

THE JEWS OF *PROVINTZIA*, THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE STUDIES CARRIED OUT IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE (AIX SCHOOL AND NGJ MONTPELLIER), 1960-2010

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Date of receipt: 15th of February, 2010

Final date of acceptance: 7th of October, 2010

ABSTRACT

The medieval history of the Jews of southern France has improved considerably. Since 1945 its development has become evident throughout the southern territory, stimulated by the existence of sources in Hebrew (from within the communities) and Latin (from outside). In those privileged places where a true profane and philosophical basis of Jewish science developed, the rich documentation has permitted the growth of basic works founded on the study of notary sources (R. W. Emery); but also the Occitan-Catalan Hebrew sources have conserved a rich documentation (Ch. Touati, Y. T. Assis, etc.). Emphasis has been placed on the “Aix School” of G. Duby, productive in the 1970s, when J. Shatzmiller started his initial research. The former County of Provence, where Jewish minorities were tolerated until 1501, lends itself commendably to the study of Jewish daily life through the examination of notary books. The county of Venaissin has its share in this historiographical panorama, as the various works on Gersonides have demonstrated.

KEY WORDS

Historiography, Jews, Southern France, second half twentieth -early twenty-first centuries.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Rerum conscriptio, Iudaei, Gallia meridionalis, Vigesima saeculi dimidia pars altera, Vnius supra viginti saeculi initium.

There was a good reason why Professor Sabaté i Curull of the University of Lleida asked me to try to make an assessment of the studies into the history of the Jews in the South of France carried out over more than half a century.

After an initial essay going back to 1981,¹ and a recent assessment from 2006 limited to learned Jewish journals in French,² an update was by no means superfluous. This one emphasises book production in the South of France, particularly that based on notarial sources.

1. Assessments

1.1 Roussillon-Cerdagne

The ultimate initial pioneering study was that by Richard Emery, published in New York in 1959: *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Notarial Records*. His approach remains a model for the use of notarial records, providing great clarification and inspiration: Jewish money-lending, doctors and lawyers, Jewish widows and so on. The wide range of results on all these topics (particularly concerning activities related to money) from the study of notaries which have broadly gained a following are due to him.³

This considerable contribution from Richard Emery updated the old but valuable articles by Pierre Vidal that appeared in 1887-1888 in the *Revue des études juives*,⁴ and which the late Eduard Feliu committed himself to republishing in 1987 and in 1992⁵ with a preface, notes at the end of the volume and an updated bibliography. A laudable initiative whose merit was to dust off, make accessible and update some

1. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. *Les Juifs en Provence (1475-1501). De l'insertion à l'expulsion*. Marseille: Provence Historical Institute, 1981: 11-16.

2. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "Un siècle d'investigations sur les juifs du Midi médiéval dans les revues savantes juives d'expression française", *Les Revues scientifiques d'études juives: passé et avenir. A l'occasion du 120^e anniversaire de la Revue des études juives*, Simon Claude Mimouni, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger eds. Paris-Louvain-Dudley: Peeters, 2006: 83-92.

3. See: Emery, Richard Wilder. "Documents Concerning Jewish Scholars in Perpignan in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries". *Michael*, 4 (1976): 27-48; Emery, Richard Wilder. "Jewish Physicians in Medieval Perpignan". *Michael*, 12 (1991): 113-134; Emery, Richard Wilder. "Le prêt d'argent juif en Languedoc et Roussillon", *Juifs et judaïsme en Languedoc, XIIIe-début XIVe siècle*, Marie-Humbert Vicaire, Bernhard Blumenkranz, eds. Toulouse: Privat, 1977: 85-96; Emery, Richard Wilder. "Les Juifs en Conflent et en Vallespir (1250-1415)", *Conflent, Vallespir et Montagnes catalanes, Actes du 11^e Congrès de la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon (Prades et Villefranche-de-Conflent, 1978)*. Montpellier: Historical Federation of the Mediterranean Languedoc and Roussillon, 1980: 85-91; Emery, Richard Wilder. "Les veuves juives de Perpignan (1137-1416)". *Provence Historique*, 37, fasc. 150 (1987): 559-569.

4. Vidal, Pierre. "Les Juifs des anciens Comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne". *Revue des études juives*, 15 (1887): 19-55; Vidal, Pierre. « Les Juifs des anciens Comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne ». *Revue des études juives*, 16 (1888): 1-23, 170-203; 2nd edition and catalan translation: Vidal, Pierre. "Els Jueus dels antics comtats de Rossello i Cerdanya". *Calls*, 2 (1987): 27-112.

5. Republication with preface and editor's notes by Eduard Feliu, and updated bibliography: Vidal, Pierre. *Les juifs des anciens comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne*. Perpignan: Mare Nostrum, 1992.



works that should not be ignored, by a Perpignan librarian from the end of the 19th century, on the establishment of the Jews in the two Counties; the founding of the *Call* in Perpignan; the political, financial and legal organisation of the *aljama*; the situation in the reign of James I of Aragon, under his son James, King of Majorca (who received the Balearic Islands and the lordship of Montpellier and the two Counties in question, Roussillon and Cerdagne) and his successors, until their eviction in 1493 in the wake of their expulsion from Spain. In this republication, the important part (p. 74-93) relating to men of letters (doctors and rabbis) and the circulation of manuscripts should be remembered.

As Eduard Feliu wrote, this “study, rigorously written and based on knowledge of the relevant documents, remains a classic”.

The history of the Jews in the city of Perpignan was also the subject of a good colloquium in the summer of 2000, whose papers were compiled and published in 2003⁶ in the Perpignan-Archives-Histoire collection. The question of the medieval *mikveh* in the old convent at Minimes was naturally on the agenda (six papers on “Territories” and “Pilgrimages”) by Lucien Bayrou, Georges Mallet, Romain Maréchal, Sílvia Planas, Olivier Bru, and Lisabelle Pagniez; and also the condition of the Jews under the kings of Majorca, the small but influential stratum of doctors and learned men and, finally, the process that ended the Perpignan community begun by the Disputation of Tortosa by Pierre-Vincent Claverie, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Marise Choukroun, Florence Touati-Wachstock; inseparable from the issue of the *conversos* and *xuetes* by Renada-Laura Portet, being all there among the important matters dealt with.

This colloquium offered a snapshot of the knowledge that the publication of a more recent congress (autumn 2007) reinforced and updated, the 3rd *Congress for the study of the Jews in Catalan-speaking territories*, also held in Perpignan and jointly in Barcelona.⁷

In the meantime (2004), the thesis by Claude Denjean on Puigcerdà, seen through the prism of the Christian notaries of Cerdagne, appeared.⁸ His sober, comparative approach has made clear the close connections the Jewish community was able to weave with those of the Crown of Aragon, and also with those of the Languedoc and Provençal Midi. Puigcerdà, a small new town in the County of Cerdagne, the centre of cloth and leather production, where the archive documents shed light on socio-economic relationships in the decades just before and after 1300 and provide a picture of matters linked to credit (forms of advance, interest, place of Jewish lending in the world of craftsmen and farmers in Cerdagne).

Some studies written here and there on this territory that belongs at once to Perpignan and to Catalonia should not be omitted: the article on the Perpignan

6. *Perpignan. L'Histoire des Juifs dans la ville (XIIe-XXe siècles): recueil des communications du colloque (Perpignan, 19-21 juin 2000)*. Perpignan: Archives Communales de Perpignan, 2003, p. 271.

7. Barcelona-Perpignan, 15-18 October 2007. The proceedings of the congress will appear in 2012.

8. Denjean, Claude. *Juifs et chrétiens. De Perpignan à Puigcerdà. XIIIe-XIVe siècles*. Canet-en-Roussillon: Editions Trabucaire, 2004.



collecta of 1412 by Joseph Shatzmiller,⁹ my one on inventoried books in Girona following the Disputation of Tortosa, 1414-1415),¹⁰ or the superb contribution on the route of the Jews of Roussillon¹¹ by Martine Berthelot, who also wrote some fine bibliographical studies: “Pour une histoire des juifs en Catalogne du Nord: réalités, perspectives de recherche et références bibliographiques”,¹² and, more recently, in the *Revue des études juives*: “Réflexions sur les études juives contemporaines en Espagne”.¹³

The substantial journal *Tamid* of the Catalan Society for Hebrew Studies, founded by Eduard Feliu should also be mentioned, with a number of studies dealing with Perpignan, and with the period when that Mediterranean city, the gateway to the mountains, facing Canigou, and with its Catalan tradition, was the capital of the Kingdom of Majorca.

We should, for example, mention *Tamid* 1 (1997) with its bibliography of the history of the Jews of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon and Provence, 1985-1994,¹⁴ followed, in the next issue of “Addicions i modificacions”, particularly a useful bibliography of inventories, wills, lists and reports of medieval Hebrew books,¹⁵ a set of works that is easy to consult and which has been, and will continue to be, of great service to researchers.

In the area of Jewish culture, great Roussillon men of letters, like Le Meiri in Perpignan, have been the subjects of important studies, like the one by Gérard Nahon in the Proceedings of the 2nd Congress for the study of the Jews in Catalan-speaking territories.¹⁶

9. Shatzmiller, Joseph. “La *collecta* de Perpignan (1412)”. *Archives juives*, 2 (1975): 20-24.

10. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Proceedings of the International Congress, Jerusalem 1999”. *Materia giudaica*, 6/2 (2001): 167-182.

11. Berthelot, Martine. *Route juive. Guide de Narbonne à Girona*. Perpignan: Sources, 2002. See also in this record of heritage: Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “A propos du *mikve* de Perpignan et d’autres cités méridionales”. *Revue des études juives*, 151/3-4 (1992): 355-362.

12. Berthelot, Martine. “Pour une histoire des juifs en Catalogne du Nord: réalités, perspectives de recherche et références bibliographiques”, *Perpignan. L’Histoire des Juifs dans la ville (XIIe-XXe siècles): recueil des communications du colloque (Perpignan, 19-21 juin 2000)*. Perpignan: Archives communales, 2003: 255-271.

13. Berthelot, Martine. “Réflexions sur les études juives contemporaines en Espagne”. *Revue des études juives*, 168/1-2 (2009): 163-180.

14. Feliu i Mabres, Eduard; Casanellas i Bassols, Pere. “Bibliografia sobre la història dels jueus de la Corona de Catalunya-Aragó i Provença: 1985-1994”. *Tamid*, 1 (1997): 156-255 (with the collaboration of Jordi Casanovas and Maria Esperança Barjau).

15. Feliu, Eduard. “Bibliografia sobre inventaris, testaments, llistes i notícies de llibres hebreus medievals”. *Tamid*, 2 (1998-1999): 219-227, 228-240.

16. Nahon, Gérard. “*Magen Avot* de Menahem B. Salomon Ha-Méiri: Catalans du Nord, Catalans du Sud”, *Actes del III Congrés per a l’estudi dels jueus en territoris de llengua catalana (Barcelona-Cervera, octubre 2004)*. Barcelona: Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, 2005: 159-166.



1.2 The Languedoc

A great hotbed of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages, the territory of Languedoc has inspired a number of studies based as much on Hebrew sources as on Latin or vernacular documents.

We might at the same time mention the articles by Charles Touati on the Maimonides controversy, and by Yom Tov Assis in the *Revue des études juives*.¹⁷ Bernhard Blumenkranz, who was then running the CNRS “Nouvelle *Gallia Judaica*” team, contributed enormously to feeding research, with the rich Proceedings of a Colloquium held in 1976 and published under the title *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*:¹⁸ we need only mention the names of some of the prestigious participants, such as Binyamin Zeev Benedikt, Gilbert Dahan, Richard Wilder Emery, d’Aryeh Grabois, Gavin I. Langmuir, Gérard Nahon, David Romano, Joseph Shatzmiller, Charles Touati and Isadore Twersky.

About a decade later, in 1985, the subject was reworked from a Montpellier angle at the international colloquium “The Jews in Montpellier and Languedoc. From the Middle Ages to our Time”,¹⁹ organised by Carol Iancu on the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the city and the restoration of the 12th-century medieval *mikveh*. Other fine contributions should be highlighted, such as those by Simon Schwarzfuchs on the Jewish community in Montpellier, observed from Rabbinical sources; the late Alfred Morabia and Hugues Jean de Dianoux on the Maimonides dispute in Spain and the Languedoc, and the Saportas, Aragonese *marranos*, teachers of doctors in Montpellier and their descendants in Provence. Mireille Hadas-Lebel, René Moulinas, George Weill and Gérard Nahon complete a rich, subtle picture of the state of research in this field.

Some theses have been produced on this cultural area from Languedoc in common with Catalonia, which should not be ignored²⁰ —as Eduard Feliu insisted: Moïse de Narbonne was dealt with by Maurice Ruben Ayoun in his time,²¹ while Yedahya ha Penini of Béziers was the subject of a study directed by the late Josep Ribera i Florit and continued at the University of Barcelona (and for which I had the honour to sit on the jury in 1999) on the Letter of Apology of Iedaia ha-Penini, an episode

17. Touati, Charles. “La controverse de 1303-1306 autour des études philosophiques et scientifiques”. *Revue des Études Juives*, 128 (1968): 21-37; Assis, Yom Tom. “Juifs de France réfugiés en Aragon (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)”. *Revue des Études Juives*, 142/3-4 (1983): 285-322.

18. Vicaire, Marie-Humbert; Blumenkranz, Bernhard, eds. *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc. XIIIe-début XIVe siècle*. Toulouse: Privat, 1977.

19. Iancu, Carol, ed. *Les Juifs à Montpellier et dans le Languedoc. Du Moyen Age à nos jours*. Montpellier: University Paul Valéry-University Jewish and Hebrew Research and Studies Centre, 1988.

20. See my article: Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Affinités historiques et interférences culturelles chez les communautés juives de l’espace occitano-catalan”, *Mossé ben Nahman i el seu temps, Simposi commemoratiu del vuitè centenari del seu naixement. 1194-1994*. Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1994: 113-140.

21. Hayoun, Maurice Ruben. *La philosophie et la théologie de Moïse de Narbonne (1300-1362)*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1989.



of the Maimonides controversy in Catalonia and Provence.²² The publication and translation of this last manifesto of one of the two opposing factions before Philip the Fair's fateful edict was carried out by Manuel Forcano.

Moreover, the establishment in Montpellier since the end of 2002 of the CNRS-EPHE "*Nouvelle Gallia Judaica*" team, founded in Paris at the beginning of the 1970s by Bernhard Blumenkranz for the medieval and modern study of the Jews of France, must also be highlighted. G. Nahon succeeded him ten years later, followed by Gilbert Dahan. Under my responsibility, to date, it has been moved to the provinces and has taken its place on a site with medieval resonances in the Rue de la Barralerie.²³

Two international colloquiums were organised in December 2004 and November 2006. The first, celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the death of Maimonides, awarded a fundamental place to the "Lunel Jewish school" in the Western dissemination of Maimonides' philosophical thought. A local initiative with patrons (the Meschullams of Lunel) led the well-known Andalusian lineage of the Tibbonides to make a huge quantity of Arab knowledge accessible. The Proceedings were published in 2009 by Cerf:²⁴ in this group, we would highlight the publication by Paul Fenton of an out-of-the-ordinary missive kept in the *genizah* of Cairo and written in Lunel by the Rabbinic authority Jonathan ha-Cohen to Maimonides himself. The contribution of Gad Freudenthal, who reported on the origin of the process leading the Andalusian exiles of Juda ibn Tibbon's family to undertake the huge enterprise of known translations, should also be highlighted.²⁵

The second colloquium, held in November 2006, is in the process of publication. In this case, it was an event forming part of the national celebrations marking the 700th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of France by Philip the Fair entitled *Philip the Fair and the Jews of his Kingdom*.²⁶ For the section "European Jews in the time of Philip the Fair", three successive

22. *La Lletra Apologètica de rabi Iedaia ha-Penini, Un episodi de la controvèrsia maimonidiana a Catalunya i Provença*, ed. Manuel Forcano. Barcelona: Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 2003.

23. See: Iancu-Agou, Danièle; Gensac, Alain. "L'ensemble culturel hébraïque médiéval de Montpellier", *Le patrimoine juif européen. Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris, au Musée d'Art et d'histoire du judaïsme, les 26, 27 et 28 avril 1999*, Max Polonovski, ed. Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2002: 285-305.

24. Iancu-Agou, Danièle; Nicolas, Élie, Eds. *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des Juifs andalous en pays d'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Éd du Cerf, 2009. An Italian translation is in progress for Editions Jaca Book.

25. Fenton, Paul. "De Lunel au Caire: une lettre préservée dans la *guéniza* égyptienne", *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des Juifs andalous en pays d'Occident médiéval*, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Élie Nicolas, eds. Paris: Éd du Cerf, 2009: 73-81, and Freudenthal, Gad. "Transfert culturel à Lunel au milieu du XII^e siècle: Qu'est-ce qui a motivé les premières traductions provençales de l'arabe en hébreu?", *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des Juifs andalous en pays d'Occident médiéval*, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Élie Nicolas, eds. Paris: Éd du Cerf, 2009: 95-108. We would also highlight the fine contribution of the late Ribera-Florit, Josep. "La controverse maïmonidienne en Provence et en Catalogne", *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des Juifs andalous en pays d'Occident médiéval*, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Élie Nicolas, eds. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2009: 193-211.

26. 20-21 November 2006, Colloquium "Nouvelle Gallia Judaica" (CNRS-EPHE), Montpellier, to be published by Cerf: *Philippe le Bel et les Juifs de son royaume (22 juillet 1306), Actes du Colloque international, Montpellier, NGJ, 20-21 novembre 2006*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf: forthcoming (juin, 2012).



contributions dealt with Navarre, Valencia and Catalonia: “The Jews of the kingdom of Navarre in the time of Philip the Fair” by Juan Carrasco; “The Jews of Valencia in the time of Philip the Fair” by José Hinojosa Montalvo; “Threats from France? Catalan Jews face the consequences of the policy of Philip the Fair” by Claude Denjean.

The participation of our Israeli colleagues Sani Emanuel and Rinha Rainer (religious and cultural life), Professors Gérard Nahon, Simon Schwarzfuchs, José Hinojosa Montalvo and Renata Segre, and young researchers like Juliette Sibon and Céline Balasse in this meeting should also be noted.

Moreover, the regular organisation of monthly seminars has given this team a degree of vigour and true visibility. N° 5 in the *Nouvelle Gallia Judaica* collection has just come out with Cerf, with nine papers from the 2005-2006 seminar (*Mediterranean Jews in the Middle Ages. Culture and prosopography*), including a long study by Eduard Feliu on Jewish culture in Catalonia.²⁷

1.3 The County of Provence

The old County of Provence, independent from the kingdom of France, played host to very vigorous Jewish communities that were affected by the Black Death of 1348, although not lastingly reduced in numbers. The epidemic —and above all the deaths that came with it— particularly disrupted small rural groups apparently as vulnerable as the one in Toulon, and those in Haute Provence, where riots reached the Jewish quarters of Forcalquier, Digne, Moustiers-Saintes-Marie, Riez and Sisteron.²⁸

The three largest and most impressive communities, those of the capital, Aix, Arles and Marseille, have generated important studies. Two big urban history theses directed by Georges Duby (by Noël Coulet and Louis Stouff) tackle the problem of the groups of Jews in Aix and Arles through the prism of huge quantities of notarial archives from the first half of the 15th century.²⁹ These two total history urban monographs, throw excellent light on the Jewish minorities of these places.

After a first topographical work,³⁰ it has been my task to spend time pursuing quantities of Aix notarial records from the last quarter of the 15th century, which

27. Feliu, Eduard. “La culture juive en Catalogne médiévale”, *Les juifs méditerranéens au Moyen âge: culture et prosopographie*, Danièle Iancu-Agou, ed. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2010: 15-50. The other contributors are: Toni Lévy, Philippe Bobichon, Renata Segre, Elie Nicolas, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Claude Roux and Alain Servel.

28. Shatzmiller, Joseph. “Les Juifs de Provence pendant la Peste noire”. *Revue des études juives*, 133/3-4 (1974): 457-480.

29. Defended at the University of Provence in 1979: Coulet, Noël. *Aix-en-Provence, Espace et relations d’une capitale (milieu XIVe-milieu XVe siècles)*. Aix-en-Provence: University of Provence (PhD. Dissertation), 1988; Stouff, Louis. *Arles à la fin du Moyen Age*. Aix-en-Provence: University of Provence (PhD. Dissertation), 1986.

30. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Topographie des quartiers juifs en Provence médiévale”. *Revue des Études Juives*, 133/1-2 (1974): 11-156. Improved, updated edition entitled: Iancu-Agou, Danièle. *Provincia judaica*.



has allowed me to observe the process of disappearance of these groups confronted, after the death of King René (1480), with attachment to the kingdom of France (1481), with a rapid deterioration in their situation, worsened by riots generating local expulsions (Arles, 1493; Tarascon, 1496), and then overall banishment (1500-1501).³¹ Then, and following some works providing summaries,³² the observation of the destiny of a woman, Régine Abram, daughter of a doctor from east Provence (Draguignan) through four marriages (one to a Jew and three to Christians), led me to analyse the phenomenon of conversions affecting Provençal Judaism from 1469 to 1525: “early”, peripheral conversions from the period of King René (including rare “forced” conversions that can be counted on the fingers of one hand), conversions occurring at times of rioting (with the paradigmatic example of Arles in 1484), and finally “last resort” conversions at the time of the expulsion in 1501. No less than 200 abandonments of ancestral Judaism in Aix “deciphered”, with identification of individuals (old Jewish names and new patronymics of “neophytes”), as well as some hundred Provençal cases, all found in the Aix archives.³³

This problem of expulsions and exile was re-examined in the course of an international colloquium held in September 2001 and published in 2005.³⁴ Commemorating the expulsion from Provence, going into the events of September 1501, this event expanded the subject to Mediterranean Europe with the participation of eminent followers of the trails of those exiles who went to Spain (Miguel Dolader), Sardinia (Mauro Perani), Italy (Michele Luzzati, Roberto Segre, Élisabeth Borgolotto) and the Ottoman empire (Simon Schwarzfuchs). The problems of the *conversos* (Sílvia Planas, Claude Denjean) and the Provençal neophytes (Danièle Iancu-Agou, Alain Servel) were also dealt with.

For Marseille, another ancient community, a recent thesis is in the course of publication in the Nouvelle Gallia Judaica collection: it is written by Juliette Sibon, in a study directed by Henri Bresc, from the University of Paris X-Nanterre, and deals with the Jews of Marseille in the 14th century, based on a wealth of notarial documents.³⁵

This fine study renews and enriches the publications from the beginning of the 20th century (Albert Crémieux, Isidore Loëb, Raoul Busquet, Édouard Baratier) and

Dictionnaire de géographie historique des Juifs en Provence médiévale. Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2010: XXII + 248 pages + 23 plates.

31. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. *Les Juifs en Provence (1475-1501)*...

32. Iancu-Agou, Danièle; Iancu-Agou, Carol. *Les Juifs du Midi*. Avignon: Barthélemy, 1995; Iancu-Agou, Danièle. *Etre juif en Provence au temps du roi René*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1998.

33. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. *Juifs et néophytes en Provence. L'exemple d'Aix à travers le destin de Régine Abram de Draguignan (1469-1525)*. Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2001. Preface by Georges Duby, afterword by Gerard Nahon.

34. Iancu-Agou, Danièle, ed. *L'expulsion des juifs de Provence et de l'Europe méditerranéenne. XVe-XVIe siècles. Exils et conversions, En mémoire de Georges Duby*. Paris-Louvain-Dudley: Peeters, 2005.

35. Sibon, Juliette. *Les Juifs de Marseille au XIVe siècle*. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2011 (PhD. Dissertation). Preface of Henri Bresc .



nearer to us, by Christian Maurel, and Daniel Smail.³⁶ It comes within the series from the Georges Duby Aix school,³⁷ which includes important works on medium-sized communities: Manosque, Salon-de-Provence, Trets.

Joseph Shatzmiller carried out pioneering work on the Jewish community of Manosque published in 1973 and prefaced by Georges Duby.³⁸ His attention then led to new, rich topics concerning education: the *tallia judeorum*, Jewish doctors, interest-bearing loans.³⁹

Fred Menkès was concerned with the Jews from the small locality of Trets, near Aix, the capital of the old County of Provence,⁴⁰ and Monique Wernham produced a fine publication resulting from a postgraduate thesis directed by Georges Duby on the Jewish community of Salon-de-Provence.⁴¹

In 1987, an important edition of *Provence Historique* came out, publishing the proceedings of a Canadian meeting organised by Joseph Shatzmiller on the topic, *The Jewish Family in the Middle Ages. Provence-Languedoc*. There, Louis Stouff developed a file on Nathan d'Arles, from a family from the educated Jewish elite in Arles, which was also the subject of a study the same year.⁴² Other publications on the circulation or collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the 15th century (Aix-Marseille) should also be mentioned.⁴³

36. Smail, Daniel Lord. "The Two Synagogues of Medieval Marseille: Documentary Evidence". *Revue des Études Juives*, 156 (1995): 115-124.

37. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "Georges Duby (1919-1996) et le renouveau des études sur les juifs de Provence". *Revue des études juives, Notes et Mélanges*, 159/3-4 (2000): 479-483.

38. Shatzmiller, Joseph. *Recherches sur la communauté juive de Manosque au Moyen Age*. Paris-The Hague: Mouton, 1973.

39. Shatzmiller, Joseph. "La perception de la 'tallia judeorum' en Provence au milieu du XIVe siècle". *Annales du Midi*, 82 (1970): 221-236; Shatzmiller, Joseph. *Médecine et justice en Provence médiévale. Documents de Manosque 1262-1348*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1989; Shatzmiller, Joseph. *Shylock revu et corrigé. Les juifs, les chrétiens et le prêt d'argent dans la société médiévale*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000.

40. Menkès, Fred. "Une communauté juive en Provence (Trets) au XIVe siècle: étude d'un groupe social". *Le Moyen Age*, 77/26 (1971): 277-303.

41. Wernham, Monique. *La communauté juive de Salon-de-Provence d'après les actes notariés 1391-1435*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987.

42. Stouff, Louisl. "Isaac Nathan et les siens. Une famille juive d'Arles des XIVe et XVe siècles". *Provence Historique*, 150 (1987): 499-512. See also: Coulet, Noël. "Un lignage dominant de la juiverie d'Aix-en-Provence: Mordacaysse Salomon de Carcassonne et sa famille". *Provence Historique*, 150 (1987): 513-530. Finally, see Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "Une vente de livres hébreux en 1434. Tableau de l'élite juive arlésienne au milieu du XVe siècle". *Revue des Études Juives*, 146/1-2 (1987): 5-62; based on the Hebrew sources, R. Ben Shalom of the Open University (Israel) has carried out many studies, including: Ben-Shalom, Ram. "The Tortosa Disputation: Vincent Ferrer and the Problem of the Conversos According to the Testimony of Isaac Nathan". *Zion: A quarterly for Research in Jewish History*, 56 (1991): 21-45; Ben-Shalom, Ram. "Concerning the Question of the Author of the First Hebrew Concordance *Meir Nativ*". *Kyriath Sepher*, 64 (1992-93): 754-760; Ben-Shalom, Ram. "The Tibbonides' Heritage and Christian Culture: Provence, c. 1186 - c. 1470", *Des Tibbonides à Maïmonide. Rayonnement des Juifs andalous en pays d'Oc médiéval*, Danièle Iancu-Agou, Élie Nicolas, eds. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2009: 109-119.

43. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "L'inventaire de la bibliothèque et du mobilier d'un médecin juif d'Aix au milieu du XVe siècle". *Revue des études juives*, 134/1-2 (1975): 47-80; Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "Le néophyte aixois Jean Aygosi (1441-1487). Passé juif et comportement chrétien", *Michael. On the History of the Jews*



Finally, the Jewish community of Tarascon is the subject of relatively recent studies with the thesis of Claude Roux, carried out in 2004 under the direction of Noël Coulet (University of Provence).⁴⁴

The “*Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*” should also not be omitted: four volumes published in 1992 containing texts collected by the medievalists of the University of Provence and divided as follows: *Le couple, l’ami et le prochain* (vol. I); *Le tenancier, le fidèle et le citoyen* (vol. II); *Le moine, le clerc et le moine* (vol. III); *La mémoire, l’écriture et l’histoire* (vol. IV).⁴⁵

Seven years later, other *Mélanges* offered to Noël Coulet were compiled by Jean-Paul Boyer and François Xavier Emmanuelli.⁴⁶ These contained four texts on the Jews (including two for the Middle Ages: Danièle Iancu-Agou and Joseph Shatzmiller) from a total of forty papers.

Moreover, it should be said that the notaries of Provence —providing a true ocean of documents— have opened a fundamental access route to the history of minority groups, principally the Jews, which should not be ignored. This is the basis for this exceptional production that makes it possible for me to say that research on the Jews of Provence in the Middle Ages is going well. The credit goes back initially to George Duby who, in his time, gave a real boost to this field of research. It is true that Provence lends itself very well to research and that studies must be pursued on “the rank and file small communities” (the expression is Noël Coulet’s), those designated in the documents with the name *castra*; in effect, while the “town Jews” have already been studied, the “country Jews” (as neatly phrased by Dominique Iogna Prat⁴⁷) still merit research and studies.

1.4 The Venaissin county and the town of Avignon

Here we have, perhaps, the area where least work has been done over the last few years.

in the Diaspora, Joseph Shatzmiller, Shlomo Simons, eds. Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1991: XII, 157-212; Iancu-Agou, Daniele. “Un juif de Marseille à la veille de l’expulsion: rituels hébraïques (1492) et postérité néophyte (1501-1525)”. *Provence Historique*, 195-196 (1999) [*De Provence et d’ailleurs. Mélanges offerts à Noël Coulet*, Jean-Paul Boyer, ed. Marseille: Fédération Historique de Provence: 297-304].

44. Roux, Claude. *Tarascon au XV^e siècle. Espace et société au temps des derniers comtes angevins de Provence (1400-1481)*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, (PhD. Dissertation), 2004; see also: Roux, Claude. “La communauté juive de Tarascon au XV^e siècle”. *Revue des études juives*, 167/3-4 (2008): 511-569.

45. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Femmes juives en Provence médiévale. Dots et pratiques matrimoniales à la fin du XV^e siècle”, *Histoire et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1992: I, 69-78.

46. Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Un juif de Marseille...”; Shatzmiller, Joseph. “*Tumultus et rumor in Sinagoga*, suite d’une enquête”. *Provence Historique*, 195-196 (1999): 451-459.

47. Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l’hérésie, au judaïsme et à l’islam (1000-1150)*. Paris: Flammarion, 2000.



After 1945, in the wake of the studies by Pierre Pansier (1910-1924), who laid excellent foundations on the culture of the Jews in the county in the Middle Ages, the Jewish doctors of Avignon and the charitable works of Avignonese Jews, it is appropriate to mention some studies by Christian Castellani, Bernard Guillemain, Michel and Anne-Marie Hayez that should not be ignored,⁴⁸ and naturally those by Hugues-Jean de Dianoux, an unpublished thesis on the Jewish communities of the Venaissin county and the State of Avignon based on its statutes (1490-1790) (Chartres College, 1938) and his multiple studies on Jewish cemeteries and on a collection of Hebrew works.⁴⁹

Armand Lunel, a descendant of Jews from the county, attempted a rather instructive essay on the Jews of Languedoc, Provence and the French Papal states.⁵⁰ A colloquium was organised in 1984 by Carol Ianco, at the University Paul Valéry of Montpellier, on this literary bard of very specific features of Judaism having survived to modern times, published in 1986 under the title *Armand Lunel et les Juifs du Midi*.

A dossier on the Jewish presence in Occitania, from Narbonne to Carpentras, should also be mentioned. This was intended as a quest for Jewish heritage in Occitania, dealt with in Toulouse in 1988.⁵¹

Multiple studies have been carried out on the great scholar Gersonides, who lived between Orange⁵² and Avignon. First came the publication of his library by

48. Castellani, Christian. "Le rôle économique de la communauté juive de Carpentras au début du XVe siècle". *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 3 (1972): 583-611; Guillemain, Bernard. "Citoyens, Juifs et courtisans dans Avignon pontifical au XIVe siècle", *86^e Congrès des sociétés savantes de Montpellier (1961)*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963: 147-160; Hayez, Michael; Hayez, Anne-Marie. "Juifs d'Avignon au tribunal de la Cour temporelle sous Urbain V". *Provence Historique*, 23 (1973): 165-173.

49. Dianoux, Hugues-Jean de. "Cimetières juifs et soins pour les défunts en Avignon et dans le Comtat Venaissin". *Archives juives*, 7 (1970-71): 1-8, 20-23; Dianoux, Hugues-Jean de. "Les Juifs de Carpentras, 1406-1789, Notes et Corrections". *Archives juives*, 3-4 (1985): 62-64; Dianoux, Hugues-Jean de. "Inventaires de livres hébreux appartenant à des Juifs de Bédarrides à la fin du XVIe siècle", *Les Juifs au regard de l'Histoire. Mélanges en l'honneur de Bernhard Blumenkranz*, Gilbert Dahan, ed. Paris: Picard, 1985.

50. Lunel, Armand. *Juifs du Languedoc, de la Provence et des États français du pape*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1975.

51. *Juifs et source juive en Occitanie*. Maria Clara Vigièr, Dominique Alibert, eds. Enèrgas: Vent Terral, 1988.

52. Gasparri, Françoise. *La Principauté d'Orange au Moyen Age (fin XIIIe-XVe siècles)*. Paris: le Léopard d'or, 1985: 75-116. Preface by Jacques Le Goff Gasparri, Françoise. "Juifs et Italiens à Orange au XIVe siècle: Métiers comparés", *Minorités, Techniques et métiers*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches méditerranéennes-Université de Provence, 1978: 47-56; in the same volume, see the contributions by L. Stouff and N. Coulet on Jewish occupations in Arles and Aix (Stouff, Louis. "Activités et professions dans une communauté juive de Provence au bas Moyen Âge: la Juiverie d'Arles, 1400-1450", *Minorités, Techniques et métiers*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de Recherches Méditerranéennes, 1980: 57-77; Coulet, Noel. "Autour d'un quinzain de métiers dans la communauté juive d'Aix en 1437", *Minorités, Techniques et métiers*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de Recherches Méditerranéennes, 1980: 79-97), and D. Iancu-Agou on the (1480-1500) (Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "Une strate mince et influente: les médecins juifs aixois à la fin du XVe siècle (1480-1500). Activités économiques et état sociaux", *Minorités, Techniques et métiers*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de Recherches Méditerranéennes, 1980: 105-126).



the late Gérard E. Weil,⁵³ then those of the specialist Charles Touati,⁵⁴ and the fine Colloquium run by Gilbert Dahan, *Gersonide en son temps*,⁵⁵ where many scholars developed their specialised studies, such as Bernard Goldstein, for example.

It is also appropriate to point out the summary by Gad Freudenthal,⁵⁶ without forgetting the works directed by Collete Sirat et al.⁵⁷

In this narrow papal refuge, the Jewish “witnesses to Christian truth” were certainly tolerated continuously until the French revolution, but marginalised in the residual communities that the talented René Moulinas studied under the neat title *Juifs du Pape* (The Pope’s Jews). In modern times, it was his thesis that Bernhard Blumenkranz published and prefaced in 1981 in his fine collection “Franco-Judaica”.⁵⁸ Today, Simone Mrejen O’hana, has considerably enriched the corpus based on Hebrew sources.⁵⁹

2. In conclusion

This review in no way pretends to be exhaustive; it has, above all, emphasised the use of notarial documents.

From Perpignan to Marseille and Montpellier to Avignon, it demonstrates the vitality of research carried out on the Jews of the South of France in the Middle Ages, a vigour that means that we await the results of the same exercise on the other

53. Weil, Gerard E. *La Bibliothèque de Gersonide d’après son catalogue autographe*, Frédéric Chartain, ed. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1991.

54. Touati, Charles. *The philosophical and theological thought of Gersonides*. Paris: Gallimard, 1967 (2nd edition. 1992); Ben Guershom, Lévi. *Les guerres du Seigneur. Livres III et IV*, ed. Charles Touati. Paris-The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1968.

55. Gilbert, Dahan, ed. *Gersonide en son temps. Science et philosophie médiévales*. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1991 (with, on the biography of Gersonides, articles by D. Iancu-Agou (Iancu-Agou, Danièle. “Les communautés juives méridionales contemporaines de Gersonide: Orange, Avignon”, *Gersonide en son temps. Science et philosophie médiévales*, Gilbert Dahan, ed. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1991: 9-31), J. Shatzmiller (Shatzmiller, Joseph. “Gersonide et la société juive de son temps”, *Gersonide en son temps. Science et philosophie médiévales*, Gilbert Dahan, ed. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1991: 33-43) and A.-M. Weil (Weil, Anne-Marie. “Levi ben Gershom et sa bibliothèque privée”, *Gersonide en son temps. Science et philosophie médiévales*, Gilbert Dahan, ed. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1991: 45-59).

56. Freudenthal, Gad, ed. *Studies on Gersonides - A Fourteenth Century Philosopher-Scientist*. Leiden: J. Brill, 1992.

57. Sirat, Colette; Klein-Braslavy, Sara; Weijers, Olga, eds. *Les méthodes de travail de Gersonide et le maniement du savoir chez les scolastiques*. Paris: J. Vrin, 2003.

58. Moulinas, René. *Les Juifs du Pape en France. Les communautés d’Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Privat, 1981; *Identités juives et chrétiennes: France méridionale, XIVe-XIXe siècle. Études offertes à René Moulinas*, eds. Audisio, Gabriel; Bertrand, R; Ferrières, Madeleine; Grava, Yves. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2003. And the participation of the medievalists Noël Coulet, Joseph Shatzmiller, Yves Grava, Michel Hayez and Daniele Iancu-Agou, who all dealt with Judaism, should be highlighted, as well as four other papers on modern Judaism.

59. *Le Registre d’Elie Crémieux. Ephémérides de la communauté juive de Carpentras (1736-1769)*. Simone Mrejen-O’hana, ed. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bialik and Ben Zvi Institutes, 2009.



side of the Pyrenees, in those neighbouring lands so rich in production that does credit to the Catalan scientific school.⁶⁰ They should also congratulate themselves on the continuing fruitful exchanges between Occitan and Catalan researchers for which the late Eduard Feliu worked so hard.⁶¹

60. We would mention two that have recently been delivered: Sabaté, Flocel; Denjean, Claude, eds. *Christianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media: polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia*. Lleida: Milenio, 2009; Planas, Silvia; Forcano, Manuel, eds. *A History of Jewish Catalonia, and the very fine iconography*. Barcelona: Ambit, 2009.

61. See: Iancu-Agou, Danièle. "L'artisan du renouveau des études juives en Catalogne: Eduard Feliu (1938-2009), *in memoriam*", introduction to the "Nouvelle Gallia Judaica" seminar of 9 November 2009, with Flocel Sabate, "*Sefarad* réinventée: le patrimoine culturel juif espagnol entre Histoire et réinvention".

