and John van Engen (Notre Dame: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2001): 27-45. 33.

[344] Shlomo Noble, "The Jewish Woman in Medieval Martyrology," *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature,* ed. Charles Berlin (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971): 347-55. 349; Richard Landes, "The Massacres of 1010: On the Origins of Popular Anti-Jewish Violence in Western Europe," *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996): 79-112.79, 88-89. The decision of Robert the Pious, king of France, to obliterate the Jewish presence in his realm was directly related to the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009 by the Kalif Al Hakim. The Kalif forced the Christian subjects to convert. In retaliation, the king of France gave Jews the choice of conversion or death. This episode prompted the anonymous poem.

[345] A.M. Haberman ed., *Sefer gezerot ashkenaz vezarfat* (Jerusalem, 1945) 19. trans.

[346] Psalm 124:5.

[347] D. Malkiel, "Jewish-Christian Relations in Europe 840-1096," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 55-83. n69 73 (Gittin, fol. 57) based on the biblical passage "The Lord said: 'I will bring back from Bashan, I will bring them back from the depths of the sea." (Ps. 68:23).

[348] Prov. 31:10, the last proverb of Salomon is in praise of women: a woman of valor (a good wife is more 'precious' than rubies).

[349] Elisheva Carlebach, *Between History and Hope: Jewish Messianism in Ashkenaz and Sepharad* (New York: Touro College Press, 1998).

[350] Achille-Edmond Halphen, *Recueil des lois, décrets, ordonnances, avis du conseil d'Etat, arrêtés et règlements concernant les Israélites depuis la Révolution de 1789* (Paris, 1854) 48-51. Napoleon's decree of July 20, 1808: Jews were required to adopt and register a fixed first and last name.

[351] Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *The Savage in Judaism: An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) 230-1.

[352] Gilbert Dahan, "Bernard de Clairvaux et les Juifs," *Archives Juives* 23 (1989): 59-64. 60. letter 363: « …Il ne faut pas persécuter les Juifs, il ne faut pas les tuer ni même les expulser." Letter that Bernard de Clairvaux sent to the archbishops of France and Bavière.

[353] David Berger, "The Attitude of St. Bernard de Clairvaux Toward the Jews," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XL (1972): 89-108. 106-107.

[354] Ps. 58.12.

[355] Saint Augustine, *The City of God* book XVIII, chapter 46; see also Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideasw of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[356] Jean-Pierre Torrell, "Les juifs dans l'oeuvre de Pierrre le Vénérable," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 30 (1987): 331-346. 339.

[357] Ibid, Letter 130, 327-330.

[358] Shmuel Sherkau, "To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives," *Speculum* 77-2 (2002): 311-341. 312-313.

[359] Yoseph Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982) 41.

[360] Sigmund Salfed, *Das Martyrologium des Nuremberger Memorbuches* (Berlin: L. Simion, 1891) for 2664 adult males, there were 2533 female victims.

[361] Shlomo Noble, "The Jewish Woman in Medieval Martyrology 1096-1350," *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature,* ed. Charles Berlin (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971): 347-355. 347.

[362] Robert Chazan, "1007-1012: Initial Crisis for Northern Europe Jewry," *American Academy for Jewish Research* 38-39 (1970-71): 101-118. 114.

[363] Shlomo Eidelberg, trans. and ed., *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1996) 105 ; see also Aryeh Grabois, "La chronographie hébraïque des croisades mémoire et rédaction des témoignages," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 159 (2000): 79-98.

[364] Lucy S. Davidowicz, *What is the Use of Jewish History?* (New York: Schocken Books, 1992) 10.

[365] Simha Goldin, 121-123.

[366] Robert Chazan, "The Early Development of Hasidu Ashkenaz," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1984-85): 199-211. 205-206.

[367] Simha Goldin, "The Socialization for *Kiddush ha-Shem* among Medieval Jews," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 117-138. 128-129.

[368] Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders,* 35-36 and 151n94.

[369] Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Anti-Semitis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997)..

[370] Robert Chazan, "The Blois Incident of 1171: A Study in Jewish Intercommunal Organization," *American Academy for Jewish Research* 36-37 (1968-69): 13-32. 15.

[371] V.A. Neubauer and M. Stern eds., *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der* Kreuzzüge. Berlin: L. Simion, 1892. 34

[372] Robert Chazan. "Ephraim Ben Jacob's Compilation of Twelfth-Century Persecutions" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84 (1994). 397-416. 406-07

[373] Yerushalmi, 81.

[374] Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs à Blois au moyen âge: à propos de la démographie historique des Juifs," *Etude de civilization médiévale (IXe-XIIe siècles)*, ed. Edmond René Labande (Poitiers: C.E.S.C.M.).

[375] On the Blois massacre see Robert Chazan extensive writings on the subject. He affirms that the massacre obsessed him for more than twenty years. "The Blois Incident of 1171: a Study in Jewish Intercommunal Organization"; "The Timebound and the Timeless"; "Ephraim Ben Jacob's Compilation of Twelfth-Century Persecutions" *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 84 (1994): 397-416.

[376] Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Les Juifs à Blois au Moyen Age 34 (M.G.H. SS., VI 520 1.18 and following) Robert du Mont-Saint-Michel says that "plures Iudeorum qui Blesi habitabant" were killed but not all.

[377] There are variations in the spelling of the name. Pucellina: Polcinelle, Polcelina

[378] Susan Einbinder, "Pucellina of Blois: Romantic Myths and Narrative Conventions," *Jewish History* 12-13 (1998-99): 29-46.

[379] Ivan G. Marcus, ibid.

[380] Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews.* 6 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America [1894] 1956) Vol.3, 378-381.

[381] Robert Chazan, "The Blois Incident of 1171. 15.

[382] Shlomo Neubel transl. Haberman 138.

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[383] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*. "Thesis on the Philosophy of History." (New York: Schocken Books, 1985) 255.

[384] Ibid.

[385] Robert Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: the Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2000) 126.

[386] Norman Golb, "New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade," *American Academy for Jewish research* 33-35 (1965-67): 2-64. 35.

[387] See Susan Einbinder, "The Troyes Laments: Jewish Martyrology in Hebrew and Old French," *Viator* 30 (1999): 201-230.

[388] Shlomo Neubel, 352, see also Shimeon Bernfeld, Haberman, Zunz.

[389] David Kaufman, "R. Eliezer B. Joseph et le martyre de Chinon (27 août 1321)," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 28-29 (1894): 298-301.

Chapter 6 - Dangerous Exchanges: Gender and Money Lending

[390] Scott B. MacDonald & Albert L. Gastmann, *A History of Credit and Power in the Western World* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2001) 41-44. (credit letter known as *suftafa* that had originated in Bagdad).

[391] Zeev W. Falk, *Jewish Matrimonial Law in the Middle Ages* (London: Oxford UP, 1966) 144; see also Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self*-Government 377.

[392] Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 203.

[393] Roger Kohn, *Les Juifs de la France du Nord dans la seconde moitié du 14ème siècle,* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1988) 96.

[394] Françoise Gasparri, "Les juifs d'Orange (1311-1380) d'après les Archives notariales," *Archives Juives* 10-1 (1973-1974): 22-25. For example Françoise Gasparri, the spouse of Bonifacius Santelli the physician in Orange (a city that by the end of the fourteenth century had a Jewish population with recent immigrants form Ile-de-France, Chartres, Alsace…) has 158 loans recorded in twelve years.

[395] Archives Nationales, JJ 943 no19.

[396] P. Piétresson de Saint Aubin, "Documents relatifs aux Juifs de Troyes," *Le Moyen Age* 30 (1920-21) 84-86.

[397] Michael Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* 21-22.

[398] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) Appadurai, 15.

[399] Appadurai, Ibid, 7

[400] Chazan, "The Blois Incident of 1171, ibid .

[401] Gilbert S. Rosenthal ed., *Banking and Finance among Jews in Renaissance Italy*, Critical edition of Haye Olam, *The Eternal Life* (New York: Bloch Publishing Cie, 1962) Note 27. 7-8.

[402] Stow, 216.

[403] (Baba Meza 70b, Avoda Zara 15a) 218

[404] Irving A. Agus, *The Heroic Age of Franco-German Jewry* (New York: Yeshiva UP, 1969) 100.

[405] Edouard Gourévitch, *Sefer Hassidim* 332 (Pa. 465; Bol. 783)

[406] Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 4.

[407] Dante, *Inferno,* canto XI seventh circle, In the third ring we find Sodom and Cahors, another

transgression combined with usury.

[408] Robert Chazan, "The Timebound and the Timeless: Medieval Jewish Narration of Events," *History and Memory* 6:1 (1994): 5-34. 14.

[409] Appadurai, 14-15.

[410] Aryeh Grabois, "Les Juifs et leurs seigneurs dans la France septentrionale du XI, XIIe siècles," *Les Juifs dans l'histoire de France*, ed. Myriam Yardeni (Leiden: Brill, 1980): 11–23. 13.

[411] For theory on usury see Jean Ibañes, *La doctrine de l'Eglise et les réalités économique au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: PUF, 1967.

[412] Gilbert S. Rosenthal, ed., 3.

[413] Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century*. London: Kegan, Trevich, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1936) 250. Lombard bankers (a generic term including men from different towns in Italy but also from southern France, Cahors) were practicing moneyending in Paris after 1224; each of them paid the king a tax of two pounds, ten sous per year to practice usury. Their living conditions were not treated better than their counterparts, the Jews.

[414] *Ordinances* I, 35; Brussel, Sous Philippe Auguste, sorte de charte établie en 1206, rapporte par Brussel, premier règlement de cette nature: entre autres dispositions l'intérêt des prêts ne dépassera pas 2 deniers par livre et par semaine et que tous les actes de prêt étaient assujettis au sceau. »576.

[415] Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 383. In Ile de France, loans by Jews to peasants had to be repaid at All Saints day (November 1st) according to the royal ordinance of 1230; see also Camille Enlart, 43 (.Yellow paint was applied to the houses of insolvable debtors. Color parallel Jews and their main activity).

[416] Bernard Chevalier ed., *Les pays de la Loire moyenne dans le Trésor des Chartes: Berry, Blésois, Chartrain, Orléanais, Touraine 1350-1502*. Paris: CTHS, 1993. 108. « Rémission pour Amide et Peres Cohain, Juifs d'Orléans, poursuivis malgré les letters de grace qu'ils avaient obtenues pour avoir dit que le roi était plus grand usurier qu'eux. »

[417] J. Simonnet, ed, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire des institutions et de la vie privée en Bourgogne (XIV-XV)* (Dijon: Imprimerie Rabutot, 1867) 404:

> … je vuel que, se je n'ay meillor consoil, que le juif demeouraint en ma terre principalement pour humanité et qu'il marchandait léaulment sans usure et vivent de lors labours, et vuel que deçor en avant lors ne soit contrains payer à eux de ce où hait usure. (codicille de Robert II)

[418] Sophia Menache, "Faith, Myth and Politics: The Stereotype of the Jews and their Expulsion from England and France" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1984-85): 351-374. 366.

[419] De Wally et Delisle eds., *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale,) vol 22, 119. 87-166.

[420] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," *Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 67.

[421] L. Lazard, 241 n140.

[422] Norman Golb, ibid.

[423] William Chester Jordan, "Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Mid-Thirteen century," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 28-29 (1978): 39-56. 41

[424] Joseph Shatzmiller, 59.

[425] See William Chester Jordan for a complete study of these documents. (Normandy, Vermandois, Artois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Languedoc, Mâconnais and sections of Ile-de-France).

[426] William Chester Jordan, "Jewish-Christian Relations in Mid-Thirteenth Century France: An Unpublished *Enquete* from Picardy," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 138 (1979): 47-55.

[427] See Gérard Nahon, "Le Crédit et les Juifs dans la France du XIIIe siècle," *Annales* (ESC) 24 (1969) : 1121-1148 ; "Pour une géographie administrative des juifs dans la France de Saint-Louis (1226-1270)," *Revue Historique* 253-254 (1975) : 305-344.

[428] Nahon, ibid.

[429] Jordan, « Jewish-Christian Relations, ».

[430] Gérard Nahon, "Pour une géographie administrative des juifs dans la France de Saint-Louis (1226-1270)," 307-308. There are no information on Jews in the *baillage* of Amiens, of Sens, and of Orléans, Bourges, Macon, Caux, the mountains of Auvergne, and the *senechaussee* of Rouerge. Champagne and Burgundy were not yet reunited to the crown, and nothing on Brittany because Jews were expulsed in 1239.

[431] De Wally et Delisles eds. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*) vol. 24 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904) 742-744.

[432] Kenneth R. Stow. *Alienated Minority.* 217.

[433] See also François Delaborde ed., *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2 vols. (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1882) vol. 2, n0 371.

[434] Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966) n74 35.

[435] Charles Langlois, "Doléances recueillies par les enquêteurs de Saint-Louis et des derniers Capétiens directs," *Revue Historique* 92 (1906) : 1-41. 30 (note 216 et passim)

[436] Gérard Sivery, " Mouvements de capitaux et taux d'intérêt en occident au XIIIe siècle," *Annales* 38 (1983): 137-150. 140.

[437] Françoise Lehoux, "Le duc de Berri, les Juifs et les Lombards," *Revue Historique* 215-216 (1956): 38-57. 50-52; H. Moranvillé, "Extraits de journaux du trésor (1345-1419)," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 49 (1888): 149-214, 368-452. 375.

[438] Philippete Mahaudie the day of the riot ran to the Jewish quarter and grabbed a silver belt, bedcovers and clothing items. (JJ. 147 no236 fol 108).

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[439] **JJ** 126 no132 fol. 87.

[440] **JJ** 118 no274 fol. 147.

Conclusion - A Tentative Conclusion

[441] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Von E. Scott and C. Swinton Bland, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1929).

[442] This is the case of the first wife of the apostate Pablo Chrisitani, famous for his polemics against Jews and Judaism in Provence and Catalonia (1260-1273). She remained faithful to Judaism and returned to her father's house, but her children were baptized against her will. Jacob Mann, "La letter polémique de Jacob b. Elie à Pablo Christiani," Jacob Mann, *The Collected Articles*, 3 vols., (Israel: M. Shalom Ltd, 1971) vol. 1Z, 230-244. 231-2.
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[443] See chapter one, section on effeminized bleeding Jewish men.

[444] Caesarius of Heisterbach, 109-110.

[445] Carmen Caballero-Navas ed and trans, *The Book of Women's Love and Jewish Medieval Literature on Women (Sefer Ahavat Nashim)* (London; New York; Bahrein: Kegan Paul Limited, 2004). 53 according to Abbaye's mother: "All incantions which are repeated several times must contain the name of the patient's mother." Talmud Shab. 66b.

[446] See Claude Gaignebet and J. Dominique Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au moyen âge* (Paris : PUF, 1985).

[447] Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIII century: A Study of their Relations during the Years 1198-1254 Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966) 314-315.

[448] See Gilbert Dahan for a detailed analysis of the corpus and although less interesting and outdated: Ernest Renan, Bernhard Blumenkranz, Abraham E. Millgram, Charles Lehrmann, Manya Lifschitz-Golden, M. Steinschneider. In the epics, representation is minimal: Jews are mostly reduced to epithets like *desfaez, tirant, félon, fals*. Jewish characters in these texts are often depictions of Jews living at the time of Christ or associated with Saracens. The largest representation of Jews in French literature occurs in Christ's dramas. From the eleventh century on, Jews are negatively represented allowing the authors to introduce a comic element in the play, not possible otherwise with such topic. They are given ridiculous names such as "Pinceguerre, Trinqua-la-Palha, Malenquarant, Cambafort (pork hind), or real names like Haquin, Vivant, Mousa, Marques… Heinz Pflaum, "Les scènes de Juifs dans la littérature dramatique du moyen âge," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 89 (1930): 111-134.

[449] Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and it Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1983) 13.

[450] Adenés Li Roi, *Li Roumans de Berte aus Grans pies*, ed. Auguste Scheler (Bruxelles: Closson, 1874) (vers 1830-1834).

[451] Adenés Li Roi, ibid (vers 1850).

[452] Jean Molinet, *Le mystère de Judith et Holofernes*, ed. Graham A. Runnalls (Genève : Droz, 1995) 238.

[453] For an extensive study of the scorpion in religious iconography see Marcel Bulard, *Le scorpion symbole du peuple juif dans l'art religieux des XIV, XV, XVI siècles* (Paris: E. de Boccard Ed., 1935).

[454] Brunetto Latini, "*Le livre du trésor" Jeux et sapience du moyen âge,* ed. Albert Pauphilet (Paris: Gallimard, 1951): 730-858. 784 (dou baselique).

[455] Frédéric Piel, "Abraham le juif chronique du XIVe siècle," *Revue de l'Anjou* (1858) : 116-120.

[456] There are rare instances where Jews are depicted as good men in the Chanson de Geste. See Girart de Vienne, *Chanson de Geste*, Ed Frédéric G. Yeandle (New York: Columbia UP, 1930) long cycle of Guillaume of Orange, laisse CXXXV: "A tant es vos. I. Juïf Joachins Blanche ot la barbe si comme flor de li." (4880).

[457] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Le Mans The chapel of Notre Dame de Torcé, erected in the sixth century, has been much frequented by pilgrims since the eleventh century.

[458] M. Catane, "L'Elément français dans l'onomastique juive," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 144 (1985): 333-342 333.

[459] Moshe Catane, "La Littérature hébraïque en France à la fin du 18e siècle," *Juifs en France au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Bernhard Blumenkranz (Paris: Commission française des Archives juives, 1994): 29. 29-36

[460] Roger S. Kohn, "L'Expulsion des Juifs de France en 1394: les chemins de l'exil et les refuges,' *Archives Juives*28-1 (1995): 76-84. 80.

[461] Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancient Régime*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) 3.

[462] Fossier, 229.

[463] Gérard Nahon "Les cimetières," *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France mediévale,* ed. Bernhard Blumenkranz (Toulouse, Privat 1980): 73-94. 74.

[464] M.F. De Guilherny, *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1873) vol. 3, 79-714.

[465] Robert Weyl, *Richesse artistique et spirituelle des cimetières juifs d'Alsace* (Strasbourg: Merkaz, 1997) 7. Charles Magne, "Etude sur une stèle hébraïque du XIIIe siècle découverte à Paris place du Panthéon," *Bulletin de la Montagne Sainte Geneviève*. IV (1903-04): 337-347. 340. 64 pièces sont reparties dans les musées de Cluny, Carnavalet, Saint-Germain et Limay.

[466] Gérard Nahon, "L'épigraphie," *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France mediévale*, ed. Bernhard Blumenkranz (Toulouse, Privat 1980): 95-132; Gerson, 77. Generally Jews paid an annual fee, either in cash or in kind (a pound of pepper, ginger, or wax) to use a field as cemetery. Every inhumation was paid on an individual basis and if permission for burial was denied, the corpses had to be transported to a neighboring town.

[467] Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen: Kole Phares Publishing House 1991)

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[468] David Kaufman, “Le “Grand deuil,” de Jacob B. Salomon Sarfati d’Avignon,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 29-30 (1894-95): 52-64.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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